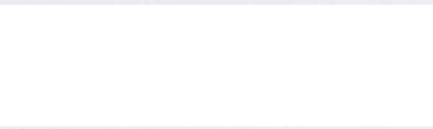


ASSESSMENTS OF THE SERIOUSNESS
OF OFFENCES BY SELECTED GROUPS IN
AUSTRALIA AND PAPUA - NEW GUINEA



This thesis is my own work
and all the sources used
in its composition have
been acknowledged.



R.W. Whitrod

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INTRODUCTION

In recent years an important school of sociology has emphasized the value of the "theory of action" in the analysis of social systems. In this theory, the primary units of reference are the actions taken by actors in given situations to pursue particular ends.

Parsons, a leader of this school, has stated: "It is a condition of the stability of social systems that there should be an integration of the component units to constitute a 'common value system'. ... The content of such a common value system, and the degree and modes of its integration with the actual actions of the units in a social system, vary empirically. But the existence of such a pattern system as a point of reference for the analysis of social phenomena is a central assumption which follows directly from the frame of reference of action as applied to the analysis of social systems".¹

But as Smith has pointed out, clearly any sociological theory which adopts this point of departure has to assume some general normative consensus in order to exclude "the war of all against all", and in order to give this assumption any substantial meaning it is necessary to translate it into specific terms, to define in operational language the minimum content, scope, intensity, and extension of the common values on which systems of social order are presumed to be always dependent.²

During the years 1969-70 the author was concerned with the maintenance of civil order and the enforcement of criminal law in Papua -New Guinea. The situation presented a number of problems, of interest not only administratively but sociologically. One of these is the question of the appropriateness of a comparatively sophisticated British legal code to maintain public order in a fragmented tribal country such as Papua and New Guinea.

¹ T. PARSONS: Toward a General Theory of Action, Cambridge, Mass. 1951, p. 24.

² M. G. SMITH: The Plural Society in the British West Indies, California, 1965, p. IX.

An important aspect of this particular question is the evaluation by persons in Papua-New Guinea of the comparative seriousness of different forms of misbehaviour made unlawful by the Code.

In general the Territory's legal system - whether civil, criminal or administrative - follows both the principles and practice of the legal systems of England and of the Australian states. The principal enactment creating criminal offences in Papua is the Criminal Code passed in Queensland in 1899, and adopted in Papua in 1902. The First Schedule of the Criminal Code Act 1899 of Queensland was adopted in New Guinea in May 1921 and incorporated all amendments up to that point of time.

However as Wolfers has pointed out, "Until recently the principal part of the legal system in regular contact with Papuans and New Guineans was the Native Regulations and the Native Administrative Regulations. They followed neither the principles nor the practice of the Queensland Criminal Code. Even the Criminal Code had some rather special changes made to it to "fit" it to Territory conditions, e.g. a native can have several wives and not be charged with bigamy."¹ Notwithstanding this concession certain customary activities like ritual homicide, or the burning of houses, are dealt with as murder or arson.² Some activities which are not crimes under the Code were crimes under the Regulations. Adultery, which is anti-social in village life, could be dealt with as an offence under the Regulations, and sorcery was also an offence under the Regulations but not under the Queensland Code.³

However, maintenance of order within a society depends not only upon the technical competence of the law enforcement process but also upon the preparedness of that society to co-operate with its agencies of control. The British police system is structurally based on the

¹E. P. WOLFERS in a personal letter to the author, 31.8.71.

²C. D. ROWLEY: The New Guinea Villager, Melbourne, 1965, p.80.

³See Note 1.

traditional assumption that the individual police officer is merely a representative of his community paid to carry out fulltime those regulatory duties which formerly all citizens were required to do in a voluntary capacity.¹ Because the British policeman's role is regarded as more representative than repressive, he is, in theory, able to rely heavily upon community support for information and, at times, physical assistance. In some Australian states there is a legal requirement to provide physical assistance when called upon to do so.

Without public co-operation it is difficult for police to enforce the law effectively. Lack of information, rejection by juries, and public criticism are some of the factors that affect police efficiency. Differences of opinion between members of a society and its law enforcement authorities as to the relative seriousness of different forms of legally prohibited behaviour, can adversely affect co-operation between the two groups. It would seem that in Papua-New Guinea there are additional opportunities for such differences of opinion to arise - members of the judiciary and magistracy are Australians, with a few assistant magistrates recruited from indigenous sources, and the constabulary is still officered mainly by Australians. One example of the difficulties inherent in this type of situation is that the judiciary, in the allocation of penalties, are "to also consider the sense of resentment and outrage at certain crimes on the part of those injured and of the public."² How the judiciary or anybody else is to determine the degree of resentment and outrage held by members of the community has not been explained.³

Should members of the judiciary seek guidance on degrees of seriousness from legal references they will find that standard text books on Criminal Law usually

¹ Report of the Royal Commission on the Police, 1962. (Cmd. 1728) London. See also Note 2.

² C. J. BRAY, Chief Justice of South Australia, Adelaide Advertiser, 27.8.68.

³ See Note 2.

consider three categories of offences. First, the division between indictable and summary offences which is a division according to the methods by which the offenders are tried but which is, in some respects, an indication of seriousness. Second, the division between statutory and common law which is basically a distinction according to the sources of the law. Third, the division between treasons, felonies, and misdemeanours, which originally distinguished offences according to their gravity but which eventually became a meaningful distinction mainly in terms of legal effects with little relevance to the gravity of the offences.¹

The study was therefore undertaken to discover, first, if any consensus exists among selected groups of indigenous persons in Papua-New Guinea as to the rank ordering of different forms of misbehaviour made unlawful by the Code. Secondly because positions in the judiciary and police administrative positions in Papua-New Guinea are filled by Australians, to discover if any consensus exists among selected groups of Australians as to the rank ordering of the seriousness of these crimes. Thirdly to discover if there is any correlation between the indigenous groups and Australian groups in their ordering of the seriousness of these crimes.

Because of the limited resources available to the author, and because it was not possible to introduce adequate controls, the study is exploratory in character. A major limitation on the study has been the use of selected groups in lieu of random samples of the populations, and the use of an untested assumption that respondents in Papua-New Guinea would understand in a similar manner to Australians the concept of "the punishment fitting the crime". The resulting conclusions are therefore merely tentative. Nevertheless, it is hoped that the present attempt might serve to stimulate a more rigorous examination of truly representative samples

¹F. H. McCLINTOCK "Ways of Classifying Offences for and N. H. AVISON ; Criminological Research": A paper submitted to a National Conference on Research and Teaching in Criminology, Cambridge, 1964, unpub., p. 4, footnote 2.

of the two populations by other researchers. The results of such research could be useful to an increasingly independent Papua-New Guinea faced with the legislative choice of retaining, modifying, or rejecting its present legal system. The establishment and maintenance of national unity is a task of primary importance. As Rowley stresses "national unity implies a degree of common agreement on what is right and wrong. Without this, it is very difficult for people to live together in peace."¹ Because of the part that Law could play in achieving this aim, divisive forces within the Law need to be eliminated or controlled, and unifying influences recognized and strengthened.

Furnivall has argued that in the Far Eastern colonies, the union of differing racial and cultural elements was not voluntary but imposed by a colonial power and by the force of economic circumstances, and that the union could not be dissolved without the whole society relapsing into anarchy.² Smith says that since Furnivall wrote, violent reactions against European rule in Indonesia, Malaya, Kenya, Algeria, India, The Congo, Palestine, and elsewhere, and the more or less severe breakdowns of social order in several colonial units as they approach or achieve independence, confirm Furnivall's statements.

Referring to the West Indies, Smith goes on to say, "We need to know whether these units ... lack a consensual basis for their integration. If they do not, we need to know the processes and conditions in which their current consensus developed. We should also try to determine its present generality and intensity."³ With the approach of independence for Papua-New Guinea there appeared to be a need for some similar type of enquiry. At this stage it is not possible to predict the type of Government which may emerge. Goodenough has pointed out that whenever one

¹ ROWLEY: op.cit., p. 130.

² J. S. FURNIVALL: Colonial Policy and Practice, New York, 1956, p. 310.

³ SMITH: op.cit., p. xii.

group seeks to impose rules of conduct on other groups that are incompatible with the latter's values, systematic evasion results. Compliance can be achieved only by the exercise of constant policing and the use of punitive sanctions.¹

On the other hand Merton's well known classification of deviant behaviour in terms of discrepancies between cultural goals and legitimate means may appear to have relevance for the current disorder in the Territory of Papua and New Guinea. However as Jayawardena points out in reviewing a paper on Ceylon by Wood, the Merton paradigm refers to a unitary normative system but where there is confusion about goals and/or means.²

More than one system of norms emerges in Wood's analysis of Sinhalese society, and he suggests that in complex societies we may find inconsistent and competing moral codes. He describes the peasants of the low country provinces of Ceylon as participating in two social systems, one traditional and one modern, in which they occupy incompatible statuses. Studies by Mead, Rowley, Worsley and others,³ suggest the existence in Papua-New Guinea of similar systems of competing social norms.

However the existence of more than one system of norms in a society is, as Wood suggests, quite common. In his book on conservation and the process of urbanization among the Bantu-speaking workers in East London, Cape Province, Mayer discusses the concept of multiple norm systems in which urban Africans operate.⁴ He draws attention to the process of situational selection of roles: the idea that individual actors take cues from their situations and this enables them to determine which frame of reference is appropriate. From his studies of police and hospital wardsmen in Port Moresby, Ransom believes the same process takes place in Papua-New Guinea.⁵

¹ W. H. GOODENOUGH: Co-operation in Change, New York, 1963, p. 106.

² A. L. WOOD: Crime and Aggression in Changing Ceylon, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, America, 1961, pp. 1-32.
JAYAWARDENA, Review in Oceania, Vol. 34, pp. 157-160.

³ M. MEAD: Growing Up in New Guinea, London 1930; C. D. ROWLEY: The New Guinea Villager, Sydney, 1965; WORSLEY: The Trumpet Shall Sound, Aylesbury, 1957; A. L. EPSTEIN: Matupit, Canberra, 1969.

⁴ P. MAYER: Townsmen or Tribesmen, Cape Town, 1961.

⁵ B. RANSOM: Personal letter to author, 18.8.71.

Christian missionaries were amongst the earliest European settlers in Papua-New Guinea in close contact with the natives. A decade and a half ago, a Lutheran missionary, the Reverend L. J. Luzbetak had drawn attention to the apparent ability of the Middle Wahgi people to mentally compartmentalize two sets of norms, the traditional and the Christian, and so resolve the conflict between the two. They appeared to differentiate between behaviour permissible in their own environment and behaviour equally permissible but only away from home in the white man's world. Luzbetak believed that acculturation would proceed rapidly only if the Middle Wahgi people abandoned their tendency to compartmentalize and began to regard the new white man's world as not necessarily distinct from their own.¹

Another early missionary, the Reverend G. J. McArthur² has described some of the areas of tension arising from the encounter of Melanesian culture with Christian ethics. "Lying, cheating, stealing, killing, raping, the advancement of one's own ends at the expense of another, as long as it did not infringe the sanctity of kinship ties, was, in the main, considered to be not only legitimate but meritorious. The period of transition, from stone-age to cosmic-age, tribal feudalism to national oneness, paganism to Christianity has been far less gradual than that experienced by most other peoples. In fact the pressures of change in the postwar era have been so rapid and demanding that they have virtually catapulted people into new life situations overnight."

On the other hand, in writing about the influence of Islam on a traditional Malay culture, Fraser suggests that because of compartmentalization, changes in the economic sphere tend to occur with a minimum of interference from values associated with other areas of the culture. He thought that the villagers rarely gave any consideration to

¹ L. J. LUZBETAK: "The Middle Wahgi Culture; a study of First Contacts and Initial Selectivity", Anthropos, Vol. 53, 1958, p. 86.

² G. J. McARTHUR: Applied Christian Ethics for Melanesian Churches, Stanmore, undated, p.10. See also Note 3.

the idea that such changes might eventually cause conflict with other parts of the culture.¹ "Essentially all that Islam has added to the traditional Malay cultural substratum is the obligation to pray five times a day, the expectation of a certain amount of time spent in religious instruction, a month of fasting and a number of feast days ... there is little conflict between fasting and fishing, one is a daytime activity, the other done at night. If religious instruction appears to be coming into conflict with the beginning of a youth's fishing career, religious instruction is ceased forthwith."²

However culture conflict is not always resolved so easily. Maunier has recorded some of the difficulties of introducing the French penal code in Algeria. "We transform into offences the ancient usages of the inhabitants which their customs permitted or imposed. Thus among the Khabyles of Algeria, the killing of adulterous wives is ritual murder committed by the father or brother of the wife and not by her husband as elsewhere. Her father, or brother has the right and duty to kill her ... But these are crimes in French Law ... Similarly when Soviet Law was extended to Siberia, women among the Siberian tribe, who in obedience to the law laid aside their veils, were killed by their relatives for violating one of the most sacred norms of their tribes."³

Mayer describes a meeting of Xhosa tribesmen in which the senior member, in summing up a case of sodomy, said that although sodomy was an almost unknown offence amongst Xhosa, he believed the penalty would be the same as witchcraft, namely death. "But our nation is under foreign control and life is confused." The penalty was eventually fixed at three pounds.⁴ Mayer quotes another Bantu spokesman as saying, "In town we are arrested for many things which we do not know. Nobody knows all the small laws. One only gets to know them when someone is arrested and fined."⁵

¹T. M. FRASER, JR: Fishermen of South Thailand, New York, 1966, p. 90.

²FRASER: op.cit., p. 86.

³R. MAUNIER: Independence, Convergence, and Borrowing in Institutions, Thought, and Art, Cambridge, 1937, pp. 84-85 as quoted by THORSTEN SELLIN, "The Conflict of Conduct Norms", in WOLFGANG, SAVITZ and JOHNSTON, The Sociology of Crime and Delinquency, New York, 1962, p. 227.

⁴MAYER: op.cit., p. 131.

⁵MAYER: op.cit., p. 55.

The American Indians are still hesitant about the validity of the legal system imposed on them. In 1961 at the American Indian Chicago Conference the delegates declared in their published report that "many Indians have been vitally concerned and fearful that their law and order systems will be supplanted, without their consent by state law enforcement agencies which perhaps might be hostile towards them."¹

Schusky quotes from a United States Senate Sub-Committee Report which parallels similar statements in Papua-New Guinea. "I think the judge honestly believes the Indian understands what he is saying because he spells it out for him ... You say to an Indian with little or no education, 'You are entitled to be confronted by the witness against you. You are entitled to cross-examine them.' Why you might as well be speaking German to him because he doesn't know what you are talking about."²

Commenting on social change in Papua-New Guinea in the 1920's, Griffen reported that an interesting sidelight upon the effects of the advance of civilization was that it must be difficult for the natives to grasp their new code of ethics. "To solemnly try a Neolithic Cannibal under the Queensland Criminal Code is gilbertian."³ Whiteman made similar observations some years later about a New Guinea village. "They did not carry out many of the activities connected with the yam and tambaran cults or perform magic, not primarily because of religious beliefs, but because they thought they would be sent to prison. When as a result of the increasing government contact they found this was not the case, they became worried and confused."⁴ More recently Lawrence observed, "The New Guinea process of social control rests on principles diametrically opposed to those underlying our own legal system ... Hence to try to impose Australian Law on New Guinea societies without having changed their basic structures is to invite one of two reactions: either metamorphosis or total rejection of the original."⁵

¹Report of the American Indian Chicago Conference, 1961, p. 13, reported in E. L. SCHUSKY, "An Indian Dilemma", Int. J. Comparative Sociology, Vol. XI, No. 1, Mar. 1970, p. 60.

²Sub-Committee on Constitutional Rights, Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, Report 164, April, 1963, quoted by E. L. SCHUSKY, op.cit., p. 60.

³H. L. GRIFFEN: Official in British New Guinea, London, 1925, p. 146.

⁴J. WHITEMAN: "Change and Tradition in an Abelam Village", Oceania, Vol. 36, No. 2, Dec. 1965, p. 105.

⁵P. LAWRENCE: "The State versus Stateless Societies in Papua and New Guinea", in Fashion of Law in New Guinea, (ed.) B. J. Brown, Sydney, 1969, pp.25 and 16.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Although the references in the legal textbooks on the subject of the comparative seriousness of crimes may be sparse, a search of the sociological literature shows that an attempt to construct "a qualitative delinquency index"¹ was made by Clark in California as early as 1922.

Since then a number of different approaches have been used by both researchers and practitioners in the field of criminology, to obtain some index of "seriousness". These have ranged from rather elementary techniques to the more sophisticated model of Sellin and Wolfgang.² Replication studies of Sellin and Wolfgang's model have been carried out in a number of countries but as yet not in Australia, or Papua-New Guinea.

