Social Development in Papua New Guinea 1972-1990: 
Searching for Solutions in a Changing World

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# GLOSSARY

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<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>APO</td>
<td>Aid-Post Orderly</td>
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<tr>
<td>CYC</td>
<td>Community Youth Coordinator</td>
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<td>EHRC</td>
<td>Eastern Highlands Rehabilitation Committee</td>
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<td>FAO</td>
<td>United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization</td>
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<tr>
<td>IASER</td>
<td>Institute of Applied Social and Economic Research</td>
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<td>ILO</td>
<td>International Labour Organization</td>
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<td>IPPF</td>
<td>International Planned Parenthood Federation</td>
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<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-government organization</td>
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<td>NYMP</td>
<td>National Youth Movement Programme</td>
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<td>RIP</td>
<td>Rural Improvement Programme</td>
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<td>UNCRD</td>
<td>United Nations Centre for Regional Development</td>
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<td>United Nations Development Programme</td>
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<td>UNESCO</td>
<td>United Nations Economic and Social Commission</td>
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<td>UNFPA</td>
<td>United Nations Fund for Population Activities</td>
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<td>UNICEF</td>
<td>United Nations Children's Fund</td>
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<td>UPNG</td>
<td>University of Papua New Guinea</td>
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<td>WHO</td>
<td>World Health Organisation</td>
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INTRODUCTION

In 1972, Morris Fox, then United Nations Social Welfare Adviser for the Pacific, completed a survey of social welfare services and development planning in Papua New Guinea. He pointed to family and community dislocation caused by the rapid changes which were taking place, to problems of increasing crime which he saw as linked to unemployment (especially in towns) and the growth of marginal settlements, and to the lack of appropriate education, health and social welfare planning. He called for better use of social data, noting that, even among those who acknowledged that both social and economic factors should be considered as inseparable parts of an integrative process, the balance between them was 'influenced a great deal by the biases of the top administrators and by political decision-makers' (Fox 1976:102).

The papers included in this monograph span eighteen years of social development planning in Papua New Guinea and cover many of the same areas of concern. Apart from minor editing to maintain consistency and to avoid repetition, the papers are reproduced as they were presented and reflect my position, and personal perspectives and biases as a teacher, social science researcher and participant observer at that particular time. The aim of this monograph is to provide an historical perspective on social development during the 1970s and 1980s with the hope that this will assist students and practitioners in planning and programming to meet current and future social needs.

A few months after my arrival at the University of Papua New Guinea, I met Morris Fox, then completing the second of three visits to Papua New Guinea. On re-reading his report, and reflecting on the issues which continued to be debated over the next two decades, I was struck by the current relevance of many questions. How should social development planning be integrated at local, provincial and national levels? How should local level, community-based programmes be
supported and strengthened by government departments and NGOs? Must tertiary education inevitably alienate individuals from their communities or could community-based fieldwork and teaching emphasize community-based approaches and keep students in touch with local realities while at the same time achieving academic excellence? What role could and should government agencies and institutions play in preserving peace and good order in urban and rural areas of Papua New Guinea? Can peace, law and order be improved and maintained in villages and towns, while at the same time protecting individual, group and community rights? How broadly should 'health' needs, and services to meet these needs, be defined? Should the special needs of women, youth, the disabled and other groups within the wider community be considered as part of 'community' development or should specific programmes and services be designed?

The focus of this collection has been on social development issues, recognizing that an integrated approach to development planning must also include consideration of social and environmental impacts (O'Collins and Lamothe 1989 and O'Collins 1990a, 1990b). A number of other social issues were of specific interest to colleagues working in Papua New Guinea during the same period. These included the role of volunteer agencies and local and international NGOs (Dom 1980 and Yeates 1982, 1988), domestic violence (Toft and Bonnell 1985, Toft 1985, 1986), and the status of children (MacPherson 1987a, 1987b; Townsend 1985). From the early 1970s, when development priorities reflected the move from self-government to independence, to the socio-economic and political realities of the 1990s, critics of the changes taking place in Papua New Guinean society have been fairly evenly balanced between those who see chaos and turmoil as presaging disaster and those who see societal problems as being the inevitable consequence of the transition from a colonial situation to full nation statehood. Some issues which have remained of concern, and which seem to be no closer to resolution than they were when Fox completed his survey in 1972, concern the role of the state as an instrument of social control. Balancing the rights of the individual and the rights of community groups or of the wider society is never easy, and remains a continuing source of debate and anguish for those seeking solutions to problems of law, order, and social justice.
The role played by the University of Papua New Guinea in providing a forum for discussion of these issues is recorded in many of the Waigani Seminars which took place during the 1970s and 1980s. Perhaps the most far-reaching of these discussions resulted from the 1986 Waigani Seminar which considered issues relating to The Ethics of Development (Stratigos and Hughes 1987; Hughes and Thirwall 1988). At a time when economic development imperatives appear to be uppermost in the policies of successive governments, the erosion of human rights and the increased marginalization of disadvantaged groups or areas of the country are matters of considerable concern. Small-scale local projects, and community-based responses to social problems which emphasize local level participation, are often less attractive to national politicians and economic planners. Holistic approaches which link health, education, social welfare, or small business development with local, regional and national development planning are too multi-faceted to be acceptable, so tend to be abandoned. Yet, as MacPherson points out (1992:59), major social policy objectives should be the eradication of poverty, distributive justice and popular participation.

In July 1972, when the first group of students enrolled in a course entitled ‘Social Welfare in Developing Countries’, they and I were equally uncertain as to just where Papua New Guinea was heading, and how the speed and breadth of change would affect them as individuals, the communities from which they came, and the country as a whole. There was a spirit of optimism that Papua New Guinea would learn from the experiences of other newly independent countries and would be able to balance economic and social imperatives more effectively than others had done. Twenty years on, lessons have been learned which have provided the bases for ongoing attempts to resolve social disharmony and dislocation while at the same time achieving economic development goals. Now, as then, it may not be acceptable or popular to be optimistic or enthusiastic about small successes. There is an inevitable tendency to focus on failures, on distintegrative forces rather than on positive aspects of continuing or new social development responses, on lack of expertise rather than on the experience gained by participants which may make subsequent projects more effective.

In Goulet's words (1992:233), development ‘is simultaneously the vision of a better life — a life materially richer, institutionally more
“modern”, and technologically more efficient’. This vision of a better life includes the right of individuals and communities within the nation state to define their own development needs and secure the means to meet these needs. Yet, as MacPherson noted in a discussion of health planning and ethics (1987c:122):

The ethical problems are real and powerful; they are faced by health professionals, politicians and planners directly and explicitly in the very work they do. But they can only be resolved on a much wider basis for, whether they involve specific issues of health service provisions or wider issues with profound health effects, they demand the full involvement of the people themselves.

Achieving this full involvement of the people is a difficult and complex task, for which there are no quick fixes or easy solutions. New problems and increasingly disintegrative forces have arisen in the 1990s which require new responses (for example, see Hill and Hughes (1988) for a discussion of tensions between development and environmental planning). Individual and communal rights are no longer seen in terms of conflicts between the colonial power and the emerging nation. The debate has also widened to include protagonists from within Papua New Guinea who demand that communal and regional rights take precedence over the rights of the nation state.

The papers which follow reflect a variety of responses to social issues by policymakers, planners, community workers, students, and teachers in the 1970s and 1980s. They also provide an historical context which may assist those working in the social development field as they continue the search for solutions in the years ahead.
SOCIAL WELFARE PRIORITIES IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO PAPUA NEW GUINEA*

Consideration of the social consequences of political and economic change often result in an overwhelming sense of *déjà vu*. We have heard this so many times before and, despite the conferences and reports, the research into social welfare problems and possible solutions, and the national and international social welfare programmes which have been tried in developing countries, social breakdown seems an inevitable result. It is easy to understand why political leaders, and others who decide on social policies in an emerging nation such as Papua New Guinea, become disillusioned or dismayed by the rhetoric of experts who confidently put forward suggestions as to programmes which will prevent, remedy, or mitigate negative social aspects of economic and political change and so promote national social development goals.

Whose priorities of need decide the type of social welfare programmes which are to be provided? Are the realities of social need self-evident and are limitations in human and material resources the only deciding factors? Or, is the recognition of particular needs, and the selection of particular social welfare programmes, part of the political process of defining national development objectives? Social needs and political and economic realities are often difficult to reconcile, and this may lead to a cynical or defeatist approach which views social welfare merely as political window-dressing which has little or nothing to offer.

* Paper presented at the 45th Congress of the Australian and New Zealand Association for the Advancement of Science, held in Perth, Western Australia, in August 1973 (O'Collins 1974).
the majority of the people. Is this inevitable, or can selection of priorities lead to a more effective use of social welfare resources?

In this paper, I shall attempt to relate national goals which are now being defined in Papua New Guinea to the realities of social needs and the social welfare policies and resulting programmes which might be developed to meet these needs.

The theme of my presentation will be that selection of social welfare priorities must be undertaken by the people themselves, and be in step with other developments which are taking place in the economic and political life of the nation. Expatriate policy advisers, or those who plan and help implement programmes, may suggest alternative strategies, ways by which desired ends may be achieved, and constraints in human and material resources available to achieve desired social development objectives. However, it is essential for any lasting social development that the major emphasis should be on national objectives, resources, and personnel.

Social development for whom and by whom?

Participation of the people, through their representatives or as part of general community involvement, is so often stated as an essential ingredient of real social development that the mere reiteration of this principle seems to suggest that it happens as a matter of course. When we come to examine how social welfare policies are formulated, and how programmes are staffed and carried out, it becomes clear that the needs and aspirations of the people and the untapped strengths and resources within communities may remain wholly or partially unrecognized. This may be even more likely to occur when, as is the present situation in Papua New Guinea, a great deal of reliance must be placed upon resident and visiting social welfare personnel who have been used to considering social problems within societies very different from those found throughout Papua New Guinea.

To give one example: the concept of community development which begins with the idea of a village community, with frequent contact among people on market days and during regular community social occasions, may not fit the scattered hamlet subsistence farming in many parts of the Papua New Guinea highlands. The very title of this paper is misleading if it suggests that one may select priorities in social
Social welfare priorities in developing countries

welfare throughout Papua New Guinea as a whole, as the differences are far greater than simply urban and rural perspectives. Even where some general priorities may be identified, their accuracy remains in doubt as long as outside experts are responsible for the process. At the 1972 Waigani Seminar this point was made by a Papua New Guinean social worker (Avei 1973:109) when he said:

It is the Papua New Guinean's development that we are concerned about and we need his involvement. So what is development? Will it add anything to my happiness? What do you answer if a Papua New Guinean says to you: I understand the true meaning of development. I know my obligations and how to fulfill them. I know how to behave towards my wife, my father, my children and my fellow villager. I also know how to behave towards other people. What are you trying to do to me with your so-called development?

At the Waigani Seminar in 1971, Bulmer (1972:119-29) had also called attention to the problems which many so-called development programmes may create:

Progress — political and economic development — has many beneficiaries but also many victims; the unemployed or underpaid and inadequately housed unskilled labourers in urban areas; the underemployed and dissatisfied generation in the economically developing rural areas who turn to crime, gambling and prostitution as a way of life; and the demoralised and sometimes physically decimated communities of those vast areas of this country which do not lend themselves to economic development, for which it is disproportionately costly to institute effective programmes in health, education and social development, and which, in short, get all the possible disadvantages of being brought under the control of the central governing authority and very few of the positive advantages.

Critics of the direction of development efforts have noted that social welfare programmes aimed at lessening or preventing such demoralization are often afterthoughts, tacked on to placate, rather than part of initial thinking in development planning. One difficulty is that the social growth which may be a desirable national goal is difficult to
Social welfare priorities in developing countries
determine in advance. The victims of progress or casualties of social change may be recognized as an undesirable consequence but, if we want the desired economic growth, is this also an inevitable one? There are inherent difficulties in trying to balance one category of desirable benefits against a completely different category of undesirable effects. As Titmuss (1972:2) commented:

The difficulties or impossibilities of defining and measuring indicators of social growth in many areas of social policy is one among many reasons for the current disenchanted and discontents. They have resulted in two consequences... (1) the dominance of the economic and technocratic over the social in the approach to the problems of change and (2) trends towards the depersonalization of access to and the use of social welfare services. Both can lead to the abstraction of man from his social context; a theoretical attempt to isolate what cannot be isolated.

In Papua New Guinea, national directions are still being considered, and the process of depersonalized planning and abstracting man from his social context is still just beginning and so may be reversed or lessened. To this end, the late arrival of Papua New Guinea on the development scene may help the nation avoid the sense of disillusionment felt by many countries in the First Development Decade. However, there is clearly, as the Report on Development Strategies for Papua New Guinea (Overseas Development Group 1973:13) states:

... tension between planning for what ideally should happen and planning for what experience elsewhere indicates is likely to happen anyway. [But] ... Papua New Guinea has the opportunity to learn from the experience of other underdeveloped countries even if there are sure to be pressures pushing the government towards making the same mistakes as many of them have made. Anticipation of such pressures should not be taken as a justification for abdicating from the responsibility to influence the path of development.

Social change in developing countries often meant changes toward greater inequality; increasing national, group or individual dependence
on others; and increasing, disproportionate emphasis on social welfare programmes in urban centres. Any effort aimed at reversing this trend and re-ordering social welfare priorities must begin with social development policies which reflect overall national development goals. It must be said, however, that goals are easy to state, guidelines easy to lay down, and hard questions remain as to the practicality of these objectives and what they mean in terms of concrete programmes. Nevertheless, without some indication of the direction in which the nation is moving, or should be moving, mobilization of scarce human and material resources is uncoordinated, and there is a tendency for ill-thought-out schemes to be developed to provide quick solutions to the most pressing social problems.

National social development objectives in Papua New Guinea

In March 1973, the Papua New Guinea House of Assembly endorsed eight broad aims which were considered to be essential for future national development efforts. The themes of equality, national and community self-reliance, and greater emphasis on rural development underlie these guidelines to planning, but social programmes have still to be developed in accordance with these principles. However, the shift from a preoccupation merely with economic development was reflected in the speech which Chief Minister Michael Somare made to the House of Assembly when he said (1973a:1492):

First we want to improve the lives of the people of Papua New Guinea. Improving the lives of the people means many small but important changes. It means that, when people work hard to grow crops, they can expect to have enough food to feed their families. It means that, when a child is sick, there is an aid post close by where the child can be treated. It means that a woman can draw water from a village water supply and not have to walk miles to the river. It means that villagers as well as townspeople can enjoy community centres and entertainment. And it means, most of all, that every man and woman in Papua New Guinea is able to live with dignity, following the way of life that is not imposed upon us from outside, but a way of life developed from our own traditions.
Speaking on the same theme at the University of Papua New Guinea (1973b:2), Somare described the more equitable distribution of resources in these terms:

We do not want to build a modern society if that means a society in which only the powerful and wealthy can get the benefits. It is not right for a few to have fancy cars—or even to have two cars—while most of our people still walk along bush tracks. It is not right to have expensive hospitals serving only a few if most of the people are not even close to an aid post. It is not right to spend ten or fifteen thousand dollars for houses for the privileged few while more and more of our people live in tin or cardboard shacks in squatter settlements.

Translating social objectives into social welfare programmes

It is true that statements of intent are only the beginning; but without some national vision the attempt to translate ideals, such as the more equitable distribution of resources and greater community self-reliance, into social welfare programmes, cannot be made. Faced with the reality of scarce resources and the shortage of personnel, it is also clear that equality and community self-reliance may also be seen as practical strategies which provide some guidelines for a positive approach to future development in Papua New Guinea.

The functions of social welfare programmes are generally described as supportive, developmental, preventive, and remedial; and it has been noted that there is a recent shift from emphasis on remedying social ills to preventing them, and toward developing the community as a whole in cooperation with other sectors such as health and education (United Nations 1970:62-4). Increasing knowledge and skills in the community and the use of multi-purpose workers, rather than more specialists and remote experts, are options which call for broadly-based community education efforts, a few trained supervisory personnel to coordinate and assist voluntary and community self-help activities, and a general emphasis on decentralization of social welfare programmes. Self-help housing schemes, rural community education centres, village courts, juvenile aid panels and volunteer probation services, and social welfare
training programmes for village- or community-based workers, are practical strategies which are positive options available to Papua New Guinea.

Ironically, the lack of Papua New Guineans and resident expatriates with social welfare training may prove to be an advantage, as incoming policy makers and programme supervisors are less likely to be committed to the specialized professional model of social welfare which other developing countries have frequently inherited. Social welfare programmes in Papua New Guinea have developed out of the interests and commitment of particular individuals rather than as a response to official social policies. Training of social welfare personnel to meet the new national development objectives may provide the fresh start denied many other countries (see Shawky 1972:3-16). Training which emphasizes skills in working with groups and families in community settings, rather than individual problem situations, and emphasis on conflict resolution between groups, will be major priorities in social welfare training.

Assistance will continue to be needed from outside Papua New Guinea, and training and supervisory personnel will play a vital role in developing the human resources needed for social welfare programmes. However, Papua New Guineans are taking part in many social development activities even while students at tertiary institutions, and they are concerned with current social, political and economic problems. Solutions to such problems may inevitably be only partial and remain unsatisfying. For example, equitable distribution of resources and community self-reliance cannot completely balance the need for additional resources available only from outside the community or the nation. There is also no completely satisfactory answer for those who are the first educated representatives of their group and to whom their kin or community look for answers to ease their anxieties about the future. As one university student at the 1973 Waigani Seminar pointed out: 'We need time, more time. They are so many, and I am so few'.

However, social welfare priorities must be decided now and limitations in resources accepted. This does not mean that we despair or fail to make full use of many alternative resources which may have been overlooked in the past, but it does mean that social welfare priorities must be selected with greater care. What can be solved in the community must remain or return to the community; what can be solved by those with limited training and experience must not take up the time of those whose special skills are needed; procedures and regulations must be streamlined so that they do not take precedence over people. This may well result in a better integration of social aspects of development than is the case in some advanced 'welfare states' with more abundant resources and specialized personnel. In any case, these are the best and most practical strategies for Papua New Guinea to adopt, as there is no more time; social welfare needs are so many, and social welfare personnel are so few.
Part 1:

Social Development Planning
SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT PLANNING

Introduction

During the mid 1970s, debate over the type and degree of decentralization reflected two main approaches. In the face of the bewildering diversity of languages, cultures, and stages of technological development which existed throughout Papua New Guinea, arguments for a strong centralized government emphasized the value for the process of nation-building of unified development strategies. On the other hand, centralized top-down approaches to development were seen as a continuation of the colonial administrative approach. From this perspective national government planners failed to fully involve people in villages and urban settlements in the process of defining their needs and seeking ways to achieve their own development goals. In addition to these arguments, there were more pragmatic reasons why people's participation needed greater emphasis, particularly in the delivery of health, education and other services. Given the probability that there would be a decline in the availability of human and material resources in these areas, it made good sense to try develop a process by which local communities would contribute to their own development programmes and projects.

Then, as now, the key question remained one of the correct balance between central planning and control, and local initiative. How much influence should and could local communities have on the type and direction of development? What place could and should small-scale development projects have within the wider rural development programmes? When was small beautiful and when was it merely time-consuming and wasteful? What role could and should international volunteers, other outside agencies, and foreign aid programmes play in the search for appropriate development strategies and in the implementation of local projects and programmes?

The five papers in this section were written over the period from 1974-1985. Since 1985, the debate has continued. Some critics of
small local development projects have pointed to the failure of many such efforts, particularly those which depend upon the enthusiasm and interest of a few key individuals. However, it has also been noted that many successful projects have made use of the experience gained from earlier situations and many communities, as well as community workers, are now better equipped to fully participate in their own development planning. In the introduction to a study of 'participatory and bottom-up planning of integrated agricultural projects', the editors (Gitai and Villegas 1990) noted that learning from past experience was essential if people's participation were to be fully integrated into smallholder support programmes. In an advertisement setting out national government policy on village services (Post-Courier 14 August 1992:24), the Minister for Village Services and Provincial Affairs stressed that 240 community governments in rural villages and urban settlements would become the focus of more coordinated assistance.

Some government agencies are planning along lines that involve our communities in determining the nature of service delivery. For example, the Department of Police has a focus on Community Policing and the appointment of Special Constables from within the communities. The Health Department has moved in this direction with its focus on primary health care and the basic needs of communities. Home Affairs and Youth in its current review of Social Services is placing greater emphasis on community control and empowerment.

... Many NGOs, Service Groups and aid Agencies are running educational and development programmes at village level. The work being done by these groups illustrates that the Village Services Programme is the only way to proceed. The Village Services will use our resources to create extensive social and economic development and bring new opportunities to our communities and our people.

There are many echoes of past government policy initiatives in this statement. Political critics have pointed to the danger that people's participation and involvement will turn out to be people's manipulation and will lead to further dependence, rather than real self-reliance. A more fundamental criticism (see 'Momis describes village service
scheme as outdated’ *Post-Courier* 20 August 1992:2), is that bypassing provincial governments and ignoring provincial public servants when designing a service delivery mechanism will inevitably lead to misdirected efforts which do not meet the needs of local communities. Whatever the outcome, it is clear that in 1992, as in 1972, there is no clearly sign-posted road to local social development.
COMMUNITY USE OF GOVERNMENT AND NON-GOVERNMENT SERVICES: SOME THOUGHTS AND OBSERVATIONS ON DECENTRALIZATION*

There has been a great deal of general discussion on the need for a more decentralized approach which will make it possible for local communities to ask for, and receive, the particular government, church, or voluntary services which they need. During a visit to New Ireland in September 1974, I took part in a number of discussions, at meetings with both government and non-government personnel, and with community groups. We all seemed to be saying the same thing: that we wanted to work more as a team and that a competitive approach between government departments, churches or church and government, or between teaching institutions like the university and the departments or organizations where university graduates work was harmful to these efforts.

Why, if we are so much in agreement in theory, do we have such problems in putting into action this new approach? Or, do we just feel it is the 'right thing' to say that we believe in a team approach and in the community fully sharing in planning and decision-making when really we hold to individual or departmental ideas about the service we should provide?

It is clear that there are problem areas which must be taken into account if effective coordination of community, government, church and voluntary activities is to be achieved. Many of the points which I am making have been made over and over again, but the move from discussion to action will only be made if people are convinced that what

* Position paper prepared and distributed in September 1974, as part of the decentralization debate.
they will gain from greater coordination is worth what they will lose in independent or centralized decision-making.

**Does the community feel that there is a problem in coordination of services?**

During discussions a number of difficulties were mentioned which give the community a continuing feeling that services do not really belong to the community but are planned and carried out by government or non-government agencies removed from the community.

Government and non-government agencies often suggest ways by which the community can contribute to its own development efforts. They point out that self-reliance is the keynote; people should not expect something for nothing; the government services belong to the people, etc. But each department has a particular suggestion and puts this forward as the first priority. The aid post needs to be improved; a new house built for the teacher; the community centre repaired; the church grounds cleaned. Each group calls on the community to participate, but a work programme to sort out priorities, and decide which is to be done first and which can wait until last, is harder to agree upon. Each government officer represents only his own department and puts forward suggestions only from this angle. Ideas come from government officials to the community rather than from the community to the government.

To overcome these problems, efforts have already been made throughout Papua New Guinea to more closely involve communities with outside services. But, are these really effective?

**One possible solution**

The community council, or community leaders, have regular discussions with government and non-government officers who may represent more than one agency and work out a general outline of community programmes and planned improvements. The government officers then meet with all the agencies concerned in regular meetings at district or sub-district level. These meetings will include all involved in the community and serve several purposes.
i) Knowledge of what is going on in the particular communities will be shared. Officials and community members will learn more about skills, resources, and existing programmes which meet particular needs, or develop community activities using people and resources already available. Community members learn of alternative ways of solving problems, or of the available services which have been tried out in other communities.

ii) Government and non-government officers will learn more about services available from other agencies. If an education officer, for example, also has some delegated responsibility to talk with a community about the aid post extensions it will broaden his outlook to see how health and education are interrelated at community level. If the community development officer also talks with community leaders about an agricultural project and carries back decisions, questions and information to the district level agricultural officer, he will expand his own knowledge as well.

iii) Scarce resources are better utilized. For example one officer is able to perform several functions. One vehicle may be used instead of three. Community time is not taken up with extra meetings or discussions with officials when this is not really necessary.

iv) People begin to feel that these are their services, their skills, their resources, and become more active, rather than merely accepting or rejecting services.

How realistic is the team-work approach?

It has been noted that this sounds great in theory but in practice government officers are responsible to their departmental supervisors for health, education, public work, etc. and are not going to be promoted because they carry letters to the teacher, or discuss with him a new educational directive, as well as carrying out their work as a health officer or an agricultural adviser. Transport can be coordinated, but if I want to spend two hours talking to a group in one community,
and someone else has a more rapid schedule of three stops in two hours, it just won't work. We might ask whether the more rapid schedule achieves anything at all. Could I call at the places for the other officer and he do the same for me? But it may well be that our whole approach is so different that we could end up confusing, rather than streamlining, our work. These are all practical difficulties which mean that a complete team approach may have as many dangers as the individual department or agency approach. Nevertheless, improving communication between different agencies and between agencies and the community may be a partial answer to the problem of linking specialist services within a generalist approach.

i) Less formalized meetings between agencies involved in the same community can be reinforced if district coordinating committees, community councils, senior government officials and church and voluntary workers have frequent opportunities to meet together and discuss community services and future planning. Particularly when new approaches are being attempted, the face-to-face discussion which takes place without the constraints of a formal meeting can help link different specialist knowledge and attitudes.

ii) Up to date details of services available and of programmes carried out by different departments, church and voluntary agencies should be shared widely throughout the community. Radio and newsletters provide an important avenue for informing the community and frequent informal meetings as suggested in (i) help keep the information fresh in people's minds.

iii) Regular meetings of government and other officials help to coordinate use of transport, skills and material resources at a district, sub-district, or community level.

Evaluation of team-work

Finally, any programme to improve community interest and participation in planning and carrying out government and non-government activities implies that there is a real delegation of authority
from central government or other agency to provincial or district levels. Coordinating groups at the local level must be able to make decisions, alter procedures, and allocate manpower and resources in a significant way, if true decentralization is to occur.

In many districts, the type of approach outlined above is already being tried out. In others, verbal commitment has not yet been translated into effective procedures at a formal level, but many informal networks are being established. It may be a danger that if an informal approach is formalized it loses its effectiveness.

Periodic discussion of the overall approach to coordination, and how it is working in practice, should help to assess just how far a particular team approach has improved community use of government and non-government services. There seems every reason to feel optimistic that the new approach to government services which is apparent in communities in New Ireland will assist this process.

The community worker: a generalist approach needing special skill

In April 1974, I spent five days at Ngavalus village, some 30 kilometers from Kavieng in New Ireland. In September 1974, I went back to New Ireland visiting Ngavalus again, but also spending five days at Umbukul on New Hanover, as well as meeting people in a number of other villages between Kavieng and Namatanai. Discussions with community members, church and government officials, teachers and students from schools, and University of Papua New Guinea students working on community projects, raised some questions about the role of the community worker and seemed to answer others. These questions are being asked in many places throughout Papua New Guinea and reflect changes in the way community workers and the communities with which they are involved see their particular jobs.

Is the community worker someone belonging to the government, to the community, or, in some real sense a bridge between the two which links and joins, rather than separates, government services and the community? What does the community worker hope to achieve by becoming more closely involved with small-scale development efforts? When he or she says, directly or indirectly: 'I am here to help you develop your community', what does this mean to community
members who have heard it all many times before? What is so special this time? Should they listen more carefully or wait and see what might be offered, with the same sense of impermanency and illusion which was experienced in the past?

The view from the community

In 1972, when I first visited several coastal villages in the Central District [now Central Province], people talked about the various changes to which they and their parents and grandparents had responded when the early missionaries and government officials brought their messages of development. In discussion it came across clearly that I, as a university teacher educating those who would work in the social development field, was another kind of missionary or colonizer bringing another message of how to develop the community. In other parts of Papua New Guinea, one found a dependence on expatriate community workers, whether in government, church or voluntary agencies, which seemed to be saying that the message of how to develop the community was a very complicated one, known only to specialists and almost no concern of the very community being developed.

In 1974, community members speak of another message of development. One elderly man described the new message in those terms. ‘The Germans and Australians came. They told us to leave our house near our gardens and to line up by the beach. They brought us medicine and schools and law and most of our old ways and our customs were destroyed. The Japanese came and then the Australians came back again. And now our own people come to tell us to do things in a new way’.

The new message speaks of ‘community participation’ and ‘self-reliance’ and the ‘Eight Point Plan’. It tells people that they have to solve their own problems and not rely on the government official or the church to do things for them. The community worker seems to be saying contradictory things. ‘You are the decision-makers and the development of the community is in your hands. We are not here to tell you what to do. Tell us what we can do to help you to develop your community’. But, if the people are self-reliant and the decision-makers, why is the community worker coming at all? At the 1974 Waigani
seminar Aisoli (1975:203) spoke of the way in which workers from different organizations and agencies can cause even greater confusion in the community. He commented: 'Often we dream of helping rural communities but we rarely ask ourselves: Why do we want to help them? What is it that we want to get them to know that they do not know'? One might add: What do we know that is of value to share with the community anyway?

Often community workers have been trained in special skills which are not the ones which are really needed at this particular time or in this particular place. When carrying out fieldwork in Kagua, a sub-district of the Southern Highlands, Kuma (1974) found that people wanted him to help with problems of running tradestores, starting small poultry projects and organizing sewing classes for women. Other students have noted that people ask them to explain government services and how to use resources which are supposed to be available to the community for group self-help projects.

It seems clear that many communities cannot respond when the worker says: 'Tell us what we can do to help you develop the community'. In order to respond the community must know exactly what range of possibilities for change does exist. If the worker is an agricultural adviser and the community raises a health or educational problem or need, how will he respond? Is he the 'right' person? Should they wait for the next government official or for the pastor?

Experience may also have taught the community that nothing will happen anyway. The request for information, assistance, or continuing interest and advice may have been made before and there had been no follow-up. Will it be the same this time?

If communities have been dictated to or ignored in the past, how should community workers act now? They have some specialist skills but do not know all the answers to questions which the community might ask. Can they be sure that what is offered and the way they go about offering this special knowledge or skills is getting the message across to the community? Or should they forget the department or agency message, and find out more about the community's resources and skills, and ways by which government and other services can fill gaps, or respond to community initiatives? If the worker becomes too much of a generalist with too vague a programme, how can special skills be used to carry out the functions which an agency requires?
These questions are being asked by community workers throughout Papua New Guinea, and different ways of approaching a solution will reflect the particular developments taking place, and the degree of cooperation which exists between government departments, non-government agencies, and community groups.

The view from the community worker

Observations and discussions with community members and extension workers in New Ireland indicate that the message of development is now a two-way process. Suggestions and responses come from both the community and the outside agencies involved in development activities or the provision of special services. In this sense, community development is development by the community, with government and other extension services responding to community goals and preferences, rather than emphasizing knowledge, skills and programmes from outside. Tomasetti (1974:47-63) has pointed out that this 'development by the community' concept of community development implies a very close link between administration and community.

Community workers need to have a broad knowledge of what is available outside the community so that they can respond to community requests or help communities to work out practical objectives in development. They also need to know just what is available within the community. Are technical skills and resources overlooked because people have previously seen experts as always being from outside? Does the method or approach used by the community worker help people to use resources which are available? For example, what combination of short periodic visits, of longer more intensive discussion over days or even weeks, of informal small groups, and larger more formal meetings, will help community and outside agencies to come together? The short stop approach, where people are called together to hear the message of development, seems very hard to change. Many workers find it uncomfortable when they are called on to develop the more personal face-to-face informal approach to their work. They may also find that once they succeed in this more personal approach they are overwhelmed with questions or requests for information which they may find hard to answer if their previous
training has been a narrow compartmentalized one. One writer (Brooks 1974) comments:

What seems to have been missed is that people are not compartmentalized themselves, nor do they compartmentalize their needs and decisions. If a person needs a new supply of water it does not matter who he is talking to—the community development officer, the health inspector, the medical assistant or the agricultural extension worker, he is still going to talk about the same problem and fail to understand why anyone could regard this need as 'unimportant' because it is not 'of' his department.

Finally, the more personal approach must allow for the slow pace with which some desirable improvements take place, even when they seem in line with community wishes and initiative. Results which are not so swift may in the long run be more lasting if the message of development is really being heard, understood, and acted upon by the community itself.

When I revisited New Ireland, a community centre was still in the process of being built and one could ask: What has been happening in the past four months? The answer is less certain and less clear than when we can point to a rapidly completed programme of activities. People have been talking a lot about how to use government services. A high school has begun a programme of teaching literacy. A group of villages is organizing a day when women will display and sell handicrafts and people will take part in various social activities. A meeting to discuss better coordination of government and non-government services in the community has been held and community leaders are involved in the continuing discussion. When I went to look at the frame of the centre which is being built at Ngavalus, people said that the next time it would surely be completed. But there really is no hurry. It is just a place for different programmes to be undertaken and for the storing of equipment. They do not need the building to prove that community development is taking place and it is important that this centre does not become, like so many others, an empty building with only symbolic value for the community worker rather than for the community.
Small-scale development can be described in social, economic, or political terms, often depending upon the particular interests of the observer. In real life community discussions there is no way to artificially divide these objectives. The boat which will bring copra to Kavieng from Umbukul can bring people, ideas, entertainment, education and health services to and from the smaller community and the larger centre. People coming together for one purpose may make many decisions for other areas of their lives at the same time. Community workers have to keep all this in mind even as they talk about a new programme or a need in their own particular fields. This is often harder to do in reality than one thinks. It calls for a less 'professional' focus and a broader vision. It asks the community worker to see the value of things outside his or her own area of skill and interest. It is this special skill of the generalist which is needed today if the new message of development is to prove more helpful to communities than the old ones of the past.
LOCAL LEVEL DEVELOPMENT: WHOSE VISION? WHOSE REALITY?*

Development must take place through our people. It must be process. It must not be a prefabricated, predetermined set of answers, formulae and solutions by foreigners to the problems and hopes we alone can feel and yearn for (Constitutional Planning Committee 1974:2/13).

This is what we think: big problems for the people are, to help the way of life of those in the villages, and to develop people. But people ask: who can help us to develop ourselves, and what must we do to develop our place? (National Assembly of the Self Study of the Catholic Church in Papua New Guinea 1975:73).

I don’t think the people are expecting us to give them solutions to economic problems only. I don’t think the people are simply expecting us to give solutions to medical problems or law and order problems. I think what our people in the villages expect us to do is to give them a vision (Momis 1975:191).

Three important, but not easily reconcilable, propositions are reflected in these statements. It may be that they cannot be linked together to form a neat solution to local development needs. They do, however, point to the problems faced today by government, church, and people. The people who make up the society should decide on the form which development should take. But they are asking for help as

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they do not have the skills or knowledge to make this decision. Who then should give them a vision of development?

There are many views of development; for example, those of private enterprise and of national and international investment groups or aid agencies. Members of a community who have lived all their lives in their own local area will have another view of what development should be. If we are to have a complete picture of problems and possible solutions these views are also needed, as well as those on which this paper concentrates - local level development as seen by government, church and the members of the community who have gone away to work or study.

**Development must take place through our people**

Three years ago, I was present at a meeting called by village leaders to discuss the development of a market to service the surrounding area. The feeling was expressed that other groups had moved ahead, formed associations to promote economic activities and shown courage in facing the new situation of political change in the country. Speakers at the meeting, however, reflected confusion and uncertainty as to how to proceed. Some of the problems were gaps in knowledge of resources available and they asked a community development officer to attend so that they could clarify just what they might expect government extension workers to offer by way of advice or assistance. Discussion of forms which collective effort might take showed that the people wanted to start something small and manageable but, most of all, they wanted to be reassured that this would be permitted by government authorities.

What would happen if the village set up a group or business association? How could it be registered? Were there government regulations as to the prices that should be charged in the market? Who would come and check on them?

Several of the older men had been jailed under the previous administration for refusing to pay council tax, and it had been a long time since government extension workers had come to their community. The meeting was a lengthy one and no final decision was made, but it seemed that a small and significant step had been taken to develop themselves and their village. The fear of government
interference and control articulated at this meeting recognized attitudes within government described in a study of the informal sector (Fitzpatrick and Blaxter 1975:34):

Even more basically, notions of control are often accompanied by a low view of the people — these people it is believed who must be controlled and manipulated to achieve order and some form of development determined from the top.

... An informal sector approach would put emphasis on a trust in people's participation. This would mean a loosening of control structures and a greater involvement of the public service in the organisation of this participation on the basis of equality with the people.

Today, many village associations have emerged in response to the desire for local participation in development. The reasons for their existence are as varied as the pressures for change, and the tensions within groups and between groups and outside agencies. Economic activities may seem to be emphasized but this is often only one of several objectives. Pokawin (1976:33) points this out in his discussion of local organizations in Manus:

Village level development organizations are regarded as something belonging to the people. They set them up to improve their village life, engage in business enterprises, and enable their mobilization to face the changing tide of Papua New Guinea which would otherwise take them wherever it wants.

Other groups come into being as a response to the conflicts and tensions within an area which are seen as a block to development efforts. Kerpi (1975/76:18) comments:

The Geru association, the Yangpela Didiman and the Gongga youth movement have already established themselves during the Endugla-Kumai conflict. The abovementioned movements place emphasis on social and economic development ... Likewise these movements can act as agents in grass root village development schemes....
Another powerful force to mobilize people to collective action is their opposition to proposed government or foreign developments in their area. Out of the confusions and feelings of dissatisfaction people may come together to try to develop alternatives to those put forward by outside agencies, or to exert pressure on unresponsive institutions to assist their community. Samana (1975:10) describes local groups in these terms:

Dissatisfactions and frustrations of village people against unresponsive established institutions had led to some fruitful development — that of the spontaneous growth of village based organizations, associations, or societies activising to help themselves!

What was the reaction of government to these groups as they began to emerge? Evidence suggests that while some government officers provided information and encouragement, many were wary and suspicious that the group meant some sort of ‘trouble’ for them and presented a challenge to their overall control of development planning for the area. One observer (Yaman 1975:46) described the government attitudes in an area where large scale timber developments were being planned as ‘development without people or despite people’.

This was an area where an association, formed, initially at least, with only a small amount of support, succeeded in delaying development plans so that the people would have a further opportunity to look at alternatives (see Waiko 1976). Opposition by government to such an association is often articulated as being because it is not truly representative of the people. Yet it is not clear in what way government or other agents of change in the area are involving the people more effectively in the development process.

With the development of provincial and community governments, it may be that local level participation and mobilization for collective development will become more in partnership with government efforts. However, the way in which resources are allocated still needs to take into account the existence and importance of local level associations. For example, in his discussion of the Rural Improvement Programme, Colebatch (1978) concludes that it is unlikely that many non-council groups are able to gain access to RIP funds. It also may be that the very strength of local level associations is their separation from government
or other institutional control and that use of government or other outside resources will make it less possible for them to act as people’s organizations, reflecting the type of development people want. As one North Solomons student observed at a 1974 class seminar:

What I think is happening is that they base the type of development taking place on their own type of thinking. The people do not want development to be in such a hurry ... I feel that the type of development that is likely to take place there is the right type. The people experience it, it is they who decide. The council does not control them. They know what they want.... One thing very important is that the people are with their type of development. I believe if one is not with development, then very soon things will go wrong.

But people ask: who can help us to develop ourselves?

In May 1975 the National Assembly of the Self Study of the Catholic Church in Papua New Guinea considered this question and concluded that church, government and people should all work together to develop communities. This seems at first glance to be reassuring to those of us who have been working in community development activities as it suggests that our skills, knowledge of resources, and organizational or management abilities, can be used to assist people at the local level. It fits in with the view of the church or government worker as an initiator or catalyst, who sets the group on the ‘correct’ development road with the ‘correct’ tools.

However, the reality of local level development has been that the organizer and initiator frequently remains the driving force and sustainer of the development activities which he or she originally promoted.

It is only natural that this should happen if the sponsoring individual or agency has been in the area for some time and is respected by the people. The very skills and knowledge which the worker wishes to share puts the leadership and influence more firmly in his or her hands. In a discussion of the role of churches in rural development, Williams (1974) points out that:
Outsiders may play an animating or enablement role, but subtle forms of dependency must be guarded against .... The degree of commitment and responsibility of the people will be in direct proportion to their own investment of resources. Localisation does not simply mean replacing 'outsiders' with 'insiders'. It means the decisive shifting of control and the radical restructuring of programmes in relation to local perceptions of needs and capabilities.

If, as was and is so often the case, an association or development group is assisted by government or church workers who act as advisers, or who may have formal positions as secretaries or treasurers, there seems to be little likelihood that it will shift from being samting bilong sios or samting bilong gavman to samting bilong mipela. Even where the actual office bearers are part of the community, meetings may be held on church grounds or when the government workers are available to attend. Passbooks and equipment are 'minded' by the church or government worker. When he or she is on holidays, or away attending a conference, no new initiatives are taken. Criticisms by returning workers and students on holidays are seen by those within the group as ungrateful and improper, and by the worker as motivated by the jealousy or ignorance of those seeking approval or acceptance within their group without having to work for it.

One answer to this dilemma is to provide opportunities for members of the community to gain skills, knowledge, and increased political understanding, so that they can run the association and negotiate the bureaucratic system themselves. This is certainly taking place today through such structures as vocational training centres, appropriate technology workshops, and short training courses organized by church agencies or government departments. Many young people have acquired organizational skills or learned new ways of agricultural or business development but this does not give them the status or authority to take over leadership, or to act as an effective adviser to replace the more experienced, and perhaps more respected holder of that position. The final result may be that members of the community who have been able to show initiative and mobilize resources become passive or disinterested so long as government, church or other outside workers are available. This process is described
in dramatic detail by Moulik (1973b) in an article ‘Crisis in community leadership’ in which he discusses the decline in community leadership which followed the election of a powerful outsider as a councillor. In his account, the man is an expatriate. However, Papua New Guineans who work as outsiders face the same problems. When we transfer what will happen? When we move to a new community do we destroy the initiative existing there with our enthusiasm, our new ideas?

Perhaps the problem is unavoidable wherever an outside change agent works directly with any community. In the long run, if the question is posed, ‘Who can help us develop ourselves?’, the answer must be: Yupela yet. Yupela inap long mekim. (You, yourselves. You are able to do it).

Sharing the vision and participating in the reality

If there are problems when local development efforts are initiated or sustained by outside church or government agents, what then of the younger members of a community who have gone away to work or study but who retain their ties with their home communities? Many development associations have been set up and are supported by educated sections of a community and in recent years there has been a growth of rural/urban linked associations where developments are sponsored and often financed by wage earning members of the community living in towns. Sometimes those studying or working with government have gone home for longer periods of time to initiate or assist development in their own communities. The Village Fellowship Scheme which is supervised by the Office of Village Development has provided opportunities for public servants and students to return to their home villages with some financial support to enable them to concentrate on local development. Others have returned home to set up businesses, and/or to seek election as local, provincial or national representatives of their people.

Problems predictably arise in all these situations. Infrequent contact between the town representatives of a development group and the majority of community members back in the village mean that misunderstandings will occur. The town based group may seek to develop money making activities while the rural community seek smaller and more recognizable ways in which they can develop the
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village. It is also true that ‘You can’t offer, you cannot lead with a vision unless you are totally committed’ (Momis 1976:191). Nevertheless, the vision must be understood by and acceptable to the people and it must reflect needs and aspirations which the community can recognize and make its own. The growth of trust and understanding is not a sudden achievement but is a part of the total process of development. As observers of one association (Dobunaba and Warakai 1977:7) noted:

The basis ideology of the Association is that it is trying to make the villagers a developmental unit. This strategy calls for villagers to be involved in cash cropping both individually and communally with the aim to improve the standard of living in the village. Through self-help (the individual helping himself, the family helping itself, the village helping itself) in all facets of life, the community can be self-reliant and not wait for outsiders to come and give them what they want.

The ideology is to be applauded but we would like to stress that it can only realized if the community and the association have a good understanding relationship, if the association wants this idea to reach the community, the community must understand its role and position in their development. Then, the community can accept it and help the association to see it come true.

Many younger members of the community who have become involved in local level development find that they have to re-educate themselves to understand community hopes and fears and to become aware of the tensions and conflicts which exist between different sub-sections of the community. They must adjust to the different pace of life, and identify the human and material resources which exist within the community, but which have not been fully utilized. University students, who present studies of their own or other development associations, frequently note that marginal members of a community may not take into account the problems of scale. The association begins with small manageable objectives and then expands its horizons. It buys a boat, or a trade store or a trucking business, and for a time all goes well. It then expands further, perhaps with loans from the Development Bank, and the management skills required increase but the pool of resources remains the same.
Sometimes the association falters or is abandoned because members blame the initiator or other leaders for mismanagement of funds or for business incompetence. Sometimes collective effort is rejected in favour of family or individual development. Sometimes the association regroups and goes on with a new vision more in line with practical realities.

What becomes clear is that for marginal insiders as well as for outsiders there is a need to respond continuously to changes in the hopes and aspirations of the community. Each part of the process of development, be it success or failure, will alter the view which members have of the group effort, its leadership and themselves. Pokawin (1976:33) notes that the success or failure of village-level organizations depends on ‘their ability to rally commitment and active participation of the members’. When members fail to respond it may be time to assess the association. Has it lost its way and is it no longer providing the vision of development the people want, or the practical solutions they need?

Conclusion: the process of development

Among many contradictions faced by those who seek to assist in local-level development is that the very process of clarifying needs and articulating hopes for the future also influences the view which people have of what is possible and what is unrealistic. There are always many questions which can be posed but only some are asked. There is so much knowledge which can be acquired but only some is readily available. There are many roads to development but only one can be taken.

This is as true for development sponsored from within the community, or by marginal members, as it is for government or church sponsored activities. For those who belong to the community the question of choice is significant, but they will remain linked to that community in a permanent relationship even when long absences blunt their sensitivity or dull their commitment. A new vision is also required by those of us who are at best only temporary members of the group we seek to help.

In what way can we provide skills or awareness of broader issues for use by the group as it sees fit? In what way can we smooth the path
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for the returning community member who has gained knowledge, but needs to accept and be accepted to be effective? In what way can government, church, and community members work together to make use of all the resources available for development?

Finally, in what way can the enthusiasm and idealism which is needed to lead with a vision be linked with wisdom and experience to bring about the reality?
GOVERNMENT EXTENSION SERVICES AND SMALLHOLDER AGRICULTURE: LOOKING BEYOND 1982 TO THE WAY AHEAD*

This paper grew out of reflections on a survey conducted in 1981 by third year agriculture students at the University of Papua New Guinea. They shared the concern of overseas consultants, researchers and university academics, that rural development policies needed to be evaluated. Discussion with the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) officials in December 1981, and the opportunity to consider more fully the implications of current government policies, suggest that there are strategies which could build on the strengths of small farming systems in Papua New Guinea, rather than destroying them. Sound rural programmes can take into account and work with the knowledge and experience of rural communities. In a time of international uncertainty this may prove to be a more practical rural development policy.

Large-scale agro-economic projects and small-scale village cash cropping: can the two be assisted at the same time?

This question is of concern to government policy makers, those developing national or provincial projects, and resident or visiting observers who analyse the effects of current rural development policies and programmes. Rural development has many faces, so it is not surprising that there are as many answers to this question. Politicians, public servants, students, academics, outside consultants and rural

* Bikmaus 1982, 111(2):67-71. The first version of this paper was published in the Post-Courier 5 February 1982:19-20 under the title 'For the small farmer - where to from here?'
farmers not only see the situation from different angles, but also have their own solutions to meet short term or long range development objectives. For the farmer, and to some extent the student or academic who tries to understand smallholder farming systems, the relationship between agricultural production and total life styles is important and the most attractive strategy is that which keeps both economic and social risks to a minimum. For the policy-maker or planner, however, increases in agricultural production may be seen mainly in terms of opportunities to raise local or national revenues.

When presenting the 1981 budget, the Minister for Finance (Hon John Kaputin Budget Speech 3rd November 1980:30), stated that a major aim of the government would be to increase agricultural production. He noted that:

The first objective, in the light of the major role which smallholders play in agricultural production ... [is] to improve the Department of Primary Industry extension, research and planning services to smallholders. Such a project is now under preparation and will be submitted to the World Bank for funding shortly. It is hoped that this project will, in the long run, enable the smallholder sector to fulfil the potential for agricultural development that its performance to date has promised.

The statement that agricultural services need to be improved reflects the feeling that there has been inadequate training and performance in rural extension services. Government officers have been described as too office-bound and unwilling to go out to help small farmers unless they are the most ‘progressive’ or demand advice or assistance. The same criticism has been voiced by FAO’s chief of Farm Management and Production Economic Service (Carpenter 1981). He considers that most training programmes for agricultural workers fail to emphasize the practical realities of rural farming systems and that the fundamental weakness in developing country educational systems is ‘reliance on the creation of academicians as the answer to development’.

In Papua New Guinea, agricultural colleges, and the Faculty of Agriculture at the University of Papua New Guinea [now transferred to the University of Technology], have begun to re-examine their programmes to evaluate the mix of classroom, practical, and fieldwork
Government extension services and smallholder agriculture

elements. For those of us who are more immediately concerned with the people in the rural development equation, it still seems that more emphasis is needed on the social factors in agricultural production. We should continue to develop programmes which link theoretical, technical, and sociological understanding as a whole.

During the third year of the UPNG Bachelor of Agriculture degree a course in Applied Rural Sociology (taught by the Department of Anthropology and Sociology for agriculture students) provides one such opportunity for classroom rural sociology to be linked to practical experience in unfamiliar rural communities. By living in a smallholder community, students learn at first hand problems experienced by farmers and agricultural officers in communicating with each other. They observe how hard it is in reality to set up effective links between rural farmers, provincial rural workers (Development Bank, Primary Industry, Forestry, Community and Family Welfare, Business Development, etc.) and national agricultural or livestock project personnel. These are government workers who are expected to carry out the agricultural development programmes outlined by Kaputin in the 1982 Budget, so it becomes important to understand the reasons for the continuing gap between the ideal of rural development and the reality.

The Abau District Village Survey

In September 1981, Applied Rural Sociology students carried out a survey of eleven villages in Abau District, Central Province, studying the effect of the Cape Rodney Rubber Re-Settlement Scheme (Anthropology and Sociology Department 1981). The survey had been planned after consultations with the Department of Primary Industry Rubber Section, Cape Rodney Project Office Research and Policy Branch. Prior to the actual fieldwork, national and provincial sources provided information and course participants looked at a variety of issues presented by rural development specialists. After the survey, a seminar provided an opportunity for students to discuss their findings and individual and team reports were prepared. The following excerpts are from individual student reports:

This survey was part of our practical session for the Rural Sociology course in which we aimed ... to understand the links
between national development projects, agricultural extension efforts, and local community responses and aspirations. Secondly, our aim was to gather information regarding the development villages which are adjacent to, or within the general area of, the Cape Rodney Rubber Project, and finally, to assist DPI staff and the project organisers by providing follow-up information regarding the relationship between the villages, project residents, and government or non-government personnel (C.R.).

During the period 31 August to 11 September 1981 fourteen students participated in the survey.

Six groups were formed... and each group was expected to live with the people in one village for a week and then move to another village the following week. Students were to live and eat with the people and participate in the normal day to day activities, such as gardening, fishing, playing games etc. and at the same time collect information, either directly or indirectly, through conversation, observation and hearing what the people say .... In particular information was to be gathered about the economic developments that are taking place in the villages, and constraints that may hinder development (P.D.).

The task of trying to gather the views of the farmers was not an easy one, as students were not used to talking informally with village people in unfamiliar rural communities. This tends to reinforce Carpenter's view that most educational programmes in developing countries draw people away from rural situations and are too theoretical or technical, with less emphasis on social aspects of agricultural production. Students noted the problems they had experienced in communicating across barriers created not only by language differences, but by different religious affiliations and the unfamiliar way of life of the community. Some students were also concerned about the heavy requirements of other theoretical and technical courses seen as more important to their careers as agriculturalists.

For others it proved to be a new and valuable experience which helped them to understand rural development in a more practical and down to earth way. They gained 'a fair bit of knowledge of how to go about with rural people to look into their problems and needs in
relations to government access and services. We also learned to communicate as a team and to work with each other’ (C.R.). Another noted that: ‘the fieldwork was good in that I got exposed to some of the village problems. The longer spent living amongst the people the better one will learn.’ (M.S.). Many concluded that: ‘despite differences in traditional backgrounds, assistance by the villages was great and we never had feelings of being neglected whatsoever ... the major problem that we experienced and that may have affected the fieldwork was communication. But on the whole I think we have achieved something which may be of benefit to the people, the DPI staff and Project organisers, and ourselves’ (S.M.).

**Results from the survey**

A major problem which emerged was that of the pressure upon the extension officer attached to the Cape Rodney Project to provide more and more assistance to peripheral villages. Criticisms were that not enough assistance was available and that even when various officers from different government departments were asked to come to a village, they failed to turn up. The Cape Rodney officers seemed more interested than other extension workers, although there were notable exceptions when help had been provided in a sustained way so that farming or fishing projects could be set up. Confusion, lack of clear information, the practice of sending information via some third person who often did not fully understand what was to be passed on, and the general failure of government officers to visit villages on a regular basis, were frequently voiced concerns.

The Scheme itself was generally seen to have brought improved services and access to markets in Kupiano and Port Moresby. However, fears were also expressed that the development of large scale rubber holdings and smallholder blocks would lead to an influx of people from other parts of the country. Law and order problems, environmental pollution, and changes in the social structure of the rural communities in the area, were negative consequences which people feared. So, while farmers were glad of the increased opportunities which the Project had brought them, those in the more agriculturally and economically developed communities were also aware of the consequences and social costs.
A significant development noted in several villages was the youth group which comes together to work on fishing, agricultural, or community projects, or which hires out its labour to individual farmers. This raised the possibility of similar groups taking over a block on the scheme and working it on a communal basis.

During the survey it was seen once again that rural development has many dimensions. For some people improved access to the outside world, to markets, and to government services, will bring both economic advancement and social disruption. For migrants from other areas who have settled under a rather fragile agreement in the more recent past, the project may be more viable and attractive than for those who have security and other development opportunities. If changes took place in the criteria for allocating rubber blocks, families might see this as a way to provide their young people with rural employment and prevent the weakening of family and community ties. They could work the blocks but still return home to take part in traditional or church celebrations and continue to meet family and clan obligations.

Students became conscious of the disquieting feeling that large-scale agro-economic projects may bring pressures for small farmers to produce at a scale and a pace that will disturb or destroy many of the positive features of their community life. Would, they asked, the government consider these problems as important or would short-term revenue raising be the preoccupation for 1982 and beyond?

Rural development policies in PNG and the South Pacific

Students who took part in the Abau District Survey concluded that there were definite contradictions in present agricultural policies. One student expressed it realistically, if regretfully, in these terms:

The Government is investing a lot of money in the road network, health services, schools, etc., in the hope to satisfy these people and then they will settle down on the blocks and tap rubber. In other words the people are being forced to accept a new way of life ... They feel they need the school, they need the aid post, the good road, but these services will not be the incentives to make them work to tap daily ... The people only make copra or sell fish or vegetables when they need cash for
certain purposes such as school fees etc. It is not a must to have cash (P.D.).

Fluctuations in world market prices make other development alternatives more attractive and so involvement becomes partial or problematic. These comments may be seen as merely reflecting the perspectives of a few students, or as being from only one area of the country. However, more general concern has been expressed regarding the direction which rural development policies have been taking throughout the South Pacific. Politicians and planners seek to raise national revenue through agricultural production. This often distorts the role of rural development workers who are being asked to meet production targets while they are also being criticized for not being more sensitive to the needs of the small farmer.

These problems were discussed by contributors to the South Pacific Agricultural Survey, commissioned by the Asian Development Bank in 1979. At a meeting of the Commonwealth Scientific Association of Agricultural Societies, Ward continued this theme, pointing out that self-sufficiency and import substitution in food production is a widely articulated policy but is much harder to achieve in reality. Large-scale production often means a loss in diversity and increased vulnerability if crops fail.

The taim hangri is covered by the returns from the sale of coffee beans or their equivalent. But the risks of pest and disease attacks are only partially covered by insecticides. The devastations of taro by taro blight in the Solomons and the islands of Papua New Guinea is but one example, and points to the need for new forms of security.¹

During their study of smallholder agriculture in Abau District, UPNG students noted the same problems of pest and disease attacks. Some research is being carried out by FAO and other organizations interested in providing security in food production. But the smallholder also faces the dilemma of trying to satisfy the demands of involvement with family and community and those of the government agency or other marketing authority. Meeting social obligations provides long term security as against short-term cash profits. Often agricultural projects

¹ Quoted from original seminar paper. See Ward (1982:16).
which may be seen as economic failures in national revenue terms are, Ward points out, community or family successes. Yet, if national policy makers want a more Western style of life and the more expensive infra-structure that goes with it, they will have to pay for it. If, on the other hand, they accept the value of retaining, to some extent at least, the social and economic security of their own ways of life, they will have to modify their national development policies and seek more manageable alternatives (see Hau'ofa and Ward 1980 for a discussion of these issues).

Another long-term observer of development in Papua New Guinea has concluded that the initial reformist strategies of post-independent Papua New Guinea have been distorted or abandoned, perhaps before they were really tried. Smallholder developments and cash crops have increased dependency and reduced the alternatives open in a mixed agricultural system. Today, rural communities are more vulnerable to the vagaries of the international market and shifts in policy emphasis by politicians or planners (Allen 1983:234).

Perhaps the most important reason why this has occurred is that the strategies did not originate from a national political leadership and there was therefore no total personal commitment to them, nor a proper understanding of their implications. Thus, while political leaders spoke of service to the rural underprivileged, they chose for themselves a high cost western life-style and became involved in business interests which work against the interests of rural people.

Students who took part in the Abau District Survey raised similar questions regarding contradictory rural development policies which seem to confuse rural extension workers and small farmers alike. In the mixed agricultural and fishing communities of the coastal villages which they studied, it makes no sense to concentrate on rubber production when the world market price is depressed. For the project organizer or the extension officer, however, economies of scale require continuity and reliability of production. It is understandable that they will turn to the larger-scale agro-economic project, or consider that blockholders who come from other parts of the country will be less

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2 Originally quoted from the author's draft manuscript.
distracted by family or community ties and, by being more dependent, be more reliable as producers. Along with Hau'ofa, Ward and Allen, students saw the stated interest in small scale farming systems as often mere rhetoric, for:

Although ‘helping the people’ and ‘developing the rural areas’ are common arguments ... the final outcome is that the economics of the project comes out as top priority and is given more attention with regard to planning, organization, and allocation of funds than the social benefits or consequences of development (G.B.).

But is this necessarily the rural development strategy of the future? Does the 1982 budget speech give some hope that an emphasis on small farming systems, which have been the basis on which Papua New Guineans have survived for centuries, may survive as a policy and planning objective?

The Cape Rodney experience suggests that committed rural workers with adequate training and coordination could assist family and community groups to develop smallholdings. This would make it possible for both economic production targets and family and social commitments to be met. Outside blockholders who settle in this or similar schemes should continue to be encouraged, not simply permitted, to develop gardening and other products. This would cushion the impact of swings in international market prices. Improved links between different government services at national and provincial levels and with smallholders on the schemes and in the villages, would bring government programmes closer to the realities of rural ways of life. Over time this may prove a more economically sound basis for rural development.

Papua New Guinea, like other countries in the South Pacific, must come to terms with the economic vulnerability of reliance on large-scale agro-economic projects. The role of the smallholder has never been more important than now, when nations, as well as individual farmers or community groups, must work out strategies for meeting a monetary taim hangri while looking beyond it to the way ahead.
SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT PLANNING AT THE LOCAL/REGIONAL LEVEL: FIJI, PAPUA NEW GUINEA, AND SMALLER NATIONS IN THE SOUTH PACIFIC*

Introduction

The overall theme of this report is that social policies and planning, and the training of skilled manpower to meet social development needs, reflect the colonial heritage of most island nations and remaining dependent territories. As small island communities and larger national groupings, such as Fiji and Papua New Guinea, moved from dependent colonial status to political independence, there was a re-examination of many of the basic assumptions regarding social development needs and the way in which these needs should be met. Economic independence has been harder to achieve than political independence. This has influenced the direction of national development planning, and the degree to which social needs have been taken into account in the planning process.

For example, a major focus in many of the national plans has been that social development should not only be integrated into economic and administrative planning but should also assist and enhance this planning. A holistic approach to human needs, which is the essence of community life in the region, is often at odds with the more

compartmentalized and fragmented programme or policy implementation which characterized much of planning in the pre-independence period. In some instances, there has been an explicit rejection of introduced concepts of social welfare and an emphasis on family and community self-reliance to meet basic needs. Although earlier models of autonomous self-reliant communities are not always appropriate in the changing world of today, it is understandable that national and community governments are seeking ways to strengthen existing family and community structures. The desire to turn back to older, more culturally acceptable ways of meeting social needs was acknowledged in Papua New Guinea by the Constitutional Planning Committee (1974:2/13):

We should use the good that there is in the debris and deposits of colonialism, to improve, uplift and enhance the solid foundations of our own social, political, and economic systems. The undesirable aspects of Western ways and institutions should be left aside. We recognize that some of our own institutions impose constraints on our vision of freedom, liberation, and fulfilment. These should be left buried if they cannot be reshaped for our betterment.

Decentralization is a major aim in Fiji, Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, and Vanuatu and reflects the desire to return, even if to a lesser degree, to those solid cultural foundations of which the Constitutional Planning Committee speaks. In Papua New Guinea, the process has developed to the stage where tensions between some provincial governments and the central government are apparent. In other countries the process of regional and local development is still in a formative stage. Planning for sharing of powers has remained largely a central government function, although consultation with local and community organizations and leaders has taken place. Financial powers, evaluation of administrative and programme effectiveness, and the training of middle and high level manpower have generally remained the responsibility of central authorities although in Papua New Guinea, at least, there is considerable pressure from some provinces to take over powers still held by the national government.

A common concern of most South Pacific nations is the inappropriate style of many education, health, and social welfare
programmes which were introduced during former colonial times. Many of these were modelled on an urban nuclear family concept and were linked to the individual wage-earning family unit. The extended family, based firmly in a rural way of life, has remained a common feature of many societies in the region. Governments are now seeking to develop educational programmes of nonformal and community-based education, primary health care services, and rural development projects which will be more relevant to small-scale traditional societies. It is clear that social development planning in these areas must be related to overall development priorities and cannot be considered in isolation from the economic and political changes which are taking place. The planning process, and national, regional, and local implementation of development plans, must also take into account the human and material resources which are available.

Many planners and practitioners are, however, unable to translate national goals and development priorities into effective action plans and programmes. Often they have been trained outside the particular society and do not share, or may have been distanced from, the cultural and social values within it. In addition, policymakers may disagree as to the importance of different development objectives. Many nations are still revising and rethinking priorities, and national unity in purpose or perspective has yet to be achieved. In this period of continuing dependence on ‘outsiders’ to write development plans or to design programmes which reflect national goals, tension or misunderstanding between policymakers and planners may be anticipated. Training of social planners must therefore include preparation for the realities of ambiguous and sometimes contradictory policy guidelines.

Major social development priorities and current trends in the decentralization of social development programmes are not uniform throughout the scattered island nations of the South Pacific, but all share similar problems of isolation, distance from each other and from major export markets, and a lack of experienced social planning personnel.

**Major social development priorities**

From 1970 to 1973, a survey of social welfare services and social development planning was carried out in areas served by the South
Pacific Commission. Planning and development priorities were identified, and proposals were made to improve the training of social development manpower. The survey was conducted by Morris G. Fox, then Social Welfare Adviser for the Pacific, appointed under an agreement between the South Pacific Commission and the United Nations Department for Technical Cooperation and Development (UNDTCD). The final report noted the growing number of young, out-of-work, urban residents and the increased migration to towns. While women’s interest groups and youth programmes had been established, these were not meeting new needs arising from socio-political change in the region. Family planning, community development programmes, and a variety of other social services would have to be reviewed in the near future. A major theme was that training of social development manpower should keep pace with moves towards self-government and eventual independence (Fox 1976).

In 1983, the same social problems continue to receive attention. Women's advancement, youth unemployment, increased rates of urban crime, and basic health and community education services, have been a matter of concern to national governments and outside aid agencies.

Women's organizations in the South Pacific

During colonial times, women's programmes had been initiated by missionary groups, and women's associations were often part of general church and community activities. Training in home economics, nutrition, and child care were usually aimed at improving the skills of rural women with the implicit assumption that women’s roles were essentially domestic and did not involve public decision making. During the early 1970s a change in emphasis took place as a result of planning for the International Women’s Year. In Fiji, Papua New Guinea and elsewhere in Oceania this led to the establishment of formal structures through which women’s voices could be publicly heard. However, as Schoeffel (1979:1) points out:

... within the Pacific region at least, what is required is not so much the reform or reorganization of women’s roles, but a greater recognition of what women actually do and the creation of government policy and administrative structures that support and dignify existing social and economic roles of women.
Formal structures have now been established throughout the region and in many countries national councils of women have been set up. These have often been partially funded by governments and have received some help from women's activities sections of government departments. Decentralization of these associations from the major centres to smaller rural communities has meant that provincial, district, or village women's councils have been formed. While rural-based groups have tended to continue the emphasis on more traditional roles, urban educated women have sought to increase avenues for women's involvement in public decision making. This more outspoken assertion of women's rights to equal participation, while acknowledged by governments, has nevertheless created some tensions between women's groups and government, and within the overall women's movement itself.

Recently, for example, three provincial women's councils boycotted the meeting of the Papua New Guinea National Council of Women, stating that it was not effectively meeting the needs of rural women. In Vanuatu, the establishment of the Vanuatu National Council of Women did not have the unanimous support of all existing women's groups. The Vanuatu First National Development Plan had proposed the incorporation of the Women's Affairs Office into the Vanuatu National Council of Women. Some felt that this move would lessen the independence of the organization and were unwilling to give up their autonomy. While women's groups and government and non-government programmes have continued to be involved with leadership and skills training for women, the more fundamental questions of the changing nature of women's roles in society are still being debated.

**Youth programmes and initiatives**

Over the past ten years, increasing numbers of out-of-school urban youth have been unable to find employment in the formal sector. Others find that on leaving school, the village or small rural community is not as satisfying an alternative as the challenge and excitement of town life.

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They drift into towns and add to the numbers of young people who are seen as a major factor in rising rates of crime or as potential sources of social unrest. Previous attempts to solve these problems have been fragmented and isolated, and the sense of urgency about the growing numbers of young people without productive occupations has led to the development of a number of national youth programmes. The National Youth Movement Programme in Papua New Guinea is the most notable example of government response to social and political pressure. Since its commencement in 1980, it has grown into a major social programme with a larger proportion of the social welfare budget allocated to it than to women's activities or non-formal education. The same trend may be seen in Fiji, and to a lesser extent in other smaller nations in the area.

The varied response to the needs of youth has been described in a collection of studies by youth workers who attended the Commonwealth Youth Diploma at the University of the South Pacific. The Director of the Institute of Education commented in his introduction that:

> Here we can seek the 'Pacific Way' truly in action: that is, the young and the not-so-young working together across the generations, rather than a 'younger generation' struggling to be recognized by its society while the elders of that society feel increasingly estranged from their traditional roles (Weeks 1981:11).

Projects and programmes are, of course, no answer to the society's economic woes. As one observer points out:

> ... there is no cure for the problems of youth in urban Papua New Guinea other than a pay-packet or some other kind of reliable cash income for every school leaver and this is something we seem to be getting further and further away from (Chatterton 1978:38).

**Training of social development manpower**

Literacy programmes and universal primary education are not available to all sections of society in the South Pacific. Even where there has been a rapid increase in primary school enrolments, entry into secondary and higher levels of education is severely restricted. The lack
of skilled and experienced social development personnel has led to the establishment of a number of different programmes aimed at improving general knowledge and basic skills as well as providing specialist training. As localization of positions has taken place, many experienced but only partially trained workers have been promoted into supervisory roles at a relatively young age. They are now found in senior policy, planning, and administrative positions with the responsibility for designing and implementing programmes to meet changing social situations. It is important to emphasize that many social development staff have received additional training or have been able to learn on-the-job, so training needs should be evaluated for each particular situation.

**Training programmes**

It is against this background that numerous *ad hoc* training programmes have been introduced in the region. In 1980, a survey of social development education and training in Papua New Guinea listed twenty-two in-service, certificate, diploma, and degree programmes.

A four-year degree in social work and social administration is offered at the University of Papua New Guinea, and although approximately 100 students have graduated from this programme, many are now employed in related but not distinctly social development fields. Government training institutions in Fiji, Papua New Guinea and other smaller nations provide general education, as well as administrative and management courses. The Papua New Guinea Administrative College and the University of the South Pacific offer diplomas in social development, and the University of Guam also offers a first level tertiary programme in social work. Other sub-tertiary programmes have been sponsored by the South Pacific Commission, the Commonwealth Youth Programme, and a number of non-government bodies, such as the Young Women’s Christian Association (YWCA), national youth or women’s councils, and church-sponsored training institutions. The University of the South Pacific and the University of Papua New Guinea have also been involved in short-term training programmes to meet special needs. Eight-week tertiary level courses in social planning and programme development were initiated at the University of Papua New Guinea in November 1982, and will be offered every two years. It has recently been proposed that these
courses be taught as external courses in cooperation with the University of the South Pacific’s extension centres now established in nine countries throughout the region.

The University of the South Pacific teaches a number of introductory courses useful for staff wishing to acquire knowledge and skills in social planning and administration. It is hoped that further cooperative arrangements will enable social development personnel in island nations served by the extension centre programme to complete a degree in social work/social administration.

The Australian National University, in a cooperative programme carried out by its Development Studies Centre and the Australian Development Assistance Bureau, offers short courses which focus on particular social development concerns. For example, the Rural Development and Project Planning Course has been offered on six occasions, attracting a total of ninety-seven participants from Asia, Africa, and the South Pacific. In 1983, the course was designed for seventeen middle-level officials involved in Thailand’s Rural Poverty Eradication Programme.

Until recently, social development training has been planned and carried out by expatriate staff, either as short-term visitors and consultants, or as teaching staff at the universities and training institutions concerned. However, a number of national teachers are now involved in teaching courses and supervising practice sessions for students, in the University of Papua New Guinea’s social work programme, the PNG Administrative College Diploma in Social Development, and the Commonwealth Youth Diploma at the University of the South Pacific. Planning and the content of training programmes may now be revised and evaluated by these national teachers. The relevance of social planning models developed in other countries (even models developed in other third world countries) will need to be assessed so that content and method will meet changing social development manpower needs.

Current social development planning and training needs

A general question throughout the region is whether the types of qualifications and training to be found elsewhere should be replicated.
Although it is clear that improved levels of training and more experience in planning and programme implementation is desirable, it would be unrealistic to expect small island nations to train specialist manpower to meet the social development planning requirements of larger nations. Generalist skills and an understanding of the different factors involved in social and economic development planning may be more useful. Links between the countries and remaining dependent territories have already been established through such structures as the South Pacific Commission, the South Pacific Bureau for Economic Cooperation, and the University of the South Pacific. These should be built upon so that the sharing of scarce manpower resources may take place within the region.

Developmental self-reliance strategies call for the maximum use of locally-based resources and an increased emphasis on basic skills acquisition for all levels of social development manpower. This is particularly important in countries such as Fiji and Papua New Guinea where historical inequalities between sections or regions have persisted, and there is unequal access to health, education and other social services. Primary health care, basic literacy and nonformal education for those who are not at school, and universal primary education for all school age children, form the basis upon which many social development programmes should be built. The growing number of young unemployed men and women who will have difficulty being absorbed back into the rural economy calls for alternative or improved development approaches. Decentralization and devolution of powers to provincial, district, or local levels may prove an effective avenue for new initiatives to emerge. However, centralized administrative structures persist. Although this may be expected in long-established central health and education bureaucracies, it is also a feature of newly developed programmes, such as the National Youth Movement Programme in Papua New Guinea. A major issue to be resolved is how centrally planned and controlled national programmes will reflect diverse socio-economic situations characteristic of many countries in the region.

Questions of centralization versus decentralization often revolve around different concepts of efficiency and relevance. Should we have a better organized and more accountable service, or one which reflects the values and aspirations of local communities? Can we have both? Is
locally-based planning better in the long-run than the faster and more visible results achieved by centralizing the process and bringing in outside experts? If programmes are not achieving desired results should we try to improve their performance or abandon them in favour of a new approach?

These questions are not unique to the South Pacific. It is also clear that many of the problems being experienced are far less severe and on a smaller scale than those experienced by other third world countries. But the scattered diverse societies that make up the more than twenty-five nations or dependent territories, have particular problems stemming from their fragmentation and isolation. These are the factors which must be taken into account if we are to offer appropriate assistance in meeting social development training needs.

Conclusion: providing avenues for shared learning

The lack of a group of experienced national staff means that expatriate academics and experienced social planners have been the major influences in the training of social development manpower in Fiji, Papua New Guinea, and other nations and dependent territories in the region. This situation is changing and a number of national academics and practitioners are now involved in the design, teaching, and practical supervision of social development training programmes.

While a variety of short-term courses have already been designed for different types of personnel, those involved in training lack opportunities to meet, share their knowledge and skills, and develop a new understanding of their roles and abilities as social development educators. They may also need to become aware of how their own particular specialist programmes are part of the total educational opportunities which should be made available to different levels of social development manpower. In this way increased planning and programming skills will be effectively related to particular national or local contexts.

Finally, it will be essential that new initiatives in training are linked to what is already taking place in the South Pacific so that wasteful competitive approaches are avoided. Bringing planners and practitioners together to share, rather than to be taught, will be a challenging task. Too often we think that knowledge gained over the
years makes us more effective teachers than younger, less experienced colleagues. We forget, however, that their vision and closeness to the reality of changes which are taking place may be clearer, so we should share uncertainties and challenges, as well as practical strategies by which social development planning and the training of skilled manpower might be improved.
GIFT-GIVING AND ITS CONSEQUENCES: THE EFFECTS OF INTERNATIONAL AID ON SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT POLICIES AND PROGRAMMES*

In the distinctive sphere of our social life we can never remain at rest. We must always return more than we receive; the return is always bigger and more costly (Mauss 1970:63).

...the ways in which society organizes and structures its social institutions — and particularly its health and welfare systems — can encourage or discourage the altruistic in man (Titmuss 1970:225).

In modern diplomacy, aid is used to buy friendship, goodwill, influence. In the mind of donors, aid is an investment and their intentions are clear (Paeniu 1975:227).

Introduction

The relationship between donor and recipient has been analysed at many levels — from the interaction between individuals, where reciprocal gift-giving is part of the social system, to the relationship between countries who give or receive various forms of international aid. Sometimes the relationship is between a donor institution and a recipient client or (as in the case of voluntary blood donors) the gift may be given via an institution to a total stranger.

Mauss, in his study *The Gift*, examined the ways in which gifts and gift-giving ‘in theory voluntary, disinterested and spontaneous, can

be seen on closer scrutiny to be in fact obligatory and interested’ (1970:1). Titmuss related this theme to the field of social policy and to the use of human blood in health services. He examined the effects of commercialization of blood transfusion services in some countries and contrasted these with the continuance of ‘voluntary’ blood donations. He concluded that the right to give must be preserved, and stated: ‘In a positive sense we believe that policy and process should enable men to be free to choose to give to unnamed strangers’ (1970:242). The degree to which there is a real choice, the motivation of blood donors and their awareness of the value of the gift, was the subject of a research project carried out in 1972 by the Red Cross Transfusion Service and the University of Papua New Guinea (Hocking et al. 1974). It was found that, although institutional and peer group pressure sometimes lessened the voluntary nature of the gift, many Papua New Guinea respondents noted the potential reciprocal nature of the gift as well as the broader sense of sharing within one’s own society. One respondent stated: ‘There might be a time when I get into some sort of accident, and I might need some blood, so I give my blood’.

Another powerful motivating force was that there was an obligation to help one’s ‘brother’, or one’s country, by giving blood. Comparing the findings with those of Titmuss, the report concluded that voluntary blood donation facilitates reciprocity between individuals in a wider sense and in Papua New Guinea, as in Western societies, reflects the development of integrated and community-based social policies.