The search of the sociological literature also produced information on the effect of Christian teaching on traditional mores of a non-Christian country. Two social psychologists compared the moral codes of American and Korean college students. The moral codes of American college students at Ohio State University were found to be much less severe than those of Korean students at Seoul University, and there was considerable difference between those Korean students studying at home and those who attended the Ohio State University.³ A similar enquiry comparing the moral judgments of college students in the U.S.A. and in the Middle East discovered a strong similarity ($\rho = .90$), but again the overall severity of the moral judgments was significantly different.⁴

An observation of interest from this enquiry, because of its relevance to the Papua-New Guinea situation, is the statement that "from personal interviews with Korean students in the United States it became quite apparent that conversion to Christianity ... serves the major function of identification with Western ideals and customs but serves little if any religious function."⁵

¹ See Note 4.

² T. SELLIN and M. E. WOLFGANG: The Measurement of Delinquency, New York, 1964.

³ S. RETTIG and B. PASAMANICK: "Moral Codes of American and Korean College Students", J. Social Psychology, Vol. 50, 1959, pp. 65-73.

⁴ A. K. TOMEH: "Cross-cultural differences in the Structure of Moral Values", Inter. J. Comparative Sociology, Vol. XI, No. 1, Mar. 1970, pp. 18-33.

⁵ RETTIG and PASAMANICK: op.cit., p. 72.

In 1952 Elkin referring to Papua-New Guinea, wrote: "Much missionary work remains on the surface of native life. Very often, apart from a few individual natives the fundamental beliefs and sanctions remain what they were; the old time rites are secretly retained in practice or in memory."¹

A few years later Luzbetak, surveying his Middle Wahgi people, commented: "In directing cultural change secular as well as religious education should be given high priority; for education more than anything else is capable of removing the barrier of compartmentalization and putting an end to the tendency to limit change to peripheral positions in the cultural patterns. However purely secular education is not the complete solution. Many of the old restraints, closely intertwined with the ancient religion would also disappear. Consequently a new religious training corresponding to the new secular environment is very much in place. A new morality, a new sense of justice, and a new charity ... must replace the traditional morality, justice and charity which are strictly limited to one's one lineage and friends."²

As late as June 1971 the Principal of the New Guinea Christian Leaders Training College, Rev. Kay Liddle wrote: "In discussing these matters with our students, it is apparent that in many tribes, people are mixing their animistic spirit beliefs and practices with Christianity in order to try and get the best out of both systems. This is a matter of real concern for it means that many people with the name of Christian really have no saving faith in God."³

The relevance of these observations and comments is contained in Rowley's point that "Perhaps, then, our forerunners in New Guinea were wiser than we are in the emphasis they gave to common acceptance of Christianity. It is easy for us to overlook the degree to which our law, and its basic assumptions about the proper relations

¹A. P. ELKIN: Social Anthropology in Melanesia, Oxford, 1953, p. 7.

²LUZBETAK: op.cit., p. 86.

³K. W. LIDDLE: Principal's Letter, College News, C.L.T.C., June, 1971.

between men, is based in Christianity. If any other of the great unifying religions would do as well in New Guinea, Christianity happens to be the only one which we are competent to promote ... In the case of non-literate communities ... it is hard to conceive the establishment of a common system of ethics and morality without supernatural sanctions."¹

To discover the existence or otherwise of "some common system of ethics and morality" needs, amongst other things, the means to measure the degree of consensus on social norms. Clark's early attempt in 1922 to construct a qualitative delinquency index was a move towards providing these means. He set out to construct an index to provide an evaluation of the social consequences of delinquent acts. He did this by submitting 148 cards, each briefly describing one offence, to fifty graduates and to another 50 non-graduates, and asking them to sort the cards into ten groups, ranging from the least to the most serious from the point of view of the consequences of the act to society and to the individual. The arithmetic mean of the ranks given by the various raters to each offence was then computed and taken as the numerical value of the degree of seriousness of the offence. The 148 offences were then grouped into fourteen classes by legal definition.²

Durea attacked Clark's study on the basis that its method assumed increments of equal value from 1 to 10. Using the fourteen legal classes from Clark's study he arranged them in 91 pairs and submitted them to 192 professional persons divided into four groups. They were asked to look at each pair and mark the one the rater thought most serious. As it turned out, however, the correlation between the results of the two studies was high.³

¹ ROWLEY: op.cit., p. 131.

² SELLIN and WOLFGANG: op.cit., p. 62.

³ See Note 5.

Only an elementary attempt was made to develop a scale of seriousness of offences in the well known and highly rated pre-war Cambridge-Somerville study. The term "seriousness" was used "as it is ordinarily understood by police and probation officers." Four police and four probation officers were asked to rate each offence on a four point scale: least serious, fairly serious, serious and most serious. The values given to an offence by the eight judges were totalled and divided by eight, resulting in a score for that offence.¹

In 1960 a B.B.C. Audience Survey of 907 randomly selected persons in England and Wales gave the following as "the worst crime" out of a list of fifteen submitted to them (larceny, housebreaking, shopbreaking, robbery with violence, causing death by dangerous driving, being drunk in charge of a motor car, indecent assault, cruelty to children, causing grievous bodily harm, stealing from unattended vehicles, fraud, rape, planned murder for money, killing a policeman to escape arrest, attempted suicide).

Percentage* of Respondents who said "Worst Crime"

1. Indecent Assault	24 percent
2. Cruelty to Children	21 percent
3. Planned murder for money	20 percent
4. Killing a policeman to escape arrest	9 percent
5. Robbery with violence	6 percent
6. Causing death by dangerous driving	6 percent
7. Rape	6 percent
8. Being drunk in charge of a motor car	6 percent
9. Causing grievous bodily harm	3 percent
	<hr/>
	102 percent ²
	<hr/>

¹E. POWERS and
H. WITMER: An Experiment in the Prevention of Delinquency,
New York, 1951, p. 329.

²A Report on Some Audience Research Enquiries connected with
the Television Series "Crime", The British Broadcasting
Corporation, January 1961, VR/61/1, p. 15. See also Note 6.

Some 52 English prison officers presented with a somewhat similar list in 1962, and asked to say "what is the worst crime in your view" made the following assessments:

Sex offences against children	17
Sex offences other	11
All kinds of violence	6
Cruelty to children	5
Murder	4
Robbery and Violence	3
Blackmail	2
Cruelty to Aged	1
Drive Under the Influence	1
Grievous Bodily Harm	1
No choice made	1
	<hr/>
	52 ¹
	<hr/>

McConnell and Martin submitted a questionnaire listing thirty-five acts made up of crimes, torts, and lesser acts of misbehaviour to a group of judges and three groups of laymen, including university students, all in the State of Washington, U.S.A.

The laymen were asked to rank the thirty-five acts in terms of the amount of guilt the respondent would feel on being caught committing each act; the judges were asked to state their opinion as to which offences were most serious.

The results showed that in most instances judges view illegal but nonetheless inoffensive acts "in the same way as laymen; judges and laymen did not differ markedly" in any discrete functional category; and overall "in a broad sense there does seem to be a coherent set of moral standards shared by judge and layman alike." It was further found that the judges' "law-in-fact" agreed with public sentiment better than did book law.²

¹T. and P. MORRIS: Pentonville, London, 1963, p. 320. See also Note 7.

²J. P. McCONNELL
and J. D. MARTIN: "Judicial Attitudes and Public Morals",
American Bar Association, J., Vol. 55,
Dec. 1969, pp. 1129-1133.

In testing the results a difference of five rankings between the judges and one other group was chosen arbitrarily as indicating a significant difference.¹ The measure of association between judges and the various other groups was tested. The following values were obtained, judges - Kiwanians 0.82; judges - Spokane sample 0.77; judges - students 0.71; between judges and legal severity 0.50.

The authors are aware that their samples were not representative of the community, coming mainly from the middle class, and that the data reveals only a ranking and does not establish the intensity of feeling amongst the groups. In their opinion it is conceivable that judges feel more strongly about all acts than do other groups.

On the other hand Clifford discarded the questionnaire method when he set out "to gather valid information about the urban African's views on crime."

He did so because it seemed to be far too superficial for his purpose, and he thought an impersonal approach of this kind could have been misleading. He chose instead a form of participant research with investigators making deeper probes in an attempt to reach underlying ideas. He was aware that his method had the disadvantage of subjectivity, and allowed a great deal of discretion to the interviewer. For his subjects he chose 70 persons of good character and 50 criminals. Both group and individual interviews were used and subjects were asked, amongst other things, what they understood by the terms "crime" and "misbehaviour". To discover what the subjects' conception of crime might be their examples were listed and also the number of times they were mentioned. In order of frequency these were as follows:

¹See Note 8.

Percentage of total instances quoted:

Murder	17	Sex crimes (other than rape)	4
Stealing	14	Burglary and Breaking	4
Fighting and Assault	14	Robbery	2
Adultery	10	Malicious Damage	2
Rape	4		

Clifford states that the results of his enquiry confirm the results of an earlier investigation by Biesheuval at Johannesburg in 1937. Biesheuval confined his study to males of 18 years and over who had received at least a standard VI education. He used the questionnaire method. His conclusion was that "educated Africans have a thorough appreciation of the moral and legal codes of western culture in South Africa. They wholeheartedly identify themselves with both ethical and religious values except in such matters as man's natural needs and belief in witchcraft where traditional attitudes tend to persist."¹

Attempts, then, have been made for some years to develop a scale of seriousness of offences. By far the most sophisticated, has been the work originally carried out by Sellin and Wolfgang, and then developed internationally by Normandeau. This scale incorporates a weighting process which is based on regional attitudes not only to the comparative seriousness of legal categories of offences but also includes additional units for certain ingredients of each incident. This means that greater severity of assault, or the higher values of property stolen or damaged, can be accounted for in the final count rather than as in the widely adopted Uniform Crime Statistics recording procedure which equates 1 unit for any offence whether it is murder or theft.

Sellin and Wolfgang sought to provide a method of measuring the degree of seriousness in each offence by

¹ W. CLIFFORD: "The African View of Crime", British J. Criminology, Vol 4, 1954, pp. 477-486.

having a base figure established for each criminal act with additional units for each element in the incident which would justify an extra penalty. For example an assault on a victim had a base score of 1, but if the victim was hospitalized as a result of the assault there was an additional penalty of 7 points. Similarly the theft of ten dollars or less scored 1 point, but there were successive penalties attached to increased amounts, so that stealing over \$80,000 produced an additional 7 points. The basis for the calculation of these scales was obtained by submitting 141 offences from the Philadelphia Crime Code to groups of university students, police and juvenile court judges. Two judgments were obtained from two different groups of these assessors - a scale of categories and a magnitude scale.

In making judgments under the category questionnaire the raters were told to use the first category for the least serious and the last category for the most serious offence, and were given examples of these offences. When the raters were making judgments under the magnitude estimation instructions they were given a single offence and asked to consider it the modulus. From that point onward they were free to use any positive numbers that they chose.

Sellin and Wolfgang state that each of the rating groups showed remarkable consistency when the category scale was plotted against the magnitude scale.¹ The score values arrived at by Sellin and Wolfgang are as follows:-

¹ SELLIN and
WOLFGANG: op.cit., p. 274. See also Note 9.

Element	Score Value
Minor injury to victim	1
Victim treated and discharged	4
Victim hospitalized	7
Victim killed	26
Victim of forcible sex intercourse	10
Intimidated by weapon	2
Intimidation of persons in connection with theft, etc. (other than in connection with forcible sex acts):	
Physical or verbal only	2
By weapon	4
Forcible entry of premises	1
Value of property stolen and/or damaged:	
Under 10 dollars	1
10-250	2
251-2000	3
2001-9000	4
9001-30000	5
30001-80000	6
Over 80000	7
Theft of motor vehicle (recovered undamaged)	2

Subsequently replication studies of the Sellin and Wolfgang approach were carried out in other countries. In Canada, Ackman and Normandeau discovered a close relationship between their results and the Philadelphia study.¹

Further research, mainly by Normandeau amongst student groups in England, Belgian Congo, Taiwan, Indonesia, Brazil, and Mexico, lead him to a conclusion that murder is considered to be twice as serious in England than in the United States and Canada, six times as serious as murder in Taiwan or Indonesia. Unfortunately, there is no statistical information available on any alterations in the hierarchy of degrees of seriousness, nor on the degree of consensus in each group. He does state that whilst the opinions of workmen, white collar employees, policemen and magistrates might vary considerably from those expressed by students, in fact in the United States, Great Britain, and Canada these sections of society were consulted, and that the results obtained did not in fact vary significantly either between these groups themselves or between these groups and students.²

¹ D. D. ACKMAN and
A. NORMANDEAU: "The Measurement of Crime and Delinquency in Canada", British J. Criminology, Vol. 7 No. 2 April, 1967, p. 144. See Note 10.

² A. NORMANDEAU: "A Comparative Study of the Weighted Crime Indices for Eight Countries", Intern. Criminal Police Review, No. 234, Jan. 1970, pp. 15-18.

Of particular interest to this paper is Ackman and Normandeau's statement that "students, judges, police officers and white-collar workers indicate again a strong overall agreement about the estimation of the relative seriousness of the fourteen offences."¹ Similar relationships were found by Sellin and Wolfgang. In other words they claimed there was a consensus of opinion, at least amongst these sections of the public.

Apparently no tests on the actual degree of agreement were considered necessary. Ackman and Normandeau quote Kuhn in support of their non-application of statistical checks. "Scientific practice exhibits no consistently applied or consistently applicable external criticism. 'Reasonable agreement' varies from one part of science to another, and within any part of science it varies with time."²

Costner also supports this view when, describing the number of complex formulae now available for testing correlations, he states: "It is understandable too, that many investigators feel it is impossible and therefore unnecessary to interpret measures of association in any more definite terms than calling them high, moderate, low or non-existent."³

On the other hand Rose criticizes the Ackman-Normandeau decision on the ground that if consensus is to be established it must be tested on an objective statistical basis. He states that since 1966 he has carried out three rigorous statistical tests of significance for differences between Sellin and Wolfgang's groups and in each case there were no grounds to assume agreement between the groups.⁴ However, he himself does not state what tests were used.

A recent and interesting extension of the earlier work and the replication studies of the Sellin-Wolfgang formula

¹ ACKMAN and NORMANDEAU: op.cit., p. 144.

² T. KUHN: "The Function of Measurement in Modern Physical Science", Ed. by H. Woolf, Indianapolis, 1961, as quoted by Ackman and Normandeau, op.cit., p. 444.

³ H. L. COSTNER: "Criteria for Measures of Association", American Sociological Review, Vol. 30, No. 3, June, 1965, pp. 341-353.

⁴ G. N. G. ROSE: Unpublished Report to the Council of Europe, "The Merits of an Index of Crime of the kind devised by Sellin and Wolfgang", p. 3.

was its application to a Puerto Rican survey. The earlier investigations had established the existence of a high degree of agreement throughout Western cultures. To determine if differences in criminality, social class, educational level, language, or cultural background were significant, samples of lower class Puerto Rican offenders and non-offenders were asked to rate Spanish translations of the offences. Not only were there few significant differences but a high degree of agreement was obtained between these two samples, and also between the Puerto Rican samples and the earlier Pennsylvania subjects studied by Sellin and Wolfgang. In addition to similarity between the means, there were no differences in variability as might be expected if one group was manifesting greater value confusion.

The correlation between the ratings by offenders and non-offenders, measured by Pearson Product-Moment (r) for a list of 21 standard offences, was 0.98 while for the entire 141 offences, was 0.84. The differences between the variations of the samples of offenders and non-offenders, were tested by means of the Cochran test for homogeneity of variances. There was no evidence that the offenders were more variable in their ratings of the offences. Correlations between the Puerto Rican samples and the Pennsylvanian subjects were 0.70 and higher.¹

The Sellin-Wolfgang formula does not include any consideration for the frequency of the different offences, yet it would seem that quick repetition of most types of crimes, if known publicly, could increase, at least temporarily, the "seriousness" with which the community views that particular offence. Relationship of offender to victim,² age of offender,³ and age of victim could well be important considerations.

Preliminary results from current research both in the United States and in the United Kingdom are of interest. In England the Police Research and Development Branch of the

¹A. VELEZ-DIAZ and
E. I. MEGARGEE: "An Investigation of Differences in Value
Judgments Between Youthful Offenders and
Non-Offenders in Puerto-Rico", J. Criminal
Law, Criminology and Police Science, Vol 61,
No. 4, Dec. 1970, pp. 549-553.

²See Note 11.

³See Note 12.