Depersonalizing the gift relationship

When one moves from the individual personal gift exchange into the sphere of government or non-government services it is often difficult to recognize the potential or actual reciprocal quality of the relationship.

At the national level, grants or services may be given to non-government agencies, groups or individuals, and the reciprocal nature of these gifts lies in the conditions under which the grant or service is provided, and which must be fulfilled in order to ‘deserve’ the gift. In the sphere of social policies and programmes — of health, education and social welfare — this is as true as in the political or economic sphere. The hidden benefits to donors of apparently ‘free’ gifts may
also be that they need the recipient in order to carry on their daily work or to further individual or group careers. Titmuss observed that:

All personal service professions in an increasingly professionalized world are becoming — like medicine — more dependent on other people to further their professional aspirations. Sociologists need cooperative field and control material; psychologists need laboratory volunteers; psychiatric students need the mentally ill; social-workers-to-be need clients (1970:215).

The question which he posed; ‘Why give to strangers?’ has a special significance when looking at the influence of international aid agencies, and takes on a further dimension when examining the effect of this aid on social development at the national or local levels.

Bilateral and multilateral aid programmes frequently create a situation of dependency in which the reciprocal nature of the gift is hidden or denied. The aid agency world view divides countries into donors and recipients, even when the donor will benefit substantially in economic or political terms from the gift. In turn, the recipient countries resent the dependent role they have had to assume in this gift relationship and a major development goal is to reduce their dependency on overseas aid. The 1975-1979 Solomon Islands Education Policy concluded that:

Recurrent aid perpetuates the dependency relationship, and worse still the dependent state of mind, which is itself the greatest single obstacle to the development of the Solomon Islands people. Recurrent aid invariably has strings attached, often invisible ones. The government is resolved to proceed with the planned reduction in its dependence on recurrent aid (Solomon Islands Department of Education n.d.)

The feeling of dependency, heightened by the assumption that the gift is indeed free, often fails to take into account the value to the donor countries of employment opportunities for their own citizens as experts, consultants, or even as ‘volunteers’. The value of providing a training ground, of sharing new experiences, or of developing programmes which will be useful to others, is also often ignored.
International aid agencies provide another perspective on the donor/recipient relationship. Policies developed by agency personnel spell out the conditions of assistance. In order to obtain this aid, recipient countries or organizations must accept the priorities and programme directives which come with the aid package. The World Bank *Health Sector Paper* (1980:63) sets out the following conditions under which it will assist health projects:

The World Bank will begin direct lending for health projects. In addition, the Bank will continue to finance health components of projects in other sectors, such as agriculture, education, family planning, urbanization and nutrition ....

Projects to be assisted by the Bank will stress applications of appropriate technologies. In particular, programmes will be expected to:

Rely largely on mid-level health workers rather than physicians to provide care. Employ simple, inexpensive buildings and equipment. Place modest demands on the administrative and supervisory capacity of the ministry of health. Produce reasonable standards of care and safety. Permit development of greater coverage and broader services over time.

These policy directives appear at first glance merely to provide broad guidelines and allow national or local initiative. Who, however, makes the decision that the level of technology is 'appropriate'? Who decides that the demands on administrative capacity are 'modest'? Who relates the aid for education, nutrition or family planning to the total programme being carried out by government or non-government services in that area?

In Papua New Guinea, the National Planning Office provides a framework within which (theoretically at least) a certain amount of coordination can take place. Nevertheless, fragmentation is evident, particularly in the social policy field. International aid comes in many forms, and non-government agencies and church groups also provide training and assistance by way of finance, and material and human resources. Each aid agency has its own policy guidelines, often even more specific than those of the World Bank, and those who wish to receive assistance must accept the conditions which go with the aid.
In this paper two policy areas — family planning and youth development — will be explored to illustrate the interplay between international aid agency policies and the development of national social policies and programmes.

The role of international aid agencies is more obvious in the field of family planning, but in both examples the effect has been to separate, rather than integrate, and to fragment, rather than unite, health and social welfare services.

**Policy development in family planning: the role of international aid**

Since 1974, the International Planned Parenthood Federation has given substantial assistance to the Solomon Islands Planned Parenthood Association and the Family Planning Association of Papua New Guinea. At the same time, the United Nations Fund for Population Activities and the World Health Organization have also been involved in providing expert assistance to the Public Health Department in both countries.

Family health projects have been established with the aim of integrating family planning services more effectively into maternal and child care health services. Research into family planning and population issues has been funded by United Nations and other aid agencies. More recently, the International Labour Organization has offered aid to promote educational and motivational activities in the field of family planning. Aid has also been provided by church or voluntary groups who have a particular interest in family planning. The Family Life Programme in the Solomon Islands, for example, receives funds from Catholic relief and aid organizations in Australia and New Zealand.

In mid 1978, a United Nations Inter-Regional Technical Meeting on ‘Social Welfare Aspects of Family Planning’ was held in Manila. During this meeting disagreements between national personnel involved in developing appropriate family planning programmes and international aid consultants arose, reflecting different styles of approach and basic philosophy at national and international levels. Some participants considered that hurried and ill-designed programmes had sometimes been introduced because the total aid package was attractive. In Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands, similar
tensions have been noted where international representatives wanted to see quick tangible results, while the national local counterparts were concerned about long-term negative results if the programme was inappropriate or unacceptable. In some areas, opposition from politicians or church groups had to be taken into consideration when designing the style and scope of the family planning programmes, and this had tended to be ignored or down-played by short-term consultants.

This tension was all the more ironic as often family planning programmes had initially been established because of requests from community groups and individuals. Family planning associations and government health services needed financial assistance but found that it was a package deal which included programme guidelines which were not always culturally acceptable. The approach of overseas workers was often seen as too forceful. One short-term consultant expressed his frustration:

These people are too slow and cautious about introducing new ideas. We don't have enough time for that. We have to get in there and sell it like detergent.1

An additional problem arises when aid for family planning comes from and is channelled through a variety of different agencies. Departments of Health, Education, Social Welfare, Labour and Industry may all be represented at government and non-government levels. Coordination and integration of various programmes becomes chancy and conflict-ridden, as each aid package may have a slightly different style to its proposed implementation. Motivational programmes may ignore problems of service delivery, and supplies or personnel may not be coordinated effectively. For the confused recipient at the community level there may be no satisfactory way of influencing the availability or effectiveness of family planning services. The donor agency may feel dissatisfied at the low rate of acceptors. The acceptor may feel that on closer inspection the programme is not what

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1 Aid volunteer responding after questions were raised about the pace and type of motivational programmes being proposed. See O'Collins (1978, 1980b) for further considerations of family planning programmes.
is wanted but the aid process continues, as it has gained a certain momentum.

Integration of family planning programmes into overall health and community services is one solution to the problem of fragmentation but it is unlikely that donor agencies will be willing to share the process at international level. Policy-making and funding is definitely 'top-down', although national agency representatives may be able to adapt or modify essentially foreign programmes to make them more suitable for local requirements.

Health, education, or social welfare programmes may be designed to include a family planning component in the hope of attracting assistance from well-funded international aid agencies. This makes the development of integrated programmes even more difficult as the expectation of a grant distorts the process and those who obtain funding are unable to share this 'free' gift with others.

**International influences in the development of national youth policy**

The need for a coherent youth policy has been discussed in Papua New Guinea since the early 1960s. Some purists might even argue that this concern has been expressed since the earliest recorded encounters between Papua New Guineans and outsiders — when education was seen 'as a means to break the grip of indigenous culture and bring the youth within the influence of the mission' (Whittaker *et al.* 1975:411).

In June 1961 a study group on the problems of youth in the urban communities of Port Moresby and Lae was sponsored by the South Pacific Commission. In 1966 the first training course for local government council youth work assistants was held in Port Moresby. In 1968, a survey on youth in Port Moresby was undertaken by the Council of Social Service of Papua (Daw and Doko 1968). Since that time, the South Pacific Commission, the Commonwealth Secretariat, and the United Nations have all been active in the field of youth leadership training and policy and programme development. During the 1960s and 1970s a number of training programmes for youth workers were sponsored by international agencies. In 1978 the Commonwealth Youth Programme established a diploma level programme for the
training of youth workers in the South Pacific, and the Commonwealth Secretariat has organized regional seminars on youth.

'Youth and development in Asia' was the title of the 1971 seminar held at Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, at which Fiji and Papua New Guinea were represented. Beginning in 1974, UNESCO has also held a series of regional youth meetings at which the development of appropriate youth policies and programmes have been considered. At the Asian Youth Meeting held in Nepal in September, 1978 it was noted that 'development of youth cannot be separate from development of society as a whole. Programmes relating to youth cannot succeed if complementary social changes are not taking place'.

A UNESCO study (1978:20) urged that programmes should take into account cultural factors such as the role of the family, attachment to one's roots, and types of kinship and community groups, and reinforce rather than destroy them. Despite this caution, pressures were already evident in Papua New Guinea to set up separate youth programmes within a Ministry for Youth. Throughout 1978-79 the Post-Courier reported numerous calls for something to be done about the youth problem and the 'rascal gangs'. A National Youth Council was established in October 1978 amid criticisms that it did not really represent the youth. Criticisms were also directed at the then newly-established Urban Areas Activities Scheme for giving grants to 'gangs of young delinquents who were not respectable youth groups and who misused these grants'. One group who had been given a truck was accused of using it to carry out illegal activities, and national and local level authorities were clearly disenchanted with youth self-help schemes.2

The problem of unemployment remained unchanged, and government policy-makers looked to sports and recreation rather than the creation of opportunities for young people to be integrated into the society. The lack of focus on employment was noted by the training officer of the Port Moresby Community Development Group who

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2 The Post-Courier Index (Institute of Applied Social and Economic Research 1978-1980) of letter and reports concerning 'Youth' reflects very clearly the diverse and changing attitudes towards youth programmes and policies during this period.
cautioned that ‘youths are demanding job opportunities, not sporting equipment’ (Dom 1980:4-5).

Another source of concern was that the direct grants to youth groups had by-passed community and settlement leaders in urban areas and, far from reinforcing the community involvement of youth, often distanced them even further from their families and kinship groups. The national government had failed to recognize and support financially the settlement committees but it was prepared to recognize informal youth groups. Fragmentation of effort rather than integration into community-based programmes was reflected in the ill-fated Urban Areas Activities Scheme with its K750,000 gift to urban youth. Youth had, on the whole, failed to return the reciprocal gift of conformity, perhaps because they felt in need of a more integrated approach which would provide a secure community structure in which they could find employment. But, as a Solomon Island youth worker (Kome 1978:n.p.) concluded:

The youth of today should be encouraged by the old and the wise to share with them the richness of their inexperience — so that the old and the wise should also learn from the young, because in today's world no man is an island - everyone needs each other.

Youth policy development had begun with the basic assumption that youth would be the focus, and the community and family context in which policies should be considered received only token support. Separate training programmes for youth increased the isolation of youth services from other social services.

The politics of youth policy development

The discrediting of the Urban Areas Activities Scheme came at a time of political change in Papua New Guinea. In addition, the gift relationship had turned sour for both the donor and the recipient. The Post-Courier editorial on 9 April 1980 called for a new direction for youth and lobbying by youth groups and politicians together succeeded in pressuring the incoming government of Prime Minister Sir Julius Chan to provide a Ministry for Youth with a budget of K3.5 million.
The path of separate development had been firmly set by the establishment of a National Youth Council. During 1980/81 Provincial Youth Councils were established in a number of provinces as a pre-condition for receiving an initial government grant. Some youth workers noted the danger of this separate development and direct aid to youth groups within a community and began to look for ways to link youth programmes with the rest of the community. In some cases it is also true that youth groups are not isolated as the ‘old and the wise’ have already integrated them into community activities. Another unanswered query is what will happen if the political and grass roots pressure which led to the establishment of a Ministry for Youth is not satisfied and youth groups continue to seek change by direct action and aggressive lobbying.

It is clear that assistance given directly to youth groups, to train youth workers, or to help agencies involved with youth, has been a result of political and community reactions to problems of high unemployment among school leavers and the increasing numbers of urban youth. The role of aid agencies is less direct, and has featured only those international groups concerned with longer-term youth development. International youth specialists, like family planning specialists, are unlikely to suggest integrated community level policies, preferring separate structures for training and programme development.

It seems likely that the end result will be increased specialization which provides the opportunity for links with international youth organizations to be firmly established. Re-integration of youth back into the community may remain an expressed policy, but programmes will develop in isolation from other social welfare services.²

Conclusion

Aid in the form of direct grants, training programmes, visiting experts, and consultants has many faces and many effects on those who are the recipients. The gift transactions nearly always provide for explicit or implicit returns to the giver, whether in direct benefits by the savings of

² For further details of youth policy development, see Misso (1980) and *Youth on the Move*, the newsletter of the National Youth Movement Programme.
further costs, or by ensuring control over the recipient. At first glance it may appear that the two case studies are so different that no comparison is meaningful. Family planning policies have been directly influenced by the technical expertise, material resources and finance available from international aid agencies. Youth policy development has been more fragmented and *ad hoc*. However, after twenty years of government and non-government activities the ‘sudden’ political reaction to youth problems and response to direct grass roots involvement may be more apparent than real. What is noteworthy is the danger of over-specialization which exists within both policy areas. The possibility of an international aid agency or government grant for either a family planning or a youth programme may force the pace and result in inappropriate and unsustainable projects at the provincial or community levels.

Few gifts are really free and most require something in return. The costs, explicit or implicit, of giving and receiving need to be considered within the framework of the total gift relationship.

To develop health and social welfare policies and programmes in isolation from each other weakens the fabric of society, as it is only through shared transactions that links are established and strengthened. To isolate family planning from other health services, or youth from other community activities, will stifle the development of integrated social policies.

To give in ways which constrain or limit the ability of individuals, groups or nations to develop, and where the value of what is returned is ignored or denied, damages the gift relationship and debases the gift itself.
SMALL IS STILL BEAUTIFUL: SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT AND THE EIGHT-POINT PLAN*

The cultivation and expansion of needs is the antithesis of wisdom. It is also the antithesis of freedom and peace. Every increase of needs tends to increase one's dependence on outside forces over which one cannot have control (Schumacher 1973:29).

It must be accepted and believed by all concerned that the process of developmental change of the subsistence farmers of Papua New Guinea towards the modern monetised economy can only come through conflicts and tensions which often may turn out to be violent ones (Moulik 1973a:224).

There is a new government in Papua New Guinea .... And this new government is choosing new policies, suited to the needs of our people. In particular, we are moving away from past policies that emphasised economic growth as the basic goal. We are moving towards a more well-rounded programme — one that has the basic aim of improving the lives of Papua New Guineans — not just increasing the gross national product (Somare 1973b:1).

Introduction

During the early 1970s, as Papua New Guinea moved towards political independence, the tensions and ambiguities inherent in the decolonization process were reflected in discussions concerning the adoption of the Eight Point Improvement Plan. How could the ideals of equality, self-reliance, and more equal distribution of benefits and services, be linked to increased participation of Papua New Guineans in all forms of commercial and economic activity, and to the overall aim of greater fiscal self-reliance? At the same time, the Constitutional Planning Committee in its final report (1974:2/11) noted that economic and social or human development were intertwined. It recognized that people were seeking opportunities to become more involved in all forms of economic or *bisnis* activities and that an essential element of social or economic independence was greater self-reliance. The report, however, cautioned that:

The policy of self-reliance means various things; it means self-sufficiency in basic products, but also greater participation by Papua New Guineans in the economy, and an emphasis on small-scale business activity.…

It is clear that our people want economic development, but not just any kind of economic development. Our people are becoming increasingly aware that an obsession with economic development can lead to many harmful consequences: the disruption of traditional systems and values, the alienation of man, the exploitation of the poor by the rich, pollution of the environment and an unjustified depletion of our national resources.

Many leaders at that time were also concerned about the social consequences of large-scale, externally funded, economic development projects. Then, as now, advisers and experts were divided as to the best strategies to adopt, and indeed as to the very goals of development efforts. This is not surprising as development has many faces, and voices from within and outside the country suggested different and often contradictory solutions to the question of how to achieve economic development while avoiding major social dislocation and the
Small is still beautiful

destruction of Papua New Guinean ways, the preservation of which was enshrined as the fifth national goal.

Should there be more emphasis on small-scale agricultural and business activities, rather than on large agro-economic projects? Should there be continuing dependence on foreign aid? Should rapid fiscal self-reliance take precedence over protection of natural resources and the environment? Would balanced, slower development efforts be more manageable for those taking over administrative and extension functions, or should localization itself be slowed down to allow for greater foreign expertise and more rapid expansion of potentially profitable economic projects? This debate was at its height at a time when development planners around the world were beginning to question earlier assumptions that increased economic growth rates necessarily meant increased levels of well-being for the community at large. Perhaps management and efficiency arguments for large-scale economic projects overlooked the social costs and consequences of alienation and human exploitation? The publication of Schumacher's *Small is Beautiful* was support and comfort to those who felt that social costs were being ignored. Schumacher also noted that many aid agencies were geared to an efficiency, rather than equity, model and this perpetuated dependency and a state of neo-colonialism. He observed (1973:175) that:

... the institutional arrangements for dispensing aid are generally such that there is an unsurmountable bias in favour of large-scale projects on the level of the most modern technology.

Small scale economic activities had been endorsed in point four of the Eight-Point Improvement Plan and the use of Papua New Guinean forms of business activity was expanded in the fifth national goal to emphasize that development should have as its main focus Papua New Guinean forms of social, political and economic organization. What was the response of the planners and administrators to these directives?
Small is beautiful: occasionally, but not on a large scale!

From 1973 to 1981, a number of attempts were made to encourage small-scale activities, using Papua New Guinean forms of organization. Extension workers and administrators in business development, primary industry, fisheries, wildlife management, and in the Development Bank assisted in the setting up of small-scale projects or commercial ventures. Other initiatives were taken by the Office of Village Development and the South Pacific Appropriate Technology Foundation (including its associated activities of Village Equipment Supplies in Lae, and the Small Industry Centre located at Badili, Port Moresby). *Yumi Kirapim*, published by the Office of Village Development, was initiated in 1977 as a means of sharing information on various small-scale activities being carried out by family and community groups, village development fellowship holders, urban artisans, rural youth groups, and others who were trying to use Papua New Guinean ways as the basis for socio-economic activities.

In 1975 the late Dr Gabriel Gris, then chairman of the Development Bank, commended extension workers in agriculture and small business development for the assistance they had given to small-scale economic projects. He noted that about 80 per cent of Development Bank loans were under K3,000 and that the bank had shown that shifts in the direction of greater emphasis on small projects were possible. He pointed out the difficulty of measuring the quality of life and, like Schumacher, warned of the social consequences of increasing GNP while ignoring the absence of distributive mechanisms to assist needy groups or areas in the country and reduce inequality (1975:5). Basic needs for food, housing and health had to be monitored but these were only a beginning:

To foster integral development, interpersonal and intergroup relations are also important in maintaining goodwill, peace and harmony. In short, due care has to be given to social and political aspects of endeavour — they are inseparable from the economic aspects.

This was the optimistic time of independence and it seemed hopeful that a uniquely Papua New Guinea mix of old and new, traditional and modern, local, provincial, national, and foreign skills, knowledge and
resources could be worked out. Some national leaders responded affirmatively to Schumacher's call (1973:34) to give support to those who,

unafraid of being denounced as cranks, work for non-violence: as conservationists, ecologists, protectors of wildlife, promoters of organic agriculture, distributists, cottage producers and so forth.

The December 1977 issue of *Yumi Kirapim* carried a message from Prime Minister Somare that a major aim of the Office of Village Development was to assist people to be creative and productive within their own communities. Small-scale effort seemed to be well recognized and its future was bright, or at least continuing political support seemed assured. Nonetheless, it was becoming clear that old policies and ways of thinking about development were still firmly entrenched in the development planning sections of government departments. Power (1977) analysed the thinking which had gone into plans for a cement industry. He looked at ways of decentralizing medium — or small-scale industries so that they could be better integrated into provincial and local economic activities. He looked at the links between appropriate and/or intermediate technology in villages and towns and wondered why the ideals expressed in the Eight Point Plan and the National Goals were ignored, rather than being used as the starting point for project design and management. For those who had been hopeful that incoming politicians and public servants would give more than token assent to the national ideals of the constitution, it was often disheartening to find that planning for agro-economic projects and natural resources exploitation continued unchanged, or with only selective reference to those of the Eight Point Plan and National Goals which emphasized economic participation by Papua New Guineans.

In 1981, when the world economic crisis could not be ignored, and the national government had to rethink development strategies and priorities, there were few who raised their voices in planning and budget review meetings to support small-scale activities. This may have been not only because they seemed of lesser importance, but also because they were seen as an untidy nuisance which many were glad to see disappear. In urban areas at least, the small-scale informal sector was often viewed by administrators and planners as troublesome and
unmanageable (Fitzpatrick and Blaxter 1975). The rural sector has remained, however, a focal point of small-scale economic activity, and marginal changes in project planning and agro-economic developments have taken into account the value of supporting smallholder agriculture.

**Smallholder agriculture: an essential part of the economy**

While appropriate technology, wildlife management, small industry development and environmental monitoring may be easily abandoned by planners, it is much harder to ignore the large number of small agricultural projects and cash cropping activities which form a significant part of the nation's productive resources. In a study of plantation crops sponsored by the Asian Development Bank, it was noted that, in 1975-76, smallholders contributed 40 per cent of cacao, 41 per cent of copra, and 70 per cent of coffee exported from Papua New Guinea. In addition, coconuts and other agricultural products were consumed by the producers or sold through internal markets (Sumbak 1979).

Violent world market price fluctuations have been a problem for both primary produce and mineral exports. Smallholders who have resources to fall back on are, however, more protected against family and social disruptions. To this extent, the development of village holdings and blocks for settlers from within a province, or with easy access to their home communities, may be socially, as well as economically, more manageable. Settler selection criteria should take into account the particular needs of different communities: groups of young men may work a block on behalf of their clan or sub-clan, or members of one family unit may take up adjacent blocks and so gain social support and security. Mono-crop cultivation is economically hazardous, so developments of two or more cash crops, with additional opportunities for subsistence and surplus food production, give the smallholder system greater flexibility (see Anthropology and Sociology Department 1981).

Planning for current and future rubber developments at the Cape Rodney resettlement scheme has taken some of these factors into account. However, little attention has been paid to the development of small-scale activities involving plantation workers and their families. In
times of economic recession, these workers are the most economically dependent and, being away from their home areas, are socially less secure. The potential for violence, which Moulik accepted as an inevitable price for development, is evident in the fragile situation of dependency which agro-business creates for these individuals, their families, and the communities who benefit from the remittances they send home. In recent months, social dislocation in Bulolo and Lae has been reportedly caused by the temporary or permanent closure of production or processing centres there. In these circumstances it seems dangerously short-sighted for large agro-businesses to ignore what may happen if prices drop, disease strikes, or markets diminish.

Moulik's view is that increasing consumerism and the attraction of cash will create a continuing dependency on the cash economy, and so increase motivation and productivity. The implications of his policy recommendations are stark in their open acceptance of economic growth over equity. Fortunately, there is some hope in the alternative basic-needs approach to development which the World Bank, the International Labour organization and the Agency for International Development have endorsed (see Leipziger 1981; Mehmet 1978). They seem to have rejected the earlier view that the focus should be merely on growth rather than distribution.

Voices of hope: alternative strategies of development

The 1970s saw a number of attempts to link economic and social objectives more harmoniously. The legacy of colonial development planning meant, however, that most innovations were on the fringes, or grew out of ad hoc political decisions unrelated to the Eight-Point Plan or National Goals. They were often either rejected or at best tolerated by central planners. The survival of the South Pacific Appropriate Technology Foundation, small industry development, wildlife management, and informal sector activities will depend on the priorities of the new government. Will political leaders look back to the early 1970s and ask why these ideas were never really tried before being abandoned? Perhaps questions should be asked about larger, more 'efficient' projects whose profits (which in times of restraint may be disguised by large enterprises as losses) do not benefit the community at large.
There is some hope in the increasing public awareness of new projects. While social feasibility studies may be criticized for not providing clear guidelines for action, they do provide an opportunity for community and government to ask: Who will suffer or benefit if this project goes ahead? Is it really worth the risk? Can equity and shared benefits be increased?

There is also hope that lessons from other countries may be noted; that Papua New Guinea will not have to go the full cycle of dependence/independence/dependence, and that its national leaders will move to limit the present rapid growth of pockets of structural dependency. If this happens, the Eight Point Plan and the National Goals may become what they were meant to be: guidelines for policymakers and planners, not dreams or memories of opportunities lost, or roads not taken.

Small is still beautiful and may also be a safer and more rational way of planning in uncertain times. The alternative is acceptance of violent disruption as a precondition for economic growth. It is paradoxical that, in the long run, this may lead to rough distributive justice, if the dispossessed shake the foundations of the homes of the wealthy and powerful in order to seek the equity denied them.
Part 2:
Community-Based Social Work Education
COMMUNITY-BASED SOCIAL WORK EDUCATION

The papers in this section reflect some of the broader educational issues which were debated during the 1970s, as well as the particular challenges facing social work students and staff members during the early years of this programme's development at the University of Papua New Guinea. A major question, which had not really been resolved when the programme commenced in 1972, was whether social work was an appropriate discipline for university studies. The debate on the balance between intellectual and practical knowledge reflected earlier concerns expressed by Australian academics in their home country during the 1950s and 1960s. The role of fieldwork as an essential component of social work education, the emphasis on student contribution to their own learning, and the role of the community as 'teacher', were in contrast to more formal academic courses in the Arts Faculty where the focus of learning was the classroom and the library.

A further issue related to the way in which field practice situations and field supervision were to be organized and the level of direct or indirect supervision and monitoring deemed to be appropriate. Community-based field practice aimed to provide students with an opportunity to meet, work and, during longer field placements, actually live with communities throughout Papua New Guinea. Classroom seminars, reports, campus-based courses and library assignments aimed to integrate practical knowledge and skills with theoretical considerations and within a comparative framework. An appropriate balance between local knowledge and experience and international social work theory and practice was needed, but it was not always easy to obtain agreement from staff or students as to just what that balance should be.

Another question was raised as to the appropriate career paths for social work graduates. The initial programme emphasized the generalist and eclectic nature of social work education which would prepare students to work with people in a variety of social development programmes and in social planning and administration. An early link
Community-based social work education

with the Port Moresby Community Development Group (Dom 1980 and Yeates 1982) was a major influence in the development of a community-based approach within the social work programme. The development of the programme was also significantly affected by the findings and recommendations of the Committee of Enquiry into University Development (Gris 1974) which stressed the value of practical learning experiences as an appropriate part of tertiary education.

The expectation in the early 1970s was that many graduates would work at provincial level and that, while some would work as welfare or personnel officers in hospitals and government and non-government agencies, others would be employed as project supervisors or as provincial or national social planners and administrators. Their fieldwork experience would be of critical importance as students from one cultural group or geographic area would have the opportunity to interact informally with communities and groups from other parts of the country. Graduates now work in a wide variety of occupations; in direct community practice, as administrators, planners and social work educators. A number of graduates have become national or provincial politicians and others are employed in non-government or private enterprise settings.

Since 1974, more than 160 have graduated in social work and seven have completed further studies for an honours degree.¹ The programme received international accreditation from the International Association of Schools of Social Work in 1974 and has established linkages with a number of international organizations and departments of social work in Australia, Canada and the United Kingdom. The 1992 programme had three full-time and one half-time academic staff and a community welfare worker, and it is anticipated that three further academic positions will be available in 1993. A Diploma of Police Studies, which was established in 1974, has been changed to a Diploma of Social Administration which includes police, corrective services, social services and youth development, and more than thirty-five students have completed this programme. The papers which follow

¹ These details were provided by Dr Bruce Yeates in a Memorandum to the Anthropology and Sociology Department, University of Papua New Guinea, 11 August 1992.
discuss questions which arose as the programme developed. While many issues have been resolved the planned restructuring and further expansion of the programme, as described by Yeates, reflects the changing nature of social development in Papua New Guinea and the hope that:

With the assistance of the community welfare worker and through social work practice, the programme will continue to respond to the welfare and social development needs of the wider university community, the residents of the National Capital District and provinces throughout the country.
INTRODUCING SOCIAL WORK EDUCATION AT
THE UNIVERSITY OF PAPUA NEW GUINEA*

Introduction

This paper relies heavily on the perspectives, suggestions and experiences of students who completed the course ‘Social Welfare in Developing Communities’ at the University of Papua New Guinea. In particular, ‘Social Research as a Teaching Strategy’ describes research carried out by P. Arnold, J. Bokuik, D. Firibo, S. Kilangit, T. Pongi, L. Wafinbi and K. Walagat, in collaboration with G. Woodfield of the Papua New Guinea Red Cross Blood Transfusion Service, and B. Hocking and R. Pulsford of the Medical Faculty of the University of Papua New Guinea (see Hocking et al. 1974).

Background to the introduction of social work education in Papua New Guinea

General social welfare manpower training needs in Papua New Guinea must be viewed against the background of rapid political and social change taking place in an emerging nation of some two and a half million people, comprising hundreds of distinct language groups and cultural entities. Secondary school education has increased from a total enrolment of 1,800 in 1960 to 17,785 in 1970; the University of Papua New Guinea was established in 1965 and began with a preliminary year enrolment in 1966, graduating its first students in 1970 (McKinnon 1972:345-355). In February 1972 the elections for the

House of Assembly led to the formation of a national coalition government under the leadership of the chief minister, Michael Somare. December 1, 1973 (or as soon as possible thereafter) has been agreed to as the date for internal self-government, with early independence to follow.

The second five-year development plan is being prepared and, at many levels, re-assessment and revision of policies and programmes is taking place. Problems of rapid social change have led to a growing awareness that there is a lack of any adequate provision of trained personnel for developmental, preventative, or remedial social welfare tasks. A report by the United Nations Social Welfare Adviser for the Pacific (Fox 1972:6) notes:

Nearly every informant spoke with feeling about the impact social change is having on the people who, either voluntarily or involuntarily, are coping with the personal, family, clan, community, and tribal adjustments accompanying the transition from the relatively unchanging world of their ancestors to the rapidly changing world of today.

The importance of educating Papua New Guineans to take over positions previously held by expatriates is reflected in tertiary institutions, where teachers, medical personnel, government administrators, agricultural officers, etc., are being trained, and in the variety of short in-service and other courses which are provided for all levels of public servants. In the social welfare sector, trained personnel have been limited in numbers, with generalist expatriate officers often transferred to the Social Development and Home Affairs Department from other government departments. To date, there is only one Papua New Guinean graduate with professional training in social work, at a time when Papua New Guinea is faced with increasing and urgent social development tasks. As Morris Fox observes (ibid.: 54):

The social welfare sector of the country's organized effort to improve human resources faces a critical shortage of trained manpower similar to that faced by other sectors such as education and health. The demand for skilled workers exceeds the combined supply of Papua New Guineans and expatriates.
During 1972, consideration has been given as to how training programmes for social welfare manpower might be introduced or revised most effectively and rapidly. The Department of Social Development and Home Affairs and local government councils employ most of the social welfare personnel. Training programmes at the Administrative College and several regional training institutes provide one to two year courses for beginning field officers. An important development has been the introduction by the Port Moresby Community Development Group (a voluntary organization) of a one-year training programme for community development workers. Community extension programmes in health and education have also been planned or are already being provided by several government agencies. More recently, in October 1972, Meyer Nanavatty, the United Nations Regional Adviser on Social Welfare Aspects of Family Planning, reported on the provision of community development training in Papua New Guinea.

Social work education at the University of Papua New Guinea

In October 1971 the University appointed its first lecturer in social work with the preparatory task of designing courses which will initially be offered within the general Bachelor of Arts programme. This will later be the basis of professional social work education leading to an undergraduate degree. In addition, it is envisaged that students may take a double major in social work/community development along with education, anthropology and sociology, political studies and administration, economics, or psychology. It is hoped that graduates, who are likely to have early responsibility for policy and programming in the public sector, will gain from a social work major perspectives and skills helpful for their work in the community and in meeting national social development objectives. In July 1972 the first course ‘Social Welfare in Developing Communities’ was offered and the appointment of a second lecturer with a special interest in community development was approved in September 1972. With an additional appointment, the full professional programme leading to a BA (Social Work) will be introduced at the beginning of 1974.
However, the small number of university graduates in Papua New Guinea, and the accelerated localization programme, means that a number of students graduating between November 1972 and June 1974 will be moving into positions which involve considerable responsibility for social work and other social development tasks, but with only limited opportunity to include social work courses in their undergraduate studies. It is important, therefore, to ask:

How can available options in social work provide opportunities for students to develop a basic understanding of the services and skills to develop these services, which will be appropriate and needed in the future within the Papua New Guinean cultural context?

To emphasize this point, two students who took the first social work course (six credit hours as a senior part 11 unit) have now completed a BA and will be posted as community development officers to important district offices of the Department of Social Development and Home Affairs. If students in a few months or a year are to undertake tasks which call for responsibility for their own continuing learning it is vital that educational opportunities help them to challenge, question and determine for themselves the relevance of knowledge, values, skills and policies for social development in their own country. If this process of 'guided discovery' is to encourage graduates to seek further training and make use of whatever resources in social work knowledge and skills are available, they must be introduced to social work education within a positive climate of enquiry.

It is clear that many elements are needed for a sound curriculum to be developed that will reflect the Papua New Guinean context rather than an adaptation of a model or conglomeration of social work education models from other countries. I propose, however, to consider only two aspects which seem to have particular relevance for this transitional period. In later years, when the professional programme is developed, and students may progress in an orderly and systematic fashion from a background study of social sciences to a concentration on social work theory and practice, different strategies may assume greater importance. I would argue, however, that this is unlikely to be the case, as the following appear to be essential, though not sufficient, elements for the development of a sound social work programme:
the early introduction of social research methods, approaches and practice as a teaching strategy, and

the development of ways of learning which stress the informal more than formal; the student rather than the teacher; the Papua New Guinea cultural context, rather than the Western format within which social work education is taking place.

Social research as a teaching strategy

Although some useful social research has been undertaken in Papua New Guinea it has been limited in focus and carried out by expatriates, often without any formal training in social research methods. Valuable information on social problems has also been gathered by medical researchers, anthropologists, missionaries, agricultural and administrative officers, but usually this has not been a major focus, so it tends to be ‘lost’ in the main research findings, and is not easily accessible to those with a specific social welfare interest. With the establishment of the university, and the present plans for developing social work education, opportunities are now available for Papua New Guineans to initiate research into social development problems and possible solutions. This is particularly so for those senior undergraduates whose career commitments and interests are within the social welfare field, or in community extension work in related sectors.

The importance of community participation in the identification of social needs and evaluation of possible solutions needs particular emphasis during this transitional period. Frequently in the past the cultural and social distance between researcher and community has been widened by the colonial nature of the enterprise. Even when Papua New Guinea becomes an independent national entity, cultural

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1 The New Guinea Research Unit, Australian National University, has published the *New Guinea Research Bulletin* which is an important source of social research data. Other relevant material is contained in collections of papers delivered at the University of Papua New Guinea Waigani Seminars. [After independence, the New Guinea Research Unit became the Institute of Applied Social and Economic Research and has now been incorporated into the National Research Institute.]
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Integrating differences, language barriers and regional variations reflecting nearly 700 languages, and marked differences in family, clan, and community styles of life will remain. Examination of ways of minimizing these barriers will be a major aspect of social research.

Integration of a social research approach with practical opportunities to explore and evaluate present and possible social welfare solutions to identified problems is an urgent and fundamental objective in the development of social work courses. Specific social research courses involving academic and field learning experiences may be seen as a separate segment in social work curriculum building. As noted by Drucker (1972:59), there are undeniable dangers that:

Students [will] tend to see research as inflicted upon them, and teachers when pressed will agree that in practice this is what the research requirement is — as differentiated from what purposes are hopefully expected.

On the other hand, social research may be seen as an integral part of the total social work education effort. From the beginning, a climate of inquiry and evaluation may be developed and opportunities sought to encourage students to seek information regarding community social concerns. The objectives of such an approach may be summarized as the following.

i) To encourage students to examine social concerns in the community and draw conclusions for themselves regarding the various interrelated aspects of a particular social phenomenon so that they can relate classroom ‘theory’ to the community in which they live.

ii) To involve students in contacts with the community so that the links between social researcher and respondent may be seen as the sharing of information where each may be of assistance — either immediately or as a result of the increased knowledge — to the other. The exploration of a particular developmental need, or social problem, may be seen as the initial stage in the search for a solution. The evaluation of an existing health, education or social welfare service must be
with the aim of seeking to make it more effective rather than as an ‘objective’ exercise.

iii) To develop in students an awareness of the skills they need in order to undertake social development tasks and how these skills might be obtained during the course of their education.

iv) To provide opportunities for independent planning and carrying out of tasks within the student group itself, so that the staff are seen as resources or guides rather than decision-makers or examiners.

v) To relate social work knowledge to inter-disciplinary social development effort so that learning is not in isolation and links between the various sectors within the community are understood.

**Blood donors in Port Moresby: social research in miniature**

In May 1972, shortly after I arrived at the University, it was suggested that the Red Cross Blood Transfusion Service in Papua New Guinea was interested in examining the reasons why community members responded to its appeal for voluntary blood donors, and whether there were any factors which could explain and reinforce the excellent response from Papua New Guineans. Would the students in the course 'Social Welfare in Developing Communities' be able to participate in a survey into blood donor attitudes and responses? Two members of the Medical Faculty, the director of the Blood Transfusion Service, and I discussed the possible project and it was agreed that an essential part of such a project would be the learning opportunities which it afforded students, even if this meant that research findings had to be subordinated to educational objectives. The four non-student participants also agreed that no definite planning of the format of the research methodology would take place prior to student participants meeting with the staff to plan and consider possible research strategies.

In agreeing to ask for volunteer participants to take part in the survey as half of their practical work for the course, the following positive and negative aspects were considered.
On the positive side, students would have the opportunity of taking part in a small social research project from the planning stage through to the analysis of the information collected. They would be working in an inter-disciplinary team and at this stage it was anticipated that medical students would also take part in the survey. They would be examining a service which relied on community participation and support for its success and which reflected the positive strengths within the community. It was felt that this introductory experience would enable students who participated to consider how the method of enquiry and the findings might be useful in looking at other health, education or social welfare programmes. The value for the Blood Transfusion Service and the community was that the enquiry might assist the service to become more effective. In addition students would gain some practical experience in interviewing skills and in working with other groups in the community as well as with professionally trained staff.

However, on the negative side, there were reservations as to whether this was a suitable undertaking in which students should be asked to participate. This was the first course offered in social work by a new lecturer, relatively unfamiliar with both the student group and the Papua New Guinea cultural context. Students would be asked to take part in social research with little or no previous experience in planning social research and interviewing techniques for individuals or groups. Too much guidance from staff would destroy the independent climate of enquiry; too little guidance might leave the students frustrated and floundering with unfamiliar tasks to perform and no clear understanding of what was required.

After considering the educational objectives which might be achieved by the participation of students in the project, it was felt that there was every hope that students would gain from their experience, even though better timing or more coursework preparation would clearly have been preferable.

**Student involvement in the blood donor survey**

Nine students initially expressed interest in the survey and two later decided not to continue but to complete individual alternative assignments, involving exploration and evaluation of selected social
welfare services in the Port Moresby area. The seven students who took part in the survey were all in the third or fourth year of the four year Bachelor of Arts degree. Most had some background in social sciences although, as both sociology and psychology are being developed at the same time as social work, no student had any formal training in social research.

Six students were from Papua New Guinea and came from three different regions in the country. One student was from the Solomon Islands and all staff members were expatriates. The four staff members had had two meetings prior to the first joint meeting with students. After this meeting students and staff visited the Blood Transfusion Service and discussed the possible alternative procedures for the survey. Two further joint discussions took place before the survey was carried out, and two meetings after the results had been collated. In addition, there were several informal meetings between different members and, during the survey itself, Bruce Hocking and I met with students informally at my home to discuss the progress of the survey and consider any alterations in procedure which might be desirable. Finally, after obtaining the survey findings each student wrote an evaluative report describing the survey itself, and the implications of the results obtained, both for the Blood Transfusion Service and for other health, education or welfare services in Papua New Guinea. They then evaluated the project as a learning experience and suggested ways in which similar assignments might be more effective in the future.

The blood donor survey: procedure and findings

Students interviewed 81 respondents using a guided questionnaire which did not, however, provide set 'form' questions. Interviews were conducted in either English and Melanesian Pidgin [Tokpisin] and some communication problems arose when respondents were Motu speakers (a widely used language around the Port Moresby area). Interviews were carried out at an army barracks, a civil aviation training centre, a technical training centre and a large printery. Following the individual interviews, two or three group discussions were taped at three of the centres and this provided an opportunity for respondents to discuss with the students traditional attitudes towards blood; the reactions to the introduction of the Blood Transfusion Service; how respondents had first come to donate blood, or why, if a non-donor,
they were unwilling to do so. Transport was provided by two staff members and the arrangements for interviewing had been made initially by staff. The students, however, provided the introductory general explanations, and completed all interviews and group discussion independently.

Although the actual research findings are peripheral to the purposes of this paper, it is important to note the following. It became apparent that while most donors described general humanitarian motives there were two less positive features which lessened the 'social welfare' value of this community involvement in a health service. On the one hand, about one quarter of the responses suggested that some degree of supervisory or authority influence had been a significant factor in the respondent donating blood. On the other, ignorance, fear, and lack of knowledge of the value of the service were noted as major reasons why people did not donate blood. As well as these findings, which will have practical significance for the Blood Transfusion Service and for other community-based services, it became clear that this group — both students and respondents — represented transitional members of the society where there are links between traditional beliefs and values and those introduced with modern technology and by the colonial administration.

Students commented in their reports on the need for greater ‘health education’ and patient explanation to dispel fear and ignorance, and suggested various ways in which this applied to other social services where people were not given enough information. They noted that traditional beliefs had not been greatly emphasized as factors encouraging or preventing people to donate, but pointed to the underlying traditional mutual obligation felt by clan and family groups which served to explain why people donate blood knowing that later they, their relatives, clan group and wantoks (those who speak the same language and also those to whom one has ties of mutual obligation and friendship) might benefit from the service, if in need of a blood transfusion.

One feature discussed by several students was the existence of a ‘colonial mentality’ which led people to obey authority in an unquestioning fashion and which made the ‘voluntary’ donor more a ‘captive’ donor. While institutional pressures to conform certainly
operated in the four places visited, the colonial historical background was described by one student in these terms:

The idea of the donor being forced or that he felt he was forced appears to me to be containing some ‘old time’ colonial master servant type sentiments. That whatever the ‘masta’ says must be done. This is likely to be so since most personnel in charge of large learning or occupational institutions are Europeans or whites.

Another student commented:

This pressure is part of the colonial situation that all of us are part of. We can't just ignore it in situations like this. It still plays a role even in providing services for people for a good cause. It still persists and whether people are aware of it or not, it works on them just as it works on those who understand and try to resist it at times. ... It only needs a bit of consideration of the effects of the colonial situation that we can best avoid unnecessary circumstances like this one mentioned above [the pressure felt by some respondents to donate blood] and that we are more clean from being guilty of something we know is a bit awkward.

Later, the same student concluded:

The colonial pressure seems to be the most important finding again connected with the services, especially that paternalistic attitudes involved in giving of services — How do we know what people want, and know about what we think is good for them. ... I hope that there will be in future similar surveys to get feedback on services offered to people. If we carry out surveys like this it helps us to have ideas of our own actions in providing services.

With regard to the need for more general knowledge, students agreed that once people knew that this service saved other lives and did not hurt the donor, they would respond even more, particularly the less educated in rural areas. However, one student observed:

I do not think that Blood Transfusion Service should be blamed for such misunderstanding by not altering its approach or
providing more information. There is no more information or explanation needed other than saying over and over, even to the less educated person, that the blood he gives (a process which does not do any harm) will be put into another person's body when that person has lost his blood, and that he would die if he doesn't get any blood. I mean any attempts to explain in medical terms would not do any good and would only cause misunderstanding.

The survey as learning experience: evaluation by the student participants

Students noted problems such as lack of practice in interviewing, use of tape recorders, group interviewing, and lack of research background as being partial handicaps which did make the experience somewhat less satisfying, but also highlighted the lacks in their own knowledge which further courses or training would hopefully solve. One student felt that staff involvement had been greater than necessary and that:

It appears to me that in this survey of blood donors, those staff involved seemed to dominate the suggestions and preparation involved. In so doing they tended to come up with suggestions based on their experience in other parts of the world. Perhaps this might be a good thing, but I tend to think these suggestions might not be applicable to Papua New Guinea. It would be better if we based our suggestions on the background knowledge of the Melanesians. This is debatable, but I feel if I were to conduct a similar survey this is what I would do.

Nonetheless, another pointed out that this was an experience where the staff had taken more of a background role:

It was entirely run by seven enthusiastic students and two enthusiastic 'guides'. We learnt a lot this way, I think, if the teachers act as guides and people to be retired to, to discuss what went on, rather than teachers taking an active part. Students should be allowed to run the whole show at least especially out in the field and the guides somewhere in the background for a while. I am really certain this is really learning rather than spoonfeeding all the time. ... After all these
were all learning experiences, by the teacher and his/her students and by the student of the job he has to carry out on his own.

In their final evaluations, students commented on how much they had begun to appreciate what was involved in becoming a social worker, or working in other community services, and that this survey had provided a glimpse of what would be needed in the future. One concluded:

As a learning experience, I thought that this survey was of great value to us all as far as field experience goes, for many reasons. For instance, it showed the difficulty of trying to organize and formulate acceptable questionnaires and selecting subjects. These and many other factors and technical problems involved made such a survey both interesting and challenging.

However, I felt that the most important lesson I sort of realized was the fact that any survey in social work or other related fields dealt with human beings and that one had to go through all the troubles to treat people with full human dignity which is theirs by right. There is the strong tendency to rush and push them because in actual fact, our primary interest lies in the facts and figures that we can get from them to use as statistics for our particular research.

I have by no means mastered this, but I am sure the experience has made an impact on me for future research and other activities in social work and related fields.

Certainly I have by no means mastered these questions either and it was clear that this survey was a valuable learning experience for me as well as for the students.

**Informal ways of learning in social work education**

In approaching the question of how students might best learn it is clear that what social work educators see as priorities will often decide the method of teaching. If content and a ‘body of knowledge’ is to be the primary objective, more formalized teaching methods may bring about the desired aim of graduating students who can ‘footnote’ with learned
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and unthinking ease, but with little or no understanding of the human dimensions involved. If, however, we are seeking to develop talents and interests in each student, and encourage self-generating activity in the quest for knowledge, we must examine seriously the comments made by Drucker (1972:100):

The idea that both staff and students are part of a company of colleagues in search of knowledge and skills is not common in the Region.

One might ask: is this desired colleague-style relationship one which is more accepted in theory than practised in reality in all schools of Social Work? The bureaucratic-authoritarian nature of many universities and other tertiary institutes does not easily provide the climate within which informal collegial interaction between staff and students is accepted as a useful and ‘proper’ educational approach. A study on Integrative Learning and Teaching in Schools of Social Work concluded that:

As the operation of the Project proceeded we became increasingly more aware that the students' involvement in dealing with problems and issues is a crucial variable and that their active and deliberate participation in the educational enterprise is a necessary force in organizational change efforts. And this sense of awareness has grown to become a conviction because a university, in order to be true to itself, must embrace all its constituents as a community of scholars engaged in a common pursuit (Lowy, Blocksberg and Walberg 1971:257-258).

How can we, as social work educators, modify the bureaucratic authoritarian structure sufficiently to permit students to explore new, unfamiliar, and perhaps ‘risky’ approaches to human problems? In examining informal ways of learning, it is evident that students — in their interaction with teachers, with the community, and with each other — may become involved in new ideas, skills, and consideration of social work values. Cultural, national and regional variations will pose special problems. Appropriate styles of interaction in one setting will appear stiff, awkward, over-familiar, or unthinkable in another, so it is foolhardy to attempt to generalize. However, discussion of common themes in the problems faced by students and teachers in their search
for knowledge may lead to a variety of helpful approaches being examined, so that those most relevant to the particular cultural context may be selected. Many of the approaches mentioned will, of course, have already been tried successfully elsewhere, or may be questioned as failing to achieve desired objectives.

**Student/teacher interaction**

In many countries there are particular difficulties in achieving the collegial approach which might facilitate learning. Where authority is linked with the particular responsibility that the teacher has to teach, to impart knowledge, to direct, it is difficult at the same time to suggest that teacher and students may be both learners, and that the areas of shared learning may at times be more significant for social work education than in other fields. If teachers are also seen as role-models for future social workers there must be sufficient closeness in the learning situation for the student to see the role requirements clearly, while it is also important that there remains sufficient distance for the teaching role to be retained, when necessary.

At the University of Papua New Guinea, the introduction of social work education has come at a time when many students are somewhat older, and often with greater work experience than their undergraduate counterparts in other countries. A more informal approach seems indicated when it is known that students will next year or the year after be undertaking policy and programming responsibilities and will be supervising younger, less experienced field workers. In addition, a more direct open form of communication between teacher and students seems desirable when the colonial dismantling has not been completed and the gap between expatriate teacher and Papua New Guinean students may reflect the colonial relationship, despite all efforts to lessen this aspect. It may, of course, be also present in countries which have become independent from outside administrative control but where Western educators form some proportion of the teaching staff. Increased teacher/student interaction might be enhanced by the following strategies.

i) Provision of student-led/teacher-participant seminars interspersed with student-led/teacher-absent seminars from which students report conclusions, findings, or seek
clarification or information. The more traditional lecture may be retained, particularly for areas where theoretical structure is required for ongoing practical application. Taped group discussions, use of reporting back procedures etc., also have value in assisting students to reflect on learning which has, or has not, taken place.

ii) Wherever possible, seminars might be planned in non-classroom settings. Even within the classroom, less formal seating arrangements often assist discussion to become more open and more of a shared experience. Teachers might arrange for students to meet in their homes, or make use of university facilities for weekend workshops or other activities which, while the focus is on social work educational objectives, also allow for casual discussions.

iii) Use of the student as teacher may involve not only student presentations on social work topics, but the students providing the social work educator with information regarding cultural patterns in family, clan or community. Perspectives on social problems will often be different for me as an Australian teacher than for the students who, as Papua New Guineans, have been part of the rapid political and social changes taking place. Their perspectives must be available to balance any distortions from 'outside' the cultural context.

iv) Informal social interaction resulting from the educational situation provide many other learning opportunities. The end-of-term party, the coffee in between classes or during discussion with students, shared university or institutional concerns, all provide for the teacher-as-role-model or the teacher-as-colleague aspects to be enhanced. They also provide the teacher with the student-as-colleague experience which may be equally important if the authority image is difficult to erode.
Student/community interaction

Students, along with the rest of Papua New Guinean society, have been faced with the need for uniting clan and regional groups who have previously been hostile, suspicious, or merely unknown to each other. In social work education it becomes important, therefore, that students have the opportunity of interacting with community groups from outside their own particular cultural entity. Students who have often been at boarding schools from an early age, and represent a very small percentage of educated people in a mainly rural and unsophisticated society, may also find it hard to re-establish contact, even with the people from their own area or village. Although in a setting vastly different from the professionals of whom Kenneth Clark (1965:51) wrote, it is true that for some students they are ‘too close in time and circumstance to accept without anxiety the reminders of a rejected past’. Informal ways by which this student/community interaction might be increased include the following:

i) Term-break visits by students to villages where they may stay with families and share in the life of an unfamiliar cultural group. These experiences may be shared by community and students as opportunities for each to learn from the other. There is no project, hidden agenda, or service to be offered, although the knowledge that the students bring may be a resource they can share with their hosts.

ii) Students may return at vacation time to their own areas with a project to undertake which calls for assistance and cooperation from their own family and clan group, or which provides desired and useful information regarding political changes, education, agricultural or health programmes. Students might provide films, slides, etc., which will be of interest in the village and which may act as a catalyst for discussion on current problems.

iii) Less formal assignments might involve students in ‘making contact’ with community members in housing settlements, at recreational facilities, or in visits to nearby villages.
iv) Small-scale social research into community understanding, use and evaluation of health, education or social welfare services might (as happened in the Blood Donor Survey described earlier in this paper) be less structured to allow maximum informal discussion and interaction between students and those they contact.

In some planned opportunities for student/community interaction, it may be necessary for teachers to ‘pave the way’ by seeking permission for students to come to a particular community. On other occasions, students may learn more by going out in small teams of two or three to make their own contacts, and discuss the educational experience afterwards with teachers.

**Student/student interaction**

The student-led/teacher-absent seminar and the group or team assignment are familiar ways in which peer or colleague learning may be emphasized. In societies where group communal patterns of living and group interaction are the major themes it might seem that student learning in a group would be marked by informal interaction. However, some structure is often necessary if the educational objective, rather than the merely social one, is to be achieved. Students from different regions and cultural backgrounds may also have some feeling of reserve or hesitancy in working with those with whom they would have little contact outside the educational situation.

It may be necessary to structure team groupings so that the joint nature of the enterprise encourages peer learning and cooperative effort. Independent student exercises which must be designed and carried out in small groups often provide for greater interaction than those which merely require each student in a team to prepare his or her segment but does not call for a group approach.

Student expertise in different areas may be helpful in promoting informal learning experiences. Students with slides of community development in their villages, ‘host’ students who can organize for some of their peers to visit their home areas; discussions of the social situation and problems encountered in practical assignments or in general life experiences, may be much more vital and relevant for other students than the carefully prepared lecture.
In the process of social work education, teachers and students share the problems of having been socialized into their respective roles and it is difficult to move to a less formal collegial style of interaction. In some societies, it may well be that the cultural context does not permit for such a shift and that education can only take place in the more formal setting. However, in the Papua New Guinea context, there seem to be many avenues for exploration of these informal approaches so that 'the process of learning becomes a life-long pursuit and endowment, and the emphasis in method of teaching shifts to cultivating and strengthening the capacity of the educated for self-instruction and self-growth'.\(^2\) I would add also that the capacity of the student, the community and the nation to use social work skills and knowledge to achieve social development goals will also depend on the informal 'ways of learning' far more than the more structured formal ones from other cultural contexts.

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WHAT IS HAPPENING TO MY PEOPLE?
COMMUNITY RESEARCH BY STUDENTS AT THE
UNIVERSITY OF PAPUA NEW GUINEA*

Come my conscience:
my right hand man come
Hover and float
over this - my village.1

Since the establishment of the University of Papua New Guinea in 1966, students have felt conflicting pressures to view education as a way to serve the nation as a whole or to serve the community and clan from which they come. The recent development of provincial governments has broadened the idea of graduates serving the nation through centralized government agencies to include provincial centres. However, the image remains of a university graduate, and indeed of most Papua New Guineans with any form of tertiary education, as removed from the community or village, an educated elite who reject their origins and are unwilling, even if the opportunity arises, to work in rural areas (see Powell 1974 and Wilson 1975 for arguments for and against this image).

This paper is the result of five years of working with students who have been interested in fieldwork in their home areas. A major part of the discussion is based on the experiences of thirty-six students who enrolled for fieldwork courses during the 1974/75 and 1976/77 long


1 Kama Kerpi, 'This my Village?' Call of Midnight Bird, Papua Pocket Poets, Volume 37, 1973, University of Papua New Guinea.
vacations. From 1973-1976 students also carried out community-based research or participated in community activities scheduled throughout the year as part of academic courses.

Some students have experienced the difficulties of rejection or hostility from their own people. Others have been discouraged by teaching staff who felt that there were both academic and practical objections to students carrying out particular research projects. It was sometimes felt that students were seeking political or economic advantage within their home communities; were looking for easy academic credits from research projects carried out in familiar surroundings which might make it difficult for foreign supervisors to evaluate their work; or might 'cause trouble' which could reflect on the University if it sponsored them. A more serious objection has been that, even with preparation in research methods (a preparation which often may have been lacking) the carrying out of an adequate project would be more difficult in the students' own communities, where social and family obligations exist, and where a degree of intellectual objectivity might be hard to achieve.

Despite all of these cautions, students have shown an increasing interest in working within their own communities. In 1976, for example, a course for first year students, who were planning to work on community development projects over the long vacation, was oversubscribed. Only the lack of supervisors limited the number of students who could have been enrolled for these projects. It is important to note this increasing interest in linking university courses with home communities has come at a time when successive committees set up to look at the future of the university have urged that such a link should be established.

In 1973 a Working Party on the Future of the University of Papua New Guinea (Oldfield 1973), presented its report to the then vice chancellor. The report reflected a belief that learning and teaching experiences shared by staff and students would be more effective if the university were not seen as a closed community. The importance of the university as an instrument of nation building was again emphasized in 1974 when the Committee of Enquiry into University Development, under the chairmanship of Dr Gabriel Gris, completed its report for the government of Papua New Guinea (Gris 1974). A major theme was the need to strike a balance between the university as a supplier of skilled
manpower and as a critic of the society it served. Both staff and students should take part in programmes which would extend university services into the community and give opportunities for others to share in a more open learning system. These moves to broaden the role of the university came at a time when students were being urged to work hard and concentrate on gaining a degree in the quickest possible time as there was an immediate need to localize government and other positions held by expatriates. Many students, however, found that higher education had brought an awareness of their isolation from their families and clan groups. Not only was there a feeling of alienation from their own communities but they also began to be concerned that their communities and families were becoming alienated from them. Was there no way, they asked, to combine both the need to use all opportunities to complete a degree without delay, with the desire to lessen the gap between themselves and their origins?

**Education as alienation**

At a seminar in 1976, a graduate student described his community's reaction in 1958 to the departure of children to the English language school which was to be his road to higher education. Women wept as if mourning for someone who had died. The title of his paper was 'Education robbed me of my child' (Kituai 1976), and this highlights the feeling among many Papua New Guineans that Western style education necessarily, and inevitably, means alienation. The pressure for higher levels of education which began in the 1950s continued with increased strength in the 1960s. The 1964 *Report of the Commission on Higher Education in Papua New Guinea* (Currie 1964:8) noted both external and internal pressures:

First and foremost is the political situation of the Territory in the next few years. It is vitally necessary to train indigenous cadres to take over in due time a wide range of functions now carried on almost exclusively by expatriates, or initially to supplement expatriate positions, and it seems very desirable, for the smooth working of any type of university institution, that it should be firmly established before there is any very considerable transfer of political responsibility.
The Commission later referred to ‘the increasing awareness among the people as a whole, the indigenous legislators and the students themselves of the need for highly educated men for the future development of their country’ (ibid.: 117). However, as the process was speeded up, it became clear that students, other Papua New Guineans, and expatriates alike, were not always happy with the results. Many university students did not want to become alienated and made sure that they spent every long vacation living with their own people. Even so, it was difficult. As one student commented:

Even my father treats me as if I am a stranger — a kiap or some sort of teacher. My mother doesn’t want me to cut the firewood and my brothers laugh at me because I have forgotten how to do many things. But if I sit by myself it makes it worse. So I just try to forget everything I have learned during the year and fit in. After a few weeks it is alright and then I don’t want to come back at all.

Others found the road to higher education was only one way and that they did not want to turn back. ‘Our community was forgotten. We were leaders in a new way of life’ (Giraure 1974:103).

In a radio play produced in 1967, university students argued over the right of a street singer to be free to wander around Port Moresby. ‘They must realize that towns are for people like us, who can cope with the Western style of living and stay out of trouble’ (Brash 1967:10). Some wanted to use their knowledge to help their people. But help them in what way? The new Western style of education suddenly seemed useless. As Avei commented (1973:109):

The fact that I am a Papua New Guinean is not sufficient to allow me to go and work among my own people. Only warm, genuine, and sincere relationships can facilitate better understanding and the better expression of our own feelings. It is the Papua New Guinean’s development that we are concerned about and we need his involvement. So what is development? Will it add anything to my happiness?

One way students could use their knowledge to help their people was in the field of political and community education. In this way education as a means of serving the community would become an immediate reality.
and the vague, if more grandiose, objectives of ‘serving the nation’ could be left until after graduation. James Griffin initiated a political education project in mid 1971. He accompanied the students and wrote warmly and enthusiastically about their contribution (1973:259).

There were occasions when the students came under gratuitous attack on account of their privilege, their alleged opinions and their aloofness from the people. They responded to all this with dignity and understanding and the easy rapport that came about in relations with their people was not something one would see in Australia.

When re-reading this statement some years later one might wonder if the writer were painting too glowing a picture! Yet, when in 1973 a group of students went to the Southern Highlands without a supervisor (I had found the picture of myself leading a group of young Papua New Guineans, including two Southern Highlanders, on a community study a little too ludicrous to contemplate), they were able to report (Bais 1973: ‘Introduction’):

We would also like to point out several other factors which contributed to the success of the Group’s trip. Firstly there were two students who come from the area through whom we were able to communicate. They interpreted what we said and vice versa. Secondly, we were all Papua New Guineans who come from different parts of the country. In other words, there was no white man or member of staff involved. Thirdly, we shared our food with the villagers and whatever they offered us we accepted. For those who will be taking part in this type of project in the future, we suggest that a student from the particular area be included in the team, and wherever possible students should be given the leading role in organization of the project.

Another way of ensuring that students could be involved in developmental projects, or in gathering useful information without continuous academic supervision, was for students to work in their own communities during the long vacations. The view also began to be articulated that students who ‘dropped out’ or who returned home after
graduation were perhaps better able to integrate the knowledge they had gained and avoid the feelings of permanent social alienation. As one graduate commented, 'I didn't think about it for years. I was so busy trying to understand what I was supposed to be doing and what was happening to me. But now I must go back and find out what is happening to my people'.

**Education as reintegration**

In 1974, after sporadic efforts by students and staff in which communities were a base for research projects, the Faculty of Arts set up an inter-disciplinary Lahara (or long vacation) field project scheme which enabled students to undertake supervised projects and obtain some academic credit towards their degrees. Although these projects could be carried out in any area, most students opted for their home districts, as air fares home are available to all national scholarship holders. In addition to special projects, students in the BA Social Work programme were able to undertake community fieldwork as part of degree requirements; oral history and literature students could collect source materials; and agriculture students (and to a lesser extent those from other faculties) could carry out fieldwork in their own areas.

During 1974 I supervised three students who spent a month in their home community as part of a joint project involving Community Development, Rural Development and Community Social Work courses. There had been some reservations on the part of academic staff as to whether students should be funded to go home during the year to conduct such projects. University money and the gaining of academic credit seemed somehow to be improperly obtained if there were a possibility of future political or economic advantage for some of the participants! The fear that students might be accused of 'causing trouble' was more realistically dismissed as a hazard of university life with which staff members were familiar. In second semester 1975 several other students worked on similar research projects. I was on study leave at the time, but criticisms of lack of objectivity on the part of students, and an unwillingness to discuss student/community interaction with academic staff, appeared to have lessened the value of these projects - at least as a teaching exercise. Successful re-entry and later re-integration is an important phase in any such community project
and not all students are able to return home, gather information, and write up research reports in ways which are acceptable to themselves, their families or communities, the academic staff concerned, and any sponsoring agencies who are involved.

The main group of projects on which this paper is based were carried out during the 1974/75 and 1976/77 long vacations. Thirty-six students were involved, although five were unable to complete projects because of personal or community problems, and several others had to modify their original objectives when faced with negative community attitudes or other practical problems. Out of the thirty-one who completed projects, nine worked in their own villages, eight in the wider home community, six within the province but at least partially within their own communities, and eight in other provinces. Many other students who did not link their community work with formal academic requirements have talked over their experiences with me. A further source of information has been from discussion with graduates now working in their own districts who are continuing work started while students.

The reality of re-entry

It is not surprising to find that some students were faced with suspicion and lack of acceptance when they came home and tried to gather information. 'Knowledge is power' in a small community in the highlands just as it is in Port Moresby, or in the academic arena of any university. Why should the elders easily share knowledge of the past with much younger men (only five out the original thirty-six were women and none actually worked in her own home community). For some this reluctance on the part of elder members of the community meant that they had to alter their original research proposals. Even when they were able to earn the confidence of older relatives or community members others were not permitted to use information gained for academic reports. Knowledge of healing, of sorcery for use against one's enemies, of love magic, or magic for fishing and hunting, clan histories, and stories of origin, and of how the present settlement took place, are all valuable property. One old man challenged his questioner:
How long will you stay with me so that you can learn? What will you give me in return? You spend many many years away from home to gain the new knowledge. Do you think I can give you the knowledge of our lives so quickly?

Another traditional holder of clan knowledge told me that he would prefer that his knowledge died with him rather than give it to the young, to play their recordings of songs and legends and 'be paid big money' by the university. Despite explanations and assurances of respect and care in the use of information gained, many older people quite understandably failed to be impressed. After years of lack of interest, why were young men suddenly coming and seeking this information?

Time and patience, and a determined effort to fully involve themselves in the daily life of the community, gained for some the degree of re-integration which they sought. For others, however, it is never a complete re-entry and they must accept a different role as an introducer or interpreter of new ideas and as a link between the community and the resources available from government or other agencies. This problem in achieving complete acceptance meant that some of the more successful projects (from the academic point of view anyway) were those which linked new ways of doing things with the community. Setting up community centres, forming clubs or development associations, initiating economic projects, or evaluating ones already established, were ways in which students could become useful middle men. There were fewer barriers to gathering information or sharing ideas and students could show that they were interested and willing to share knowledge which they had gained at the university. Despite this advantage, those who had been funded by government sponsors or other agencies were likely to have research projects which fixed their position as that of more marginal members of the community.

For those who sought a greater degree of re-integration there were other difficulties. Absence at school and the university meant that they were less fluent in their own language and that they would fumble for words at public meetings. I was present on one such occasion when the student who spoke was, with great amusement, helped by other young men whenever he was lost for the right word. In that particular case it
What is happening to my people?

seemed to make for an easier relationship but for others it could be a humiliating experience.

Family and clan obligations had to be met and often this was both financially and emotionally demanding. Some had idealized or romanticized life in their communities while in Port Moresby. Reality called for tact and perseverance to enable the project to be carried to completion.

Many were aware before they commenced fieldwork that it would be a difficult road back to the village. Higher education had taken them far away. Classroom discussions or other preparations could not ensure that they would find their way back. However, goodwill and tolerance on the part of the older members of the community often made research successful, despite student blunders. One group of women commented:

Yu no ken wari long sumatin. Mipela save em i laik hariap tumas. Yungpela man em i no laik go isi. Em i pasin bilong em, laka?

(Don’t worry about the students. We know they are impatient. Young men don’t want to move slowly. It is their way of doing things — isn’t it?)

These community members were also letting me know that they would work out a new relationship with their own children and that this was something outside the concern of the university!

With the development of provincial governments, students are finding that the road back is more open and attractive as opportunities for employment and political power have increased. Graduates whose initial re-entry took place while completing their studies find that their knowledge and skills are being assessed by community and clan members to see whether they will be useful or not. For some, the experience of carrying out community research has been a way of learning that, despite their links with home, they will be more comfortable living their working lives away from their community. They are like the hero in Voices from the Ridge, of whom the elder says:

You have heard voices from the ridge. Your shadow and your heart bend to the ways of the past. But your footsteps refuse to
stay. Maybe man is made to walk forward and not turn back (Kerpi 1974).

Evaluation of community research projects

Planning, preparation and supervision of community research requires coordinated effort on the part of students and academic staff. Practical difficulties have often made it hard for individual projects to be accepted, and even the continuation of the programme has been questioned. The standard of research carried out by students varies enormously, and some thought has been given to the need to select only the most able and best prepared students.

But should we evaluate such community experiences merely in terms of academic excellence? Some of the most useful evaluations have been made by clan and community members who have assessed the performance of returning students, and how they have used knowledge gained in ways which have been useful to the group. These students are not necessarily the brightest or the most articulate when giving a seminar, or writing up a report which is evaluated against very different standards of excellence.

Another measure of assessment is that of growth in understanding by students of their relationships to their clan and community, and of the strengths and developmental needs within that community. After they graduate most of these students will find employment in government agencies. Their lives will be spent away from their villages and this opportunity to plan and carry out community projects may be very significant in helping them come to terms with the intermittent nature of their contact, so that they do not become rootless men and women.

For the University of Papua New Guinea, the programme of community research by students has other advantages. The links which the 1974 Gris Committee report sought to encourage between university and community may be developed more effectively if opportunities are increased for students to accept that learning from the community is part of the total learning process. If village leaders and clan and family members are more fully involved in discussions prior to carrying out community research, this role of the community as a
teacher will also assist in lessening feelings of alienation and social isolation which many students experience.²

For university research workers, both Papua New Guineans and foreigners, the development of greater understanding by students, and those outside the university, of difficulties in conducting well planned and thoughtful community research will be valuable at a time when foreign researchers need to reinterpret their roles to an increasingly critical government and community audience.

Finally, it is important to note that the Constitution of the Independent State of Papua New Guinea expresses a commitment to strengthening Papua New Guinean ways, and to retaining and assisting the development of village and community life. This is a country of villages and small communities, although government officials and services frequently remain in urban centres.

Increasingly graduates are moving to take responsibility for policy making and the planning of services which will affect the lives of villagers. How real are these communities to them after ten, fifteen or twenty years away, with only the occasional visit? Do they feel merely some disquiet of conscience which makes them turn back to look briefly at their villages before graduating and going on to become new men and women living a Western style of life?

Or, as my own experience in working with students and their communities suggests, will facing realities of past alienation and possible re-integration lead to a deeper understanding of what is happening to them and to their people?

² This was the theme of a public lecture which I gave at the University of Papua New Guinea, 'The Community as Teacher: Ngavalus, New Ireland, 1974 - 1976', 8 June, 1976 (O'Collins 1977).
COMMUNITY EDUCATION IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA: TOWARDS CULTURAL RE-INTEGRATION*

School has no choice, it must train the children to fit the culture as it is (Henry 1965:287).

One result of schooling has been to create a generation gap between older and younger members of the community. Traditional knowledge and skills are no longer so important or respected by the younger generation, and their aspirations are directed towards a new way of life outside the culture and customs of their local communities (Kemelfield 1972:7).

Education as alienation

In many countries where introduced education systems created a sharp break between school and community, the criticisms of education voiced by Jules Henry in *Culture Against Man* may have a hollow sound. Schools were set up to fit children for a culture other than that of their own society and it was not surprising to find that massive cultural alienation of young Western-educated members of multicultural societies has been noted in countries of the South Pacific.

It was precisely because schools have not been able 'to train the children to fit the culture' that several working groups were convened in 1972 by the Education Research Unit of the University of Papua

* Paper prepared for a seminar on *Community Education in Multi-Cultural Societies of the South Pacific*, held in Auckland 16-17 August 1979.
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New Guinea. They concluded (Kemelfield 1972:10) that the aims of a new and more culturally integrated education system should include attempts:

To help in bringing younger and older generations closer together, by providing adults with opportunities for education which are at present only available to their children, and by giving the majority of children an adequate preparation for life in their local communities.

While the history of educational colonization in Papua New Guinea has many aspects different from those of other countries in the South Pacific, an overall theme has been its devastating effect on the cultural life of the people. In a discussion paper describing how the nearby mission school selected children from his community, one writer noted that the results for parents of his generation was that 'education robbed me of my child' (Kituai 1976).

Dr Ranginui Walker (1979) describes in very similar terms the cultural alienation which occurred among the Maori people. For Maori children, as for Papua New Guinean children, it was forbidden to speak their own language even in the school playground. One Papua New Guinean (Giraure 1974:102), reflecting on the resulting alienation which had been his educational experience, commented:

In this way we grew away from the village community because the language of the village was no longer our language and their songs were no longer our songs. Instead we arrived home each night chanting verses from the hymns we had been taught or singing new songs like 'Humpty Dumpty' and 'Baa-baa Black Sheep'. None of us had ever seen a sheep, let alone heard one and for myself it was many years before I discovered that it was an animal we were talking about and not a ship.

**Cultural integration within the formal school system**

The explicit rejection of an approach to education, which integrated traditional community-based skills and knowledge with those of the introduced educational system, meant that the often discussed concept of 'blending of the cultures' gained little favour during the colonial period. Writing in 1968, the director of education for the Territory of
Papua and New Guinea pointed out that there were problems of selecting what elements of local culture to include (although this difficulty apparently did not present itself in the selection of elements of Western cultures). An even more cogent argument was the fact that it was difficult to find teachers to carry out such a programme (McKinnon 1968:6).

As the move towards greater emphasis on school/community cooperation gained momentum in the early 1970s, it appeared from proposed changes to more community-based primary schools outlined in the *Education Plan 1976-1980* (Department of Education 1976:13-18) that some of the problems of cultural alienation caused by the complete dichotomy between classroom and community would be lessened. Cultural programmes often taught by local experts in the community, as well as a wide variety of community projects all aimed at involving adults as well as children in the educational process. That these were not easy to put into practice, and that the shift towards a less Australian-based curriculum was resisted, is perhaps understandable, given persisting attitudes. However, it is still alarming to note the rapidity with which critics of the community-based approach have suggested that it should be drastically modified, or not even tried, because of the problems mentioned earlier. The review of the education system undertaken in 1978-79 commented on problems encountered in the community-based system (see *National Education Strategy*, Institute for Applied Social and Economic Research 1979:21-25). It would undoubtedly be easier, faced with problems of reorientation towards a community focus, to turn back to familiar, if more rigid and isolated, educational approaches. Central control is also a key issue but, despite these difficulties, it was considered that: ‘Eventually, a reasonable balance between the “nationally prescribed subjectes” and the “community-based subjects” will be achieved’ (*ibid.*: 24).

**Adult education and community development**

The wisdom shown by the first tutor organizer for Maori adult education in developing adult education within a community development framework was not equalled in Papua New Guinea until the early 1970s, although churches and local groups did provide a variety of adult education programmes. Adult education was, and in
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some cases still is, seen as another form of Western-style, culturally distinct knowledge to be imparted in a teaching style similar to that of the formal school system. As late as 1974, the Adult Education syllabus of the New Guinea Islands contained courses in such subjects as 'cake decorating' and 'flower arranging' — all harmless or useful, depending upon one's interests, but hardly priorities in a country which had just attained self-government and was moving rapidly towards independence. More relevant courses in mechanics, sewing, or basic carpentry were often poorly attended, perhaps because of their formal style of teaching.

Today, there has been a marked change in emphasis and in content in many adult education programmes, but problems of their real place or status within the education system have not been resolved. The National Education Strategy (IASER:92-94) noted the problem of isolation and recommended that adult education should become more integrated with community development efforts as a whole. There are encouraging signs that this is taking place at provincial level, where community services are less influenced by the central departmental bureaucracies.

Faced by the problem that schools are unable to fit the children of today to live in their community as adults tomorrow, and at best are only able to partially respond to local needs, many communities in Papua New Guinea have followed the same road from adult education to community involvement as that of Maori adult educators. This reflects a new consciousness that communities throughout Papua New Guinea have skills, strengths and wisdom to draw their alienated children back to them. Why wait for an expert from the university or the United Nations or Australia? As one community development worker noted:

There was community education before the white man entered the Pacific Ocean and reached our islands. Today our people in the Pacific still live a community life and still possess the spirit of being responsible members of the community. Community participation and involvement still play an important part in the people's way of life (Aisoli 1975:202).

This is the challenge and the hope expressed by many community educators throughout the South Pacific and, as Walker (1979) points
out in his discussion of Maori adult education it suggests that programmes of community education should be based on, and reflect, actual needs and problems felt by a community, and the priorities defined by the members of that community. Only in this way will adult education help in the process of cultural re-integration as we build on the materials we have from our past.
In societies throughout Papua New Guinea, the concept of sharing and exchange between individuals or groups is an essential feature of social life. When one gives knowledge, advice or company in sorrow or in celebration of joyful events, food or other material gifts or training in a particular skill, it is with the expectation that something will be returned in exchange. The person who gives but who does not receive anything in exchange, as much as those who receive without reciprocating, is, in a sense, shamed by the failure to follow acceptable social customs. Is the gift valueless that nothing need be given in return? Are the recipients so worthless that they have nothing to offer? In a very real sense, one has to share in this process of reciprocal exchange to be a full member of the society.