Home Office, with the assistance of a team at Lancaster University and a private firm of consultants, has been working on a programme to discover how best police can operate in a manner consistent with preferences which society may have concerning the catching of criminals and the prevention of crimes. One part of their enquiry is the examination of the seriousness of a reported crime, some aspects of which have current application in police administration and some of which are relevant to the future. Their aim is to produce a scale on which it will be possible to measure the importance to the police of clearing up a crime. The points score would be made up of two major components. First, there would be an estimate by society of the suffering experienced by the victim and society as a result of the crime. Second, there would be the advantage which is gained by society from catching a particular criminal.

The research team at Lancaster University felt that the Sellin-Wolfgang formula, whilst it showed the difference between Crime A and Crime B it did not show how much more serious one was from another. They propose to substitute an interview technique, rather than a questionnaire form to obtain this. Unfortunately as yet not a great deal has been published on this enquiry.¹

From the rather lengthy survey of the literature it can be gathered that although there is a quantity of data from investigations of a related kind in Western and a few non-Western societies, generally the literature is deficient in providing information about transitional communities of the type needed for this enquiry. The African studies are useful, but apparently there has been little endeavour to produce a quantitative measure of the degree of consensus on the seriousness of crimes between new arrivals from the bush and the white cityfolk.

¹See Note 13.

To the author, interested in the administration of law enforcement, this seems to be an important deficiency in social studies of transitional societies. Perhaps the deficiency stems from an hitherto lack of attention by criminologists, who are mainly interested in the developed communities. Possibly, as Mair points out, because social anthropologists who are the most likely to be concerned, are not interested in "changes in items of behaviour but changes in the totality which we call the social structure".¹ Perhaps part of the reason is as Cochrane claims, "successful studies of cognitive functioning and criminal behaviour are rarer than personality studies. The reason for this is not hard to find. In this area there is a conspicuous lack of relevant theory and few proved measuring devices."²

However from the studies covered in the review of the literature it seems that at least in Western societies there is a reasonable consensus on the seriousness of various crimes; that within those societies police, students, judges, and criminals share common attitudes towards these crimes.

This survey will have as its respondents in Papua-New Guinea, students at teachers' colleges, administrative colleges, University, police depot and soldiers' barracks. It is possible that in some ways they will resemble the immigrant native, "the foreign native", who on moving to Port Moresby, begins to lose his local cultural identity, and acknowledges no single body of customary law.

Rowley points out that such a "foreigner" will be in a moral dilemma, in a conflict between two incompatible standards of conduct.³ For such marginal men, faced with living in an environment largely controlled by an imported legal system, based on values and social structures which differ greatly from their own, unable to have ready recourse to communal advice, probably not fully accepting

¹ L. MAIR: New Nations, London, 1963, p. 16.

² R. COCHRANE: "The Structure of Value Systems in Male and Female Prisoners", British J. Criminology, Vol. 11, No. 1, Jan. 1971, p. 73.

³ ROWLEY: op.cit., p. 208.

or understanding the underlying Christian ideology, any attempt to estimate the degrees of wrongfulness of acts of unlawful behaviour, must be based on greatly handicapped individual judgments. Any degree of group agreement by these persons would seem, in these circumstances, to be based largely on chance.

The preceding survey of the literature does not provide any evidence to the contrary. Conversely the less handicapped Australian groups, judging by earlier studies, should give more highly correlated results.

From these conclusions the following hypotheses have been drawn:

1. That among selected groups of Papuans and New Guineans there will be differences in the apparent seriousness of offences and the rank order of seriousness in which offences are viewed;
2. That among selected groups of Australians there will be no differences in the apparent seriousness of offences and the rank order of seriousness in which offences are viewed;
3. That between the two national groups, Australians and Papua-New Guineans there will be differences in the apparent seriousness of offences and the rank order of seriousness in which offences are viewed.

DESIGN OF THE STUDY

Description of data-gathering instrument.

The method chosen to test the hypotheses was first to submit a questionnaire containing 63 items describing various acts of misbehaviour to five selected sub-groups containing, in all, 356 respondents in Papua-New Guinea, and ask them to decide which one of seven categories was appropriate as punishment for each item. The questionnaire also included 14 items seeking personal data from the respondent, plus two items asking for opinions on length of light and heavy terms of imprisonment. Secondly a similar questionnaire less the personal data sheet was submitted to four sub-groups of Australians, numbering in all 297 respondents and roughly comparable to the Papua-New Guineans by occupation.

In deciding to use a test of attitudes, as revealed in a questionnaire, to produce information on which policy decisions might be based, Bogardus' objection¹ that an individual's rating on an attitude scale is no real indication of the behaviour that will follow in a real life situation was borne in mind. Likewise Tartar's declaration² that no studies have offered a practical instrument which could be used in conjunction with attitude scales to give the researcher a method whereby he might state the likelihood of such an attitude being transformed into overt behaviour, was also considered.

The presentation of a questionnaire instead of other, perhaps more penetrating ways of obtaining information, was selected because of the availability of certain groups and the comparative ease of application. To some extent also the questionnaire afforded protection against two social survey problems common in the Territory - "courtesy bias" and "deference". The "courtesy bias" reported by social scientists in South-East Asia appears widespread in the Territory; so much so that police investigators are taught early in their careers to recognize these types of replies. Nevertheless police prosecutors continue to be embarrassed by native witnesses unhesitatingly reversing their evidence under prompting by defence counsel. Similarly to another condition, reported from South-East Asia, natives in Papua-New Guinea are reluctant to disagree openly with a person of higher status.³ In preparing the questionnaire it was therefore more important than usual to avoid any suggestion of a desired reply, and as far as possible to have the tests administered by a neutral person.

Items for inclusion in the questionnaire were selected after consultation in Port Moresby with psychologists from the Australian Army and from the Territory's Education Department. The items were considered to be types of incidents which could have occurred in the experience of

¹ E. S. BOGARDUS: "A Social Distance Scale", Sociology and Social Research, Vol. 17, Jan-Feb 1933, pp. 265-271.

² D. E. TARTAR: "Toward Prediction of Attitude-Action Discrepancy", Social Forces, Vol. 47, 1968-1969, pp. 398-408.

³ See Note 14.

the respondents in Papua-New Guinea, or at least would not be regarded by them as over-fanciful. On the other hand perhaps two of the items could possibly be considered by Australians as coming within this latter category - raping a daughter-in-law and killing a sorcerer.

Judging by the number of omissions to assess, in the event the only item which appeared to cause some difficulty and this was to Papua-New Guinean respondents, was the theft by a priest.

The 63 items selected for inclusion in the questionnaire came principally from the standard three legal classifications, viz. offences against property, offences against the person, and offences against good order. The main property offence chosen was stealing, and the related basic item referred to the larceny of \$20, with eleven associated variations in changes of offender's sex, occupation, age, etc. There were two categories of crimes against the person, violence and sexual, and these had associated variations built on to the original items. The items contained in the disorderly category related to drunkenness, fighting, gambling, and breaking windscreens.

Generally speaking, all of the items contained descriptions of unlawful behaviour which would be recognizable as such to both Australians and New Guineans. There were some exceptions. Adultery was formerly a breach of the Native Regulations, but is no longer. It is not a crime in any State or other Territory of Australia. It was included because of information it might produce on changing attitudes in the Territory, and in comparison with Australia.

Gambling was included because of its changing nature in Australia where forms of it are illegal in some States, and because of its banning in Papua-New Guinea by their House of Assembly. (Cardpacks are a prohibited import and Europeans need a permit to play bridge.)

In the violence category an item describing the killing of a newly born twin refers to a traditional belief in Papua-New Guinea that a husband can only be

physically responsible for the birth of one child, the other must have resulted from the intervention of a bad spirit.¹

One item relating to cruelty to animals was included mainly as a check item to test the validity of the responses, it being known that there is a large difference in attitudes between the two national groups.

Two of the items referred to student activities because this is a comparatively new phenomena in Papua-New Guinea, and it was thought worthwhile to try to obtain assessments on a few novel types of incidents. No item was included which had any racial content so that access to the respondent groups would not be jeopardized. This was an unfortunate but necessary omission. As it was, two less equivalent groups of Australians had to be substituted at short notice, one because of the unexplained withdrawal of previously given approval, the other because of a misunderstanding.

It was planned to use National Servicemen in one eastern State as a sub-group on the ground that they were likely to be more representative than other available respondents. As it was members of the Royal Australian Air Force stationed at Edinborough Airfield in South Australia were substituted. Similarly it was planned to obtain a sample from the second year law classes at the Adelaide University. However it became difficult to do this and second year psychology students from the University of Queensland replaced them.

Overall however the 63 items appeared to give an acceptable spread from minor offences to the most serious. The 63 items were entered in the Questionnaire in random order.

For the purposes of cross-cultural comparison Tomeh points out that an important tool, particularly for studies

¹See Note 15.

concerned with attitudes and values, are sets of meanings which can be established as equivalents in two or more cultures. If the meaning is different, of course, responses are non-comparable.¹ To obtain equivalence of meaning for all items in the questionnaire was not possible, for example, property worth \$20 would probably not have the same meaning because of the probability of different values towards amounts of money. Some items, as described earlier, were inserted as check items on the sincerity of reply, and others were included to obtain this very information on equivalence. It was thought that there were sufficient items covering the four legal categories which would be of approximately the same meaning.

For a pilot study the offence descriptions were condensed and entered on 20 cards. They were submitted to sixteen male native headmasters, average age 32 years, with seven years teaching experience, who were asked to sort the cards into an order of seriousness from the point of view of society. The native headmasters took about 40 minutes to complete, but from personal conversation afterwards, it would seem that not all understood what they were doing. Nevertheless the rankings were averaged and a "reasonable" consensus resulted.² On reflection it seemed to the author that any lack of understanding could have stemmed from a number of causes. The respondents were gathered together for the purpose of celebrating the end of a departmental in-service training course. They had no knowledge that they would be expected to participate in an experiment, and the instructions were minimal. The author was present as the guest speaker on another, unrelated topic. After concluding his speech he merely asked the assembled group if they would sort a pack of cards with descriptions of misbehaviour on them into an order of seriousness from the point of view of society, the most serious case on top. It was not an ideal situation but it appeared to be an opportunity to test the procedure.

¹TOMEH: op.cit., p. 18.

²See Appendix 1.

Fairly consistent views were expressed by the headmasters about sodomy, evasion of council tax, abortion, incest, cruelty to animals and adultery. Because of the seeming success by these particular items in making useful distinctions, they were used in a questionnaire form, asking instead of rank ordering, an expression of appropriate length of imprisonment, giving one day as the appropriate penalty for the least serious and twenty-five years for the most serious.

This particular version of the questionnaire was tried on several groups including Europeans but the results were disappointing. Very few forms were completed correctly, many only giving either one or twenty-five years, with no intermediate periods. The decision was then made to use a seven point scale of punishment as an indicator of seriousness, asking respondents to tick the column they thought appropriate ranging from death, very heavy, heavy, not heavy-not light, very light and no punishment. The two extreme categories, death and no punishment were considered to be appropriate markers to enable all respondents to make intermediate judgments.

The decision to ask Papuan and New Guinean respondents to express degrees of seriousness in varying terms of punishment was taken because it was thought that these respondents would find it possible to differentiate in this way; and because punishment to fit the crime was traditionally part of their culture. As well all of the respondents probably would have had the benefit of at least six years teaching in English, with an unknown proportion having been accommodated in residential schools away from their village, and punishment for misdeeds would be a normal feature of school discipline.

Malinowski¹ as early as 1926 reported the concept of punishment as one of the social controls operating in the Trobriands; in more recent times Reay² has given a description

¹B. MALINOWSKI: Crime and Custom in Savage Society, London, 1926.

²M. REAY: The Kuma, Melbourne, 1959.

of various offences and their punishment in the Wahgi Valley among the Kuma; and later still Langness¹ has conveyed similar information about the Eastern Highlands district.

However Bulmer² has reminded the author that in some societies in Papua and New Guinea some of the more serious offences are left in whole or part for supernatural punishment, for example, (though not always) parricide, fratricide, incest; and that sickness and death are, in many societies, considered to be the consequences of moral failings.

As was stated earlier, asking the Papua-New Guinean respondents to give a measure of wrongfulness in terms of punishment was an untested assumption of their capacity to do so. It is possible that the questionnaire was, for them, merely a guess-how-much-you-would-get-in-court game rather than a guide to the respondents' judgment as to the relative seriousness of different offences. In the absence of clear evidence one way or the other the author has assumed their preparedness and capacity to give a rational judgment. The instructions accompanying the questionnaire tried to emphasize the importance of doing so.

The personal data items to be answered by the Papua-New Guinean respondents were designed to include details of several factors which were thought might affect their judgment; together with an indication of their view of what was the length of a heavy or light gaol sentence.

The factors were: birthplace by district; highest examination passed; type of school attended; religion; amount of church attendance; frequency of listening to the radio; reading a newspaper; going to cinemas; number of languages spoken; father's occupation; marital status and if a driver's licence was held.

¹I. L. LANGNESS: "Notes on Bena Council, Eastern Highlands", Oceania, Vol. 33, No. 1, Sept. 1962, p. 167.

²R. BULMER: Personal letter to writer 26.8.71.

These items were selected after consultation with departmental psychologists in Papua-New Guinea as possible factors affecting the rate of urbanization of the respondents. It was planned to have this information available if it was required to assist in the understanding of any individual responses in Papua-New Guinea which were highly deviant. In the event the author was not able to take advantage of this data in individual cases.

The Instructions for the Questionnaire for Papuan and New Guinean respondents were enlargements on the simpler and briefer ones for the Australian respondents. Samples of both are attached as Appendix 2 and 3. The Papua-New Guinea Instructions gave assurance of the anonymity of response, explained the purpose of the questions, pointed out it was not a test for marks, (for many it would be their first experience of a questionnaire), and sought their co-operation. A copy of these Instructions was attached to the front of each questionnaire and respondents were asked to read it before starting on the items.

In Papua-New Guinea the administration of the questionnaire was done mainly by an Army psychologist in civilian clothes; in Australia the two police and the Royal Australian Air Force provided their own; and for the University of Queensland students, the author administered the questionnaire.

The Papua-New Guinea questionnaires were submitted to the respondents in March 1970, and to the Australians later the same year. With the exception of the University of PNG students who were asked to complete the form in their free time, all others were completed in a classroom situation. Response rate for the University of PNG students was only 60% compared with the 100% return from all other groups. The Queensland University psychology students' completed questionnaires carried a number of endorsements stating that in many cases treatment should be given in lieu of punishment.

No student complained of the length of the questionnaire. Time taken to complete the paper was longest with the soldiers and police in Papua-New Guinea (1 hour), and somewhat less for the administrative staff college students. These sub-

groups had to also fill in the personal particulars sheet at the same time.

The various individual items were included in the questionnaire in random order following the usual prescription to prevent "set" but it may have been more appropriate to have presented them in sequence as they are set out in the result tables, so that immediate reference could be made by the respondents to their assessments on the base offence or to compare the effect of the new variable, age, sex, occupation, or increased value in the item under consideration. As far as could be judged, no respondents turned back the pages to make these comparisons.

The crime descriptions appeared adequate, only one native respondent asked a question about one item ' "it all depended" he said. He was told to do the best he could with the details that were supplied.

It must be admitted that the details are meagre and could cover a wide range of circumstances. It could be that the response to any item would be different if the subject had been personally involved, especially as a victim or an offender in a similar crime.

Sources of Data

The author would have liked to have obtained a more representative sample, especially of Papua-New Guineans. However this was not possible because of their geographical distribution, and more importantly the number of languages spoken - (around 500). Pidgin speakers number less than a quarter of the population. Police Motu, the other lingue franche, is spoken by about half that number. By geographical distribution it is meant to include a population which is highly dispersed yet occurring in isolated clusters. Because of the accessibility in Port Moresby of members of the five English speaking institutions, the questionnaire was prepared in English.

The PNG respondents totalled 356 - 323 males and 33 females from the five institutions as follows:

98 serving male soldiers of 1 Pacific Island Regiment, with varying lengths of service, age range 17-30 years, recruited from most districts;

105 newly recruited male constables of the Royal Papuan and New Guinea Constabulary, age range 17-21 years;

75 trainees of the Administrative Staff College, Port Moresby - 65 males, and 10 females, all attending a law class as part of their second year training as magistrates or welfare officers;

46 students at the Port Moresby Teachers' College - 24 males and 22 females, mainly in their second year;

31 second year students at the University of Papua and New Guinea at Port Moresby - 30 males and 1 female, attending a sociology class. Six other questionnaires rejected because the subjects were European or British Solomon Islanders.

The Australian respondents totalled 297 - 264 males and 33 females, and were intended to be comparable sub-samples of the PNG subjects. The Australian sample consisted of the following sub-groups:

30 male recruits at the Queensland Police Depot, education level 3rd year high school, average age 20 years, police service 8 weeks;

101 male cadets at South Australian Police Academy, education level 4th year high school, average age 18 years, police service 1-3 years;

100 male servicemen R.A.A.F. Station, Edinborough, South Australia, education level unknown, probably 3rd year and above, two age ranges, 75 between 17-25 years, trainee status, 25 in age group 28-40 years, permanent airmen.