With colonial intrusion into Papua New Guinea, these social relationships have often become distorted. Strangers brought money and material goods, technical assistance, knowledge and skills not available within the society, and new religious and social values. It was difficult in these circumstances for members of the society to involve these strangers in any real form of reciprocal exchange or, at best, it looked unequal to those who could not judge the worth of their own gifts. The teacher, in the same way as the missionary, or the administrator, was too distant a figure in most situations for a gift relationship to be developed. In a very real sense, education seemed to

* Paper presented at 1979 Extraordinary Meeting of the University of Papua New Guinea Faculty of Education (O'Collins 1980a).
take children away from the society without giving anything useful or beneficial in return, to the parents or to the community.

Education to fit an alien culture

Education as alienation is a common theme in many accounts of the interaction between communities and the schools established within those communities to prepare Papua New Guinean children for tomorrow's world (Kemelfield 1972, Giraure 1974 and Kituai 1976 all explore this theme).

It was not the aim of the new educators to 'train the children to fit the culture', but to prepare them for another culture or a version of this other culture. In order to do this, children had to be isolated from the socialization process that was going on in their own home communities. Even where some contact took place between school and the local leadership, it was with the aim of gaining acceptance for the new system. As one missionary educator recorded in his diary on 21 January 1880:

I had more than one reason for thus getting the chiefs to go to school. One is, if they only go now and again they must learn something, and everything they learn will create in them a desire to learn more and show them their ignorance. Another reason is their going to school will be an example to the young men and by this means I hope to have a better attendance at my own school of boys (Rev. B. Danks, quoted in Whittaker et al. 1975:416).

The degree to which active efforts were made to alienate children from their culture varied and there were instances recorded where teachers shared in the cultural life of the people whose children they were educating and gained acceptance. In his account published in 1907, Parkinson (Whittaker et al. 1975:415) stated:

On the Duke of York Group, the missionaries have in many places succeeded in absolutely suppressing the Duk Duk, while in Blanche Bay, the teachers introduced from Samoa, Tonga and Fiji, not only tolerate the Duk Duk but take part in the festivities connected with it. I have known cases in which the
teachers themselves have been initiated into the Duk Duk and shared with the brothers of the society in its advantages.

The overall effect, however, was that children grew up, went to school, and often went away from their society, and were taught that the values, customs and skills in their own community were less important or were actively harmful. There was an implicit, and often explicit, rejection of an approach to education which integrated knowledge and skills brought by the stranger with those already existing in the society. Equal sharing and exchange in this situation was not possible or even considered, and an approach to education which sought ways of integrating community skills and knowledge for use alongside introduced ideas gained little favour until the present decade of re-evaluation and questioning. The suggestion that there should be a 'blending of the cultures' educationally had been voiced earlier but, writing in 1968, the director of education of the then Territory of Papua and New Guinea pointed out that there were problems in selecting what elements of local culture should be included in the school syllabus, and that it was difficult to find teachers to carry out such a programme (McKinnon 1968:6). Clearly this argument was a self-fulfilling prophecy as far as teacher training was concerned. Giraure (1974:65) describes his training during this period in these terms:

Like my years in the primary school and the high school, my years at teachers college drew me further away from my people. At teachers college I was given programme after programme of European inspired content matter. I was considered unable to produce material suitable for teaching. So every day, every lesson, every hour of my teaching career was planned for me. This was something I accepted along with hundreds of other student teachers. When I graduated I went out into the field and taught in exactly the same way that I had been taught. I taught European songs. I taught about other countries and about other people. I ignored the local community. It was only after several years that I began to realize that through my teaching the children were learning how to grow away from their own people instead of learning how to accept their community and where possible to improve it.
Cultural integration within the formal school system

Despite the persistence of ideas that education was necessarily and correctly the road away from the village, it was not possible to completely ignore pressures from those who had been through this alienating process and who considered that there must be change. While educational policy-making continued to be largely dominated by Australian thinking about education, there were other influences now being felt from Papua New Guineans both inside and outside the education system. Political moves towards self-government and final independence meant that traditional cultures and ways of life in Papua New Guinea were being revalued and found more worthy of inclusion in the school curriculum. The complete separation between school and community lessened, as attempts were made to teach children the traditional songs and dances, stories and handicrafts or local technology which could only be learned from the community itself. Inclusion of a cultural programme which was taught by visiting local experts and involvement by children in community projects aimed at bridging the gap between community and classroom which had been carefully built up over the years.

While retaining the basic educational aims of providing literacy and numeracy, there were to be conscious efforts to involve the community in a shared enterprise, reflecting the different cultural values and styles of life throughout Papua New Guinea. The 1976-1980 Education Plan (Department of Education 1976:15-16) described the aims of this approach as lively and child-centred while it was also to be community-based, ‘matching the diversity of Papua New Guinea’ and:

... in transmitting social and cultural values and traditions, members of the community will be actively involved in the life of the school on a regular basis. Similarly, the economic life of the community, including current developmental projects, will be an important area for study in school, from both a local and national perspective, and for participation by the school. The objective, in brief, is to integrate the local community into the school and the school into the local and national community. The key concept is creative participation. Seen in this light, a school is itself a community development project and one of special significance; it functions so that the community may be
assisted in developing the most valuable resource that it has — its own children.

However, despite these fine words, even within the same plan cautionary statements suggested that maybe teachers would be unable to shift their emphasis and that maybe schools would have to be very careful in advancing community-based education. Involving the community in a meaningful rather than token way would be an uncertain process. There was no real way to prepare trainee teachers for the variety of reactions, community input and expectations of return from the school, and the programming and organizational demands with which they would have to cope if this system were introduced. Nevertheless it was tried out in many schools. The 1978 Papua New Guinea Teachers' Association Journal contains a study of one such approach. A number of points emerge (see Alexander 1978):

i) children, teachers and community members all have to be involved in the planning and carrying out of programmes which link school and community if the sharing and reciprocity which is aimed for can become a reality;

ii) 'failures', whether in projects, learning sessions in classrooms, activities or material preparations may all be turned into good learning experiences if the reasons for the problems are considered as stepping stones to the next activity rather than as reasons for giving up on the effort itself;

iii) the teacher must always be involved and part of the activity in a wholehearted way so that community members and children see that this is a worthwhile enterprise;

iv) while headmasters or others at the local level may be enthusiastic, these programmes will face difficulties unless teacher training and educational policies give the same weight and effort to them as that expected at the local community school level;

v) community linkages and mutual sharing is not something which is carried out as a programme; it is a process, an attitude or approach which looks for ways by which the...
school and the community can provide children with a whole, rather than fragmented approach to life and learning.

On a visit to the Gazelle Peninsula in 1976, I also observed efforts to link schools and their communities more helpfully. I visited one school during a soap-making demonstration. The headmaster noted that he was not quite sure how it was all going to turn out but ‘we are all learning about this together’. ‘We’ included teachers, grade six children, many of whom would go home at the end of the year as they would not be selected for high school or other forms of continuing education, and parents and community members who had helped in providing some of the materials being used and were enjoying the demonstration. Use was being made of books, practical instructions, mathematical skills, etc., in carrying out this experiment and one could justify on formal educational criteria alone its contribution to knowledge. But, equally one could see that it made the school more interesting and acceptable as a place. When assistance was called for from members of the community they might well feel that they had received a gift and it would be only right that they should reciprocate.

**Teacher/community relationships**

The misgivings openly expressed in the *Education Plan* have been reiterated in the *National Education Strategy* which reviewed the earlier plan (Institute of Applied Social and Economic Research 1979: 21-25). It suggested that somehow because of the introduction of community-based approaches, children are less literate and that teachers are not prepared or motivated to make the community involvement useful in overall learning attainments desired for the future.

It is certainly true that relationships and benefits gained from contacts between classroom and community are often unclear and even problematic. Parents or community members are often still only fitting into set requirements for community involvement and this lack of spontaneity suggests that teachers may feel a great sense of relief once the community is safely back where it belongs outside the school and they can get back to the real task of classroom rote-learning. One of the most difficult tasks, as has been noted earlier, is to enthuse, redirect, or prepare teachers who have been trained to believe that the school is providing a service to the community, and that the community must
respond accordingly with due respect and assistance. But, in many communities the school may also be seen as an exploiter who not only robs the community of its children but sends them back less able to 'fit the culture' than before. Complaints that teachers are being terrorized, that school gardens or demonstration projects are being destroyed or that there is a general inertia and unwillingness to assist the school, may be partially explained by the great gap that still exists between teachers and community. In some ways community-based education may be the alternative to no education at all!

One way that community awareness and sensitivity might be encouraged among teachers is to introduce an unstructured field experience into every training programme which would help trainees, or teachers who had been trained under the old isolation policy, to see ways of understanding community structures and really come to terms with their roles as links between community and classroom. This type of field learning is not easy and is not that used by teaching staff to carry out programmes of educational research (see O'Collins 1977). Teacher training emphasizes the development of a professional identity and of expertise, often with the aim of giving inexperienced teachers a feeling of confidence and self-esteem. They also need, however, at least some experience in sharing daily activities and community celebrations with the community whose children spend so much time in their classrooms.

The National Education Strategy (Institute of Applied Social and Economic Research 1979:23) pointed out that there was a danger that 'too much is expected of community schools'. It might also be said that not enough has been expected of the communities which the schools are set up to serve. Whatever the perspective of the critic, it is true that the children are shared by both community and classroom. They are pushed this way and that by conflicting demands and expectations of what their education will mean for their parents, their community and the nation as a whole. The attempt to make the relationship and exchange between their teachers and their clan and family members more meaningful may not solve all these problems; but it may give schools more choice than that of training for alienation and frustration.

The road which led formal education away from the community began a long time ago and it will not be easy to turn back. Yet, even
when all efforts to relate education to the cultural needs of the society seem to be open to question, this may only mean that old ideas that Western-style education is necessarily the best take a long time to change.

The real question remains: how can classroom and community together train today's children for the changing culture that will be tomorrow's Papua New Guinea?
COMMUNITY-BASED PRACTICE: PREPARATION FOR THE RETURN HOME*

A response to human experience that combines compassion with competence based on scientific knowledge is desperately needed in a world in which concern for human welfare and human rights is beginning to be matched — and threatened — by a growing belief in hatred and violence as the way to address human and social problems (Kendall 1980:170).

Introduction: compassion, competence and experience

In this paper, I will examine the preparation which is needed to enable workers to practice in their own home areas, often with members of their own kin and social networks. The focus will be on ‘community-based practice’ in small urban and rural communities where members of the helping professions are also part of the community and the role of social worker cannot be isolated from other roles of family, church or clan member, neighbour or citizen.

An important task is that of mediator of conflicts, both within the extended family and the community, which the worker undertakes as part of, or outside, formal employment. In Papua New Guinea, as in many countries of the world, social workers have cultural, clan and language group responsibilities, and these should be acknowledged in preparation for the reality of professional practice.

In many societies around the world, self-help groups and associations look to their own representatives to negotiate on behalf of the group in order to gain access to societal resources, or to strengthen

problem-solving capacities. In these situations social workers may share membership or similar interests with the group in which they work. Migrant associations, handicapped or elderly citizen groups, those with drug related problems, or ex-prisoners' groups, are all settings in which social workers with similar experiences may work. Sometimes, as with various groups which have formed to help AIDS victims, existing ways of helping or existing resources are not adequate to deal with a new situation. Social work educators need to be alert to these different, but by no means exceptional, practice settings.

A major source for the ideas presented in this paper has been the wisdom and experience of Papua New Guinean students, graduates, and colleagues with whom I have worked since 1972.

Although skills and knowledge gained from social work education and earlier practice and teaching experience were valuable, they had to be revised and adapted to meet the needs of a very different cultural environment. To this extent, the politics of my experience in Papua New Guinea has been that: 'I have seen the Bird of Paradise ... and I shall never be the same again' (Laing 1967:156). In a more pragmatic way, and a point which is fundamental to this paper, it has been necessary to find ways of integrating insights gained from a new cultural experience rather than merely reacting against 'a world based on reason, objective reality and knowledge' (Statham 1978:3).

If the questions being asked 'call into dispute theories and principles which have been traditionally regarded as basic to social work' (ibid.) this is because social work must be seen in broader terms in Papua New Guinea where, as in other developing countries, distinctions between social work, community work and non-formal education are often meaningless (see Ankrah 1980 and Brooks 1980 for discussions of the relationship between social work, social development and adult education).

Not strangers but family and friends

A common assumption is that social workers will be involved with strangers rather than acquaintances, let alone friends, and will not be professionally involved with their own families and immediate social networks. As an extension of the concept that doctors should not treat members of their own families, it is expected that social workers
should refer to other members of helping professions those with whom they have a previous close relationship - as a neighbour, colleague or family member.

Nevertheless, many situations do arise when a professional helper is called to assist individuals or groups already known to the worker under different circumstances. A hospital social worker finds that the person who attempted suicide is an old school friend with whom she dined only the week before. The teenage gang arrested by the police are children whose parents attend the same church. A community worker is asked to investigate mismanagement of a centre where his own cousin is the treasurer, or he may be called to intervene in a dispute involving his own clan group.

In other circumstances, the received wisdom might be that the worker should link the individual or situation to other problem-solving resources. Previous links between the worker and one or more of the actors in the human drama could create obstacles to a successful helping relationship, and disputes between members of a social network require a more detached professional helping service. This approach is reinforced by the focus in social work education on establishing relationships with the client or client group, getting to know their background, understanding cultural or class differences and moving from ‘stranger’ to professional ‘friend’.

Yet, in small communities and small nations, the client or client group may share with the worker membership of the same social network, extended family, clan or language group. How do we, as social work educators, prepare students for the reality of their return ‘home’ to the groups or communities who may have sponsored them? How can we help members of a particular cultural group, who share the norms and values of that group, prepare for the tensions and pressures which may arise?

Community-based practice: perspectives from the South Pacific

The Social Work Programme at the University of Papua New Guinea began in 1972 with a group of Papua New Guineans who had practical experience as teachers, welfare officers, community, youth and women's advancement workers. In 1974 the first two students
graduated with a Bachelor of Arts in Social Work and the programme became a member of the International Association of Schools of Social Work. By the end of 1985, nearly one hundred social work graduates were employed in a wide variety of occupations, some in their own communities and provincial centres and others in Port Moresby, the nation's capital.

Close ties within clan and language groups make it difficult, even in urban areas, for professional and personal duties and responsibilities to be separated from each other. Social work graduates are seen by other members of the community, including traditional elders in their clan or language group, as possessing special skills because they have been to the university in a society where many of their elders have not been to school at all. They are called on to carry out tasks which would daunt more skilled and experienced 'experts'. Social work students at the University of Papua New Guinea (and those who complete a two-year Diploma in Social Development at the nearby Administrative College) are seen as resource people for whole communities, interpreting government regulations, informing parents about the availability of measles injections for their children, discussing health and sanitation problems, or problems of limited classroom space in primary schools. These tasks may be in addition to formal roles — such as helping urban planners allocate site-and-service blocks to low-income urban residents, or assisting in the planning of youth activities.

Students in rural practice settings find that they have to become non-formal educators, nutrition or literacy workers, coordinators for community probation services and liaison officers for international aid agencies and volunteer groups. Seen as members of an elite and privileged group by virtue of their access to education, they discover from experience the realities of multi-dimensional resource management and the strategies needed for conflict resolution. As Chi'en (1976:7) notes, 'in remote or isolated communities, few professional workers are willing to go and serve those hard to reach but badly in need' so those who come, even if only for a short practice placement, are important sources of knowledge and skills.

For students and graduates who return to their own communities or provincial centres, or who work with urban settlers from their own areas, cultural values of reciprocity, mutual obligation and social responsibility create additional pressures. An older sibling, cousin or
community member may not have been to school, and expects the worker to assist in completing government loan applications, resolve school entrance problems for younger members of the group, or mediate inter-clan conflicts. Any attempt to refer the problem to another helping agency is seen as evidence of rejection and, in any case, no other individual or agency may be available. On the other hand, students or graduates who spend time and resources looking after their own group come into conflict with norms of conduct which distinguish professional from personal obligations.

**Different responses to family and community expectations**

Social work graduates have responded in a number of ways to conflicting demands from family, clan, community and employer. Some have taken on a more actively political role which allows them to act as a representative of their group and to negotiate or mediate as the need arises. They share the view that:

> Social workers must influence socio-political situations, organizing people, lobbying and becoming appointed or elected officials, for the availability, quantity and quality of social services are most often determined by government (Mahaffey 1977:43).

Others return home before completing degree or diploma courses, as family and clan obligations have become the major priority. They often become village social development workers, organizing nutrition or literacy programmes, youth and women's clubs or assisting village court magistrates.

Some have found pressures from extended family and clan members too difficult to manage within their own home area and have gained employment outside their own province. Their offices were full of relatives and clan members; time was spent registering youth or women's groups or arranging development loans or water supplies for their own villages or clans. Pressures from rival clans and jealousies led to accusations of favouritism or even financial mismanagement. They tried to accommodate all these demands, but finally left to work
with the stranger as they could not cope with the reality of work in their home area.

Nonetheless, a number of social workers have been able to work within their own home areas or in multi-cultural communities which include their own language group. They have gained respect as committed and hard-working people, prepared to mediate conflicts involving their own as well as other groups, who see their obligations and responsibilities in broader terms and contribute to their own kin network, but not at the expense of the whole community. They have an understanding of local cultural values, and ways of thinking and problem solving, and are able to use this knowledge more effectively because of their position as 'insiders'.

These are exceptional people, so the question remains: Can social work education help prepare students for the realities of their roles as peace-makers and problem-solvers with their own groups as well as with strangers?

**Preparation for the return home**

There are three ways in which social work education can assist students to cope with the problems of re-entry or reintegration; by awareness-building, experiential learning and follow-up consultancy.

1. **Awareness building**

Students and staff need to have the opportunity to discuss the professional and personal role conflicts described in this paper and ways these might be resolved. For some, this will provide an opportunity to consider a future situation to which they have given little thought. Others may have already experienced the demands of home, clan, and work, and be able to contribute greater understanding of the complexities of the problem.

In our programme, seminars and small group discussions take place, both on campus and in field practice situations, in which appropriate responses to clan and community demands may be identified. It is often a familiar social situation which requires most consideration. Traditional norms regarding marriage, group rights, methods of social control, or health practices may be in sharp contradiction to those of the government or non-government agency
with which the student is working. To some degree, however, these norms may be shared by a majority of the students, and some of the staff, so awareness-building is always a two-edged sword and ways of resolving conflicts must be viewed from many different perspectives.

2. Experiential learning

The ‘cross-cultural learning and self-growth’ programme initiated by the School of Social Work, University of Hawaii and linking students and staff at a number of universities in the Pacific and Southeast Asia, was a significant contribution to the development of new ways of responding to unfamiliar cultural or social situations (see Sikkema and Niyewaka-Howard 1977 and Hodge 1980). A number of community-based projects are described where students gained important insights from cross-cultural and multi-cultural learning experiences.

Other writers have noted the importance of examining problem-solving and resource utilization in different cultures. The author of an article on ‘utilizing traditional elements in the society in casework practice’, suggests that attitudes to authority, use of the family approach, trust and accountability, and mutual aid systems in society, may all have very different features which need to be taken into account (Roan 1980:26-35).

Similarly, students who are studying away from their home areas need opportunities to consider or re-experience their own cultural ways of solving problems or handling conflict. This implies that innovative ways of integrating community research and practice within their own areas must be developed. Use of long vacations for community research or less formally supervised practice, to be analysed later in small group discussions, has proved helpful in our programme, but more needs to be done [see Chapter 10, this volume for a discussion of community-based research].

3. Follow-up consultancy for new practitioners

For many new graduates the reality of the return home may be very different from that envisaged while studying. They need ongoing contact and help from university staff and other practitioners - particularly where there is no professional supervision, or the government or non-government superior may be an administrative
officer with quite different interests. Contacts by telephone or through correspondence, short workshops, seminars, or informal contacts are useful but may require time and resources, which are not always available. Another way is to follow the ‘learning by teaching’ principle and involve graduates in practice supervision and staff/student meetings. In this way they share their experiences and gain new perspectives on work within their communities.

Conclusion: education for changing times

Throughout the South Pacific, migrants leave their islands in search of educational or employment opportunities, but with the hope of returning home. However, if they do return many are unable to cope with the adjustments required and the conflicts and tensions between old and new ways (see Wendt 1973 for a description of problems faced by many South Pacific islanders).

In Papua New Guinea and other small nations of the South Pacific, many of the social services and programmes introduced during colonial times are being revised, adapted or discarded as they are no longer considered viable ways to achieve social development goals. Inappropriate concepts or methods may limit the growth of indigenous social work practice and it is only by involving staff, students, graduates and community members in the process, that more effective learning tools will be developed.

In a rapidly changing society, students need to be aware of the different situations which may arise but, most of all, need to be able to cope with uncertainty and lack of external direction. By providing a climate which encourages continuing evaluation of practice and classroom teaching, and which acknowledges the importance for each individual of the politics of his or her experience, the right mix of compassion and competence can be attained. Graduates may then find that they can work both with strangers and with friends, with their own group and with those who were historical enemies, and by helping to resolve local level conflicts share the task of bringing peace to a troubled world.
Part 3: Law, Order and Justice
Introduction

In his summary of the impact of socio-economic change on social problems emerging in Papua New Guinea and other South Pacific island societies, Fox (1976:2-3) noted the breakdown in community and family living patterns and individual behaviour, growing unemployment and under-employment, rising juvenile delinquency and serious adult crime, and increased levels of alcohol consumption with related problems of domestic and other forms of violent assaults. He pointed out that, 'while there is a regional pattern of social breakdown, there is no corresponding pattern of organized government and voluntary services to cope with social problems'.

Over the past two decades, periodic efforts have been made to develop within Papua New Guinea appropriate organizational structures to deal, not only with the symptoms of social breakdown, but also to provide alternative community-based responses. The 1983 Report of the Committee to Review Policy and Administration on Crime, Law and Order (Morgan 1983: 6-10) called for better coordination of police, justice and corrective institutions, employment creation schemes, a strengthening of the leadership code and provisions to lessen corruption among politicians and public servants. This report was followed by another study on Law and Order in Papua New Guinea (Clifford 1984) commissioned by the private sector. The Clifford Report emphasized the importance of increasing the efficiency of the criminal justice system rather than merely increasing penalties, and, noting that public corruption was a major factor in weakening respect for the authority of the state, reiterated the call for greater and more effective community participation and improved police/community cooperation. Reactions to the deteriorating law and order situation varied, from those who viewed state-promoted inequality and injustice as a major problem, to those whose response was to propose increased state authority and coercive measures to
control crimes of violence. These issues were debated at a seminar held at the Australian National University on the theme *Law and Order in a Changing Society*. Some speakers seemed to reflect a 'disillusionment with the processes of government, policy-making and administration'. However, it was also noted the papers presented at this seminar could assist 'restrained optimists' to have a better understanding of the problems and contribute to the search for solutions:

... people respond in different ways to what they observe. There are some who feel that the unwelcome trends are inevitable, while others, in their own spheres, want to challenge the direction of social change, and, if with modest goals, to rekindle the optimism of the independence period (Morauta 1986:6).

During the 1980s, the development of a probation service, extension of village courts, the establishment of an integrated programme for urban and rural youth, and a programme to lessen domestic violence were all undertaken but their impact was often marginal because of the fragmented and often competing nature of these initiatives. The papers included in this section were written between 1975 and 1986 and record the concerns regarding law, order and justice which were uppermost during that period (see also Ombudsman Commission 1982; Toft 1985; Morauta 1986).

Problems of law and order have continued to be the subject of a great deal of public debate, both within Papua New Guinea and in the international media. Listening to some commentators, it would be easy to conclude that a total breakdown of society is imminent, that community mechanisms of social control have completely disappeared, and that increasing state violence and public corruption have almost destroyed the already fragile institutional fabric of society. Many of these comments are backed by factually correct anecdotes of instances of violent crime, committed not only by lawless elements in the community, but also by police, defence force or corrective institution service personnel. However, from other more positive but equally realistic perspectives, there has been a growing awareness that problems of law and order will only be solved if local communities and the private sector work with government agencies. The development of 'auxiliary police' (special constables who work within their own
communities to maintain peace and good order and who cooperate with regular police personnel in controlling criminal activities) is one recent initiative which reflects the potential impact of improved police/community relations (see ‘Special constables win praise from police’ Post-Courier 14 August 1992:4.) A Crime Prevention Policy Workshop, held in May 1992 as part of National Crime Prevention Week, brought together representatives from the Foundation for Law, Order and Justice, the Criminal Studies Division of the National Research Institute, the Community Relations Section of the Police Department, the University of Papua New Guinea and other government and non-government agencies and individuals.

In the long run, it is important that these more positive responses to problems of law, order and justice are recognized and strengthened. The experience of the past twenty years suggests that, rather than the alternative path of harsher penalties and explicit acceptance of institutional violence and repression, this is the better and perhaps only way to go, not only for restrained optimists but for all seeking a safer and more just society.
SOCIAL WELFARE AND THE LAW: PROTECTING OR CONTROLLING THE COMMUNITY?*

Introduction

In recent years concern at rising crime rates and the apparent breakdown in community order and stability has focused the attention of policymakers and the public on measures designed to protect the community from disruptive individuals or groups. This is a worldwide trend, yet national development planning had, until the last two or three years, overlooked the need for sound social defence policies. An editorial on 'Social defence planning' in the International Social Development Planning Review (1970:24) noted that: 'A few plans provide for investment in specific projects, the relevance of which is not always clear; but none relate criminal policy to development planning'.

Similarly, while concern has been expressed at the growth of social problems arising from rapid economic development, social welfare planning objectives have often been implied rather than clearly outlined in national development plans. Speaking at a conference on problems of urbanization, the late Tom Mboya, then minister for Economic Planning and Development and vice-president of Kenya, pointed out that:

There is a danger in every developing country that in seeking to satisfy the urgent demands and aspirations of the people for

rapid economic development, the social and humanitarian needs of the people may be forgotten or sacrificed to the good of material welfare. ... [We] may in fact create more social and human problems than we can hope to solve (Mboya 1967:302).

Social and human problems confronting policymakers and the public in Papua New Guinea reflect similar historical oversights. While development objectives may be met by programmes located in different sectors of government activity as well as in the voluntary sector, inter-departmental and government-voluntary cooperation and collaborative effort is required at the national level if overall social development objectives are to be achieved. This paper seeks to examine, within the context of national social development planning, how social welfare programmes can be coordinated with, and assist, the social defence sector of government services.

How can social welfare activities promote community stability, and help prevent individual or group crime and juvenile delinquency, or general breakdown in community order? Once offences have been committed, what role should social welfare personnel have in assisting legal and judicial procedures; in collaborating with correctional services; and, finally, in the rehabilitation of offenders so that they may be restored as a productive and useful members of their community?

Among various ways in which social welfare and social defence services may be linked in overall national planning, it will be argued that an essential component at all stages is the encouragement of greater community awareness of, and participation in, the control of crime and the administration of justice. An important area where community participation may increase effective implementation of a programme is that of probation and parole. The establishment of probation and parole services in Papua New Guinea may be supported by both economic and humanitarian arguments. Such services can combine the community support and influence provided by traditional leadership within communities with modern correctional approaches, and trained and non-trained personnel from both government and voluntary organizations can work together for common objectives.

By increasing community involvement in the prevention of crime and the control of its delinquent members, as well as in their rehabilitation, the social defence (or legal and correctional) system will
be regarded by law abiding members of the community as a means of desirable control.

**Common problems involving social welfare and social defence services**

During 1971 and 1972, a number of reports documented the social problems which have increased throughout Papua New Guinea. Various suggestions were made as to how the community and government services could be involved in preventing or reducing these casualties of social change (see Department of the Administrator 1971; Byworth 1971a, 1971b). Increasing internal migration, particularly from rural to urban areas, changed education and employment patterns, lessened respect for traditional authority and leadership, particularly among the young, and the effects on urban and rural communities of political and economic change, have all been described as factors contributing to social problems. The report of the United Nations social welfare adviser for the Pacific (Fox 1972, 1976) suggested ways in which social welfare programmes might be strengthened or reorganized, and stressed the need for both trained social welfare personnel and volunteer community participation. The emphasis was on human resources rather than on capital expenditure, and on how these human resources might be used effectively.

The causes of breakdown in law and order in Papua New Guinea have been linked to the same underlying problems as in many other countries — rapid urbanization, population growth and mobility, and technological change, which the society is unable to absorb without disruption to the general pattern of social life and community order.

On the international level, the Fourth United Nations Congress for the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders, held in 1970, concluded that social welfare programmes which increased community participation could help to mobilize community interest in the prevention of crime and the rehabilitation of offenders. However, prevention and rehabilitation are vague, rather unsatisfactory objectives when more concrete results are sought. We usually cannot be sure of the many influences which bring about social change. For example, if the police and the local council promote a public relations programme in a settlement, how can it be shown that this has contributed to the
reduced incidence of crime and juvenile delinquency? Perhaps the real factor was the road that was opened up at the same time, making it easier for men to find work, children to get to school, and the garbage to be collected?

Again we might ask: if social welfare personnel work with the police in this public relations programme, is this part of social welfare or social defence services? The vagueness of the boundary between the two sectors of activity may be most in evidence when we talk about the role of the 'community’ policeman, or when the social worker becomes the probation worker in the area and each may seem to be taking over part of the role of the other.

It is easier to list specific functions of the legal and corrective services when we move from questions of prevention to those involving detection, prosecution, and punishment of crime. But even in these areas improvement of services is clearly not just a matter of larger numbers of police and increased capital investment. As in social welfare, the emphasis cannot be on building institutional structures alone, but procedures may be easier to describe and buildings more visible while ‘improvement in the community attitudes’ and ‘closer cooperation’ are clearly harder to measure. In his report to the 22nd Commission for Social Development, the United Nations secretary-general (1972:65-70), pointed out this difficulty which the very process of national development planning seemed to increase:

It has become abundantly clear today that the maintenance of law and order cannot be simply a matter of enlarging the police establishment .... In so far as national development plans focus on capital investment, there is a risk of them giving more attention to institutions than to less capital-intensive methods of social defence.

This is another problem in evaluation shared by social welfare and social defence policy-makers and personnel. They deal with less concrete aspects of development, and programmes may be introduced because capital investment demands that facilities be utilized.
Public participation in the prevention of crime and social disorder

Before the introduction of formal laws and law enforcement procedures by colonial administrators, well established and understood traditional forms of community participation existed. These served to protect each community from internal disorder or provided ways to resolve conflicts between individuals and the community. Even when European legal procedures were introduced to Papua New Guinea, traditional or customary law continued as a significant influence. Often a dual system emerged, with some matters considered appropriate for referral to, or intervention by, civil authorities and others, where clan, village or regional customary law and patterns of settling disputes continued to be used.

Responsibilities and requirements under traditional or legal patterns were not always clearly defined or accepted, and the new laws often were in opposition to old ways of community protection and control, so a considerable amount of adaptation had to take place. In addition, people often were, and remain, unclear regarding the new introduced laws and so depend upon administrative officials to explain the new ways of handling social disruption. It is also true that laws which appear illogical or in contradiction to known ways of handling social problems tend to be ignored whenever possible.

Social welfare personnel often act as interpreters of the civil law and as links between community leaders and the social defence system — police, courts, and corrective services. This process seems to have developed informally and to reflect the individual interest and approach of particular social welfare and administrative personnel or the police, and their relationship with community leaders and local government councillors. In order to encourage and increase this linking of the community with the law enforcement agents, it has frequently been suggested that the public relations aspects of legal and corrective services should be strengthened (or introduced where notably absent) and that community knowledge of legal rights and responsibilities should be increased. This increased awareness and understanding of the function of laws and those who enforce them might then encourage greater community cooperation in the prevention of crime.
What should or can be done to increase community participation?

Before suggesting ways by which the community can be more closely involved in the promotion of law and community security, it must be pointed out that many of these approaches have been considered and introduced in Papua New Guinea. However, introduction as a planned social defence strategy will call for direction from policymakers and administrators in those sectors of government activity involving social welfare and social defence programmes and personnel. This will be important if there is to be an opportunity of assessing the relative effectiveness of particular programmes.

Prevention of crime and the promotion of community stability may involve both social welfare and social defence sectors to varying degrees — from programmes which are the main responsibility of social welfare personnel but which involve police and legal consultants to those which are combined social welfare and social defence programmes. In addition there will be programmes or services which are the main responsibility of police and correctional personnel in contact with the community, but with some collaboration from social welfare officers.

General social welfare programmes

If social problems increase in a community the ability of community structures to cope with delinquent or disruptive behaviour of its members is obviously strained. Many social welfare activities aim at helping people to identify social problems and to encourage community action to minimize these problems. Social and recreational programmes, community improvement projects and programmes linked with health and education services may all provide opportunities for common social problems affecting law and community stability to be recognized. The community centre where members can meet and where leaders can discuss possible ways of solving social problems also provides facilities for crime prevention.

Community leaders, as well as social workers and other trained personnel, may be able to encourage potentially delinquent individuals or groups to become more involved with, rather than isolated from, community activities. Problems in housing, employment, or family
breakdown which may contribute to crime in a community, should be seen as part of the total social situation. If general community conditions and resources are improved, social welfare services may also indirectly create more favourable conditions for peace and stability.

It is also true that social workers whose main concern may be in providing child welfare services, or who are working in community education programmes, may not be alert to ways to increase the community's ability to cope with problems of crime control and law enforcement. They, as much as the general public, often need more information on legal rights and responsibilities and how best they might work with police and other officials to improve community participation. In many cases programmes which are already in existence may become preventive forces if the awareness of participants and organizers increases. For example, youth and general recreational programmes provide many avenues by which help can be given to teenagers who otherwise might engage in delinquent activity, and bring back into group and community life those who may have already had a brush with the law.

In these general social welfare programmes, police and legal officers can provide valuable help as resource and advisory personnel. In addition, magistrates, administrative staff and correctional officers may be able to give needed information about the law and law enforcement procedures, and the way in which legal and corrective services operate. In their community (rather than career) role as participants in church or other social welfare programmes, there may also be informal opportunities for police and legal officers to encourage public support and involvement in maintaining peace and good order. Particularly where law enforcement officers are concerned, this helps prevent the other, more usual, process — that of social isolation of the police from the community which they are expected to protect.

**Combined social welfare and social defence activities**

Specific community education activities may aim at increasing general knowledge of the law, difficulties in law enforcement, and ways in which the community could participate. Special welfare and social defence personnel may combine with the community in providing police and citizen's clubs, for recreational or sporting events and in general community activities which provide contacts which enable more
serious questions of cooperation in law and order to be considered. Meetings to consider particular problems as well as informal discussions between social workers, police and community members, are much more productive if there have been previous positive contacts.

Reservations have been expressed by those who feel that closer socializing by police with the community they serve may lead to a lessening of respect for the law, and the ability of the police to control unruly members of the public. It is well to remember, however, that the public relations activities which are proposed may merely serve to lessen or modify, rather than remove, existing suspicion and hostility as community, police, and social workers alike tend to develop stereotyped approaches to each other. This mutual distrust is a cross-national element in police-community interaction which Banton (1964) sees as related to the basic inconsistency in the dual role of police as members of the community whose laws they are required to enforce.

The sense of isolation and distrust felt by police and the community may be increased in Papua New Guinea by the differences in regional and ethnic identification which make each group unfamiliar with the other. If the police also live in separate accommodation removed from the community, there is less opportunity for informal friendly contact. They only become visible when enforcing the law as symbols of authority from outside the community, rather than as public servants fulfilling the community need for protection. In these, often unavoidable, situations collaborating with social welfare programmes may prove the major factor in increasing community cooperation.

In times of individual or community crisis, however, opportunities arise for the police to work with social welfare services in non-law enforcement activities. Following the 1972 famine in the highlands, police played a major role in the distribution of needed relief and, in situations where accidents or natural disasters affect families or communities, police and social workers often share responsibility for assisting people involved in tragedy. They may then be seen as providing different aspects of community services, and become more visible and acceptable to each other and to the public as a result.
Public relations activities in law enforcement

As well as general preventive social welfare programmes and more specific combined social welfare and social defence activities, the community may be encouraged to assist in crime prevention by direct public relations efforts carried out by legal and correctional officers. Police may visit schools, churches, social clubs and community meetings to give information and provide opportunities for discussion of problems in law enforcement. If this becomes a two-way process, community members will be able to provide suggestions as to how to improve unpopular procedures and yet achieve the same objectives.

This whole area of ‘improving public relations’ is a difficult one as people become frustrated if they are asked for suggestions and yet official policy and procedures remain the same. On the other hand, police and legal personnel are less than enthusiastic when ‘public relations’ means having to listen to unfounded or exaggerated complaints from uncooperative members of the community. The most difficult step may be accepting that less formal police-community interaction is a necessary part of the public relations process. The establishment of the Juvenile Aid Bureau and the individual activities of both police and community members has shown the value of improved police-community contact and could become a matter of general policy throughout Papua New Guinea. Social workers in government and voluntary agencies can assist this process by providing information about social problems and community patterns of life and by contributing during police training programmes to the development of necessary skills in dealing with individuals and groups.

Social workers and the courts

While the prevention of crime and disorder by improving the conditions under which people live is a major focus in social welfare, there are a number of important functions which social workers can perform in assisting adult and juvenile courts once delinquent acts have been committed.
Adult courts

Social workers can provide police, court officials and magistrates in preliminary hearings with social background information which will help in deciding further action. These frequently involve offences stemming from marital conflicts, parental neglect, family and clan conflicts, and crimes against property which may be related to poverty and other social problems. As well as providing information in specific cases, social workers can assist the court in understanding social and cultural elements which may have been general contributing factors to particular criminal offences.

Pre-sentence social background reports also provide the court with information which may determine suitability for probation, a suspended sentence, or a bond as compared with a prison term. This social report on family, clan and community factors may also assist decisions as to the most appropriate institutions in which prisoners should serve their sentences.

Children's courts and juvenile aid panels

Social workers are frequently located in children's court and juvenile aid services. They are involved in preliminary contacts with the police prior to the hearing, report to the magistrate or panel, and may be actually part of the decision-making process as members of the court or juvenile panel. Increasingly, as community participation is becoming part of the approach to prevention and control of juvenile delinquency, social workers undertake responsibility for coordination of voluntary probation services for youthful offenders. The social worker is the official link between community and religious groups providing supervision, and the police, the court, or the juvenile aid panel.