66 second and third year psychology students, University of Queensland - 33 males, 33 females.

RESULTS AND ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

1. Analysis of the biographical data.
2. Rank correlation analysis of the questionnaire items by groups and sub-groups.
3. Measurement of shift in assessments by sub-groups on a change of a variable.
4. Principal components factor analysis.
5. MacQuitty linkage analysis.

1. Biographical Data

It may be useful to include, at this stage, the biographical material provided by the PNG respondents. In interpreting the data relating to church attendance, radio audience, newspaper reading, film viewing, it perhaps should be borne in mind that these activities, in many cases, do not reflect any active seeking out of these facilities by the respondents. Respondents from the Pacific Island Regiment are a good case in point. The Army in PNG has an intensive educational programme for its native soldiery, with its own Army Educational Unit under the control of a lieutenant-colonel. In addition to providing these educational facilities the Army has a definite programme of seeking to replace kinship loyalty with national loyalty especially to the Army. It offers a new "wantok" relationship to all of its members, providing homes, food, medical, dental and hospital care, and new friendships and obligations so that in a very real sense it provides all of the benefits of tribal membership. Because of the general educational programme of PIR it may be that the details of educational levels provided in the table may not be an accurate reflection of the PIR soldiers' development.

The other training institutions provide similar facilities, but not to the same extent. Regular radio news sessions are amplified for members frequenting the various dining halls and communal newspapers in the libraries and elsewhere are readily available except for police trainees who would be most limited generally.

BIRTH PLACES OF PNG RESPONDENTS - TABLE 1

DISTRICTS	UPNG		RPNGC		PIR		PMTC		PMAC		TOTAL	
	Actual	Pred.*	Actual	Pred.*	Actual	Pred.*	Actual	Pred.*	Actual	Pred.*	Actual	Pred.*
Central	3	2	4	7	1	7	8	3	14	6	30	25
Western & Gulf	2	2	6	7	7	7	6	3	7	5	28	24
Bougainville	2	1	3	4	3	4	3	2	4	3	15	14
Manus	2	0.3	1	1	4	1	1	0.5	4	1	12	4
Sepik & Madang	5	6	12	20	18	20	2	8	12	14	49	68
Morobe	0	3	12	10	4	10	3	5	4	8	23	36
Highlands	6	10	36	35	29	34	3	16	7	26	81	121
Rabaul, New Britain and New Ireland	6	3	24	10	22	10	9	4	6	7	67	34
Milne Bay, Samari & Northern	5	2	5	7	8	7	10	3	15	5	33	24
N. A.	0		3		2		1		2			
	31		106		98		46		75			

* Predicted on basis of 1966 population census. From this table it can be seen that the following districts are well over-represented - Rabaul, including New Britain and New Ireland; Milne Bay, including Samari and Northern; and Manus. Under-represented are the Highlands, the Sepik and Madang, and Morobe.

CHURCH ATTENDANCE

	UPNG	RPNGC	PIR	PMTC	PMAC
N.A.	9	24	12	9	22
Once or more per week	0	1	3	0	1
Once a month	18	71	75	35	45
Less often	4	10	8	2	7
	31	106	98	46	75

LISTEN TO RADIO

Once or more a day	24	87	82	38	63
Once a week	3	8	5	4	3
Less often	4	9	10	4	9
No answer	0	2	1	0	0
	31	106	98	46	75

LANGUAGES SPOKEN - other than English
and place talk

	<u>UPNG</u> %	<u>RPNGC</u> %	<u>PIR</u> %	<u>PMTC</u> %	<u>PMAC</u> %	<u>TOTAL</u> %
N.A.	0	1	1	2	0	1
Only pidgin	66	71	72	47	50	65
Only motu	4	3	0	14	8	4
Pidgin and motu	10	20	16	7	20	16
Pidgin, motu and any other	0	2	1	0	1	1
No other	20	3	10	30	21	13
Sum	100	100	100	100	100	100

FATHER'S OCCUPATION

N.A.	10	14	27	11	20
Villager	52	60	48	57	44
Non-villager/ teacher	0	0	1	7	1
Policeman	0	9	7	2	3
Soldier	0	0	1	0	0
Mission worker	13	8	6	15	12
Clerical	0	0	0	2	5
Other	26	9	10	6	15
Sum	100	100	100	100	100

MARITAL STATUS

	<u>UPNG</u>	<u>RPNGC</u>	<u>PIR</u>	<u>PMTC</u>	<u>PMAC</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
N.A.	0	1	2	0	0	3
Married	2	1	11	4	2	20
Not married	25	101	62	33	64	285
Married + children	4	1	22	6	8	41
Not married + children	0	0	1	3	1	5
Sum	31	104	98	46	75	354

DRIVER'S LICENCE

N.A.	0	2	2	1	1	6
Yes	15	6	27	3	15	66
No	16	97	69	42	59	283
Sum	31	105	98	46	75	355

READ A NEWSPAPER

	<u>UPNG</u>	<u>RPNGC</u>	<u>PIR</u>	<u>PMTC</u>	<u>PMAC</u>
N.A.	0	1	0	0	0
Once or more a day	22	20	49	11	41
Once a month	4	36	41	24	23
Less often	5	49	8	11	11
	31	106	98	46	75

GO TO A PICTURE SHOW

N.A.	0	1	1	0	1
Once a week	7	33	56	14	16
Once a month	11	29	21	8	18
Less often	13	43	20	24	40
	31	106	98	46	75

HIGHEST EXAMINATION PASSED

N.A.	1	4	6	13	3
Standard 6		47	61	2	0
Form 1		15	22	1	0
Form 2		29	8	4	3
Form 3	2	9	1	25	27
Form 4	11	1	0	1	40
Form 5	1	0	0	0	2
Matriculation	16	1	0	0	0
	31	106	98	46	75

RELIGION

N.A.	2	1	6	0	2
United Church	11	24	27	30	34
R.C.	11	43	41	5	31
Lutheran	3	26	17	5	6
7th Day Adventist	0	1	1	1	1
Other Christian	4	11	6	5	1
Non Christian	0	0	0	0	0
	31	106	98	46	75

GAOL SENTENCE - ONE WEEK

	UPNG %	RPNGC %	PIR %	PMTC %	PMAC %	TOTAL %
N.A.	0	0	3	0	4	2
Very heavy	3	5	7	4	4	5
Heavy	3	3	8	7	4	5
Not heavy/ not light	0	15	21	13	5	13
Light	39	24	18	17	19	22
Very light	55	53	42	59	64	53
Sum	100	100	100	100	100	100

GAOL SENTENCE - TWO YEARS

N.A.	0	1	3	0	3	2
Very heavy	19	59	57	44	32	47
Heavy	32	30	28	35	41	32
Not heavy/ not light	36	10	8	17	15	14
Light	13	1	4	0	9	5
Very light	0	0	0	4	0	1
Sum	100	100	100	100	100	100

In an attempt to quantify the degree of punishment allotted by the various respondents to the 63 items, a question was asked as to how they viewed two lengths of imprisonment, viz, two years and one week. Again PIR may have compounded the result because of their experience with Army discipline and Army detention periods.

The attitude of the University students towards the two lengths of imprisonment is interesting in that they gave the "lightest" assessment in both cases. Indeed they were outstanding in this regard. PNG respondents, without UPNG, who considered one week's imprisonment either light or very light, numbered 237 or 73%. UPNG students who assessed it similarly were 29 or 93%.

Again in assessing two years imprisonment, PNG respondents, other than UPNG, who rated it not heavy-not light, or light numbered 51 or 14%. UPNG students on the other hand who also regarded it as not heavy-not light, or light, numbered 15 or 48%.

It is unfortunate that similar questions were not asked of the Australian respondents because it is possible that UNIQU students, who correlated 0.81 with UPNG in ranking, may have given similar results. If this had been so, it may have meant that the consistent underscoring by UNIQU, demonstrated later, of degrees of seriousness, would have been compensated for by longer terms of imprisonment if UNIQU had been the sentencers. In other words offenders, whether they were sentenced by UNIQU or another group, regardless of the differing views of the seriousness of the offence by both groups, would in fact receive about the same length of imprisonment.

The comparative newness in PNG of the concept of punishment by imprisonment may still be inferred from the less urbanized, possibly lower educated groups, PIR and RPNGC who both considered two years imprisonment to be very heavy punishment, 57% and 59% of them voting this way compared to the other three groups, UPNG 19%, PMTC 43% and PMAC 32%.

2. Rank Correlation Analysis

The degree of association among sub-group rankings was obtained by rank ordering the averaged responses for each sub-group's respondents for the 63 items. Table 2 sets out these results. Then by measuring the degree of correlation between the nine sub-groups and the two national groups by computing a spearman's rank correlation coefficient for each comparison. Table 3 sets out the result, and graph 1 presents the same data in graph form.

The range of correlations among the four Australian sub-groups was 0.93 - 0.85; among the five PNG sub-groups, 0.90 - 0.76; among the nine sub-groups, 0.88 - 0.68; and between the PNG/Australia groups, 0.81. Coefficients of concordance among the PNG sub-groups, 0.91; among the Australian sub-groups, 0.975; and among the nine sub-groups, 0.84.

RANK ORDERING BY NINE SELECTED GROUPS OF 63 ITEMS

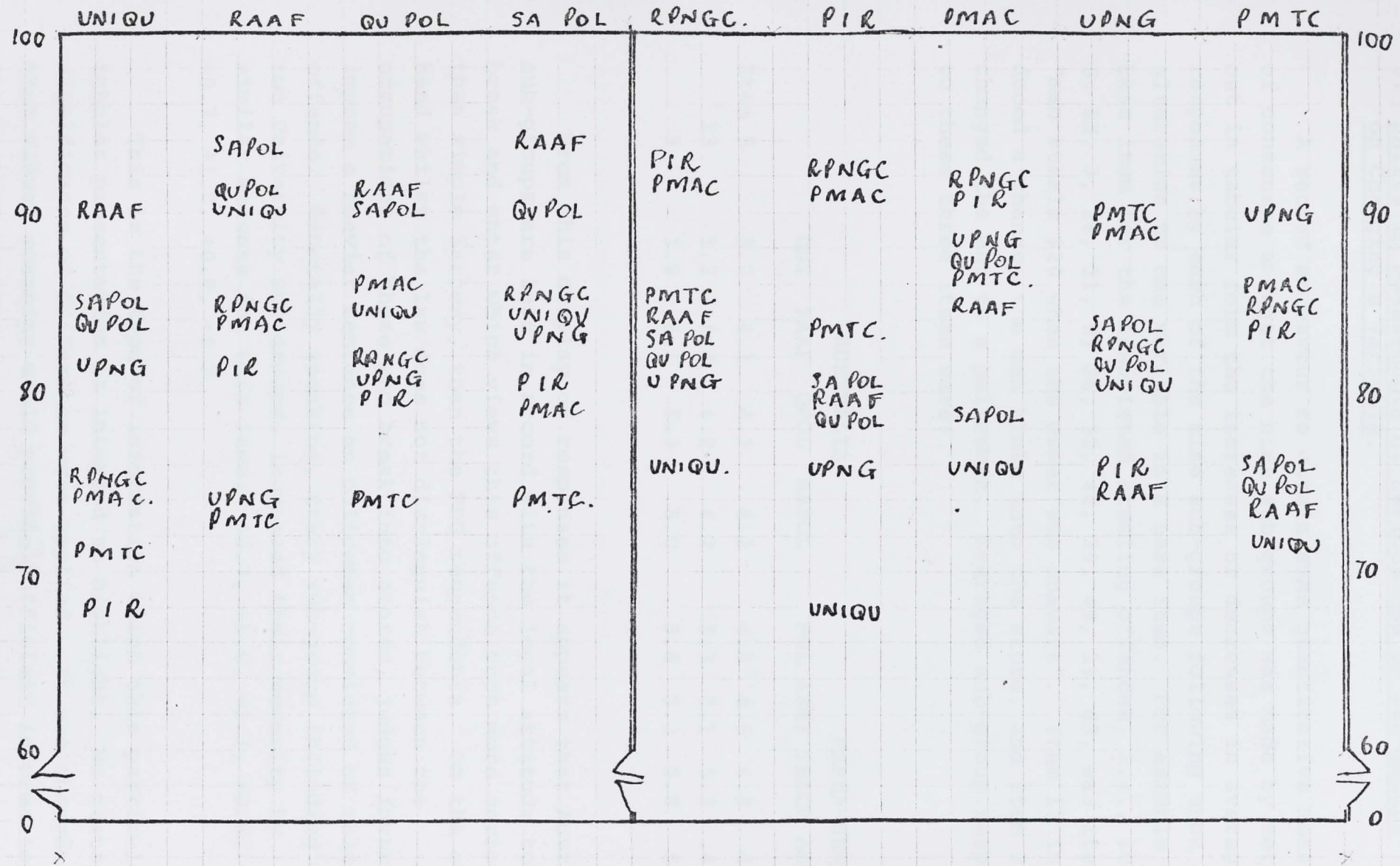
<u>Item</u> <u>No.</u>	<u>Univ.</u> <u>Qu.</u>	<u>RAAF</u>	<u>S. A.</u> <u>Pol.</u>	<u>Qu. Pol.</u>	<u>P. N. G.</u> <u>Pol.</u>	<u>P. I. R.</u>	<u>P. M.</u> <u>Teach.</u>	<u>Admin.</u>	<u>P. N. G.</u> <u>Univ.</u>
1	36	26.5	29	28.5	23	25	31.5	23	30.5
2	42	40	34	38	41.5	49	51	40.5	37.5
3	48	50	48	50	56	58	58.5	56	55.5
4	14	8	23	24	31	46	50	28.5	33.5
5	40	37	39	33	36	43.5	34.5	43.5	44
6	57	56	55	56	44.5	45	60	53	54
7	3	3	2	2	5	7	3	2.5	1
8	33	41	44	40	50	52	31.5	33.5	37.5
9	47	55	57	57	57	56.5	55.5	57	59
10	11	2	3	3	8	3	9	9	14
11	18	9	6	15	17	21	23	25	23.5
12	9.5	7	12	6	13	15	8	8	3
13	38	42.5	40	35.5	53	55	49	46	45
14	13	20	35	43	19.5	26	26	40.5	25
15	60	60	60	60	63	62.5	62	60.5	61.5
16	37	30.5	25	25	35	41.5	47	32	43
17	44	39	24	35.5	1	1	1	1	6
18	34.5	23.5	31	31	12	19	21	17	27
19	31	36	36	32	23	28.5	25	26	32
20	2	25	30	41	28	39	18.5	37	26
21	44	45	43	46	41.5	36	42	42	35.5
22	44	35	41	39	26	22	43.5	27	40.5
23	19	15	9	23	14	20	29	24	28
24	6	4	4	5	25	16	28	22	17.5
25	29	30.5	16	17	34	30.5	38	28.5	29
26	41	42.5	33	35.5	46.5	38	45.5	35	42
27	5	13	13	8	11	2	10	11	10
28	56	51	50	48	54	54	57	51	55.5
29	20	14	8	7	6	12	12.5	14	19
30	59	59	58.5	58.5	49	35	53	54	57
31	55	52	51	52	60	60	61	58.5	60
32	53	49	54	53.5	52	40	54	49.5	49
33	49	47	45	48	46.5	41.5	52	55	50
34	46	54	53	53.5	44.5	51	33	48	52
35	21	21	18	21	19.5	14	15	13	15
36	12	29	42	42	33	43.5	27	36	40.5
37	62	62	61	62	59	62.5	58.5	60.5	61.5
38	17	18	14.5	4	7	8	11	10	17.5
39	34.5	26.5	26	22	23	18	18.5	19	21
40	26	19	17	18.5	21	17	16.5	16	16
41	28	23.5	46	44	29	23	36.5	20.5	20
42	51.5	46	47	45	48	28.5	36.5	47	53
43	4	10	22	12	39	32.5	45.5	39	35.5
44	50	48	49	48	37	34	48	45	48
45	27	22	7	15	32	30.5	22	20.5	30.5
46	39	38	37.5	30	51	50	40	31	46
47	1	1	1	1	4	10	7	2.5	2
48	32	32	32	35.5	43	37	43.5	43.5	33.5
49	30	34	37.5	28.5	27	32.5	30	33.5	39
50	7	12	14.5	9	9	11	12.5	12	12
51	58	58	56	55	61	59	55.5	58.5	58
52	24	28	21	18.5	15	27	24	18	23.5
53	54	53	52	51	40	48	39	49.5	51
54	9.5	11	10	10	10	5	6	7	8.5
55	22.5	16	19.5	15	18	9	5	6	8.5
56	15	6	11	12.5	3	6	2	4.5	4
57	22.5	5	5	12.5	2	4	4	4.5	7
58	63	63	63	63	58	53	63	63	63
59	8	44	27.5	26.5	38	47	41	38	11
60	16	33	27.5	26.5	16	13	16.5	15	5
61	51.5	57	58.5	58.5	55	56.5	20	52	22
62	61	61	62	61	62	61	34.5	62	47
63	25	17	19.5	20	30	24	14	30	13

	Queens. Uni.	R.A.A.F.	Qu. Police	S.A. Police	R.P.N.G. Police	P.I.R.	Admin. Coll.	Uni. P.N.G.	Teachers
Queensland University Students									
R.A.A.F. Airmen	.90								
Queensland Police Recruits	.85	.91							
South Australia Police Recruits	.85	.93	.90						
R.P.N.G.C. Recruits	.76	.85	.82	.85					
Pacific Island Regiment Soldiers	.68	.81	.80	.81	.93				
Port Moresby Admin College Students	.76	.85	.88	.79	.93	.91			
University of Papua & New Guinea Students	.81	.75	.81	.84	.82	.76	.89		
Port Moresby Teachers College Students	.71	.75	.75	.76	.86	.84	.87	.90	

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN GROUPS IN RANK ORDERING OF 63 ITEMS

SIGNIFICANT AT 0.1 PER CENT LEVEL = 0.42

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN SUBGROUPS ON RANK ORDERING OF 63 ITEMS.



GRAPH ONE

P. 41

3. Shifts in Assessments of Seriousness by Sub-groups on Changing a Variable.

A second endeavour to obtain some quantitative measure of consensus amongst the nine sub-groups was made by setting out in tabular form the increases or decreases in averaged responses by each of the nine sub-groups following upon an alteration to one variable in a base item. For example the base item for the associated stealing offences, i.e., items 5, 13, 3, 28, 31, 8, 26, 52, 46, 38, 49, 19, 63, was item 5 - "man steals \$20 when the owner was unaware". Item 13 introduced a change, the man broke into the store, and item 3 changed the man to a policeman. Averaged sub-group responses to these three items were:

	AUSTRALIA				PAPUA-NEW GUINEA				
	UNI	RAAF	QPOL	SAPOL	POL	ARMY	TEACH	ADMIN	UNI
Item 5	3.2	4.1	4.2	4.2	4.8	4.6	4.8	4.8	4.6
13	3.2	4.4	4.2	4.2	5.3	5.1	5.3	4.9	4.6
3	3.9	5.1	5.3	5.0	5.6	5.3	5.8	5.6	5.3

From this display of responses it appears that Australian sub-groups are less in accord with the legal attitude towards break and enter which views this offence much more seriously than simple larceny, than the PNG respondents. On the other hand whilst the law does not distinguish between the occupations of those who break into stores, judges invariably impose a heavier sentence on policemen convicted of this offence. Generally speaking, every sub-group including the two University sub-groups, increased their severity by similar amounts for this item:- +0.7, +1.0, +1.1, +0.8, +0.8, +0.7, +1.0, +0.8, +0.7.

This is the type of information which this particular tabular presentation is intended to highlight. No tests of significance of difference were applied. It was thought that visual scanning would provide sufficient information for the present purpose.

A more detailed examination of responses to the 63 items is contained in Appendix Four but in summary an inspection of the tables, Table Three shows, on the whole, how similar the sub-groups are in their judgments.

In many items, especially if an allowance is made for the Queensland students consistent underscoring by one, there is, merely by visual inspection of the tabulated results, obviously general agreement by sub-groups, and internationally.

Take an extreme example, such as a man raping and killing two teachers. Apart from the PNG soldiers, and if the allowance is given to UNIQU, of +1, the national groups would show, Australia, 6.7, 6.7, 6.7, 6.8; and PNG 5.8, 6.2, 6.3, 6.3. Similarly for ordinary rape the figures would be, Australia 5.9, 6.0, 5.9, 6.0; PNG 5.1, 5.5, 5.4, 5.5.

For a simple basic case of stealing, and again adding +1 to the UNIQU score, the results were: Australia, 4.2, 4.1, 4.2, 4.2; PNG 4.8, 4.6, 4.8, 4.8, 4.6.

Another kind of crime was the drunken busdriver who injured two passengers; Australians (UNIQU +1) scored 5.2, 5.3, 5.3, 5.3; PNG 4.9, 4.7, 5.0, 5.2, 5.0.

Within sub-groups, a high degree of consensus was sometimes prevented by only one of the four or five sub-groups. Attention has already been directed to the consistent low scoring by the University of Queensland sub-group. The remaining three Australian sub-groups, on most occasions, gave very similar responses, e.g. Item 58, 6.7, 6.7, 6.8; Item 6, 5.6, 5.6, 5.5; Item 34, 5.4, 5.5, 5.4; Item 15, 6.3; 6.3; 6.4; Item 47, 1.5, 1.6, 1.4; Item 16, 3.8, 3.9, 3.8; Item 27, 2.9, 2.9, 3.1.

Similarly in PNG, occasionally the University sub-group appeared to follow its Australian counterpart by comparatively scoring low, and thus weakening what would otherwise have been close agreement. For example Item 50, 3.1, 3.2, 3.7, 3.2, and 2.8; also Item 20, 4.2, 4.6, 4.2, 4.7, and 3.8.

TABLE THREE

STEALING - MEAN ASSESSMENTS OF SERIOUSNESS - DEATH (7) TO NIL (1)

Item	AUSTRALIA				NEW GUINEA					
	Uni	RAAF	Q Pol	SA Pol	Pol	Army	Teach	Admin	Uni	
	N	67	100	30	101	105	98	46	75	31
5 Man steals \$20 when owner unaware		3.2	4.1	4.2	4.2	4.8	4.6	4.8	4.8	4.6
13 Man breaks into store and steals \$20		3.2	4.4	4.2	4.2	5.3	5.1	5.3	4.9	4.6
3 Policeman breaks into store and steals \$20		3.9	5.1	5.3	5.0	5.6	5.3	5.8	5.6	5.3
28 Man hits storekeeper on head and steals \$20		4.3	5.2	5.2	5.3	5.4	5.0	5.7	5.3	5.3
31 Man breaks into store and steals \$1000		4.3	5.3	5.4	5.2	5.9	5.5	6.0	5.8	5.6
8 Priest steals \$20 from church		3.0	4.4	4.4	4.7	5.2	4.9	4.7	4.5	4.4
26 Teacher steals \$20 from school		3.2	4.4	4.2	4.0	5.0	4.5	5.2	4.6	4.5
52 12 year old boy steals \$20 from store		2.3	3.7	3.4	3.4	3.6	4.1	4.4	3.8	3.7
46 Secretary steals \$20 from co-op store		3.2	4.2	4.0	4.2	5.1	4.9	5.0	4.5	4.7
38 12 year old boy steals \$20 from mother		2.1	3.2	2.6	3.2	2.8	3.0	3.5	3.1	3.2
49 Woman goes into store and steals \$20		2.9	4.0	4.0	4.2	4.1	4.2	4.7	4.5	4.4
19 Woman steals a coat from a store		3.0	4.1	4.1	4.1	3.9	4.1	4.4	4.3	4.2
63 Motorcyclist steals a gallon of petrol		2.4	3.1	3.5	3.4	4.4	3.9	3.7	4.4	2.8

STEALING - CHANGES IN SEVERITY - DEATH (7) TO NIL (1)

	AUSTRALIA				NEW GUINEA				
	Uni	RAAF	Q Pol	SA Pol	Pol	Army	Teach.	Admin.	Uni
N =	67	100	30	101	105	98	46	75	31
1 Base - Man steals \$20 when owner unaware	3.2	4.1	4.2	4.2	4.8	4.6	4.8	4.8	4.6
13 Variable - man breaks into store and steals \$20	-	+0.3	-	-	+0.5	+0.5	+0.5	+0.1	-
3 policeman breaks into store and steals \$20	+0.7	+1.0	+1.1	+0.8	+0.8	+0.7	+1.0	+0.8	+0.7
28 man hits storekeeper and steals \$20	+1.1	+1.1	+1.0	+1.1	+0.6	+0.4	+0.9	+0.5	+0.7
31 man breaks into store and steals \$1000	+1.1	+1.2	+1.2	+1.0	+1.1	+0.9	+1.2	+1.0	+1.0
8 priest steals \$20 from church	-0.2	+0.3	+0.2	+0.5	+0.4	+0.3	-0.1	-0.3	-0.2
26 teacher steals \$20 from school	-	+0.3	-	-0.2	+0.2	-0.1	+0.4	-0.2	-0.1
46 secretary steals \$20 from co-op store	-	+0.1	-0.2	-	+0.3	+0.3	+0.2	-0.3	+0.1
52 12 year old boy steals \$20 from store	-0.9	-0.4	-0.8	-0.8	-1.2	-0.5	-0.4	-1.0	-0.9
38 12 year old boy steals \$20 from mother	-1.1	-0.9	-0.6	-1.0	-2.0	-1.6	-1.3	-1.7	-1.4
49 woman goes into store and steals \$20	-0.3	-0.1	-0.2	-	-0.7	-0.4	-0.1	-0.3	-0.2
19 woman steals a coat from store	-0.2	-	-0.1	-0.1	-0.9	-0.5	-0.4	-0.5	-0.4

CIVIL DISORDER - ASSESSMENTS OF SEVERITY OF PUNISHMENT - DEATH (7) TO NIL (1)

Item	AUSTRALIA				NEW GUINEA				
	Uni	RAAF	Q Pol	SA Pol	Pol	Army	Teach.	Admin.	Uni
54 Drunken man in street	1.6	2.9	3.1	3.0	3.2	2.7	3.0	2.7	2.3
27 Drunken woman in street	1.5	2.9	2.9	3.1	3.4	2.6	3.5	3.1	2.4
50 Drunken boy in street	1.6	2.9	3.0	3.2	3.1	3.2	3.7	3.2	2.8
35 Drunken crowd blocking street	2.3	3.4	3.6	3.3	3.8	3.2	4.0	3.2	3.0
47 Man gambles away his wages	1.2	1.5	1.6	1.4	2.5	3.0	3.1	1.9	1.9
11 Married man gambles away his wages	2.1	2.8	3.3	2.8	3.8	3.7	4.3	4.3	3.7
23 Mother gambles away husband's wages	2.2	3.0	3.8	3.0	3.7	3.7	4.5	4.2	3.9
55 Two men fight in street	2.3	3.1	3.3	3.4	3.8	3.0	3.0	2.7	2.3
12 Two men fight outside church	1.6	2.6	2.8	3.1	3.6	3.3	3.2	2.8	2.0
16 Man smashes car's windscreen	3.2	3.8	3.9	3.8	4.7	4.6	5.2	4.5	4.5
29 12 year old boy smashes windscreen	2.2	3.0	2.8	2.9	2.7	3.1	3.7	3.6	3.4
21 Drunken driver has an accident	3.5	4.6	5.1	4.5	4.9	4.4	5.1	4.8	4.3
53 Drunken busdriver injures 2 passengers	4.2	5.3	5.3	5.3	4.9	4.7	5.0	5.2	5.0

DISORDER - CHANGE IN SEVERITY - DEATH (7) TO NIL (1)

Item	AUSTRALIA				NEW GUINEA				
	Uni	RAAF	Q Pol	SA Pol	NG Pol	Army	Teach.	Admin.	Uni
54 <u>Base</u> man drunk in street	1.6	2.9	3.1	3.0	3.2	2.7	3.0	2.7	2.3
27 <u>Variable</u> woman drunk in street	-0.1	-	-0.2	+0.1	+0.2	-0.1	+0.5	+0.4	+0.1
50 boy drunk in street	-	-	-0.1	+0.2	-0.1	+0.5	+0.7	+0.1	+0.5
35 drunken crowd block road	+0.7	+0.5	+0.5	+0.3	-0.6	+0.5	+1.0	+0.5	+0.7
47 <u>Base</u> man loses wages at gambling	1.2	1.5	1.6	1.4	2.5	3.0	3.1	1.9	1.9
11 <u>Variable</u> married man loses wages at gambling	+0.9	+1.3	+1.7	+1.4	+1.2	+0.7	+1.2	+2.4	+1.8
23 mother loses wages at gambling	+1.0	+1.5	+2.2	+1.6	+1.2	+0.7	+1.4	+2.3	+2.0
55 <u>Base</u> two men fight in street	2.3	3.1	3.3	3.4	3.8	3.0	3.0	2.7	2.3
12 <u>Variable</u> two men fight outside church	-0.7	-0.5	-0.5	-0.3	-0.2	+0.3	+0.2	+0.1	-0.3
16 <u>Base</u> man smashes car windscreen	3.2	3.8	3.9	3.8	4.7	4.6	5.2	4.5	4.5
29 <u>Variable</u> 12 year old boy smashes windscreen	-1.0	-0.8	-1.1	-0.9	-2.0	-1.5	-1.5	-0.9	-1.1
21 <u>Base</u> drunken driver has accident	3.5	4.6	5.1	4.5	4.9	4.4	5.1	4.8	4.3
53 <u>Variable</u> Drunken bus driver injures 2 passengers	+0.7	+0.7	+0.2	+0.8	-	-0.3	-0.1	+0.4	+0.7

VIOLENCE - ASSESSMENTS OF SEVERITY - DEATH (7) TO NIL (1)
 MEAN

Item	Major Assaults	AUSTRALIA				NEW GUINEA				
		Uni	RAAF	Q Pol	SA Pol	Pol	Army	Teach.Admin.	Uni	
	<u>Base</u>									
14	Pregnant woman aborts herself	1.7	3.4	4.6	4.1	3.8	4.0	4.5	4.8	3.7
	<u>Variation</u>									
9	Mother kills one of newly born twins	3.7	5.5	5.7	5.9	5.7	5.2	5.7	5.7	5.6
51	Two men fight with knives, one killed	4.5	5.9	5.6	5.7	6.0	5.3	5.7	5.8	5.5
61	Man kills suspected sorcerer	4.0	5.7	5.9	6.0	5.5	5.2	4.3	5.4	3.6
15	Wife stabs and kills sleeping husband	5.2	6.3	6.3	6.4	6.1	5.7	6.2	6.1	6.2
62	Husband stabs and kills sleeping wife	5.5	6.4	6.3	6.6	6.0	5.6	4.8	6.1	4.8
	<u>Minor Assaults</u>									
	<u>Base</u>									
57	Mother hits child and makes arm swell	2.3	2.5	3.1	2.7	2.2	2.3	2.7	1.9	2.2
	<u>Variation</u>									
39	Stranger hits child and makes arm swell	3.1	3.6	3.8	3.8	3.9	3.5	4.2	3.9	3.6
18	Wife hits husband and breaks arm	3.1	3.6	4.0	3.9	3.5	3.5	4.3	3.8	3.9
1	Drunk man punches wife	3.1	3.7	4.0	3.9	3.9	3.9	4.7	4.0	4.2
22	Sober man punches wife	3.5	4.1	4.3	4.3	4.1	3.8	5.1	4.3	4.5

VIOLENCE - ASSESSMENTS OF SEVERITY - DEATH (7) TO NIL (1)
 MEAN

Item	Major Assaults	AUSTRALIA				NEW GUINEA				
		Uni	RAAF	Q Pol	SA Pol	Pol	Army	Teach.Admin.	Uni	
	<u>Base</u>									
14	Pregnant woman aborts herself	1.7	3.4	4.6	4.1	3.8	4.0	4.5	4.8	3.7
	<u>Variation</u>									
9	Mother kills one of newly born twins	3.7	5.5	5.7	5.9	5.7	5.2	5.7	5.7	5.6
51	Two men fight with knives, one killed	4.5	5.9	5.6	5.7	6.0	5.3	5.7	5.8	5.5
61	Man kills suspected sorcerer	4.0	5.7	5.9	6.0	5.5	5.2	4.3	5.4	3.6
15	Wife stabs and kills sleeping husband	5.2	6.3	6.3	6.4	6.1	5.7	6.2	6.1	6.2
62	Husband stabs and kills sleeping wife	5.5	6.4	6.3	6.6	6.0	5.6	4.8	6.1	4.8
	<u>Minor Assaults</u>									
	<u>Base</u>									
57	Mother hits child and makes arm swell	2.3	2.5	3.1	2.7	2.2	2.3	2.7	1.9	2.2
	<u>Variation</u>									
39	Stranger hits child and makes arm swell	3.1	3.6	3.8	3.8	3.9	3.5	4.2	3.9	3.6
18	Wife hits husband and breaks arm	3.1	3.6	4.0	3.9	3.5	3.5	4.3	3.8	3.9
1	Drunk man punches wife	3.1	3.7	4.0	3.9	3.9	3.9	4.7	4.0	4.2
22	Sober man punches wife	3.5	4.1	4.3	4.3	4.1	3.8	5.1	4.3	4.5