Decisions to include social workers as children's court magistrates and on juvenile panels reflects the knowledge and skills they bring to the complex social factors involved in delinquent behaviour. In addition they may provide orientation or special training for magistrates, members of juvenile aid panels, and the police so that individual and social causes of delinquency can be understood.
**Correctional services, probation and parole**

General public reaction to increases in crime rates has usually been to call for greater restrictions on liberty and for harsher penalties. This is an international trend and community leaders and policymakers may reflect these reactions when they oppose more rehabilitative approaches to correctional services. Consequently it has been noted that, if social welfare approaches are to be incorporated into correctional services:

> It is essential to convince the public that money spent in the treatment of offenders is not useless expenditure but a real social investment. It must be demonstrated that the social rehabilitation of offenders is economically profitable and that open treatment is not only cheaper than imprisonment but also keeps offenders in the productive section and enables them to meet their own needs and provide a livelihood for their families (Versele 1969:9-17).

Programmes and services in corrective institutions which promote rehabilitation may appear to those favouring harsher sentences to encourage crime while the contrary argument points to the hardening effect on less serious offenders of harsh conditions and association with older or more experienced criminals. It may prove difficult to reconcile the desire for community vengeance on those who have broken its laws and threaten its stability, with the community objective of providing for rehabilitation of those who will be returning to the community. Discussion of the reasons behind suggested rehabilitative procedures, while this may or may not lessen opposition, will certainly make community opinions more informed. Social welfare personnel working with correctional services are, along with other personnel, faced with realistic limitations such as the effect of public opinion on options and alternatives available at a given time.

Nevertheless there are many areas where social workers may assist correctional services in work with prisoners and their families to help solve social problems. The loss of the head of the family and wage earner, social rejection by others, or particular problems caused by illness, death, or family conflict may require that the social worker is a link between prisoners, their families, and the communities from which they come. Problems may be caused by the distance separating prisoners from their family groups and contact may need to be re-
established, particularly when they are about to be discharged. Help with employment, housing and social restoration to the community may be a crucial factor in promoting permanent rehabilitation. Where probation and parole services are part of the correctional system, social workers report on family and community circumstances and arrange for supervision of those placed on probation.

Community participation in probation and parole services

An important aspect of community participation involves rehabilitation of offenders and their return to the society from which they were removed. Although community attitudes often reflect the desire to punish, rather than to reform, this may suggest lack of understanding of those who have committed offences rather than an absolute rejection of individual problems. Among the advantages of a probation and parole service for Papua New Guinea would be the possibility of coordinating government and non-government services and manpower. This would include broadly-based public relations and community education on the reasons and hoped-for results in providing probation or parole services for offenders. While trained and experienced social welfare personnel are needed to supervise and coordinate such programmes, the emphasis would be on community, voluntary, and non-expert help throughout Papua New Guinea.

Use of part-time community members, who claim no special expertise in the correctional field, has been found to have positive advantages in the type of service which aims at permanent restoration of the offender to a useful and acceptable life in society. Volunteers may be closer to, and identified with, community attitudes, share a common language and style of life with those on probation, and act as a link between the offender, the community, and the correctional service. Realistic disadvantages may be that volunteers or non-experts lack knowledge of wider community resources, cannot handle difficult and complex social or emotional problems, fail to follow through on initial commitments, or become over-involved with the situation. Trained supervisory staff are clearly an essential element if these difficulties are to be minimized. The introduction of a probation service may be proposed because: i) it is an economic use of manpower and capital resources, ii) it is desirable to involve the community in this way and/or
iii) it is inevitable because some alternative to overcrowded institutions must be found:

i) **Economic.** The use of volunteers will make it possible for a few trained supervisors to undertake responsibility for larger numbers of offenders who would otherwise require more costly institutional care with increasing capital expenditure and staffing requirements.

ii) **Desirable.** Community participation in probation and parole is an effective way of increasing general community involvement in the prevention and control of crime, and understanding of the causes and conditions of crime and delinquency. The ability of the community to ‘look after its own’ is strengthened and more individual help to offenders is provided.

iii) **Inevitable.** Faced with rising crime rates and overcrowding of prisons this may be the only possible solution to effective use of available institutional facilities. Emphasis would then be placed on suitable ways of selecting those for whom probation would be more appropriate.

**Concluding comments: how realistic are these proposals?**

It is obvious that limitations in human and material resources will help decide priorities in planning social welfare and social defence needs in Papua New Guinea. However, increased awareness of possible areas of coordination of effort often does not involve increased personnel, but helps to avoid wasteful duplication of programmes which may be dealing with similar social problems. Shared perspectives may be gained during the training of social welfare and social defence personnel, or afterwards in formal and informal contacts. Mobilizing resources in the community will need some additional personnel to ensure continuity of effort, to bridge gaps in knowledge or skill for the volunteer or untrained participant, and to encourage those who have needed knowledge and skills but who remain aloof from the problem.
It is always easy in academic settings, such as at this seminar, to talk about involving others and to suggest that village leaders, councillors and other community members should participate more in the prevention of crime and the rehabilitation of criminals. However, professionals and businessmen, public servants and church officials, in both urban and rural areas, are part of this same community. They should also be involved seriously in such matters as community/police relations, and in tackling the social conditions which encourage crime and disorder.

Training social welfare and social defence personnel calls for a variety of emphases and approaches. Different tasks are to be performed and there is no single answer to social problems. However, at the University of Papua New Guinea we claim to be educating future lawyers and social workers who will have to consider these questions involving both social defence and social welfare services. An important contribution may be to examine what we are teaching and the relation of theory and practice to see whether we really are in touch with current realities.

The question might then be posed: how do we become less academically aloof and more deeply involved in problems of crime prevention and community protection throughout Papua New Guinea?
SOCIAL JUSTICE AND NEO-COLONIALISM: IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATION AND RESEARCH AT THE UNIVERSITY OF PAPUA NEW GUINEA*

The Process of colonisation has been like a huge tidal wave. It has covered our land, submerging the natural life of our people (Constitutional Planning Committee 1974:2/13).

During the past few months, there has been heated debate on the administration of justice and its relationship to the rule of law and natural or social justice. This is not a remote intellectual question for discussion or inclusion in assignments by students, or lectures by academic staff. What is considered socially just in Papua New Guinea society today affects all members of the community, and the fervour of the debate is felt both within and outside the University. It seemed therefore to be appropriate to focus in my paper on the theme of social justice, how it is related to neo-colonialism, and the implications for teaching and research at the University of Papua New Guinea. I have concentrated on those elements which reflect the involvement of the Department of Anthropology and Sociology both within and outside the university.

As an Australian, and so a national of the former colonial administration, I have, since coming to Papua New Guinea in 1972, been interested in problems of persistent and inappropriate colonial attitudes, administrative structures, and methods of teaching and

* Inaugural Lecture as Professor of the Department of Anthropology and Sociology, University of Papua New Guinea, October 1979.
staff/student contacts which suggest a neo-colonial rather than post-colonial climate within the university, as well as in the wider society. We are now more openly discussing these issues and how they affect staff development and the recruitment of national academic staff. These questions are particularly important for a multi-disciplinary department which includes the separate degree of Bachelor of Arts in Social Work as well as the disciplines of anthropology and sociology and the redefined discipline of archaeology.

My predecessors found other themes of relevance at the time they presented their inaugural addresses. They spoke of the context of the teaching of anthropology and sociology and the relationships between the different disciplines within our department, and assessed the role of anthropologists and social scientists in Papua New Guinea (see Bulmer 1969 and A. Strathern 1974). These are topics of continuing concern and interest, but I have selected this wider issue because it involves theory, research, and practical action and application, which are related, not only to the department in which I teach, but also to the university as a whole.

Social justice is a term used to include both the idea of giving all individuals their share or their due, and that of righting or redressing wrongs done by individuals or groups to each other. It reflects principles of equality, equity, participation, and consultation, and these have been embodied in the Papua New Guinea constitution. The concept of 'social justice' takes justice away from the exclusive domain of law and takes into account relationships within the society itself.¹

Neo-colonialism refers to the continuation of political, economic, or social control and domination after there has been a formal recognition of political independence. Much of this domination, it has been pointed out, may take place automatically if institutions of government and of private and public investment in the economy remain largely unchanged. Systems of law and administration have been inherited from colonial days and cannot be expected to change

¹ In one sense, all justice is social justice (see Baldwin 1966). This may apply in non-colonial situations but the point of departure in Papua New Guinea is that the system of justice does not reflect the society in which it operates.
unless there is a great deal of tension and conscious effort in the society. Resistance from those who wish to retain the old ways will be predictable, especially when change may lessen their power or status (see Brown 1974:256-284 for a discussion of this aspect of neo-colonialism).

Both terms may be used as ideological or political slogans but I have used them as descriptive terms which are important when discussing social inequality, and the necessity for legal and administrative reform. That neo-colonialism should give way to a post-colonial reform and restructuring of society is reflected in the statement from the Final Report of the Constitutional Planning Committee (1974: 2/13) that:

We should use the good that there is in the debris and deposits of colonisation, to improve, uplift and enhance the solid foundations of our own social, political and economic systems. The undesirable aspects of Western ways and institutions should be left aside. We recognise that some of our own institutions impose constraints on our vision of freedom, liberation and fulfilment. These should be left buried if they cannot be reshaped for our betterment.

Social inequality and planned change

At the 1979 Waigani Seminar on the theme of 'Urbanization in Papua New Guinea', discussion of social inequality and disharmony and tensions which exist in urban communities showed a concern, not only for the increased numbers of people coming to live in towns, but also for the inappropriate structures of urban government and management which exist within towns. It was clear from the papers presented, and the discussions and workshops which followed, that towns have remained largely colonial towns. Building regulations, relationships between residents and government departments, transport, housing, street trading regulations, and sporting or other recreational facilities were developed during the colonial period. These reflect the reality that towns were for the expatriate official or businessman and the limited number of Papua New Guineans in the work force.
It was not surprising therefore that the authors of one paper entitled 'Life in Port Moresby: A View from the Settlements' (Sea and Yeates 1980), pointed to the problems which arise when opportunities for participation in decision making are denied. People living in planned and unplanned settlements have, it was argued, a right to be heard, and be able to take part in the planning of improvements in their physical and social environment. It is significant that this paper was presented jointly by the director of the Port Moresby Community Development Group, and a lecturer in the Social Work Programme of the Department of Anthropology and Sociology. Since 1972 a continuing association with the Port Moresby Community Development Group has involved social work students and staff in considerations of problems faced by low-income members of urban communities, and the links between these settlers and the rural villages and scattered hamlets from which they or their parents have migrated.

At the 1971 Waigani Seminar on 'Change and Development in Rural Melanesia', a similar plea for greater awareness of the rights of 'victims of progress', was made by the foundation professor of Anthropology, Ralph Bulmer. He urged those involved in research and development planning to pay more attention to minority groups of rural people who would be affected by social dislocation, or by-passed in the provision of health, education, or other services as they had no effective voice in decision making. The implications for rural dislocation or neglect would be to increase inequalities in the society, and encourage migration to urban centres. Today, the growth of settlements around Port Moresby, Lae, and other towns in Papua New Guinea reflects the link between rural and urban inequalities and how the benefits of 'Change and Development' need to be evaluated against social and human costs.

In a series of studies of resettlement (C.A. and B.L.Valentine 1979), the question is asked as to who really gains from these programmes of planned development. Jackson (1979:12-14) makes the point that the costs have been high and that benefits are felt unevenly, even within the same family group. From these, and other recent studies of trends in large-scale economic projects in Papua New Guinea, it seems clear that 'development', however it may be defined, is unequally distributed throughout the country, both within and between provinces. It is in many ways the same as in colonial times.
but, with the increased development of the money economy, inequalities now involve Papua New Guineans as the ‘haves’ as well as the ‘have nots’. Many of those who have benefited were educated at the University of Papua New Guinea. Later in this paper I will look at the role which the university plays, both in promoting a greater awareness of social inequalities, and in maintaining neo-colonial attitudes.

**Conflicts between *lo* and *pasin*: attempts at integration**

Another paper at the 1979 Waigani Seminar considered customary dispute settlement among urban migrants (Iamo 1980). The author, a teaching fellow in Social Anthropology, had been working in collaboration with staff of the Law Reform Commission on a study of customary ways of resolving conflicts and ‘repairing’ or restoring harmony and balance when social relationships between individuals or groups are disrupted. In the discussion which followed, he turned to a consideration of ways by which dispute settlement procedures might be, and indeed have been, broadened to include disputes between members of different ethnic groups and to link introduced formal court procedures with traditional mediation and negotiation. In this way the concept of social justice as including all in a society as equals could form the basis for processes of reconciliation for young people who are at odds with their communities, or for older members of a society who consider that their rights have been infringed (see Knoll 1979 for a discussion of how traditional mechanisms for dispute settlement have been adapted in urban settlements).

It might not be too fanciful to suggest that this idea of repairing or restoring harmony after people have been insulted or injured might even obviate the need for any future legalistic ‘contempt of court proceedings’ such as those which have disturbed the harmony of the nation during the past few months. At a lecture to the Papua New Guinea Scientific Society, Andrew Strathern (then Professor of Social Anthropology at the University of Papua New Guinea), discussed the uneasy relationship which exists between traditional and introduced ideas of law and social justice. He quoted the observation of his colleague and collaborator Ongka that: ‘*lo* and *pasin* are in competition with each other. The one will not give way to the other, they will stay
together' (Strathern 1976. See also Strathern 1979:137-139 for a further discussion of Ongka's world view).

One researcher into conflict management practices among the Western Abelam (Scaglion 1976) makes a similar point that the introduction in colonial times of the adversarial, judicial style of hearing cases and pronouncing judgement was in sharp contrast to traditional notions of 'balanced opposition'. For the Abelam as much as for the Medlpas, lo and pasin are in competition and the idea of lo representing unilateral power is not consistent with traditional balance. Scaglion is currently coordinating research into customary law for the Law Reform Commission and students and academic staff at the University of Papua New Guinea have contributed to this discussion of the interface between the two systems (see articles by Gordon, Lacey, and Talyaga in the June 1978 issue of Yagl-Ambu).

The Law Reform Commission was required under a provision of the constitution to examine and report to parliament and the national executive on the development of an underlying law which would take into account both lo and pasin. Much dissatisfaction had been expressed at the unsuitability of the foreign court processes and the need for major changes. Epstein (1972:633-634) and M. Strathern (1972) make the point that Western judicial systems may be quite inappropriate in Papua New Guinea. As one discussion group at the 1975 seminar on crime in Papua New Guinea concluded:

We consider that the existing complex rules of procedure and of evidence that govern the courts frequently appear to defeat the ideal of social justice. The people cannot see justice in many of the decisions that result from the application of these rules, nor can they understand them (Biles 1976:198).

In 1977 the Law Reform Commission published a report on the role of customary law in the legal system (Ann Chowning, then associate professor of Anthropology and Sociology attended a 1977 seminar on 'underlying law and customary law' and both Andrew and Marilyn Strathern provided comments for Working Paper No. 4 1976). This report emphasized the need for customary law to become a major element in the underlying law and considered that if the needs and aspirations of the people were to be met, a more serious and concerted effort should be made to review the entire justice system. It agreed with
the view expressed at the 1975 seminar quoted above, noting that it was ‘inherently wrong and fundamentally unjust’ to inflict punishment ‘by applying standards and world views of another people’ which had been merely inherited from the colonial past. This was a bold step by the Commission. It is not surprising that the report was rejected by many who, by training and cultural background, were deeply committed to the previously introduced system of law. What is perhaps surprising was the acceptance of this opposition by Papua New Guineans, and the lack of professional, bureaucratic, and political will to decolonize law, and make it more relevant to the needs of the new nation.

Since 1977, there have been a number of attempts to revise or modify various legal and administrative procedures, but always within the continuing legal and judicial system. One such area is that of proposed legislation to set up a probation and parole system for adult offenders. In a paper written after requests for comments from the Department of Justice and the Law Reform Commission, Stewart MacPherson (then on secondment from Nottingham University to the Department of Anthropology) and I (1978:97-103) looked at the issues involved in introducing this Western-style solution to meet the problems of delinquency, and considered ways of building on traditional and community authority.

The present tendency is to fill the prisons with short term detainees for whom no rehabilitative programme is possible, but who remain for a few months, and are then returned to the same unequal and unjust society which is the real cause of the problem. This becomes a meaningless but harmful ritual of the rule of law. One question in probation is how to provide community forms of control and sanction which will be related to the beliefs and social organization of the particular group from which the offender comes. Only if groups are unable to look after their own should some substitute be developed. Even then, the probation system should use informal social networks and community resources, rather than building up another alien and inappropriate bureaucratic machine.

In this, and in so many other attempts at reform, it is clear that a more fundamental reorientation of attitudes and institutions to promote social justice has not yet begun, and that the training of lawyers, magistrates and social workers needs revision.
Social justice and social responsibility: a continuing role for university teaching and research

In the years prior to and since independence, staff and students at the University of Papua New Guinea have been involved in a wide range of research activities and practical projects reflecting social awareness and concern. Students have helped organize literacy classes and have assisted in the development of community facilities, by contributing labour, by helping in negotiating applications for government aid, and by sharing the knowledge and skills gained in their studies.

Social work students complete community-based fieldwork in urban settlements and rural areas, and law students provide a legal aid service as part of their formal training. Organizations such as the Law Reform Commission, the Office of Village Development, and the Institute of Applied Social and Economic Research employ students to gather information, and staff and students work individually or as a team to help solve problems of immediate social concern. Many students work within government or private enterprise in vacation employment, or as part of course related projects.

From 1974 to 1978, police officers completed a Diploma of Police Studies which included courses in law, anthropology, community development, and politics. Each group carried out a special research project on an aspect of policy/community relationships. This lapsed in 1979, as police training priorities gave greater emphasis to more technical aspects of police training. The unwillingness to send officers for diploma studies also seemed to reflect the attitude of some expatriate advisers that technical police skills should take precedence over rather 'soft' ideas about improving police/community relations. However, it was encouraging to note that the importance of police/community contacts has been recognized and promoted by a number of diploma holders who are now in senior positions in the Police Department, and it may be possible to re-establish the diploma in the future.2

We have also begun planning ways by which social work and law students can collaborate in common areas of concern so that broader

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2 This diploma was re-established and later revised as a Diploma in Social Administration, including not only police but also corrective institution, social welfare, and village court personnel.
questions of social inequality, and the reasons for social conflicts, may be linked to the examination of the laws operating in Papua New Guinea. What are the needs of people faced with laws and procedures they do not understand and who fear ‘lo’ even if they sometimes reject ‘pasin’? Staff and students who have been concerned with these questions are still relatively few in number as these activities are often viewed as less academic or easy options. Yet, at graduation students are expected to enter into the real world of urban and rural society, and they need the opportunity of relating theories and research techniques to that reality. They need to learn how to examine and analyse what is going on in village and town. What are the implications of development planned for whole provinces or regions in the country? How are government- and church-sponsored extension services seen by the many who live in urban settlements or in rural villages and who have no say in the design or implementation of these programmes? What effect will revision of laws or administrative procedures have in lessening social injustice or conflict?

During September 1979, as part of a Rural Sociology course, third year Agriculture students completed a study in four villages in the Rigo area of the Central Province. In discussing their experiences, it became clear that what they have really gained is a view from the village which we cannot give in any classroom lectures or tutorials. But are we using these learning experiences to the full? Are we reflecting on the causes of the social problems and tensions that social workers, police, lawyers or administrators must try to solve as graduates? Often expatriate staff are more comfortable working on data collection and on theory building or explanation. This seems less like interference or colonial domination, but may only reflect their isolation from the society in which they live.

Conclusion: moving to a post-colonial university

We are also being asked to take a more active role in staff development so that the university can shift from a colonial or neo-colonial stance to a post-colonial institution integrating elements of lo and pasin from within and outside Papua New Guinea. Do our own ideas, methods of teaching, cultural preoccupations, and ways of relating to students and national staff reflect a continuation of colonial thinking? Is a feeling of
uncertainty and dependence created not only by those who wish to retain the old ways, but also by the new intellectual advocates who seek to impose new ways of their own design or selection?

This problem of intellectual domination is a challenging one; how can one de-colonize an institution such as the University of Papua New Guinea where foreign academics will continue to be a major influence for some years to come? Perhaps one answer is to use theories or comparisons from other times or other societies as models presented not for consumption and replication but rather as starting points for reflection and discussion. We may be good at the first part of this exercise but we need to examine the next phase — that which involves students and national academics more directly in the process. In a collection entitled A Bias for Hope, Hirschman (1971:360) refers to an architect of social change as one who 'can never have a reliable blueprint'.

Therefore, what can be most usefully conveyed by the builders of one house is an understanding of the experience that made it at all possible to build under these trying circumstances.

If we are to promote awareness of social justice in Papua New Guinea society this is the only way by which we can present our views but avoid intellectual neo-colonialism. We have seen many national houses being built and have experienced the various stresses and strains of nation-building. This experience and knowledge we can share with our students and national colleagues, and those outside the university who are engaged in this enterprise. It is certainly a continuing process, with perhaps more risks for misunderstanding and social disharmony than those faced by the foundation professors of our university. But it seems equally to contain satisfactions and the opportunity of contributing different world views for consideration by those who share our search for knowledge.

We cannot remain detached and aloof from the society in which we live and work. We must share in the work of sifting through the debris

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3 I am indebted to Ann and Rod Lacey UPNG, and to Luis Quiros, IASER, for perspectives gained from discussions of the place of experience, theory building, and hypothesis testing, in the overall search for knowledge.
and deposits of colonization and in the examination of Papua New Guinean ways.

But we must leave to Papua New Guineans the final task of selecting what they want from these two elements and reshaping their own society. Today, more and more questions are being asked as to the relevance of much that was accepted from the colonial past. We are also part of this assessment process, as the university is not only a critic of society but must accept criticism and evaluation from society. It is this possibility of change and evaluation that makes teaching at the University of Papua New Guinea worthwhile. In looking to the future, I share with many national and expatriate colleagues the same 'bias for hope'.
We are all aware that Papua New Guinea has been caught in the western capitalist web that advocates property being the most important aspect of life ... Crime is related to economic development because it creates necessities, competition and the desire ‘to be somebody’ in individuals (Rongap et al. 1978:11).

The recent urban arrival is immediately confronted with a proliferation of attractive goods and luxuries, which are beyond his financial means. The employment he seeks is seldom immediately available to the unskilled worker, and yet by the very fact of his urban residence he needs money in order to survive — unlike the village situation where money is desirable, but not essential ... He has for the first time to live entirely as an individual, without the support of communal life, and his lack of experience will often lead him to make choices which bring him into conflict with the law. Indeed, he may be almost forced into crime as a matter of survival (Geno 1976).¹

In the South Pacific, as is the case in other developing countries, hundreds of people, especially the young people, are

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¹ Paper presented at the Crime Prevention Seminar, held at the Administrative College, July 1975. An edited version appears in Biles ed. 1976, but this section was not included.
leaving the villages in search for a more attractive life in the towns. In the Solomon Islands many young people have come into Honiara with high expectations of finding paid employment and enjoying the sophistication of the newly introduced way of life. In many cases these dreams have failed to materialise (Kome 1978).

The link between increasing emphasis throughout society on the acquisition of money and consumer goods has been noted by many writers as having important effects on the number of young people involved in activities which authorities have labelled as ‘deviant’. It is almost self-evident that any attempt to revise or reform the laws relating to juvenile delinquency should, if it is to be of any value, take into account the reasons why some activities are identified as crimes as well as the possible root causes of such activities. The quotations above are comments by Papua New Guinea police officers and a Solomon Island social worker on the causes of crime. There are other writers who have discussed the problems of juvenile delinquency and sought to find solutions which would be appropriate within their own national and cultural context. Often, however, these comments are only to be found in reports of meetings, unpublished academic or government papers or acknowledged merely as personal communications in the writings of Western experts who have visited or are resident in their countries.

Community-based efforts in working with youth in the community, the value of institutional care or the need for some alternatives to imprisonment, the relative emphasis to be placed on professional or voluntary input in the field of juvenile delinquency, the socio-economic causes of crime, and the danger of labelling young people as deviant, have all been discussed in recent years. Nevertheless, it is clear that these Melanesian voices are rarely heard by those involved in reforming current legislation or, perhaps more correctly, these voices have not been listened to as they are usually drowned out by louder authoritative voices which seem to carry more weight.

Competing views on juvenile delinquency

Before turning to look at some of the solutions put forward by Papua New Guineans interested in reform of the laws and administrative procedures affecting young people, it is important to identify the
conflicting philosophies which are reflected in the draft Youth Court Services Act. In his critique of the proposed Youth Court Services Act, Cruickshank (1980) explores the limitations inherent in attempts to adapt or modify legislation developed at another time and place and imported, as has happened so often in Papua New Guinea, at a time when the very philosophies on which the original legislation was based are under attack.

What perhaps needs to be further explored is the background to the conflict in philosophies and approaches to the questions of juvenile delinquency which he has correctly identified. The lack of clear direction, and confusion and apparent contradictions in the proposed legislation is no unconscious groping for solutions but rather the result of strong debate and unresolved tensions between those who emphasize custodial care, both as a punitive and retributive mechanism and as a means of treatment and rehabilitation, and those who have sought to introduce the more community-based non-interventionist model which Cruickshank advocates at the conclusion of his discussion. Legal moralists, human rights exponents, and child savers have abounded in Papua New Guinea and, since the early 1970s, numerous reports, articles, and proceedings of workshops have reflected the divergent ideas and solutions put forward by proponents of these points of view — usually reflecting the training and ideology they have brought with them from their home countries (see Biles 1976; Zorn and Bayne 1975).

In some cases proponents of solutions which have been tried and found wanting in their own societies take little account of, or dismiss as impractical, alternative emphases on community-based solutions to community problems. In 1973 a proposal to build a large reformatory at Bomana was abandoned, partly due to the effort of those who may be labelled as ‘child savers’ or even as ‘non-interventionists’. At that time many of those interested in the problems of juvenile delinquency shared my view that any residential facilities should be small and community-based and that there is ‘considerable danger that larger facilities lessen the incentive to use community resources and encourage dependence on government services rather than on community self-reliance’ (O'Collins 1976).

Discussions surrounding proposals for a new Youth Court Services Act, and the introduction of adult probation and parole
services, continued to raise similar questions to those voiced by the writers quoted at the beginning of this paper. It was clear that without the fundamental re-orientation of attitudes and institutions called for in the constitution, reform would be piecemeal and without coherence or direction (see MacPherson and O'Collins 1978).

Despite continuing efforts to emphasize the value of building on community resources there has been a general move towards institutional and professional solutions, rather than the more integrated approach which de-emphasizes 'control' programmes. This reflects, as Cruickshank has noted, the views of those effectively involved in revising the legislation. In addition, they see as outside their area of concern any real consideration of the causes of increased crime or delinquency and look to legislation, rather than to community and societal reorientation, as a practical solution to the problems of deviancy.

It is easier to build another provincial centre for the 'treatment' of juvenile offenders than to build a new approach involving these same young people, their families, or their communities of origin. What happens to them after they are discharged from the institution can become someone else's responsibility. Success is often measured in terms of buildings, staff hours, or the objectives of the programmes and satisfy those who call for custodial care as being more effective.

**Melanesian responses to Western legislation**

Efforts to introduce community-based probation services have met with mixed reactions. In 1974 a Papua New Guinean social worker proposed a probation service in which a few trained personnel would work with voluntary community-based workers as an alternative to custodial care. The writer (Walagat 1974) commented:

For some time now the government has tried to deal with the problem. Its attempts have included the establishment of institutions with the express purpose of rehabilitation. In the mind of the writer these institutions have never really succeeded because of their alienation from society. Either the staff are not appropriate ones or the type of rehabilitation that is carried out does not equip the offenders to face society.
The difficulties in setting up a community-based probation service and mobilizing community self-reliance has, not surprisingly, led many Papua New Guineans to see professional and bureaucratic solutions as being more practicable. However, reports from discussion groups at the *Crime in Papua New Guinea* seminar (Biles 1976) showed the varied concerns of the different workshop groups, and the different approaches to questions of punishment, rehabilitation and law reform. While a proposal to establish a probation service was included, forces of punishment and retribution were reflected in one group's recommendations that:

Physical punishment should be able to be ordered in the court and it should be done publicly in the person's own village or settlement (if homogeneous). The consent of the parents is not necessary but they may be allowed to give the punishment. In heterogeneous settlements the punishment may be administered privately by the court with a warning that next time it will be public.

Moral reform and more punitive community sentiments have been a powerful, if unspoken, influence which has led many reformers to place greater reliance on full-time trained professional staff, who might help mitigate the severity of community reactions and ensure that the rights of those in conflict with the law will be respected. Another view, which Kome (1978) puts forward in his discussion of one alternative method of coping with potential delinquent youth, is that younger members of the community also have something to offer their elders:

The youth of today should be encouraged by the old and the wise to share with them the richness of their inexperience - so that the old and the wise should also learn from the young.... But this is not what happens today. The young generation of today are being suppressed, and imprisoned by the older generation.

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2 For example, after completing a fieldwork placement at the Hohola Assessment and Remand Centre, Ambuia (1979) wrote a report entitled 'There is a greater need for fully committed Juvenile Workers'
The varied responses from the ‘older generation’ in the many communities which make up Melanesian societies reflect the same attitudes to juvenile delinquency as can be found in the philosophies and ideologies of Western law reformers. As Cruickshank illustrates in his analysis of the draft *Youth Court Services Act*, there are limitations in this particular blend of moral reform, human rights, and child saving. There is a need for greater emphasis to be placed on community participation and on the stresses and policies which are the real causes of delinquency, however it may be defined.

While it remains relatively easy to identify obvious weaknesses in any attempt to use law to control disturbing and uncomfortable elements in a society, it is harder to offer concrete alternative strategies by which society can mobilize itself to control and reform the law. To do so would, in any case, contradict the fundamental goal of national self-reliance.

Melanesians themselves must continue the process in which they are already engaged — of debate and discussion as to how best to develop a system of justice reflecting the nature and particular needs of their own societies.
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 a 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 a 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.

* 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 (O'Collins 1986).
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 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. 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 way 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:
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 (Sharif 1984).

In Papua New Guinea, 1985 has been a year for other celebrations. 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 policymakers 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. Alternatively, 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 and 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 1983) 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; 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 in the 'social history of a moral panic' (Hall et al. 1978:19), and the point is made that 'labels are important, especially when applied to dramatic public events'. The focus in this study 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, to 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; *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, were 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 identify 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 cooperation with government efforts. The National Youth Movement Programme 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 the development of 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 (Kemelfield 1975; Kemelfield and Keviame 1976; Weeks 1978; Tietze 1980).

Nevertheless, the social reality for youth in their villages is that opportunities for them 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 1984b: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 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 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 ples, 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 of 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 baseline 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 1984a). 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 cooperation 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 cooperation 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, 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 opportunities 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.
Part 4:
Social Aspects of Health Needs and Services
The 1973 workshop to consider health priorities to be included in the *Papua New Guinea National Health Plan (1974-1978)* included some consideration of the social aspects of health service delivery and the linkages between traditional and introduced approaches to physical and mental illness. Existing hospitals and main health centres were located at colonial or mission administrative centres and there were major inequalities in the distribution of health services between different regions and between urban and rural areas. Priority in the allocation of health resources would be given to reducing these inequalities and to promoting primary health care services in rural areas (see ‘Review of Health Services’, *Papua New Guinea National Health Plan 1986-1990*:55-60). As Papua New Guinea prepared for independence, a World Health Organization definition of ‘health’ as encompassing physical, mental and social wellbeing was seen as having particular relevance for community-based approaches to health services. Yet, as the papers which are included in this section illustrate, if changes in the health sector are to be effective, they must be part of a broader development strategy.

National health policies in Papua New Guinea during the 1970s and 1980s reflected international shifts in emphasis from curative to preventive and developmental health programmes. The development of a primary health care approach to the delivery of health services in developing countries emerged as a major strategy promoted by the World Health Organization, UNICEF and other international agencies such as the International Planned Parenthood Federation and World Vision. It was also recognized that understanding and making use of traditional health practices and integrated approaches to mental health would be ineffective unless this was part of an overall approach to national development. Pointing to the links between mental health and socio-economic development, the *1986-1990 National Health Plan* (Department of Health 1986:170) called for a strategy of ‘prevention and health promotion’.
Community and political leaders, economic planners and educationalists must be made aware of the need to take psychosocial factors into account in the planning of economic development. The Mental Health Section [would] encourage a rational approach to programmes which involve a modification of community behavior.

At the non-government and community level there have been some major new initiatives, particularly in areas such as family planning and treatment and care of the disabled (See August 1987; Iangalio 1987; Chapter 22 this volume). Yet, despite agreement on the importance of a more community-based approach, implementation of appropriate programmes has been patchy and has not really fulfilled the expectations of health planners. This is not surprising for, as MacPherson notes:

To be successful, primary health care cannot simply be a matter of ‘projects’ grafted on to existing systems; the nature of health systems must be changed. If they are so changed, from being inequitably distributed, urban and hospital-oriented to being part of a just overall social and economic development, the evidence is that such a change will demand major social transformation (1982:113).

The papers included in this section span the period from 1973 to 1987. Persisting inequalities and the more recent deterioration of existing services reflect the limitations of piecemeal projects and shifts in budgetary allocations brought about by provincial or national political pressures, rather than demonstrated need. It has also been argued that, even when funds are available, financial mismanagement and corrupt practices have led to the deterioration of health services.

Although much has been accomplished, there is still no real progress in achieving the major social transformation required to meet the health needs of the majority of Papua New Guineans living in rural areas or low-income urban communities. In the early 1990s serious management and funding shortfalls have led to the deterioration of services even at larger urban health facilities. In August 1992, the Post-Courier reported a major funding crisis at the Port Moresby General Hospital which had resulted in the cancellation of all elective surgery
Social aspects of health needs and aspects

for the remainder of the year (Tannos 1992:1). This was followed a few days later by the headlines 'Mental hospital in danger of closure' (Togarewa 1992:1). It is clear that the WHO goal of 'health for all by the year 2000' is not only further away than had been imagined in the early 1970s, but is no longer of any relevance as health and other community workers struggle to provide basic services which had previously been taken for granted. In this situation, the call for greater community involvement in all aspects of health services has changed from being a matter of choice to a matter of survival.
SOCIAL SUPPORTS AND CONSTRAINTS IN THE PROVISION OF HEALTH SERVICES IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA*

The concept of health, however it may be officially defined or informally understood in a particular country, includes elements of physical, mental, and social wellbeing as a necessary part of the total human condition. Social wellbeing, the particular element on which I wish to focus attention in this paper, is the concern of communities, groups and families as well as individuals, and of government and non-government agencies who offer a wide range of health, education and social welfare services to these same communities, groups, families, and individuals.

Social development policies and programmes are understood internationally to include health, education and social welfare services and to involve planning and programming aimed at developing strengths within communities, as well as preventing or remedying problems which might arise or already exist. In Papua New Guinea the term ‘social development’ has come to be more limited in its definition. It is accepted by many to mean ‘community social welfare’; but the interlocking and interdependent nature of physical, mental, and social needs remains.

The term ‘social’ used in the title of this paper may indicate community, group, or family styles of life, personal interaction, and shared beliefs or attitudes. These may encourage or discourage the utilization of particular health services but should, whatever their effect,

be understood and taken into account in the provision of health services at a local, regional, or national level.

Why is it that some people come to the aid post, clinic, or hospital more readily and with a less advanced health problem than others? Why do some groups accept and utilize preventive health programmes while others fail to do so? Why is it that many people see health services as 'something belonging to the government or the mission' rather than as 'something belonging to the community'?

These are obviously difficult questions for which no simple answer will be adequate, as the interaction between the lifestyle, beliefs, customs and attitudes of the people being served, and the structure and approach of a particular health service, is very complex. It is clearly not a question of social factors merely impeding or limiting the development of health services, but of how social factors can be better understood and the provision of health services made more effective for a particular community or region.

Social supports or social constraints?

The close social network linking members of the same kin group in a system of mutual obligations and responsibilities, the belief in individuals or things unseen which have great power for good or ill, the pattern of personal face-to-face contact with those who are considered as helping persons, are all social facts of life in Papua New Guinea. Urban centres may show many variations as people move away from the close-knit rural community and adapt themselves to new ideas and ways of doing things. However, old social patterns and beliefs may exist alongside modern developments and many cultural attitudes are hidden from those who might smile, or reject them.

Health is a family, clan and community affair. Birth and death, illness and recovery, are communal problems which are dealt with in a communal way. Health, education, and social welfare are not abstract services which people use, but people — doctors, teachers, nurses, welfare officers, or community workers whom people have learned to trust or mistrust, to approach or to avoid, to welcome, tolerate, or reject. Social patterns of relationships within a group or community and with those outside the group may be used to promote better provision
of health services or may be seen merely as barriers or constraints to
effective health service delivery.

Ignorance and misunderstanding regarding the value of a particular
programme or treatment procedure may lead to its rejection or only
partial utilization by a group. Wrong information may quickly spread
through the group because it is closely knit. However, effective health
education programmes which aim at reaching and informing key
influential persons within the group, as well as providing opportunities
for wider diffusion of information, may prove more effective for the
same reason and succeed because of the close knit social network
involved. Barriers and constraints to more effective health service
delivery may reflect:

i) lack of knowledge, misunderstanding or fear on the part of
the individual, family or larger group;

ii) lack of adequate communication between the family and kin
group and health personnel;

iii) rejection by the family, group, or a particular individual, of a
health programme treatment procedure, which may be
understood but rejected on religious, cultural or personal
grounds;

iv) a general lack of involvement by the community in the
planning and implementation of health services, either because
they see the health service as something belonging to the
government or mission, or because the government or
mission has not sought to effectively involve them in this
process.

A social development approach to health

Health education programmes on the one hand, and a family- and
group-oriented approach to medical care on the other, are clearly
important aspects of health planning which will do much to remove
social barriers and constraints to the provision of health services.
However, not only health personnel are involved in this process. Social
development in its wider sense includes community-based educational
and social programmes which may assist and promote the development
of more effective health services. Nutrition, family planning, malaria control prevention, early detection and treatment of tuberculosis and leprosy, are all areas where community-based government and non-government personnel from a variety of other sectors can cooperate with health personnel.