VIOLENCE - CHANGES IN SEVERITY - DEATH (7) TO NIL (1) - MEANS

Item	Major Assault	AUSTRALIA				NEW GUINEA				Uni
		Uni	RAAF	Q PO1	SA Pol	NG Pol	Army	Teach.	Admin.	
<u>Base</u>										
14	Pregnant woman aborts herself	1.7	3.4	4.6	4.1	3.8	4.0	4.5	4.8	3.7
<u>Variation</u>										
9	Mother kills one of newly born twins	+2.0	+2.1	+1.1	+1.8	+1.9	+1.2	+1.2	+0.9	+1.9
51	Two men fight with knives, one is killed	+2.8	+2.5	+2.3	+1.6	+2.2	+1.3	+1.2	+1.0	+1.8
61	Man kills suspected sorcerer	+2.3	+2.3	+1.3	+1.9	+1.7	+1.2	-0.2	+0.6	-0.1
15	Wife stabs and kills sleeping husband	+3.5	+2.9	+1.7	+2.3	+2.5	+1.7	+1.7	+1.3	+2.5
62	Husband stabs and kills sleeping wife	+3.8	+3.0	+1.7	+2.5	+2.2	+1.6	+0.3	+1.3	+1.1
 <u>Minor Assaults</u>										
<u>Base</u>										
57	Mother hits child and makes arm swell	2.3	2.5	3.1	2.7	2.2	2.3	2.7	1.9	2.2
<u>Variation</u>										
39	Stranger hits child and makes arm swell	+0.8	+1.0	+0.7	+1.1	+1.7	+1.2	+1.5	+2.0	+1.4
18	Wife hits husband and breaks arm	+0.8	+1.1	+0.9	+1.2	+1.3	+1.2	+1.6	+1.9	+1.7
1	Man drunk punches wife and knocks out 2 teeth	+0.9	+1.2	+0.9	+1.2	+1.7	+1.6	+2.0	+2.1	+2.0
22	Sober man punches wife and knocks out 2 teeth	+1.2	+1.6	+1.2	+1.6	+1.9	+1.5	+1.4	+2.4	+2.3

SEXUAL OFFENCES - ASSESSMENTS OF SEVERITY - DEATH (7) TO NIL (1)

Item	AUSTRALIA				NEW GUINEA				
	Uni	RAAF	Q Pol	SA Pol	NG Pol	Army	Teach.	Admin.	Uni
19 Man gives money to woman for sexual intercourse	1.6	1.6	2.3	2.4	2.9	2.3	3.5	3.1	2.9
24 Married man has s. i. with single woman	1.5	2.4	2.7	2.6	4.0	3.4	4.5	3.9	3.2
43 Married man has s. i. with married woman	1.5	2.8	3.1	3.5	4.9	4.2	5.2	4.8	4.3
4 15 year old boy has s. i. with willing 14 year old sister	1.7	2.7	3.8	3.5	4.4	4.7	5.3	4.4	4.2
41 Father has s. i. with willing 17 year old daughter	2.7	3.6	5.1	4.8	4.2	3.8	4.9	3.9	3.5
32 Man pays money to 13 year old girl for s.i.	4.0	5.1	5.5	5.5	5.3	4.6	5.5	5.2	4.9
34 Man pays money to boy for s.i.	3.6	5.4	5.5	5.4	5.0	4.9	4.8	5.1	5.0
20 Two men have sexual intercourse together	1.3	3.6	4.4	3.9	4.2	4.6	4.2	4.7	3.8
36 Man pays money to another man for s.i.	1.7	3.7	4.5	4.3	4.5	4.6	4.5	4.7	4.5
6 Father forces his son's wife to have s.i.	4.4	5.6	5.6	5.5	5.0	4.7	5.8	5.4	5.2
30 Man rapes woman	4.9	6.0	5.9	6.0	5.1	4.3	5.5	5.4	5.5
58 Man rapes and kills 2 teachers	5.7	6.7	6.7	6.8	5.8	5.0	6.2	6.3	6.3

SEXUAL OFFENCES - CHANGES IN SEVERITY - DEATH (7) TO NIL (1)

Item	AUSTRALIA				NEW GUINEA					
	Uni	RAAF	Pol	SA Pol	NG Pol	Army	Teach.	Admin.	Uni	
<u>Base</u>										
10	Man gives money to woman to have sexual intercourse	1.6	1.6	2.3	2.4	2.9	2.3	3.5	3.1	2.9
<u>Variation</u>										
24	Married man has s.i. with single woman	-0.1	+0.8	+0.4	+0.2	+1.1	+1.1	+1.0	+0.8	+0.3
43	Married man has s.i. with married woman	-0.1	+1.2	+1.8	+1.1	+2.0	+1.9	+1.7	+1.7	+1.4
4	15 year old boy has s.i. with willing 14 year old sister	+0.1	+1.1	+1.5	+1.1	+1.5	+2.4	+1.8	+1.3	+1.3
41	Father has s.i. with willing 17 year old daughter	+1.1	+2.0	+1.8	+2.4	+1.3	+1.5	+1.4	+0.8	+0.6
32	Man pays money to 13 year old girl for s.i.	+2.4	+3.5	+3.2	+3.1	+2.4	+2.3	+2.0	+2.1	+2.0
34	Man pays money to boy for s.i.	+2.0	+3.8	+3.2	+3.0	+2.1	+2.6	+1.3	+2.0	+2.1
20	Two men have s.i. together	-0.3	+2.0	+2.1	+1.5	+1.3	+2.3	+0.7	+1.6	+0.9
36	Man pays money to another man for s.i.	+0.1	+2.1	+2.2	+1.9	+1.6	+2.3	+1.0	+1.6	+1.5
6	Father forces his son's wife to have s.i.	+2.8	+4.0	+3.3	+3.1	+2.1	+2.4	+2.3	+2.3	+2.3
30	Man rapes woman	+3.3	+4.4	+3.6	+3.6	+2.2	+2.0	+2.0	+2.3	+2.6
58	Man rapes and kills 2 teachers	+4.1	+5.1	+4.7	+4.4	+2.9	+2.7	+2.7	+3.2	+3.4

UNALLOTTED ITEMS

	AUSTRALIA				NEW GUINEA				
	Uni	RAAF	O 1	SA Pol	NG pol	Army	Teach.Admin.	Uni	
7 Women argue loudly in street	1.3	1.9	2.2	2.0	2.5	2.8	2.6	1.9	1.8
17 Man breaks legs of dog	3.4	4.2	4.2	3.7	1.7	1.6	2.2	1.7	2.1
59 Students burn Australian flag in street	1.6	4.5	3.9	3.9	4.8	4.7	5.0	4.7	2.5
60 Students hold unauthorized demonstration	2.0	3.9	3.9	3.9	3.7	3.2	4.1	3.6	2.1
48 Crowd of men break courthouse windows	3.0	3.9	4.2	4.0	4.9	4.4	5.1	4.8	4.2
33 Man burns another man's car	3.9	5.0	5.2	4.8	5.0	4.6	5.5	5.4	5.0

A possible factor of destruction? - damage? - demonstration

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Generally speaking however UPNG was not the consistently lowest scorer as so clearly was UNIQU in the Australian group. It seems PIR was the discordant group, as in Item 9, 5.7, 5.7, 5.7, 5.6, and 5.2; Item 15, 6.1, 6.2, 6.1, 6.2, and 5.7; Item 30, 5.1, 5.5, 5.4, 5.5, and 4.2; Item 58, 5.8, 6.2, 6.3, 6.3, and 5.0. These items all related to violence of one kind or another.

Sometimes the uncommon result came from the RPNGC, especially where street fighting or women or children were involved. Possibly their sterner view of street fighting comes from their newly learnt understanding of the potential danger in this situation in PNG. In the two fighting items, Nos. 55 and 12, they were by far the highest scores in the nine sub-groups. On the other hand in Items 52, 49, 19 and 29, those dealing with a 12 year old boy and with female offenders, they were the lowest in the PNG groups.

Queensland students have already been described as usually providing the lowest scores, and to that extent detracting from a common agreement; on the other hand, one PNG sub-group, the trainee teachers at Port Moresby Teachers' College more often than any other sub-group provided the upper score. Out of the fourteen items relating to stealing, PMTC gave the highest score of all nine sub-groups on eight occasions; on civil disorder items seven out of thirteen items; on minor assaults four out of five items; on sexual offences five out of twelve; and for the unallotted items four out of six items.

But in any case these differences were not very large. For an understanding of just how similar all of the nine sub-groups really were in their judgments, one needs to study the tables showing not the crude score for each item, but the net results of variables on the basic themes.

For example Item 3 refers to a policeman breaking into a store and stealing \$20. The nine sub-groups' judgments on the added seriousness of the policeman being the thief and breaking into the store were: +0.7, +1.0, +1.1, +0.8, +0.8, +0.7, +1.0, +0.8, +0.7. These were the scores without having to make any allowance for the Queensland students. How does this international uniformity develop?

The roles of the two national police organizations are dissimilar in a number of ways.

Compare that close result, with say, Item 28 which was a somewhat similar offence except that the offender was an anonymous man. The Australian sub-groups were in very close agreement, +1.1, +1.1, +1.0, and +1.1. The PNG sub-groups while still being in reasonable agreement were not quite so, +0.6, +0.4, +0.9, +0.5, +0.7.

Another interesting result was the effect of the increase in the amount of stolen money. This point has already been touched upon, but to realize just how close the agreement was it is necessary to look at the nine sub-groups results: +1.1, +1.2, +1.2, +1.0, +1.1, +0.9, +1.2, +1.0, +1.0. The concept of \$1000 is unlikely to mean the same to three hundred and fifty Australians and to three hundred New Guineans.

This study overall is primarily concerned with discovering if there is any consensus between the nine sub-groups, and between the two national groups.

This particular aspect, that is the examination of the shift in initial assessments brought about by the introduction of other variables into the original item, has revealed, at least by visual inspection of the results, that close agreement does exist. That is, close agreement basically among the sub-groups but also, on occasions, is shown to exist internationally.

The author is not able to suggest why the young raw recruits for the RPNGC exhibit tendencies in judgments independently of the four other PNG groups, such as greater toleration of juveniles (Item 38), and stealing by women (Items 49 and 19), yet more severity on street fighting, (Items 55 and 12).

Perhaps it is that the trainee policemen, being subjected for the shortest time to their occupational environment, are more representative of the general PNG public. It is unfortunate that no such control data was obtained, but as was explained in the introduction the five PNG sub-groups are in fact selected respondents who speak English.

On the other hand the four Australian sub-groups are also unrepresentative of the population. They in fact may tend to represent two extreme positions; the traditional and the radical.

The three traditional sub-groups, RAAF, QUPOL, and SAPOL do show a great similarity in their judgments. For example (Item 19) the woman shoplifter is gauged 4.1, 4.1, 4.1; the male robber (Item 28) 5.2, 5.2, and 5.3; the thief (Item 5) 4.1, 4.2, 4.2; the drunken busdriver (Item 53), 5.3, 5.3, 5.3; the female murderer (Item 15), 6.3, 6.3, 6.4; and so on.

The radical group, UNIQU, whilst consistently underscoring by one, nevertheless on many occasions, joined with the three more traditional sub-groups in assessing the comparative seriousness of incidents. For example the stealing of \$1000 produced +1.1, +1.2, +1.0 with UNIQU giving the middle figure.

Rather oddly UNIQU resembles RPNGC in its lenient attitude to juvenile and female thieves (Items 52, 38, 49, and 19), yet for the thief who is also a priest (Item 8), UNIQU is the only Australian sub-group who reduced the seriousness of the offence, while RPNGC gave the biggest increase of the PNG respondents.

4. Principal Components Factor Analysis

The third endeavour to obtain a quantitative measure was by carrying out a principal components factor analysis. The components were then rotated to a simpler structure by using a Varimax Rotation technique. Fifteen roots were extracted using an eigenvalue cut off of 1.00 and these roots accounted for 61.39% of the variance.

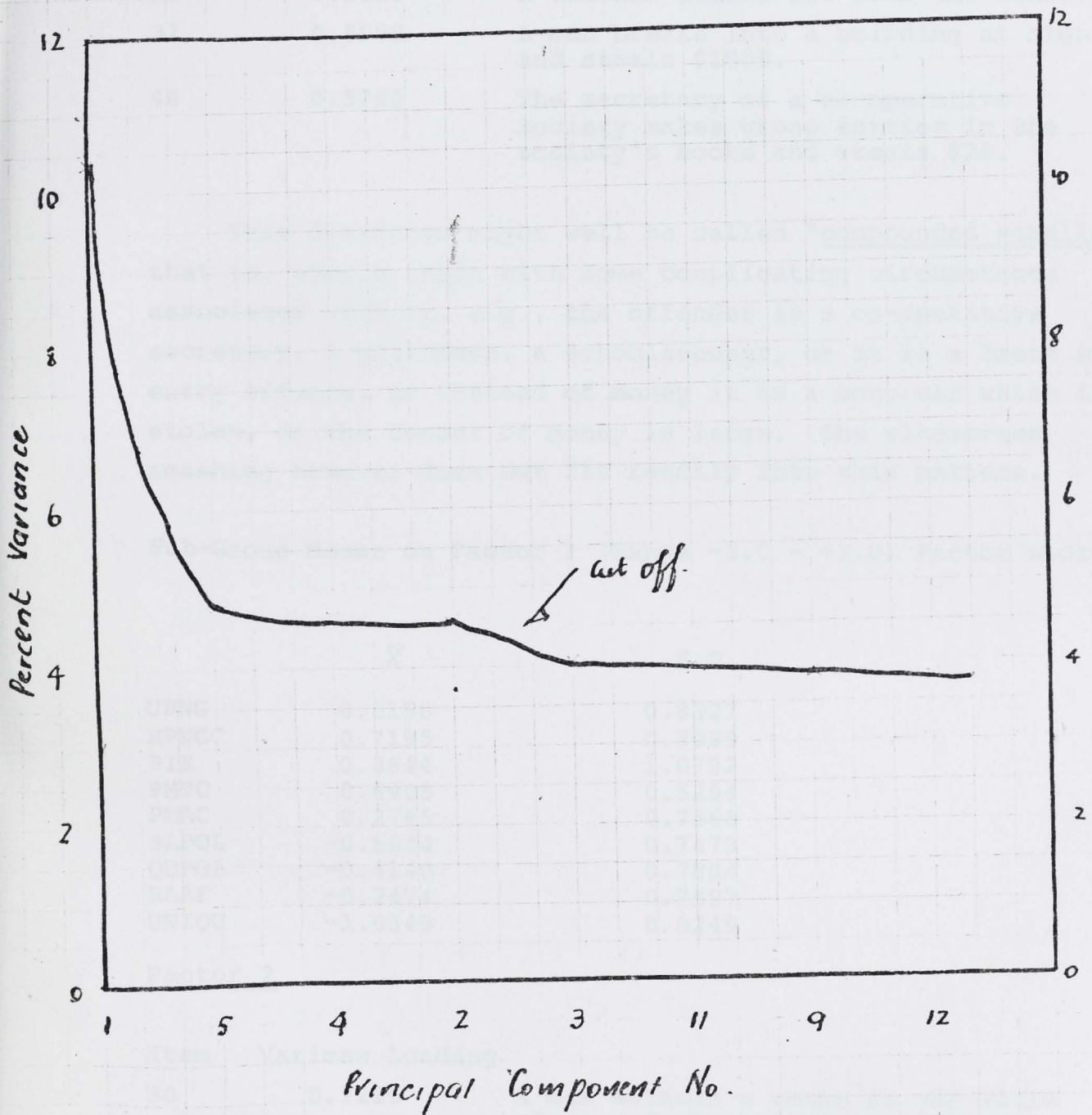
Of these 15 roots, four were chosen for interpretation and continuation of the analysis. The four were chosen by examination of graph two. The cut off point was taken where the first major break in the curve occurred. These four roots accounted for 24% of the variance.

Means and standard deviation of the factor scores for each sub-group on each principal component were calculated and tabulated below.

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GRAPH TWO.

Varimax Rotation.



Factor 1

Item	Varimax Loading	
2	0.6013	A man gets into a motorcar when the owner is not there. He drives into town and leaves it there.
3	0.6522	A policeman breaks into a store and steals \$20.
13	0.7085	A man breaks into a store and steals \$20.
16	0.6735	A man throws a stone at a windscreen and smashes it.
26	0.6650	A teacher steals \$20 from the school.
31	0.5990	A man breaks into a building at night and steals \$1000.
46	0.5750	The secretary of a co-operative society makes wrong entries in the society's books and steals \$20.

This dimension might well be called "compounded stealing", that is, simple theft with some complicating circumstance associated with it, e.g., the offender is a co-operative secretary, a policeman, a schoolteacher, or it is a break and entry offence, or instead of money it is a motorcar which is stolen, or the amount of money is large. The windscreen smashing however does not fit readily into this pattern.

Sub-Group Means on Factor 1 (Range -3.0 - +3.0) Factor scores.

	\bar{X}	S.D.
UPNG	0.0150	0.8327
RPNGC	0.7195	0.8039
PIR	0.3644	1.0792
PMTC	0.6905	0.5294
PMAC	0.2765	0.7368
SAPOL	-0.5644	0.7479
QUPOL	-0.4140	0.7894
RAAF	-0.2474	0.7597
UNIQU	-1.0349	0.9249

Factor 2

Item	Varimax Loading	
30	0.7226	A man attacks a woman as she walks along a footpath and has sexual intercourse by force.
33	0.5152	A man sets on fire the car of a person with whom he has quarrelled.
44	0.4900	A man wounds a policeman with a broken bottle while he is being arrested.
58	0.5492	A man breaks into a schoolhouse at night. He forces two women to have sexual intercourse with him and then kills them both.

This dimension has four items each containing some form of violent behaviour, yet there are other items with only low measures on this factor which appear to be just as violent. In addition it seems to have some sexual overtones. For convenience it will be called "violence".

Sub-Group Means on Factor 2 (Range -3.0 - +3.0) Factor Scores.

	\bar{X}	S.D.
UPNG	0.0222	0.7983
RPNGC	-0.3354	0.9002
PIR	-1.1525	1.2053
PMTC	0.2661	0.7527
PMAC	0.1338	0.5834
SAPOL	0.4562	0.6209
QUPOL	0.5097	0.5278
RAAF	0.7012	0.4930
UNIQU	-0.0660	0.8597

Factor 4

Item	Varimax Loading	
20	0.7236	Two men have sexual intercourse together.
34	0.6170	A man pays money to a boy to have sexual intercourse with him.
36	0.7174	A man pays money to another man to have sexual intercourse with him.

These three items are the only three in the questionnaire that have homosexual activity in them. This dimension will be called "homosexuality".

Sub-Group Means on Factor 4 (Range -3.0 - +3.0) Factor Scores.

	\bar{X}	S.D.
UPNG	-0.3433	0.7273
RPNGC	0.0655	1.0432
PIR	0.3488	0.8573
PMTC	-0.1280	0.0298
PMAC	0.2060	0.7880
SAPOL	0.1718	0.9216
QUPOL	0.3674	0.5874
RAAF	0.0123	1.0228
UNIQU	-1.0790	0.7432

Factor 5

Item	Varimax Loading	
19	0.6289	A woman goes into a store and takes a coat when the owner is not looking.
38	0.6749	Twelve year old boy goes into his mother's room and takes \$20 when she is not looking.
52	0.7336	Twelve year old boy goes into a store and takes \$20 when the owner is not looking.
49	0.6443	A woman goes into a store and takes \$20 when owner is not looking.

This dimension refers to stealing by juveniles and women. In PNG culture both would be regarded as inferior to adult males. In Australian culture there is a tendency to give more leniency to juveniles and females. For convenience it can be called "stealing by inferiors".

Sub-Group Means on Factor 5 (Range -3.0 - +3.0) Factor Scores.

	\bar{X}	S.D.
UPNG	0.4085	0.7987
RPNGC	-0.4327	1.2256
PIR	0.0843	1.1953
PMTC	0.2440	1.1356
PMAC	0.1131	0.7235
SAPOL	0.1138	0.6470
QUPOL	-0.1456	0.7144
RAAF	0.1777	0.7081
UNIQU	-0.2455	0.6928

In order to test the significance of difference of sub-group means, a series of "t" tests were carried out between all pairs of sub-groups.

These "t" values are displayed in figures two and three which correspond to the four major principal component factors.

P. Co.
TABLE FOUR.

SUBGROUP FACTOR SCORE MEANS & S.D.

X	N	MEAN				S.D.			
		1	2	4	5	1	2	4	5
Q'ld Police	30	-0.414	0.510	0.367	-0.146	0.789	0.528	0.587	0.714
S.A. Police	101	-0.564	0.456	0.172	0.114	0.750	0.621	0.922	0.647
R.A.A.F.	100	-0.247	0.701	0.012	0.178	0.760	0.493	1.023	0.708
Uni Qv	66	-1.035	-0.066	-1.079	-0.246	0.925	0.860	0.743	0.693
R.P.N.G.C.	106	0.720	-0.335	0.066	-0.433	0.804	0.900	1.043	1.226
U.P.N.G.	31	0.015	0.022	-0.343	0.409	0.833	0.798	0.727	0.799
P.M.T.C.	46	0.691	0.266	-0.128	0.244	0.529	0.753	0.030	1.136
A.C.P.M.	75	0.277	0.134	0.206	0.113	0.737	0.583	0.788	0.724
P.I.R.	98	0.364	-1.153	0.349	0.084	1.079	1.205	0.857	1.195

Level of Significance Code.

*	.05
xx	.025
xxx	.01
xxxx	.005
xxxxx	.0005

FIGURE TWO P. 61

FACTOR 1 Stealing

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
QU POI 1								
SA POI 2	0948							
RAAF 3	1-038	xxxx 2977						
Uni QU 4	xxxx 3-158	xxxxx 3-600	xxxxx 5-975					
RPNGC 5	xxxxx 6-804	xxxxx 11-844	xxxxx 8-854	xxxxx 13-083				
UPNG 6	xx 2-030	xxxxx 3-649	1-634	xxxxx 5-332	xxxxx 4-234			
PMTC 7	xxxxx 7-214	xxxxx 10-219	xxxxx 7-539	xxxxx 4-336	0-223	xxxxx 4-300		
PMAC 8	xxxxx 4-216	xxxxx 7-389	xxxxx 4-564	xxxxx 9-314	xxxxx 3-767	1-586	xxxx 3-301	
PIR 9	xxxxx 3-637	xxxxx 7-047	xxxxx 4-617	xxxxx 8-580	xxxx 2-670	1-642	x 1-931	0-603

FACTOR 2 Violence

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
QU POI 1								
SA POI 2	0-426							
RAAF 3	x 1-824	xxxx 3-093						
Uni QU 4	xxxx 3-359	xxxxx 4-533	xxxxx 7-286					
RPNGC 5	xxxxx 4-899	xxxxx 7-309	xxxxx 10-173	x 1-935				
UPNG 6	xxxx 2-760	xxxx 3-152	xxxxx 5-677	0-478	xx 1-983			
PMTC 7	1-523	1-599	xxxxx 4-148	xx 2-100	xxxxx 3-952	1345		
PMAC 8	xxxx 3-039	xxxxx 3-482	xxxxx 6-953	1-623	xxxxx 3-949	0-793	1-074	
PIR 9	xxxxx 7-290	xxxxx 11-837	xxxxx 14-215	xxxxx 6-295	xxxxx 5-491	xxxxx 5-050	xxxxx 7-297	xxxxx 8-479

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FIGURE THREE
Homosexuality

FACTOR 4.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
OU Pol 1								
S.A. Pol 2	1.075							
RAAF 3	1.775 ^x	1.157						
Uni OU 4	9.207 ^{xxxxx}	10.511 ^{xxxxx}	7.423 ^{xxxxx}					
RPNGC 5	1.487	0.773	0.368	8.599 ^{xxxxx}				
VPNG 6	4.084 ^{xxxxx}	2.833 ^{xxxxx}	1.788 ^x	4.539 ^{xxxxx}	2.030 ^{xx}			
PMTC 7	5.642 ^{xxxxx}	2.195 ^{xx}	0.925	18.647 ^{xxxxx}	1.252	1.983 ^{xx}		
PMAC 8	0.993	0.253	1.358	12.203 ^{xxxxx}	0.981	3.311 ^{xxxx}	2.855 ^{xxxx}	
P.I.R 9	0.109	1.396	2.496 ^{xxx}	12.805 ^{xxxxx}	2.102 ^{xx}	4.031 ^{xxxxx}	3.748 ^{xxxxx}	1.120

FACTOR 5

Stealing by inferiors

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
OU Pol 1								
S.A. Pol 2	1.869 ^x							
RAAF 3	2.174 ^{xx}	0.666						
Uni OU 4	0.642	3.396 ^{xxxxx}	3.785 ^{xxxxx}					
RPNGC 5	1.218	3.972 ^{xxxxx}	4.329 ^{xxxxx}	1.129				
VPNG 6	2.808 ^{xxxxx}	2.081 ^{xx}	1.527	4.090 ^{xxxxx}	3.584 ^{xxxxx}			
PMTC 7	1.655	0.876	0.427	2.807 ^{xxxxx}	3.181 ^{xxxxx}	0.690		
PMAC 8	1.648	0.007	0.589	2.981 ^{xxxxx}	3.444 ^{xxxxx}	1.839 ^x	0.770	
P.I.R 9	0.994	0.216	0.668	2.016 ^{xx}	3.036 ^{xxxxx}	1.404	0.755	0.184

5. MacQuitty linkage analysis

In an endeavour to reduce the number of variables to a more manageable quantity so that any clustering of related items would become more discernible, a MacQuitty* analysis of the intercorrelations between the 63 items was attempted.

The 63 items concerning offences could be grouped into four major categories. Within each category an analysis of the inter-item correlations was attempted. The analysis demonstrated a substantial degree of clustering within these categories. Then within each category and for PNG and Australia separately item total correlations were calculated. The results are shown in Table Five.

INTER-ITEM TOTALS

<u>Violence</u>			<u>Stealing</u>		
Item	PNG	AUST.	Item	PNG	AUST.
1	0.39	0.57	2	0.49	0.67
9	0.49	0.70	3	0.48	0.72
14	0.51	0.63	5	0.61	0.84
15	0.55	0.71	8	0.46	0.71
18	0.54	0.62	13	0.57	0.84
22	0.59	0.61	19	0.63	0.86
37	0.37	0.59	26	0.61	0.82
39	0.53	0.54	28	0.49	0.74
44	0.51	0.68	31	0.48	0.70
51	0.47	0.52	38	0.51	0.70
57	0.36	0.45	45	0.48	0.53
58	0.51	0.61	46	0.54	0.80
61	0.35	0.72	49	0.66	0.89
62	0.42	0.70	52	0.60	0.74
			63	0.51	0.63

<u>Sexual</u>			<u>Disorderly</u>		
4	0.46	0.61	11	0.49	0.61
6	0.60	0.53	12	0.59	0.63
10	0.49	0.54	16	0.47	0.55
20	0.54	0.74	21	0.51	0.64
24	0.52	0.62	23	0.46	0.64
30	0.48	0.57	25	0.51	0.57
32	0.53	0.67	27	0.60	0.76
34	0.58	0.73	29	0.42	0.58
36	0.61	0.80	35	0.54	0.69
41	0.47	0.68	40	0.55	0.66
43	0.60	0.69	42	0.43	0.65
58	0.36	0.56	47	0.51	0.37
			50	0.53	0.69
			53	0.43	0.61
			54	0.61	0.77
			55	0.55	0.69
			56	0.44	0.59

* MacQuitty Hierarchical Linkage Analysis, A.N.U. Computer programme unnumbered.

The category of Violence with fourteen items was reduced to a more manageable group of ten by discarding four items with a correlation for either of the two groups of below 0.40, namely Item 1, A man comes home, punches his wife and knocks out two teeth; Item 37, Five men break into a storehouse. When they are seen by a watchman they kill him; Item 57, A mother hits her child and makes its arm swell; and Item 61, A man kills another because he believes that the man used sorcery on him.

The category of Stealing, with fifteen items, was reduced to nine items by discarding six items with correlations below 0.50, namely Item 2, A man gets into a motor car when the owner is not there. He drives it into town and leaves it; Item 3, A policeman breaks into a store and steals \$20; Item 8, A priest steals \$20 from the church; Item 28, A man goes into a store and hits the storekeeper on the head and takes \$20; Item 31, A man breaks into a building at night and steals \$1000; and Item 45, A man does not pay his local government council tax.

The category of Sexual Offences, with twelve items, was reduced to seven items by discarding five items with correlations below 0.45, namely Item 4, A fifteen year old has sexual intercourse with his sister aged 14 years old who lets him; Item 10, A man gives money to a woman to have sexual intercourse with him; Item 30, A man attacks a woman and has sexual intercourse with her by force; Item 41, A father has sexual intercourse with his 17 year old daughter who doesn't try to stop him; and Item 58, A man breaks into a school home at night. He forces two women teachers to have sexual intercourse with him and then kills them both.

The category of Disorderly Conduct with seventeen items was reduced to ten items by discarding seven items with correlations between 0.50, namely Item 11, A married man with a family loses all of his wages at playing cards; Item 16, A man throws a stone at a car windscreen and smashes it; Item 23, A married woman with a family loses all of her husband's wages playing cards; Item 28, A twelve year old boy throws a stone at a car window and smashes it; Item 42, A policeman accepts \$20 from a man for not arresting him; Item 53, A busdriver who is so drunk that he cannot steer, crashes the bus. Two passengers

are slightly injured; and Item 56, Forty men on New Year's Eve throw crackers in the street and frighten people in nearby houses.

The inter-item totals were then obtained for each of the reduced categories for both national groups:

<u>Violence</u>			<u>Stealing</u>		
Item	PNG	AUST.	Item	PNG	AUST.
9	0.52	0.72	5	0.63	0.84
14	0.57	0.68	13	0.53	0.84
15	0.58	0.73	19	0.72	0.87
18	0.57	0.62	26	0.55	0.81
22	0.56	0.60	38	0.59	0.75
39	0.57	0.51	46	0.49	0.81
44	0.53	0.69	49	0.75	0.90
51	0.47	0.54	52	0.70	0.78
58	0.54	0.61	63	0.50	0.65
62	0.43	0.72			

<u>Sexual</u>			<u>Disorderly</u>		
4	0.47	0.61	12	0.59	0.65
6	0.59	0.51	21	0.51	0.64
10	0.50	0.55	25	0.53	0.54
20	0.56	0.75	27	0.67	0.80
24	0.51	0.63	35	0.56	0.72
30	0.46	0.55	40	0.60	0.67
32	0.54	0.63	50	0.57	0.73
34	0.59	0.73	53	0.43	0.63
36	0.63	0.81	54	0.69	0.82
41	0.49	0.68	55	0.64	0.75
43	0.60	0.70	56	0.49	0.65

The reduced list of items for each of the four categories was then correlated for the combined respondents, PNG and AUST with the following result:

<u>Violence</u>	<u>Stealing</u>	<u>Sexual</u>	<u>Disorderly</u>	
9	0.63	5 0.73	4 0.62	12 0.62
14	0.62	13 0.74	6 0.46	21 0.58
15	0.65	19 0.74	10 0.56	25 0.57
18	0.58	26 0.71	20 0.70	27 0.73
22	0.58	38 0.62	24 0.64	35 0.62
39	0.54	46 0.70	30 0.31	40 0.64
44	0.59	49 0.80	32 0.56	50 0.65
51	0.51	52 0.74	34 0.61	53 0.49
58	0.51	63 0.65	36 0.76	54 0.74
62	0.55		41 0.61	55 0.67
			43 0.72	56 0.50

	<u>Violence</u>	<u>Stealing</u>	<u>Sexual</u>	<u>Disorderly</u>
Mean	50.00	36.78	46.45	37.73
St. Devn.	7.06	7.92	10.59	9.11
Cronbach	0.76	0.88	0.82	0.84
Alpha Rel.				

Item 30 in the Sexual Category produced a low correlation. The frequency count of responses for this item was:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14	18	14	54	161	362	30

The mean and standard deviation for each of the nine sub-groups for each of the four categories, using the above four lists of items were then obtained. The results are shown in Table Five. This sets out the mean and standard deviation not only for the nine sub-groups, but for the two national groups, and then combined. As well it shows the rank order of the standard deviations for each sub-group, and their overall ranking for the four categories.

Table 6 also sets out in tabular form one indicator of consensus within the sub-groups by showing the comparative position of their standard deviation of each of the nine sub-groups on the four categories.

Table 7 graphs the means of degrees of punishment for crimes of violence plus and minus one standard deviation made by the nine sub-groups. The cross-hatching on the graph indicates the shared ground within each national group. Projection of any shared ground with sub-groups of the other country can be made visually.

Tables 8,9,10, present similar graphs for each of the other three categories of stealing, sexual and disorderly offences.