The social development component in health services from hospitals, clinics or aid posts also calls for careful evaluation. Are social and cultural factors being considered in structuring diagnostic and treatment procedures? Can the family and group be more involved in the process than at present? Would this result in better and more effective treatment of the whole person, or will effective treatment of the physical aspects of health be inevitably diminished if more attention is given to the emotional and social aspects? Must there be a choice, or would a wider view of health make it possible to use community and family contacts to improve health provisions?

Training of health personnel in Papua New Guinea involves learning how to treat the individual within the family and group context and this may present many variations throughout the nation. National health planning also calls for structures and programmes which may be varied in different communities and reflect transitional concepts of health.

It is clearly unrealistic to expect health personnel to be all things to all people while carrying out the responsibility of providing effective medical care. Supporting services which link health services with the community have to be built into overall social development planning. A final and fundamental question which must therefore be raised for consideration at this workshop is: how should the proposed National Health Plan be linked with and related to other elements in national social development planning for Papua New Guinea.
SOCIAL WELFARE ASPECTS OF FAMILY PLANNING PROGRAMMES IN RURAL PAPUA NEW GUINEA*

We declare our fifth goal to be to achieve development primarily through the use of Papua New Guinean forms of social, political and economic organization (Constitution of the Independent State of Papua New Guinea 1975:4).

Initially, when preparing this paper, it seemed a fairly straightforward task to examine and analyse family planning services and describe those in which social welfare approaches were considered in designing and carrying out programmes. However, as I interviewed those working in health and community welfare programmes, it became clear that social welfare approaches have yet to be effectively integrated into planning and programme development. Nevertheless, recent trends are encouraging and suggest that social aspects may be considered more in future planning, particularly at provincial and community levels.


I am grateful to the United Nations Social Development Division and to the International Association of Schools of Social Work for the impetus they gave me to carry out the research for this paper. My thanks to Betsi Torova who typed cheerfully and efficiently from my far less efficient notes and to all in Papua New Guinea whom I interviewed or who informally shared their ideas with me. I look forward to many discussions and debates in the future.
Introduction

In societies throughout Papua New Guinea family size was limited in the past by traditional practices and health and environmental factors which reduced fertility or increased infant mortality (see Bulmer 1971 for a discussion of traditional forms of family limitation).

In more recent times, marked increases in family size and infant survival rates have been attributed to breakdown of traditional practices, introduced health services, and to the effect of socio-economic changes in villages and towns throughout the country. Radford (1972:131-133) noted that larger family size was likely to increase maternal morbidity and mortality rates. A recent report by a World Health Organisation team (Mehra, Epstein and Sato 1978) described these rates as being among the highest in the developing world and within the Pacific Region. Papua New Guinea, with a population of approximately three million people, had an estimated growth rate in 1977 of 2.86 per cent and some provinces in this largely subsistence agricultural economy have already experienced problems of land shortage (notably the Gazelle Peninsula in East New Britain Province and Simbu Province).

This paper will look at family planning programmes which have been developed to meet the needs of rural populations throughout Papua New Guinea, and will focus in particular on social welfare approaches or strategies which affect rural populations and their access to, and utilization of, family planning services.

Social welfare needs had previously been met wholly within the family, clan, and community. However, increased birth and survival rates since World War II are associated, as in many other South Pacific island countries, with increased malnutrition among young children, limitations in educational and employment opportunities for older children and teenagers, and increased urbanization as more people move from rural areas to towns. The development of family planning programmes has been a part of the wider challenge of meeting health, education and social welfare needs of scattered rural populations in remote highlands regions, swampy coastal areas, and numerous islands.

Any discussion of social welfare aspects must take into account problems of communication and transport, of centralized government departments which have limited possibilities for coordination of
extension services, of inadequate and irregular supplies and of systems of reward and promotion which do not encourage links with other agencies in the community. It is a country of marked contrasts. In an area such as the Gazelle Peninsula in East New Britain, with a population of 120,000, there is a good road network, accessible health and social services with both government and church clinics, a strong women’s organization, a well developed government welfare service, and a highly literate community. On the other hand, rural villages in the mountains around Port Moresby may have greater problems in obtaining basic family health services and social welfare approaches to family planning may be much more difficult to identify. The desire for family planning services in many areas reflects questions of land use, labour migration, lessening of clan warfare, the role of women in new cash crop developments, and wider family and community responses to socio-economic change.

Family planning programmes in Papua New Guinea

1. Government-sponsored programmes

In the *Papua New Guinea National Health Plan 1974-78* (1933:277), the national objective in family planning is described as being:

> ... to provide parents with the knowledge and means to have the desired number of children at adequately spaced intervals, and thereby to improve the quality of life. Family planning is concerned with the improvement and welfare of the family, particularly involving planning of pregnancy, and includes the spacing of childbirth, regulating the size of the family, helping sub-fertile couples to have children, and providing information and counselling on matters related to parenthood.

Requests for family planning services had been made to medical officers for many years before 1969 when the Public Health Department first included a small separate budget for family planning within maternal and child health services. In 1962, women from villages near Port Moresby asked for family planning assistance and Dr N. Muirden (the first director of the Family Planning Section) received similar requests from groups in Milne Bay, Enga and the Western
Highlands. In 1967, male councillors in Kainantu (Eastern Highlands) asked for a Family Planning Clinic to be established. It was clear that many communities throughout Papua New Guinea recognized the need for family planning services and in 1973 the government approved a submission to expand the family planning programme and to seek assistance from international agencies (Muirden 1973).

An integrated Family Health Project was established in 1974, with assistance from the United Nations Fund for Population Activities and the World Health Organization. The aim was to integrate family planning into total maternal and child health services and to provide basic services throughout Papua New Guinea. However, an evaluation by a WHO/UNFPA team (Mehra, Epstein and Sato 1978:5) noted that:

Basic health services including maternal and child health care, family planning and nutrition are not reaching the vast majority of the rural population in Papua New Guinea. This despite the fact that Papua New Guinea, more so than many other developing countries, has a fairly large health structure at the national, provincial and peripheral levels with many conventional health service outlets, including hospitals, rural health centres, sub-centres and aid posts, managed by many distinct categories of health personnel.

Many of the problems associated with integrating family planning services more effectively into total health services have been related to the numerous levels of health workers, each with his or her own training, skills, and areas of responsibility. In order to improve the delivery of family planning services, an Information, Education and Communication (IEC) Unit has been established within the Family Planning Section of the Public Health Department. This unit will be funded for two years from March 1978 by the Family Planning International Agency. An advisory board has been established with representatives from the Public Health Department, the Office of Information, the National Broadcasting Commission, the Office of Environment, and the National Planning Office. No social welfare input is included in this advisory board although the Family Planning
Section may recruit a social work graduate to its staff in the near future.¹

2. **Family Planning Association of Papua New Guinea**

This association is a member of the International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF) and since 1974, when initial discussions were held, it has provided an information and educational service on family planning. It is based mainly in urban Port Moresby with a clinic and a programme of visits to suburban and settlement clinics and women's groups. 'Family Life' booklets have been prepared and distributed to training institutions, teachers colleges and the public generally. Radio scripts are prepared and plays, newspaper articles, advertisements and publications on methods of family planning are used as well as talks to educational institutions and government and non-government agencies. A newsletter is produced and distributed to interested groups and the general public.

Staff accompany health department nurses in their mobile clinic on visits to a number of rural villages outside Port Moresby. A branch has been set up in Madang and contact is made with rural villages close to Madang town. A further branch is being planned at Goroka in the Eastern Highlands. While at present the association has an urban focus, plans are well under way to reach more into rural villages by means of radio programmes, distribution of educational materials and greater use of mobile clinic activities. There are six full-time staff members (including two overseas volunteers) in Port Moresby and one in Madang, as well as active voluntary workers who assist at the evening clinics and in preparing and distributing information. An important aspect of this association is that, through its membership, it links public servants working in health, social development and general

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¹ Information on the IEC Unit was obtained from interviews with project personnel and from the IEC Unit project proposal. The project is in its very early stages and it is hoped that it will have an impact on rural family planning services. The recent recruitment of an anthropologist to the Office of the Environment's staff will strengthen socio-cultural perspectives in policy formulation.
administrative fields, and provides a mechanism for sharing information, ideas and resources.

Discussions on future planning, while dependent on aid requests to outside funding agencies as well as the PNG government, also reflect the different viewpoints within the staff and membership of the association itself as to the pace and style of promotion of family planning acceptable to rural communities. Lack of access to family planning information and regular supplies of contraceptives are seen by some as providing the key problem which needs to be tackled, and there is a great emphasis on providing contraceptives (condoms and pills) to all villages. From this perspective, social welfare aspects are seen as less urgent, compared to frequent and frank promotion of family planning. Other association members, however, feel that traditional attitudes call for more community discussion and the need to work with various groups in a community rather than providing family planning services in isolation from other community needs.2

3. Natural Family Planning/Family Life Association

In 1974, under the auspices of the Catholic Bishops’ Conference of Papua New Guinea, a National Catholic Family Planning Office was established and a national coordinator of natural family planning appointed. By 1975 close links had been established with similar groups in the Solomon Islands, Australia, and New Zealand, and members of the Family Life Association have attended the International Federation for Family Life Promotion and the World Organization Ovulation Method International Conference held in Melbourne, Australia in February 1978. Members of the Family Life Association are active in a number of rural areas. In December 1977 it was estimated that over 700 couples in touch with forty different centres were accepting of the ovulation method of family planning.

General community health and social welfare needs have frequently become a major focus as the ovulation method involves discussions with individuals and couples as well as in small groups. Inevitably,

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2 Information on the Family Planning Association was obtained from interviews of paid and voluntary staff, members of the executive, and from reports, newsletters and funding submissions.
family and marriage problems, community needs in health, education, land usage and water supplies are also brought forward in such discussions. Referrals to this service are for help with sub-fertility as well as spacing or limitation of family size. The development of family life education programmes for young people is part of the urban-based programme in Port Moresby. In other parts of the country, information and counselling sessions are held in rural areas and workers within the programme see a very close link between social welfare needs and overall health and family planning.

Talks and training sessions on the ovulation method are given to nurses and other health workers and to groups throughout the country. The level of cooperation between government health services and the Family Life Association has varied over time and in different provinces but in some centres staff share facilities at government health clinics and cooperate in visits to rural areas and in planning training programmes and seminars for health workers.³

**Health and social welfare information and extension services**

Community education on family planning, and family and community welfare in general, is the responsibility of a number of different government and voluntary agencies providing extension services to rural areas. Provincial health educators, adult education officers, and community development officers are located at provincial centres, but the degree to which education and extension services are available in villages and smaller rural centres varies widely. The WHO/UNFPA evaluation team (Mehra, Epstein and Sato 1978:22) commented favourably on the fact that two seminars on family health had been held in 1976 and that:

Extension workers in government departments other than health-agriculture extension workers, social welfare officers, teachers, information officers, and representatives of church

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³ Information was obtained during interviews with staff in Port Moresby and Rabaul and from annual reports and booklets prepared by the Association.
groups and voluntary organizations were invited to participate. Educational strategies for community education in family health were developed. The value of coordinated programmes at provincial level and at the village level (on patrols, for example) was stressed.

In some villages or rural centres women’s clubs, affiliated with church groups, with the provincial social development office, or with provincial women’s associations, have sponsored community education programmes on nutrition, child care, family planning, and general family and community improvements. Films, posters and other educational material are provided by the Office of Information or by the resource material sections in the departments and other agencies concerned. Radio programmes on family health and social welfare are prepared by many provincial extension officers. In addition, radio plays with a social message are produced by the National Broadcasting Commission and family planning is featured. In the Eastern Highlands a number of plays on family planning questions have been performed in villages and rural centres by Raun Raun Theatre.

While some extension workers offer integrated programmes for rural communities, training and programming of service delivery usually takes place in isolation. Community development officers, government liaison officers, health educators, adult education officers, and agricultural extension workers may all receive some training in communication and some knowledge of family and community health and welfare needs, but rarely is this within the framework of an integrated rural extension training course. Since 1976, the Administrative College in Port Moresby has offered a course for trainers of extension workers and a number of different government departments has participated. It is hoped that this will help the development of coordinated extension services at provincial level. The WHO/UNFPA evaluation team recommended that the training of different categories of health workers should:

... include a distinct component within the various curricula whereby health personnel learn the functions of other government department workers who serve rural communities as a means to ensure mutual support in the field (Mehra, Epstein and Sato 1978:12).
Social welfare aspects of rural family planning

In rural communities, many family and social activities are clearly differentiated as being the concern of either men or women, and are often divided even further by age and membership in clan and family sub-groups. At meetings men and women usually sit separately and women may be unable to present their views or ask questions. This does not mean, of course, that women do not have an influence on decisions affecting family and community life. It does mean that problems, questions or misunderstandings cannot be discussed in larger meetings and these meetings may serve symbolic, rather than practical, purposes. Even in separate groups of men or women there may be constraints. Relationships between members of the same family or clan may require special respect or avoidance. Often one family member may not speak in front of another or may only speak after a senior person has spoken.

For effective family planning discussions, it then becomes essential that there is sufficient time for all the different natural groupings to meet with health or community workers. Extension workers may need to spend a much longer time in a village to allow for a larger meeting where a film or talk on nutrition, family planning, or village technology is followed by hours of discussion in smaller group settings. Overnight stays may be preferable as many discussions continue well into the night.

Posters, films and other educational aids, which may be appropriate in an urban setting with a secondary- or tertiary-educated audience, are often quite unsuitable for rural audiences and tolerance of frankness in discussion or pictorial representation of the human body varies in different societies. In areas where younger people are eager to obtain information and become acceptors of family planning services, approval by older community members may still be necessary. Messages on radio and in newspapers or posters may be acceptable to younger, more educated groups, but may annoy or offend those who have the power of veto. These aspects of family planning education are often overlooked as well as the fact that the decision to limit or space children may be affected by attitudes of the wider family or clan members, who also need to be convinced of the benefits of this decision.
The relationship of aid post orderlies (APOs) to the communities they serve, and to supervising health officers, is crucial to the success of APO family planning. One survey suggests that APOs are often denied opportunities to use knowledge gained from family planning training courses. Supplies of contraceptives are not continuous, and senior health workers often fail to support or encourage APOs to provide family planning services. Relationships between other levels of health workers and extension officers may also assist or limit the effectiveness of service delivery. This point was made by Inge Reibe in 'Preliminary findings of research into constraints in the delivery of family planning services in Papua New Guinea', prepared for the Population Research Programme of the Office of Environment and Conservation, February 1977 (further details were also obtained in personal discussions on the findings).

Some time ago I attended a meeting in a village in New Ireland Province which illustrated some of the social welfare constraints to rural family planning programmes. The meeting was organized by the local Women's Fellowship and two women's activities officers from the government welfare office were present. The purpose of the meeting was to discuss the possibility of running some courses for women in the area. The community worker emphasized that the women's wishes were important, but began giving suggestions when the women were shy and reluctant to speak. She mentioned sewing, nutrition, family planning and cooking. Eventually the women settled on having a series of lessons on how to make 'African style' shirts which would be welcomed by their husbands and male relatives. Everyone was very relieved that the formal meeting was over and sat down on the grass to talk. After some time a group of young women gathered around and one whispered that she and the others had been unable to ask about family planning as their older relatives were present. They all had young babies and were eager to obtain family planning advice, but felt that some older women disapproved. Further discussion suggested that one male village leader was thought to be more progressive. After contacting him, and more small group discussions, it was arranged that a female health education officer would come and talk during some of the sewing sessions. Transport to the town some forty kilometers away would be arranged so that all who wished to go to the family health clinic could do so without
Social welfare aspects of family planning programmes

embarrassment. The local APO was related to some village women and it would have been quite impossible for them to have obtained family planning help from him, or from any male health worker.

It is clear that social aspects of family planning include an understanding of the relationships in the community, the style and content of information conveyed by workers, and the relationships between health workers and between all extension workers involved in family planning programmes. Service delivery also must take into account other health and social welfare needs, the way information is conveyed to individuals and groups within the community, and the ways by which family or group decisions are made.

Agricultural development and other changes in the local economy, employment and educational opportunities, attitudes of religious and political leaders, and migration into or out of the community, are some other factors which will be important for effective planning of educational and motivational programmes, in addition to actual delivery of services. Often the background and training of most health workers has not equipped them with an understanding of how social aspects might affect the planning and carrying out of such programmes. They need, therefore, to share ideas and information with other rural extension workers as well as in ongoing staff development programmes.

Exchange of information

The centralized nature of government services has been an overall constraint which has limited the flow of information between agencies and even within government departments. In many cases innovative programmes developed in one part of the country are not publicized in other areas, and may be unknown outside the limits of the particular section responsible for that health, education, or social welfare service.

Government department newsletters (for example, SODEV News prepared by the Office of Home Affairs), formal and informal meetings between government or voluntary workers (such as the committee established to advise on the Information, Education and Communication Unit of the Family Planning Section of the Public Health Department), and shared training and staff development, are some ways by which a more integrated approach has been encouraged.
The establishment of provincial governments has meant that many services are being restructured and that links between health and social welfare services are being developed. National and provincial coordinating committees have been set up and community development workers meet with health workers and administrators to plan programmes for rural areas.

The Family Planning Association executive and general membership provides opportunities for sharing of information where health and community development officers are actively involved. Provincial and national workshops and other meetings of health and social welfare workers, planners and policy makers, church groups and women's associations provide other opportunities for shared perspectives. Attendance at international meetings, and visits of social welfare and family planning consultants to Papua New Guinea, have resulted in many formal and informal links being established with international agencies and family planning programmes in other countries. The degree to which information gained in these ways is shared with others and integrated into programme development varies, but constraints arising from the development of family planning programmes in isolation from social welfare and other development activities are gradually lessening (see 'Responsible Parenthood and Family Welfare — two projects to assist the implementation of the Family Planning Programme' — prepared by the National Planning Office, March 1978; and The Effect of Population on Development, a Handbook for Extension Workers, prepared by the Office of Environment and Conservation, Office of Information and the National Planning Office, April 1978). 4

Since the beginning of 1978, the National Planning Office, the Office of Environment and Conservation, and the Office of Information have prepared and distributed information material for politicians, administrative officials and extension workers. This is part of a

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4 The president of the Family Planning Association, Benson Nablu, attended the IPPF-sponsored seminar on Adolescent Fertility in Kuala Lumpur in March 1978 and twelve delegates from Papua New Guinea participated in an International Conference on the Ovulation Method in Melbourne in February 1978.
combined effort aimed at explaining the need for increased family planning services and wider population policy issues.

**Urban/rural linkages in family planning services: the Rabaul Town Clinic**

In 1977, the Gazelle Peninsula in East New Britain Province had an estimated population of 120,000 and was one of the most productive areas of cocoa and coconut plantations in the country. With rich volcanic soil, a good road network, and a high level of literacy, the Tolai people who are the main inhabitants of the Gazelle intensively cultivate most of the available land. Some plantations are still owned by churches and by non-national businesses or individuals. Disputes over land claims increased in the post World War II years and by the mid 1960s conflict over foreign land ownership in the land-short Gazelle Peninsula was extremely serious, probably more so than in any other part of the country. The population of Rabaul, the main urban centre, has been variously estimated. In the 1971 census it was recorded as 26,518, but 50 per cent of those included were living in rural villages close to Rabaul, where cash cropping and subsistence food production are still an important part of the economy. Urban wage earners commute from villages all over the Gazelle and the relationship between urban and rural populations and services is much closer than in many other areas of Papua New Guinea (see Varpiam and Jackson 1976:415-437).

There are two hospitals on the Gazelle, a government hospital at Nonga and a hospital at Vunapope administered by the Catholic Church. Rural health clinics are scattered throughout the area and these provide maternal and child health services, including family planning. Supervising nurses travel to these centres on a regular weekly basis and health educators and information officers frequently show films or give talks in villages. There is a strong women’s association made up of village and town groups who are interested in socio-economic development. Statistics for the last quarter of 1977 indicated that between 300 and 350 women attended family planning clinics each month. Of these, approximately 65-70 per cent attended the Rabaul Clinic, with smaller numbers being seen at the two hospitals, often as part of post-natal consultations.
The Rabaul Clinic is situated close to the large market where women from all over the Gazelle Peninsula bring fruit and vegetables for sale. This market is a focal point of business and social life. Buses and trucks depart from the market and mothers are able to bring their produce to market, attend the clinic for checkups for themselves and their babies, and visit the family planning clinic on the same day. Nurses from the Catholic Hospital at Vunapope attend the Family Planning Clinic each week to give advice to those wishing to use the ovulation method. Films and education talks on all aspects of family health are given regularly, with a different topic presented each month by health workers.

Women's groups are very active on the Gazelle Peninsula and community development workers from the Social Development Office act as advisers and resource persons. With the establishment of provincial government and the appointment of women's representatives both at provincial and at community levels, channels for women to express their views publicly on matters of social concern have increased.

In examining the growth of an integrated family health service in East New Britain, and particularly on the Gazelle Peninsula, it is clear that cooperative effort between health and other agencies has been an important factor in dispelling confusions and misunderstandings and in developing in the community much greater acceptance of family planning. Religious beliefs have been respected and opportunities are available for information to be obtained about all methods of limiting or spacing families. Communication difficulties are less than in many parts of the country as most people speak Kuanua or use Tokpisin or English for discussion with non-Kuanua speakers. The development of a provincial women's organization which sponsors regular meetings has also helped local women's groups to present their views, and to press for improved services to meet health, education and social welfare needs.

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5 Information obtained from interviews with health and community workers in Rabaul and particularly in discussion with Sister Kurai Robinson, the provincial supervisor for Community Health Nursing Services in East New Britain.
It is obvious that links between urban and rural services are extremely important and that accessibility to the main centre has made it possible for the town-based clinic to serve many rural communities. Family planning seems to be more easily related to the needs in the community and the life of the particular society being served than in many other areas of Papua New Guinea.

Social welfare and family planning: current tensions and developments

Initially, family planning services were almost entirely carried out by health workers and service delivery gradually spread from medical and nursing staff to aid post orderlies and other health extension workers. The Family Planning Association and the Natural Family Planning/Family Life Association broadened involvement as voluntary workers are used in both organizations and the role of educational and social welfare aspects is more apparent. Tensions predictably arise between those who see family planning as part of total health care and the responsibility of health workers, and those who emphasize social welfare aspects as fundamental both for direct service and for educational and motivational programmes. Decentralization of services and programme development to provincial level with coordinating committees planning extension efforts in rural areas should help resolve some of these problems.

Conflict between centralized departmental policies and the realities of locally-based programmes are also predictable and will take time to resolve. Rapid population growth, accompanied by financial constraints on government services and continuing dependence on foreign aid, helped increase the pressure for effective family planning programmes and the formulation of overall population policy guidelines. Educational and motivational materials are being developed in central government departments. Service delivery is gradually being decentralized, so programmes aimed at target populations in the provinces may be developed at national level. Social welfare concerns may be seen by some planners anxious to increase the rate of acceptance of family limitation as being a luxury which cannot be afforded. Alternatively, the view is expressed that without attention to social welfare aspects, opposition to family planning within a
community may prevent it from being made available to those who are motivated but who need regular access to family planning services.

In rural areas social welfare and family programmes are the concern of a number of extension workers. They have some opportunity for sharing ideas and approaches at community and provincial levels, even when this has been lacking in their basic training. In national level policy making and programme development, however, educational and motivational approaches are often isolated from the realities of current service delivery. They seem to lack information on social welfare strategies, and factors which assist or inhibit the effectiveness of family planning programmes. More consultation by planners with government, church and voluntary extension workers in rural areas is required, so that they are not merely being supplied with material but can influence what is being produced. What is needed most of all is that known administrative and social constraints, which prevent those who wish to limit or space their families from doing so, receive attention at the same time as planning for additional activities or new approaches.

Family, clan and community attitudes to family planning have many dimensions. It is not possible to fit all of these into a single set of social welfare strategies to be used in planning service delivery. However, they reflect the varied Papua New Guinea forms of social organization referred to in the constitution, and must be taken into account if programmes are to effectively reach the majority of people living in villages and scattered rural communities throughout the country.
CHANGING TO MEET THE NEEDS OF THE NEW SOCIETY*

That the birds of worry and care fly above your head; this you cannot change. But that they build nests in your hair, this you can prevent (Chinese proverb).

Often when talking about ‘coping with social change’ there is a tendency to overlook the fact that we may be the very ones bringing about change or seeking to bring about change. Today, in Papua New Guinea there are many voices suggesting change; change from past ways to meet challenges of the present and hopes for the future; change from present ways which reflect the immediate colonial past; change towards ways which may be more in tune with the ‘Papua New Guinean Ways’ which the constitution sets out as the Fifth National Goal.

These changes may be seen in our workplaces, in government services available to the community, and in our relationships with each other, nationals and non-nationals alike. The fact that we may have sought and influenced the direction of change in the public service, or the university, or wherever we are located does not give us solutions when we face some of the casualties of social change. However, it is important to keep in mind that we are not passive or reluctant victims of social change; we are involved to trying to bring about change which will meet the needs of a new society, and for which old styles of staff relationships and official/community contacts may be inappropriate. The changes which occur, whether or not they are the ones we seek or accept, will affect where we work and how we work, and those with whom we work, as well as ourselves.

* Paper presented to students at the Administrative College, March 1977.
Changing to meet the needs of the new society

Culture shock or future shock — coping with rapid social change in the world around us

What do we do when we find that familiar or carefully learned ways of supervising staff, of getting on with superiors and colleagues, and of dealing with those we might call ‘the public’ no longer seem to be satisfactory or fit a new and rapidly changing situation? When we try to keep up with change by learning more and adjusting our approach, why do we seem to run faster and faster and yet fail to catch up? Is it possible to gain some understanding of the problems involved in coping with social change so that government or non-government staff, and those for whom they work, can benefit more from positive advantages of change?

The pace of change

An important point to keep in mind is that people adapt to social change at many stages in their lives and that an individual, a group or a society may be able to cope quite well with all sorts of changes, even revolutionary ones. Growing up, growing old, increased knowledge or experience affect us as individuals, as workers and family and community members, and we adapt ourselves to these changes in our social environment. However, technological, political, and economic changes may occur much faster than our ability to adapt to the new changes which are happening. When the pace of change quickens, people may react very differently. They may:

i) accept and adapt to change;

ii) deny that change is taking place;

iii) become confused and disorganized and feel unable to manage the new situation of change; suffer physical or emotional illness;

iv) try to stop the changes from happening, or delay change for as long as possible;

v) withdraw, partially or wholly, from the situation; or

vi) leave the situation of change.
Types of social change may differ, but during their lives most people will have to come to terms with one or more of the following changes:

**A. Changes in the environment in which we live**

i) Changes in the environment — new roads, housing projects, schools, businesses or population growth which affect social activities and relationships.

ii) Crisis situations arising from famine, earthquakes, war, road accidents, disease or family problems.

iii) Changes which affect status relationships with others (trade store owners become employers; government officers are promoted, students graduate).

iv) Daily changes, between work and community styles of life. People may move between the village or family environment to work in a factory, government department or private enterprise and they have to make adjustments to each area of their lives.

v) Changes in the work situation brought about by new technology or styles of management.

**B. Moving into a new environment**

i) The move may be from village to school, rural area to town, but within a familiar cultural setting.

ii) The move may be from one part of the country to another very culturally different area (Mendi to Port Moresby, Hula to Mount Hagen etc.) or involve moving to another country.

iii) The move may be to a new work situation. From one department to another, from central to provincial government, or from private to government employment.

iv) The move may be because of a changed family situation — marriage, death of a spouse or close relative — and may
involve both a geographic move and a change in social circumstances.

C. A new environment is created

A community or society is created from a combination of individuals, families or groups who come together (new settlements, major developments, large work complexes, residential institutions etc.).

Reactions to social change

What do we do when familiar ways of behaving towards others no longer fit and when we find ourselves in unfamiliar settings? People may obtain emotional support and regain or retain feelings of security in a variety of ways. They may:

i) seek out familiar people or situations within the strange environment, for occasional support;

ii) form a sub-society in the alien culture;

iii) retain some familiar possessions or patterns of behaviour, while attempting to adapt to the new situation;

iv) become completely part of the new situation.

It is important to keep in mind that throughout the world rapid social and technological changes are being experienced by many different societies (see Toffler 1970 for a discussion of how people react when overwhelmed by rapid social and technological change). In Papua New Guinea ‘the problem of rapid social change’ has become a catch phrase which is used to explain or justify all sorts of maladaptation by people to change. What sometimes gets less attention are the very many ways by which people have adapted to the changes mentioned in this summary. The secure family, clan or community environment from which a person comes may provide one explanation of the ability to rapidly adjust to social change. Another may be the presence of help within the new environment. This means that we should look at ways of lessening the stresses experienced by
individuals faced with moves to other areas, or with rapid changes in their own area, so that continuity and change can exist together.

Many people who are faced with changes need the help of their own families, friends and cultural groups in order to retain their emotional balance. If this help is not available, or is not sufficient, there may be substitutes in the work situation or the community which can prevent people from becoming affected by the pressures of social change, increasing responsibilities, and unfamiliar styles of life in new towns, or educational or work settings. People who are suffering from ‘culture shock’ (the upset we may experience in our social or emotional balance when we go to live in a strange cultural setting) often find that what they really need are other people to talk to and share their feelings.

Failure and success have very different meanings in a setting where education may mean a job and status. Often, it is the fear of failure which upsets people not just the actual failure itself. But without the risk of failure no positive change will take place so we have to learn to live with change and help others to do the same.
SOCIAL WORK AND MENTAL HEALTH*

He has lost faith in the old methods and he cannot yet trust the new (Nigerian psychiatrist in the film Healers of Aro).

He's just being himself. Just because a person is different should we put them behind bars? (student in the play The High Cost of Living Differently, Brash 1976).

Introduction

In this paper I will consider the links between social work and mental health and the roles which can be played — not only by those called ‘social workers’ but by all who provide help to individuals, families and communities, and who may be involved in the prevention, diagnosis or treatment of mental illness.

The concept of mental health includes elements of physical, mental, and social wellbeing as a necessary part of the total human condition. Mental wellbeing is the concern of communities, groups and families as well as individuals, and of government and non-government agencies who offer a range of health, education and social welfare services to these same communities, groups, families and individuals. As I wrote in 1973 (Chapter 18 this volume):

The close social network linking members of the same kin group in a system of mutual obligations and responsibilities; the belief in individuals or things unseen which have great power for good or ill; the pattern of personal face-to-face contact with those who are considered as helping persons, are

all part of life in Papua New Guinea. Urban centres may show variations as people move away from the close-knit rural community and adapt themselves to new ideas and ways of doing things. However, old social patterns and beliefs may exist alongside modern developments and many cultural attitudes are hidden from those who might smile at or reject them.

Health is a family, clan and community affair and birth and death, illness and recovery are communal problems which are dealt with in a communal way. Health, education, and social welfare are not abstract services which people use but people — doctors, teachers, nurses, welfare officers or community workers whom people have learned to trust or mistrust; to approach or to avoid; to welcome, tolerate, or reject.

Some years ago I spent a few days in a village on Malaita in the Solomon Islands. Long before daybreak on the first day after I arrived, a strange 'radio broadcast' awakened me. After a few moments I realized that the 'announcer' was a mentally disturbed relative of the people with whom I was staying. He was accepted by the community as liable to act oddly at times, particularly when some unusual event took place, such as my visit to the village. His family members were able to look after him and he was accepted as part of the society. This story is repeated many times throughout Papua New Guinea and neighbouring South Pacific Islands. Observers have commented that tolerance of mental disturbance is sometimes (although one must be careful to say not always) higher in the South Pacific than in many other areas of the world. H.B. Murphy commented in a 1978 South Pacific Commission Report on Mental Health that: 'The care of the mentally ill was thus left largely to the patient's own families and to traditional healers with only the most socially disruptive being hospitalised....'

In Papua New Guinea the family and community itself may provide effective support for the patient and grass roots 'social work' may be carried out by traditional leaders, pastors, administrative or other officials, teachers and aid-post orderlies. However, times are changing and what was true a few years ago may not be so today or in the future.
Mental health and social change

In the film *The Healers of Aro*, a Nigerian psychiatrist points out that many people faced with stressful change need the help of their own families, groups and cultural settings in order to retain or regain their mental balance. If these are not available there may be substitute families, groups or communities which can help people who are mentally ill, or prevent people from becoming affected by the pressures of social change, increasing responsibilities, and unfamiliar styles of life in new towns, or educational or work settings. People who are suffering from ‘culture shock’ (the upset we may experience in our social or emotional balance when we go to live in an unfamiliar cultural setting) often find that what they really need are other people to talk to and share their feelings.

Failure and success have very different meanings in the urban setting. Education may mean a job and status and often it is the fear of failure which upsets people, not just the actual failure itself. In considering the treatment of mental illness, feelings of belonging in a family or a group may be important aspects in treating emotional or mental disturbance. Community involvement is also essential in the prevention and treatment of mental illness. Isolation, rejection, and confusion seem more likely to occur in urban areas or in situations of rapid social change which affect the individual’s ability to cope with life. Group support and membership may provide the help needed by all of us at different times in our lives.

It is important that those working within the mental health field know the social and cultural backgrounds of patients and their families, resources available to them and community attitudes to mental illness.

In urban settings, families may find it harder to look after mentally disturbed relatives and the level of overall community tolerance may be less, so community education and the provision of community-based services will be an important aspect of mental health services.

The role of social workers in community mental health

At present there are no national psychiatric social workers whose particular role is in the mental health field. Nevertheless, many social workers throughout Papua New Guinea are involved in community education, the promotion of mental health, the prevention, treatment
Social work and mental health

and rehabilitation of mental illness, and the re-integration of patients back into their families and communities after treatment. Community development officers in the Department of Family and Community Services, hospital social workers, and church and family welfare workers, are able to provide information regarding the family and social background of mentally disturbed patients who come for treatment. The followed questions may need to be considered:

i) What are the stresses and strains which exist within their immediate environment and which may have contributed to their condition?

ii) What are the strengths of family and community support which can be mobilized to help in effective treatment?

iii) Who are the family and community leaders with whom contact can be established so that ongoing assistance can be made available after the patient returns home?

iv) What government or non-government services are available within that particular community?

An important task is to establish a communication link with some resource person or agency, so that the patients will not be isolated or rejected on their return, or fail to receive appropriate follow-up treatment. Another area in which social workers may play an important role is in the area of communication and team building within the mental health service, between mental health workers and other government and non-government personnel, and with the families and communities of mentally disturbed patients. On many occasions it may be necessary to explain to individuals the various roles played by others, to try to bring about some change in attitude, or to alter the structure and style of service delivery.

Social workers share with many others the ongoing task of community education on mental health. In his discussion of the role of the mental health educator, Dr Burton-Bradley (1973:257-261) noted the importance of this task. Community consultative teams could play an important role in ensuring that, at provincial as well as national levels, the importance of preventive mental health programmes is fully recognized. They could also assist in assisting in general community education regarding mental illness and its treatment.
Finally, social workers may work as part of the mental health team providing direct treatment to individuals or groups and working directly with them in diagnosis, treatment and rehabilitation.

Conclusion

The role of a social worker in the mental health field is a complex and changing one. In the past many social work functions were undertaken by others, or were considered to be unnecessary as rural family or community groups were able to look after their own to a much greater extent than is possible now. Professional specialization is now more evident than a few years ago and gaps in services occur because of lack of support staff. Doctors, nurses and administrators seek more information about the family and social background of their patients. In an integrated mental health team the social worker will be needed to provide that social perspective, and to link resources available from outside with those provided by the mental health services.

It is important as we develop services to meet the changing needs of more complex Papua New Guinean societies that we still retain an understanding of the strengths and supports provided by family and community groups. For some who come for help, this may mean reviving or retaining their faith in old ways — for others, learning to trust new methods. For all, it may mean accepting that change is indeed occurring, and that professional workers in the mental health field must work together to help in the integration of these old and new ways to meet the challenges of a new society.
In 1972, while walking from one village to another along a mountain ridge in the Eastern Highlands, I noticed a man striding briskly towards us. It was not until the agricultural assistant who was with me called out to him, and then said in a matter of fact tone: ai pas, that I became aware that the man, who was being followed by his wife and two children, was completely blind. He greeted us cheerfully and strode on along a path I was having some difficulty negotiating. In this situation, my lack of aptitude for mountain walking made me the more handicapped although he, fully integrated into his family and community, might still be categorized as the disabled person.

Recalling the encounter has prompted me to think about the strengths that exist within many disabled individuals, their families and communities which enable them to live productive and satisfying lives and take advantage of all available opportunities to learn, to contribute, and to share with others. Why is it then that more sophisticated, professional approaches to treatment and rehabilitation so often tend to isolate or segregate the disabled so that they become, in a very real sense, handicapped?

Policy is people

Often, a great deal of what might be termed ‘policy’ ‘or guidelines for action’, is developed almost unknowingly by ordinary individuals who see a particular issue or unmet need in the community and move to find ways to resolve the issue or meet the need. Sometimes, although sadly

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*Paper presented at a seminar formulating a National Plan for the Disabled, held at the University of Papua New Guinea, 27-28 August 1987.*
not always, these ordinary individuals have been able to influence larger and more formal groups by the very fact that they have 'taken action'. This suggests that any discussion of a national policy for the disabled should begin with what has already been developed, by the disabled, their families, and friends, and by other concerned individuals, as well as by formal non-government organizations, national or local government authorities and international agencies.

In presenting some general principles which might form the basis for the development of a national policy, it is important to emphasize at the beginning that a great deal of discussion about appropriate policies and programmes for more vulnerable members of society has been taking place, both within Papua New Guinea and internationally, and has often had as its main force the concern felt by ordinary people.

Policy for the disabled: international developments

In recent years the needs of disabled children and adults have been given greater attention by international organizations and agencies. This increased concern is due in part to the growth in numbers and in visibility of disabled children and adults. Indeed, the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) has estimated that by the year 2000 there will be more than 150 million disabled children under 15 years of age in developing countries throughout the world.

In November 1981, as part of the series of activities which took place during the International Year of Disabled Persons, a World Conference on Actions and Strategies for Education, Prevention and Integration was held at Torremolinos, Malaga, Spain. The conference, which was organized by the government of Spain in collaboration with UNESCO, had three main aims:

The first was to review the present situation and look at future prospects for the education of handicapped children and adults, determine to what extent such education matched the needs of this category of the population and compare experience in order to draw conclusions as to future strategies. Secondly, the educational aspects of prevention were to be considered in the light of contributions by the Specialized Agencies of the system [FAO, ILO, WHO, UNICEF, UNESCO and UNDP] in order to develop them on an international scale and thus provide more
effective prevention of handicaps. Lastly, and still on the basis of a broadly multidisciplinary approach, methods for rehabilitating disabled persons were to be studied in order to foster their integration into society (UNESCO 1982:9).

Among the papers presented at this conference was one entitled ‘looking for simple solutions’. It was discussed by a number of participants who supported greater emphasis being placed on family and community involvement. They pointed to human and material resources which existed in the wider society and which could be more effectively involved in preventing disabilities and meeting the needs of disabled children and adults.

In no sense was this an anti-professional approach as the place of new technology and knowledge, which could prevent disabilities and serve the needs of the disabled, was also fully acknowledged. But, faced with the enormity of the task, simple solutions, using local resources, were seen as providing the greatest hope for the future.

Policy directions for Papua New Guinea

In April 1987, the theme that prevention, education, rehabilitation and integration could be achieved through simple solutions was echoed by Stewart MacPherson in a public lecture on ‘Child Welfare and Social Policy’ presented here at the University of Papua New Guinea. He pointed out that ‘many millions of children are severely disabled by impairments that could relatively easily be prevented’, and also noted that ‘it is often the case that dramatically simple interventions can allow children with disabilities to do what children who are not disabled can do, and more’ (1987a:8-9).

In Papua New Guinea, the importance of family and community-based support networks has been stressed and there has been an increasing emphasis on integrated educational services as the preferred way of educating disabled children and adults. Nevertheless, the actual number of disabled children and adults who have access to educational or rehabilitation programmes and services is still only a small percentage of the total population of disabled persons throughout Papua New Guinea. For these individuals, their families and communities, simple solutions must be found to enable them to lead as full and satisfying lives as possible.
When the National Board for the Disabled was established in 1978, its stated objectives were very much in line with the strategies endorsed by the World Conference in 1981. Its chief aims (as outlined by Ivey 1983:27) were:

... to advise the National Government on policy formulation in the area of disability prevention, rehabilitation and integration and to serve as a coordinating agency for existing services.

Since 1978, a number of surveys and studies have provided some indication of the extent of disabilities in urban and rural populations throughout Papua New Guinea and the education, health and other social services which are being run by government and non-government agencies to help meet the needs of the disabled (see Tiwale 1980; Anis 1981; Griew and Colodey 1981; Ivey 1983).

The work of individuals, church and other non-government agencies and international groups concerned with the needs of disabled is reflected in the various papers being presented at this seminar. A great deal has already been done to increase awareness in the community and among teachers and health workers. But, as Monica Anis concluded in her study of the attitudes of community school teachers towards the education of disabled children (1981:36) many, while genuinely concerned for the welfare of disabled children, lack confidence in their own abilities to deal with the situation. Given this feeling of uncertainty it is understandable that they would prefer to 'leave it to the experts'.

An important task in developing social policies for the disabled will be to ensure that all sections of the community lose this feeling of diffidence and uncertainty and become involved in practical and realistic steps to integrate disabled persons (who may be seen as the greatest experts on the subject) into all levels of Papua New Guinea society.

**General principles for developing a national policy**

A series of general principles might provide a starting point for the development of a national policy for the disabled.

i) That prevention of disability or at least minimizing its severity and extent should be a major priority. Community education at all levels, combined with a focus on the training of health
Social policies for disabled persons

workers in prevention and early detection, could go a long way to reducing the number of disabled children and adults in Papua New Guinea.

ii) That health services, including community-based health education and emergency services, should focus on the prompt identification and treatment of actual or potentially disabling conditions.

iii) That, where some degree of disability has occurred, appropriate rehabilitation services should be provided to enable as full a recovery as possible so that the particular disability can be dealt within the family and the community.

iv) That, even where an individual is severely disabled, integration, rather than isolation or segregation, should be the aim of all programmes for the disabled.

This implies a decentralization of rehabilitative and educational assistance to enable disabled children and adults to receive necessary assistance while remaining within their own homes, villages or towns. The integration of special educational or health services for the disabled into the wider community network of services is only practicable if simple, inexpensive technology is developed, using local resources.

It is also important that the concept of ‘mainstreaming’, which aims to provide education services for disabled children within, rather than separate from, the wider school system is developed more fully to include other services and links with the whole community (see Anis 1981 and Booth and Potts 1983). In order to do this, any national policy for the disabled should emphasize the importance of coordination and cooperation between government and non-government services, between local, provincial and national authorities, and between disabled persons, their families and the wider community.

Planning social services also means planning an environment which assists in all areas of prevention, early detection and treatment, rehabilitation, education and integration.

For example, during the construction phase of shopping, office, or business complexes in any town throughout Papua New Guinea, provisions for easy access and toilet facilities for disabled persons should be required. Safety regulations in industry, in sport, and on the
Social policies for disabled persons

roads should be more strictly enforced. Information should be widely distributed regarding new methods of treatment and rehabilitation, opportunities for continuing education, vocational training and employment, and the availability of sports and other activities. Links between staff of rural schools and health centres and national or provincial resources for disabled people should be strengthened at all levels so that assistance can be given where people are, rather than only at central locations.

Once again, it is important to stress that most of these action strategies are already being implemented. What is needed is government support and financial backing, and greater community involvement to increase the scope of existing services and fill gaps where resources are limited.

From vision to intent: from intent to outcome

Writing about the resistance he faced when trying to mobilize local community resources, the coordinator of a UNICEF-sponsored rehabilitation project in the Northwest Frontier Province of Pakistan despaired at the persistence of 'grandiose schemes' for the disabled (Miles 1986:103). He had found that many donors liked to see results and could not be convinced that success might be better measured by the degree of integration of the disabled back into their own families and communities. In his view

Changing social and economic conditions are rushing headlong upon the provincial towns of Asia, leaving many traditional systems high and dry, many people bewildered and fearful, many leaders on the retreat from reality, and handicapped people as usual at the end of every queue and at the bottom of every pile (ibid.:123-24).

Given the lack of political will or continuing commitment, he concluded that, if the disabled are to really gain access to a better way of life 'it will be almost entirely through their own efforts'. This then is our challenge when discussing policies for the disabled. In determining the appropriateness of a particular policy or action strategy we should ask: will this encourage greater awareness of the needs of the disabled? Is it realistic and practical, reaching for the stars but at the same time
seeing the path immediately ahead? Will it help to free disabled children and adults, their families, and those around them at school and at work from crippling prejudices or misconceptions?

Finally, will the process of developing appropriate guidelines help individuals throughout Papua New Guinea to make choices so that a National Policy can be developed by and with, rather than for, disabled men and women throughout Papua New Guinea?
Part 5:

Women and Youth
Errata

paragraph 2: O'Collins 1985b
paragraph 4: exclusively
WOMEN AND YOUTH

Any consideration of community-based social development approaches involves choices between what to include as part of local level planning, community work, health, or law and order issues and what to treat separately as specific to women, youth or other subgroups in the population. Local level development planning, law and order, and health issues relate equally to women or men, to the young as well as the elderly. Yet, it is clear that, as noted by many speakers at the 1987 Waigani Seminar (Stratigos and Hughes 1987), women in Papua New Guinea are indeed 'unequal partners in development' and their particular needs and concerns cannot be subsumed as part of general social development issues.

While traditional and cultural factors are important considerations, it is also true that colonial education systems reinforced the perception that women did not need, and in fact should not have, equal access to education and employment, to government extension services and to all levels of public and political leadership (see O'Collins 1985c for discussions of Women in Politics in Papua New Guinea). At a 'women in education' conference, the Dean of Education (Sukwanomb 1988:viii) pointed out that:

Educational and other opportunities for the self-advancement of women do not meet their needs. Services which are meant to assist in the development and realisation of their potential rarely go further than mere documentation of concerns.

On many occasions over the past twenty years it seemed not so much that women were positively discriminated against but that their needs and concerns were somehow 'invisible' to development planners. In the early 1970s, the concept of women's development (if considered at all) was related almost exclusive to home improvement, child rearing, and health education. For example, a study of education in Papua New Guinea (Barrington Thomas 1976) contained twenty papers on various aspects of education but no specific consideration of the unequal access to education experienced by women as compared
with men. During the 1980s more specific attention was paid to removing barriers to women's participation in socio-economic development activities and to providing women with greater protection from domestic and other forms of violence and discrimination. The Law Reform Commission, the Women and Law Committee, the Women's Division of the Department of Home Affairs and Youth, the National Council of Women, church women's groups and NGOs have all contributed but a more consistent and integrated effort is required if women are to become equal partners in development. In July 1992, a workshop on domestic violence was sponsored at Goroka by the Foundation for Law, Order and Justice. In the same month, a seminar on 'Women, Population and Sustainable Development' was organized in Port Moresby by the National Council of Women. It was reported at this seminar that government policies were now in place to enable women's contribution to development to be realized. What was needed was sustained effort to translate these policies into implementable programmes (Kolma 1992:31).

The paper which follows provides an overview of the developments which took place in the 1970s and 1980s. I have written elsewhere on the role of women in politics, on the situation of young people in Papua New Guinea society, and on community and government responses to these problems (O'Collins 1986, 1984c and 1986). The difficulties confronting unemployed youth in urban areas have continued to be of concern to successive governments, NGOs and community groups. Separate, and at times competing youth programmes and services have been unsuccessful in meeting the needs of increasing numbers of disaffected young people. In August 1992, it was announced that the National Youth Corps would be absorbed into the newly established Village Services Program (Ngaffkin 1992:3). The aim of the government policy for village services, as outlined by the Minister for Village Services and Provincial Affairs (Nilkare 1992:24-25) would be to provide a coordinating mechanism which would link government departments, aid agencies, NGOs and other organizations working at the village level. However, the question remains as to whether government and other programmes and services can be joined in effective and lasting partnership with local communities to enable young men and women to achieve the integral human development guaranteed as their right under the constitution.
WOMEN AND YOUTH: GROUPS WITH SPECIAL NEEDS?*

Women are participating in the economic development of this country now because they are producers and consumers, but planners and decision-makers tend not to recognise them as such (Hinawaeola 1987:76).

... 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 (Rooney 1986:17).

Introduction

Since Papua New Guinea became independent in 1975, the particular needs of women and youth have been the subject of attention by policymakers, planners and community leaders. Associations have been formed, national and provincial women's councils and youth councils have been established, and a variety of programmes and projects has been initiated. The aim has been to strengthen the contribution of women and youth to economic and social development within their own communities and the wider society. Yet many of these efforts have not resulted in real involvement by women and young people in the design or implementation of national or sub-national development planning strategies.

This paper will examine recent policy and planning issues in Papua New Guinea which relate to women and youth. To what extent are women, and younger members of the society, participating in national, provincial or local economic and social development? Would more integrated and comprehensive policies and practical management strategies strengthen their contribution to, and involvement in, specific programmes or projects? Does the experience of Papua New Guinea and other island nations in the South Pacific indicate that women and youth are special groups with special development needs? Or, are they really ‘integral’ to the overall national, sub-national and local development effort? Is the issue one of isolation and exclusion, rather than special attention and assistance. What role should young men and women play in determining future responses to the economic and environmental challenges which will face Pacific Island nations in the year 2000 and beyond?

A basic premise in the responses to these and other questions is that the significant contributions already being made by women and youth must be more fully recognized by planners. Sectoral and spatial linkages must be developed to enable the implementation of a more integrated development programming approach, which includes both government and non-government projects. This will be increasingly important for future planners in the environmentally fragile island economies of the South Pacific.

Equality and participation: goals in national development

At the time of independence, many political leaders stressed that Papua New Guinea had adopted in its constitution the goals of equality and participation for women as well as men. There was an urgent need to involve all members of the society in the task of nation building and women would be part of the overall goal of achieving ‘integral human development’ for all citizens. The decision to lower the voting age from twenty-one to eighteen years was another way of increasing people’s participation in the processes of government. This was seen by decision-makers as recognizing the potential contribution of youth to economic and social development in the post-independence period.
But there was also a recognition that traditional and introduced values were powerful constraints which prevented women and youth from becoming effectively involved in political decision-making at national, provincial or local levels. The Constitutional Planning Committee discussed the very real problem of attempting to promote the rights of individuals within societies which stressed respect for traditional authority and individual responsibility to the group. The degree to which women and youth were able to have a voice in development planning varied between different groups. Nevertheless, at all levels support from national and sub-national policy makers and planners would be needed to enable the rhetoric of equal participation to become a reality.

**Women's participation in development: 1972-1988**

The inclusion of 'women's advancement' as the seventh of the 'Eight Aims', adopted by the government in 1972 as the framework for development planning, indicated a recognition of the role of women in the development of an independent nation. The aim was to achieve 'a rapid increase in equal and active participation of women in all forms of economic and social activity'. In 1974, the position of women's adviser to the chief minister was established. This was also the year in which the Constitutional Planning Committee prepared its final report. In addressing the question of equal status and opportunity for women, the Committee stated (1974:2/8):

> In recent years women have played a significantly greater part in the country's national life — in politics, in business, in social and cultural activities But more effort should be made by government to hasten this development. Obstacles to educational and other opportunities which face women at present should be removed, and *insofar as it is within the power of Government to do so*, the difficulties facing women who wish to involve themselves in the affairs of the nation should be reduced [emphasis added].

In 1976, the Government introduced a National Development Strategy which outlined a series of major development objectives within which funding of specific projects would take place. 'Women's
advancement' was included merely as a component of 'general welfare', a decision which clearly limited the development of a comprehensive approach to the integration of women in overall national development planning. Between 1978 and 1982, the proportion of National Public Expenditure Plan allocations for women's projects declined from 21 per cent of general welfare expenditure in 1978 to 2.6 per cent in 1982. Discussing the problems experienced in promoting women's participation in development, the acting director of the National Planning Office concluded:

Real improvement in the position of women in Papua New Guinea will come not through an expansion of traditional female activities, but through the equal participation of women with men in what traditionally have been defined as male activities (Nakikus 1985:49. See also Rooney 1985).

She noted that women were rarely taken into account in planning for agricultural and business development projects, in settlement planning or even in the development of appropriate education and health policies. In her view, a national policy for women was needed in order to redress the imbalance between development opportunities for men and women in Papua New Guinea.

Similar views were expressed at a conference on Women in Development in the South Pacific, held in Vanuatu in 1984. One paper addressed the question of women's role in the fisheries of the South Pacific and concluded that the orientation of fisheries development planning had ignored the contribution made by small-scale fishing activities and marketing (Schoeffel and other authors in Cole 1985). Other speakers called for more access to technical, business and other knowledge and skills which would enable women to compete commercially and take part in political life.

The 'ethics of development' was the theme of the 17th Waigani Seminar, held at the University of Papua New Guinea in September 1986 (Stratigos and Hughes 1987). Papers presented in the 'women in development' section emphasized that women continued to be unequal partners in national and provincial development activities. Rural women who worked with their own community groups described the barriers which prevented women's voices from being heard by development planners and managers. They pointed to the lack of financial and
political support for many education and extension programmes aimed at increasing women's participation. Although many women were already involved in development, their contributions were not recognized by urban based development 'experts'. Concern was expressed that government project planners at all levels frequently ignored or even denied the value of rural women's organizational and management skills:

We would like the government to realise that we, the people, have the power to organise ourselves and our peers, to operate our own programs and to manage and maintain resources for development work.... you will see that we have already come a long way. We are here in 1986 to let you know what we think so that you can help us to open the eyes of the planners and politicians and build up their confidence in the people, especially in the potential of women (Samuel, Garo and Kimbange 1987:24).

Other speakers discussed the need for women to have equal access to information about business opportunities and to credit facilities. This has been a major constraint for Pacific women in general, and reflects the concentration of many women's programmes on social or 'welfare' type activities. In a recently published collection on Island Entrepreneurs, a study of 'Pacific women in business' points out that women are operating successful business ventures in many parts of the Pacific. 'Yet, as an economic resource, women are still virtually ignored in national development programs' (Ritterbush and Pearson 1988:195-196).

**Education for women: a major tool for development**

Women clearly need greater access to technical and management training if they are to have any hope of becoming involved in development on more equal terms with men. But Papua New Guinea has the lowest national literacy rate for women in the South Pacific. According to data from the 1980 National Census, 55 per cent of out-of-school women between the ages of twelve and twenty-five had never attended school. At that time, the overall adult literacy rate for
Papua New Guinea was about 32 per cent but rates varied widely between provinces.

In many areas with a long history of formal education, literacy rates were much higher than those of 'least developed provinces' where very few older women had ever been to school. These variations were also reflected in female enrolments in community or secondary schools. For example, in Southern Highlands Province only 21 per cent of young women had completed at least one year at school, while in Manus Province more than 87 per cent had attended school and 56 per cent had completed at least six years of primary education (O'Collins 1984b:20-26).

Although literacy in local languages and in Tokpisin has been promoted through government and non-government rural development and non-formal education programmes, there is still a number of areas in the country where less than 10 per cent of adult women can read or write in any language.

In recent years considerable progress has been made in increasing school enrolment and retention rates for girls and encouraging them to undertake a broader range of academic and practical courses. Better planning and programming will go a long way to resolve the problem of access for those entering formal education. But for most younger women (particularly in rural and low-income urban areas), the urgent need is for more non-formal education and community-based extension activities which will enable them to effectively participate in economic development activities (see Yeoman 1987:108-155 and Tawaiyole and Weeks 1988:25-35).

1989: a national policy for women?

In 1975, when International Women's Year was celebrated, there was a call for a national women's policy which would recognize the role played by women in nation building. However, a great deal of the debate over the need for a 'national policy for women' had been left to a small group of educated urban women — planners, politicians, public servants and professional or business women. Inevitably, their approach to the role of women in development was often influenced by introduced values and ideas, rather than the realities of the daily lives of women in rural or low-income urban communities.
Since 1972, the need for more decentralized policy making and programming has become increasingly evident. Different perspectives on the role of women in development are reflected in the variety of strategies adopted by government and non-government planners and managers at all levels. These differences also reflect Papua New Guinea's cultural and environmental diversity and the history of outside influences in different parts of the country.

There are many ways of enabling women to participate in the planning and management of development projects. Yet, these must include practical strategies accessible and acceptable to rural women. Matarina Wai spoke at the 17th Waigani Seminar about the choices which had to be made by women who became involved in development work. Often there was continuing opposition, not always from husbands or traditional leaders. Government workers and other local development planners 'who should have been leading the development work in the area' were often suspicious or unwilling to support women's activities. Reflecting on the quality of her own involvement, she commented (1987:17):

I hope I am doing enough, but I know that for the moment it's all that I have the energy to do. After this birth, I have to get on with the work of making a little money to manage. My husband is hoping to continue working with women and youth on water supply schemes. We don't know much more about what the future holds ...[but] now I want to learn to read and write.

In 1989 the Papua New Guinea Department of Home Affairs and Youth finalized a 'national women's policy' which would be presented to cabinet for approval. This policy reaffirmed the principles outlined in the constitution as the basis for an approach which would emphasize the complementary and partnership roles women could and should play in working with men to achieve national, provincial, and local development.

A policy implementation structure was proposed to link national and provincial government efforts with those of the National Council of Women and provincial and district women's councils. Much of the content of the policy proposal reflected the search for a cooperative, rather than competitive, approach within which different women's associations could work together. This emphasis on harmonious
relationships was understandable as individual and inter-group relationships between women leaders or aspiring leaders, at both provincial and national levels, have been characterized by a series of ongoing conflicts and power struggles. The strategies proposed to bring about greater involvement of women stressed dialogue and the strengthening of linkages between different groups throughout the country.

Yet the policy, and the proposed structure for its implementation, still seemed remote from the realities of life facing the majority of Papua New Guinean women, and many other women in the South Pacific. There was no sense of an urgent response to those who were unable to participate in developmental activities, and who saw the years slipping away and nothing changing.

This may be the inevitable consequence of any attempt to outline, in professional planning and management terms, a variety of paths to development within a single unified planning structure. It is difficult for a 'national women's policy' to encompass the needs and aspirations of women in a country as culturally and environmentally diverse as Papua New Guinea. The degree of power and influence which women hold may be quite different, depending upon the community in which they live. Rural women may not share the same aspirations as those who live in town and needs differ depending upon household income levels. The experience of women who have had little or no formal education may also make it hard for them to find common ground with tertiary-educated planners and women's development workers.

What may be even more sobering for women's development specialists is the realization that policy guidelines, however framed, may be unimportant to Matarina Wai and other women who have come a long way by themselves, without benefit of a formal policy or of planning expertise.

**Youth, development and society**

In societies throughout Papua New Guinea, and in a number of other Pacific island nations, public decision making about significant family or community events has traditionally been the prerogative of older male family, clan, or community leaders. Similarly, traditional leaders have controlled rights to, and the use of, family or clan land and lagoon
or marine resources. When initiating discussions regarding forest development projects, or the exploitation of mineral or fishing resources, project planners almost always find themselves negotiating with older male landowners and community leaders. Even when young educated members of a group act as ‘middlemen’, those who have the traditional right to speak publicly for the group finally decide on the action to be taken.

However, it has also been noted that older women, although less publicly involved in the decision-making process, still exert a great deal of power and influence. In some societies older women may, because of their position within a clan or lineage, exercise particular rights over resources which are seen as being in the ‘women’s domain’. In other societies their status and power may be acquired from their position as the wife of a chief or ‘big man’ (see Macintyre 1985:19-25 and Thomas 1986: 1-17 for discussions of the power and influence of women at local levels).

To the outside observer, this has sometimes suggested that younger members of society have no rights at all. From this perspective, the only way to achieve the ‘integral human development’ called for in the constitution would be the provision of separate economic, social or political opportunities, as part of special programmes for ‘youth’.

**Searching for solutions to the problems of youth**

The transition from childhood to adulthood may be viewed quite differently in different societies. As a United Nations *Report on Youth in the 1980s* states:

> For many young people in the world, there is no stage of ‘youth’ at all; for others, it is precariously short and tenuous; for still others it is indefinitely prolonged.... (1986:10. See also Hezel, Rubenstein and White 1985 for discussions of problems facing young people in the Pacific).

The process of ‘growing up’ came to be recognized as one that was frequently complicated by a variety of problems: difficulties in education, cultural transmission, employment, social integration and participation, health, housing, and development in general.
In the 1970s, as Papua New Guinea moved towards independence, it was clear that political independence would not immediately lead to greater economic independence. Rapid social change had led to increased tensions between younger and older members of society, who often had very different developmental goals and visions of the future.

Social planners pointed to the frustrations felt by those leaving school when they failed to find the employment for which their Western-style education had prepared them. Political and community leaders urged school leavers to return home and take part in rural development activities. Often, however, the reality was that their youth made it unacceptable for them to be given access to land or other clan or community resources. Some were unwilling to return home and stayed in town, or migrated to urban centres when they became tired of waiting for a chance to get involved in local economic activities. A growing number of highly visible and often highly vocal groups of young people began to exert political and social pressure on decision makers. In major towns, or along the Highlands Highway, 'rascal gangs' began to demand by force what they seemed unable to get through the development planning process.¹

Government and non-government programmes were developed to meet the needs of urban and rural youth, often as part of broader community development activities (see Yeates 1982). These included school leaver centres and other training courses for out-of-school youth, individual and small group work programmes in urban areas, and rural programmes to train young farmers. Youth projects and training programmes reflected different ideological approaches and preferred planning strategies. As I pointed out in an earlier discussion of youth policies and programmes:

Many of the programmes initiated during this period relied heavily on assistance from overseas volunteers and the departure of a particular volunteer often meant that financial backing and organizational and managerial skills dwindled. Non-government programmes were vulnerable to changes in government policies as grants-in-aid could not be relied upon.

¹ Similar, if less acute, problems have been noted in Fiji and Solomon Islands (see Monsell-Davis 1986 and O'Collins 1984c).
or were slow in being released. International agencies looked to government to host or co-sponsor workshops or training programmes, so it was inevitable that involvement of governments in the provision of services for youth would increase, and that more control and coordination of non-government youth activities would be activated (O'Collins 1984b:11-12).


In 1978, as a response to the growing pressure for immediate solutions to be found for the growing numbers of out-of-school youth, the National Executive Council appointed an Interim Youth Council to be funded under the National Public Expenditure Plan. An urban activities scheme was initiated in May 1979 to provide financial assistance to urban youth groups. In the same year, following reports from Jean-Michel Bazinet, the United Nations Interregional Adviser on Youth Policies and Programmes, and Andre Renaud, former director of the Commonwealth Youth Programme, a draft programme for youth development was drawn up by the Office of Home Affairs.

Any evaluation of youth policies and project management strategies developed in the early 1980s must take into account the pressures at that time for greater coordination and centralized control. Existing non-government youth associations had been unable to respond quickly and decisively to the perceived threat of out-of-school youth who seemed to have become isolated from their families and communities and, to some observers at least, out of control.

An important element was that the gradual firming of government support for some kind of national youth activity took place at a time when many church and voluntary organizations were attempting to review their own involvement in order to reflect political and economic changes in the wider society.... some politicians, or aspiring politicians, recognized that young people and older supporters were a political power base.... The internal cohesion and sense of purpose in the youth section of the Department of Community and Family Services helped ... as the presentation of clear proposals and guidelines
was in marked contrast to the blurred outlines of many earlier initiatives (O'Collins 1984b:19).

After a great deal of political lobbying and a rally by youth groups and associations, the first minister for Youth and Recreation was appointed in July 1980 with the task of implementing a National Youth Movement Programme (NYMP). This would bring together government and non-government youth organizations under one administrative structure, firmly controlled by central government but implemented through provincial and local level youth workers and provincial and district youth councils. The National Executive Council also approved K3.5 million ($US 3.75 million) to fund the first four years of the NYMP operations (ibid.:15-19. See also Department of Home Affairs and Youth 1989b).

On the move 1981-1983

A grants scheme through which registered youth groups could obtain financial support was a major NYMP planning strategy to encourage participation by existing or potential youth groups in small-scale economic activities. Community-based youth workers were appointed to act as coordinators of youth activities. Provincial and district training courses and workshops were introduced to train community youth coordinators (CYCs). Provincial youth managers were provided with evaluation guidelines on how to monitor the work of CYCs and prepare regular quarterly reports on the development of the NYMP in the province. Provincial and district youth councils were gradually established and the NYMP headquarters in Port Moresby distributed model constitutions and other programme guidelines.

In 1982 a pilot urban youth programme, funded by a grant from the New Zealand government, commenced in Port Moresby. This programme was fully established in 1982, with separate government allocations for urban community youth coordinators and a separate grants scheme. Emphasis was placed on local youth leadership with the National Government Youth Office providing strong centralized control (O'Collins 1984b:40).

Existing church or voluntary urban associations were generally excluded from the initial operations of the urban youth programme as they were regarded as institutional, rather than community-based.
A number of problems were experienced in the early years of the NYMP which could be directly attributed to the highly centralized control exerted by NYMP headquarters staff. Provincial and local-level youth workers, often with only limited formal education, were overwhelmed by the numerous guidelines, model reports, financial statements, and other material distributed from Port Moresby. A further management constraint was the lack of appropriate knowledge and skills to carry out economic activities. Success often depended upon the degree to which provincial or local youth workers were able to develop their own networks and, at least to some degree, bypass official procedures.

In an attempt to overcome these difficulties, a ‘Youth Production Training Scheme’ was introduced in 1985 which aimed to coordinate and utilize provincial expertise and provide training as part of project development (Department of Home Affairs and Youth 1989b).

More difficult to resolve were the tensions which arose between NYMP sponsored activities and local leaders who had the ultimate control of the use of land or marine resources. Some church or community youth groups were reluctant to join the NYMP as it appeared to ignore existing community networks and demand the exclusive involvement of youth in ‘official’ programmes. In other situations, community leaders refused to allow youth groups to have access to communal land or resources as they felt that their authority was not being respected. Provincial youth managers were not always aware of these problems, or of cultural or community practices which needed to be taken into account if youth projects were to succeed.

Describing the collapse of a youth group in his home area, one university graduate (Buia 1986) pointed to the lack of understanding by provincial youth workers of particular events which affected the daily routine of the community. He noted that during the dry season the whole community moved away from the communal village to family or clan hamlets. They returned to the village when the wet season began. This meant that from September to November many economic projects, youth work days, and other youth activities ceased. Yet this important seasonal occurrence had been ignored in the organization of government-sponsored youth activities (see also Barker, 1986 and Gaudi 1986 for discussions of relationships between government and
There are lessons from the Kulalae Youth fellowship experience for provincial and national youth planners and implementors at the community and youth group level.... Planners and implementors 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 (ibid.:116).

The development of a ‘Youth Pioneers Scheme’ in 1985 was another response to the need to use the energy of younger members of the community in ways which would be seen as of benefit to all. The 1988 evaluation report of the NYMP noted that this scheme included youth working on projects such a ‘water supplies, roads, community halls, maintenance of school buildings or aid posts etc., [which] made the people feel the benefits of the scheme’. However, after initial publicity and funding in 1985, this scheme received insufficient technical back-up and government funding was drastically reduced (Department of Home Affairs and Youth 1989b).

A significant policy change in the NYMP's programme occurred in 1985 when the National Executive Council approved the funding of church youth groups under a Church Youth Wing Assistance Scheme. This aspect of the NYMP's activities was reported to be ‘well organised and monitored’ and money given by the government (K85,000 in 1988) ‘well utilised’. Although the amount is comparatively small, it suggests that the role of church and other non-government youth groups is now recognized as being an important part of any youth development programme.

In recent years, there has been greater emphasis on the cooperative aspect of youth and women's activities as part of a total approach to local level development. When I asked one Southern Highlands elder who were members of the youth group in his community, he responded: *Mipela olgeta! Mipela yut!* (All of us! We are youth!). This mirrors the reality, which was initially rejected or ignored by national youth planners, that in most rural areas of the South Pacific youth is a transitional stage in the total life cycle of the whole community. Young people therefore share with other members of the community the same
need to become involved in development. As Bryant Allen noted for one area of the East Sepik Province of Papua New Guinea:

If this is true, then the village 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 (1986:41).

Youth in conflict with society: a continuing challenge

While most young people in Papua New Guinea live in rural communities or with their families in towns, there is a growing number of school leavers who are unable to find either paid employment or alternative economic or subsistence activities. Disaffected youth are seen as a major cause of the deteriorating law-and-order situation in many towns and rural areas throughout the country. They are also an important source of support for politicians or aspiring local leaders, particularly those who are in opposition to the existing power structure.

National and provincial governments are often called on to assist alienated youth by providing direct support for economic projects. These, it is asserted, should be managed by young people themselves, without government or community interference. If funds are not provided quickly, and in a sufficiently attractive amount, there are threats that the community will experience an increase in violent crime. For example, in August 1989, after considerable public concern had been expressed about the rising crime rate in the East Sepik Province, a number of youth gangs ‘surrendered’ to the police. The Post-Courier (1 August 1989:1) reported that:

More than 100 youths, who claimed responsibility for the upsurge in crimes, have surrendered to authorities....The youths also sought government help to set up a highway security firm and a service station to keep them occupied.

This is not a new situation, as a number of programmes had previously been established to provide economic assistance as a strategy to reform rascal youth gangs. However, most government-sponsored projects which attempt to provide direct economic assistance to ‘at risk’ youth groups have not achieved significant results. Often there are criticisms
that money is being handed out to more vocal gang leaders, who then revert to their former activities after the grant has been used up. On the other hand, church or other established youth groups have sometimes been reluctant to become involved with young people who seem to be living on the fringes of society.

Another aspect of this ‘youth problem’ is that, in many low-income urban communities and villages near major highways, youth gangs are not alienated from their families. In some situations, family members may actually benefit financially from illegal gang activities. In other areas, leaders are aware of what is happening, but are unable to exert any effective control over the behaviour of younger family or clan members. In both situations, a broader-based programme is needed which involves, not only youth and official specialist youth workers, but parents, local leaders, and members of the wider community.

Community-based rehabilitation — an integrated approach

The Eastern Highlands Rehabilitation Committee (EHRC), established in 1982 by a small group of committed volunteers, provides an excellent example of a broader-based ‘youth’ programme. This was not a carefully planned youth development strategy, but a response to the needs of one hundred gang members who ‘surrendered’ to police in Goroka. The ongoing strategy which evolved was to recruit public servants, church workers and local villagers as volunteer youth workers who visited local communities and maintained contact with individual gang members and their families. Lynn Giddings, a volunteer youth worker who initiated the programme, noted that immediate action was needed.

To give young people something to do and keep them out of further trouble, contract work, permanent jobs or economic projects had to be found ...[but] 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 (1986:131).
The EHRC provided the impetus for the development of a network of community-based probation services which have now been established throughout the country. Volunteer probation workers provide a link between the courts and official government probation officers, individuals on probation, their families and the community. In recent years, the National Capital District and a number of other urban councils have initiated group employment schemes which provide contract work for youth or community groups. Many of the ‘youth’ groups are really local community or church groups and it is quite common to see men and women of all ages working on community employment activities. While urban youth may appear to live more separate lives than their rural counterparts:

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 (O'Collins 1986:166).

Towards integrated development: a continuing process

The experience of the early 1980s has shown that often more attention should have been paid by planners to the actual contributions women and youth were making as participants in the overall development process. Because these activities were not carried out as part of a specific ‘women's programme’ or ‘youth project’ they tended to be downplayed or ignored. Statistics relating to women and young people's involvement in development activities may be misleading if they fail to include less formal economic activities (street vending, harvesting of seasonal forest products, collecting of shellfish, inshore fishing, etc). This means that the possible impact of a particular project on existing economic activities may be overlooked, particularly if these activities are carried out mainly by women or young people (see Ware 1981 for a discussion of perceptions of ‘women's work’).
Yet, despite the limited success of a number of earlier programmes, some progress has been made in raising the level of awareness and sensitivity of planners to the need to include women and youth in development planning and project management. Often, however, the real successes have been when extended families, clans or whole communities have accepted the importance of the activities being undertaken by women or young people and have themselves supported these activities.

An important lesson from the early years of the National Youth Movement Programme in Papua New Guinea has been that programmes which focused exclusively on younger members of the community often failed to achieve development objectives. The causes for the collapse of separate youth projects varied. In some cases there was a lack of necessary skills and expertise which might have been made available by the community if the project had been seen as an integral part of the whole development effort. In other situations, conflicts between national and provincial policy makers or project managers meant that youth programmes were not given promised funding. The ideology of the NYMP also tended to emphasize ‘youth working with youth’ rather than ‘youth in their communities’. This led to conflicts of loyalties between family or clan activities, those of existing (often church-sponsored) youth associations, and the demands of the national youth programme.

National, or even provincial, programmes may fail because they do not take into account significant cultural differences at the local level. Often, the particular social and economic roles played by youth vary in different societies throughout Papua New Guinea. Bamford's study of rural training programmes for youth in Fiji, Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands and Vanuatu, concluded that youth training needs must be linked to broader community objectives and be integrated into rural development programmes. This is necessary because:

... training for rural living cannot of itself solve the problems of urban drift and unemployment, particularly of youth. It does increase a person's potential for employment and, when it has sound community support and is an integral part of broader rural development programmes it can, in national terms, make an important contribution to the alleviating of such problems (Bamford 1986:129, emphasis added).
Final reflections: planning for a changing Pacific

In many societies throughout the Pacific, changing economic and environmental circumstances have already had a significant impact on the traditional roles played by women and youth. As women become involved in new economic activities, they are also able to influence community decision-making in ways which would not have been possible in the past. Planners at the national level may not fully recognize just what is happening at the local or sub-national levels. Local development planners, both government and non-government, may have a keener awareness that change is occurring, albeit unevenly distributed across the nation. Women are becoming more involved in the process of planning and in project management, although in some areas they still remain very unequal partners in development.

Paradoxically, increased integration of women in development has come about only after specific attention to women's needs has improved their opportunities for access to education and skills training. The participation of younger people in community activities has always involved some specific training, whether as a part of traditional initiation to adulthood, or as part of the formal education system. In this sense, separate programmes are merely a part of the overall process of eventual integration. Today, throughout the Pacific, younger members of a community may be working in other parts of the country, or in other countries. Their absence has changed the demographic pattern of the community and has significant implications for local level development.

When younger members of a community return home they bring with them new perspectives and ideas about development which may be as important as their new knowledge or skills. Remittances from migrant workers often help initiate economic projects and community improvements, but their labour may not be available to carry out these activities. This has important planning implications and, in areas where there are high rates of out-migration, may be the crucial factor in determining whether a viable community can be maintained.

In times of crisis, or environmental and other disasters, there may be no time to argue the merits of separate or integrated strategies for involving women and youth in the tasks which have to be carried out. Often, past experience has shown that women undertake tasks previously seen as within the male domain, and young people, some
perhaps not even teenagers, take on unheard of responsibilities. Later, when the crisis is over, it may be impossible for the family or community to completely return to former patterns of authority as the balance of power within the group has changed.

At an intergovernmental meeting held at Majuro, Marshall Islands in July 1989, a number of speakers considered the implications of the ‘Greenhouse Effect’ on South Pacific island nations. Many speakers argued that forward planning must begin now so that the next generation will be better able to meet the challenges of a ‘climate in crisis’. While predictions vary as to the pace and degree of environmental change expected over the next fifty years, international and national planners are now analysing the potential impact of sea level rise and climate change on coastal zones and coral atolls throughout the Pacific (see Pernetta and Hughes 1990).

Any attempt to plan for the future of local communities or entire nations will need to be a shared enterprise in which men and women, young and old, are able to participate. The wisdom and experience of the past may not be sufficient as the basis to decide whether to partially or wholly relocate a low-lying island community, or to move further inland and develop alternative agricultural or other economic activities. At the same time, new technical or physical planning solutions may not fully take into account traditional and customary practices which sustain group and community cohesion and identity.

In the environmentally vulnerable island nations of the South Pacific, decisions currently being made will profoundly affect the choices open to communities and whole countries in the years ahead. This means that today’s youth must be able to participate in ongoing development planning and project management. After all, they are the men and women who will be the national and sub-national planners and managers; decision makers of the future — beyond 2000.
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