Table 6 sets out the comparative sizes of the standard deviations. It is of interest to note that PIR has the biggest for three out of the four, and on the fourth, sexual offences, it is only the two University sub-groups that show less consensus of agreement, i.e. the least and the most educated vie for top position. Also on crimes of violence PIR shares top place with UNIQU. The Australian police sub-groups tend to show the most homogeneous attitudes on all four categories accompanied by PMAC.

Table 5 presents the same information in tabular form and in addition gives the rank of each sub-group's standard deviation for each category, and the nine sub-groups' average ranking, and position overall. PMAC

FOUR DIMENSIONS -

TABLE FIVE

VIOLENCEDISHONESTYDISORDERLYSEXUAL

MEAN SCORE FOR EACH DIMENSION PLUS STANDARD DEVIATION WITH RANKING OF STANDARD DEVIATION, TOGETHER WITH MEAN RANKING OF STANDARD DEVIATION FOR EACH OF NINE GROUPS ON FOUR DIMENSIONS PLUS RANK ORDERING OF THIS.

		GROUP	MEAN	S.D.	RANK S.D.	MEAN	S.D.	RANK S.D.	MEAN	S.D.	RANK S.D.	MEAN	S.D.	RANK S.D.
		AUSTRALIA	49.6	7.6	2	33.2	7.6	2	35.5	8.8	1	41.9	11.0	2
		PAPUA-NEW GUINEA	50.4	6.6	1	39.8	7.0	1	39.6	9.0	2	50.2	8.6	1
		GRAND	50.0	7.1		36.8	7.9		37.7	9.1		46.5	10.6	
\bar{x}	S.D. Pos.	Rank												
5.5	4	U.P.N.G.	50.5	4.6	3	37.9	6.9	5	33.5	7.5	5	47.9	9.6	9
6.25	8	R.P.N.G. Const.	50.6	7.1	7	39.8	6.9	6	42.1	8.6	7	50.5	8.4	5
8.25	9	P.I.R.	47.6	7.3	8	39.5	7.6	9	38.9	9.4	9	48.1	8.8	7
6.0	7	P.M. Teach. Coll.	53.6	6.0	5	42.3	7.4	8	42.6	9.2	8	54.5	7.9	3
2.25	1	P.M. Admin. Coll.	51.9	4.5	2	39.1	5.6	1	37.9	7.5	4	50.9	7.5	2
2.25	1	S.A. Police	53.4	4.0	1	35.4	5.8	2	38.4	7.1	2	47.8	8.3	4
3.25	3	Qu. Police	52.4	4.8	4	34.1	7.3	7	38.9	6.1	1	48.5	6.0	1
5.5	4	R.A.A.F.	50.8	6.0	6	35.4	6.9	4	37.4	7.9	6	42.4	8.7	6
5.75	6	Univ. Qu.	40.3	7.3	9	26.2	6.6	3	26.4	7.4	3	29.4	9.0	8

ONE INDICATOR OF CONSENSUS WITHIN
SUBGROUPS — S.D. OF SUBGROUPS FROM THEIR
MEANS OF SERIOUSNESS.

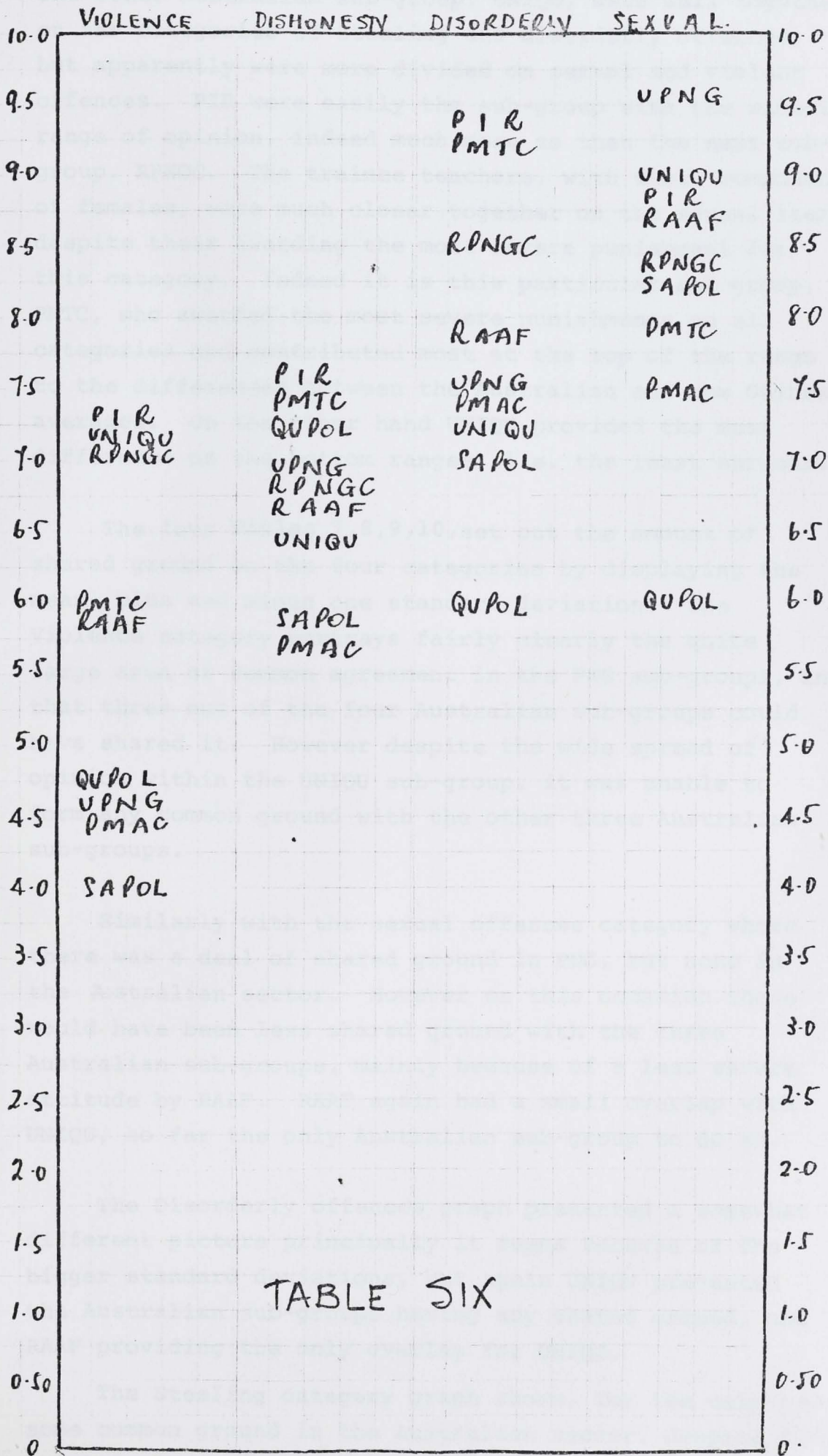


TABLE SIX

joins SAPOL for the lowest position, i.e. the smallest average, and is an indication of a greater consensus of agreement within those two groups. Then follows QUPOL, but the RAAF can only manage equal fourth with UPNG, who except for sexual offences showed quite close agreement. The other Australian sub-group, UNIQU, were well together on the categories of stealing and disorderly offences, but apparently were more divided on sexual and violent offences. PIR were easily the sub-group with the widest range of opinion, indeed much more so than the next sub-group, RPNGC. The trainee teachers, with their component of females, were much closer together on the sexual items, despite their awarding the most severe punishment for this category. Indeed it is this particular sub-group, PMTC, who awarded the most severe punishments on all categories and contributed most at the top of the range to the differences between the Australian and New Guinea averages. On the other hand UNIQU provided the most difference on the bottom ranges, i.e. the least serious.

The four Tables 7,8,9,10, set out the amount of shared ground on the four categories by displaying the mean, plus and minus one standard deviation. The Violence category portrays fairly clearly the quite large area of common agreement in the PNG sub-groups, and that three out of the four Australian sub-groups could have shared it. However despite the wide spread of opinion within the UNIQU sub-group, it was unable to form any common ground with the other three Australian sub-groups.

Similarly with the sexual offences category where there was a deal of shared ground in PNG, but none in the Australian sector. However on this occasion there would have been less shared ground with the three Australian sub-groups, mainly because of a less severe attitude by RAAF. RAAF again had a small overlap with UNIQU, so far the only Australian sub-group to do so.

The Disorderly offences graph presented a somewhat different picture principally it seems because of the bigger standard deviations, but again UNIQU prevented the Australian sub-groups having any shared ground, and RAAF providing the only overlap for UNIQU.

The Stealing category graph shows, for the only occasion, some common ground in the Australian sector, despite UNIQU's least serious view of stealing offences.

p. 71 69(a)

SUBGROUP MEAN \pm 1 S.D. FOR OFFENCES OF VIOLENCE.
 CROSS HATCHING REPRESENTS SHARED GROUND WITHIN THAT RANGE BY NATIONAL GROUPS.

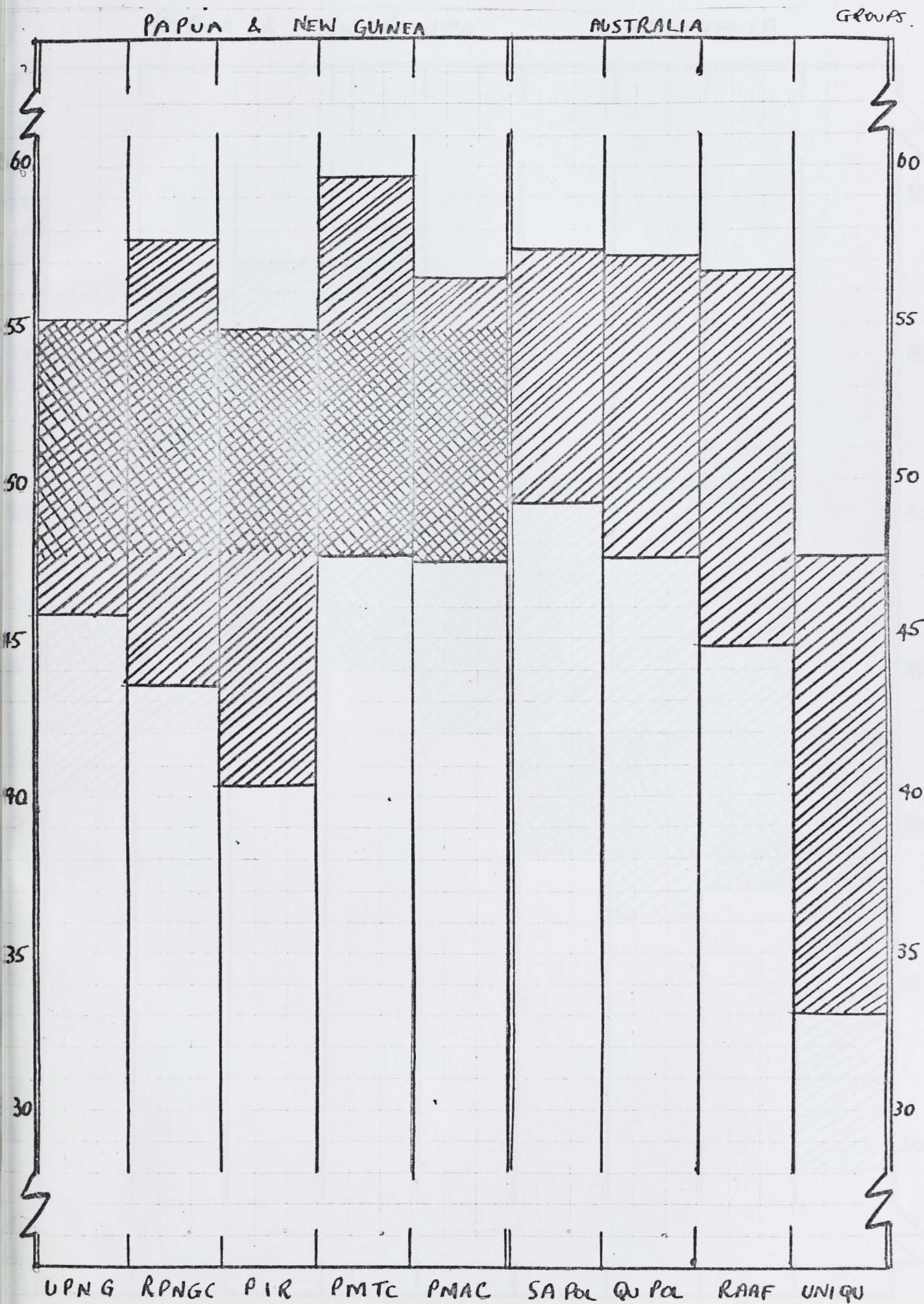


TABLE 7

p. 71

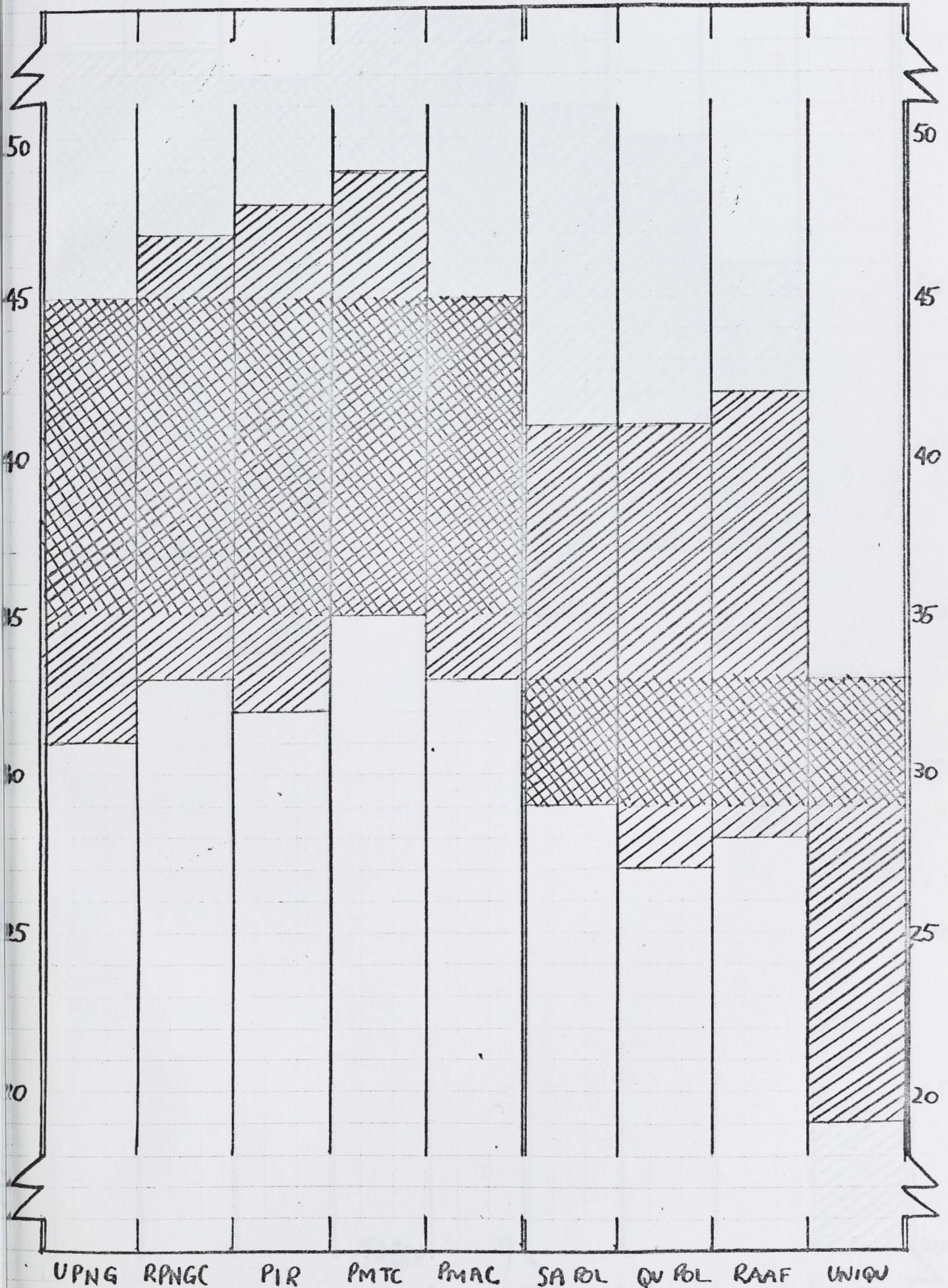
7

p. 72 69(b)

SUBGROUP MEAN \pm 1 S.D. FOR DISHONESTY OFFENCES. CROSS HATCHING INDICATES SHARED GROUND WITHIN THAT RANGE BY NATIONAL GROUPS.

PAPUA & NEW GUINEA

AUSTRALIA



TABLE

8

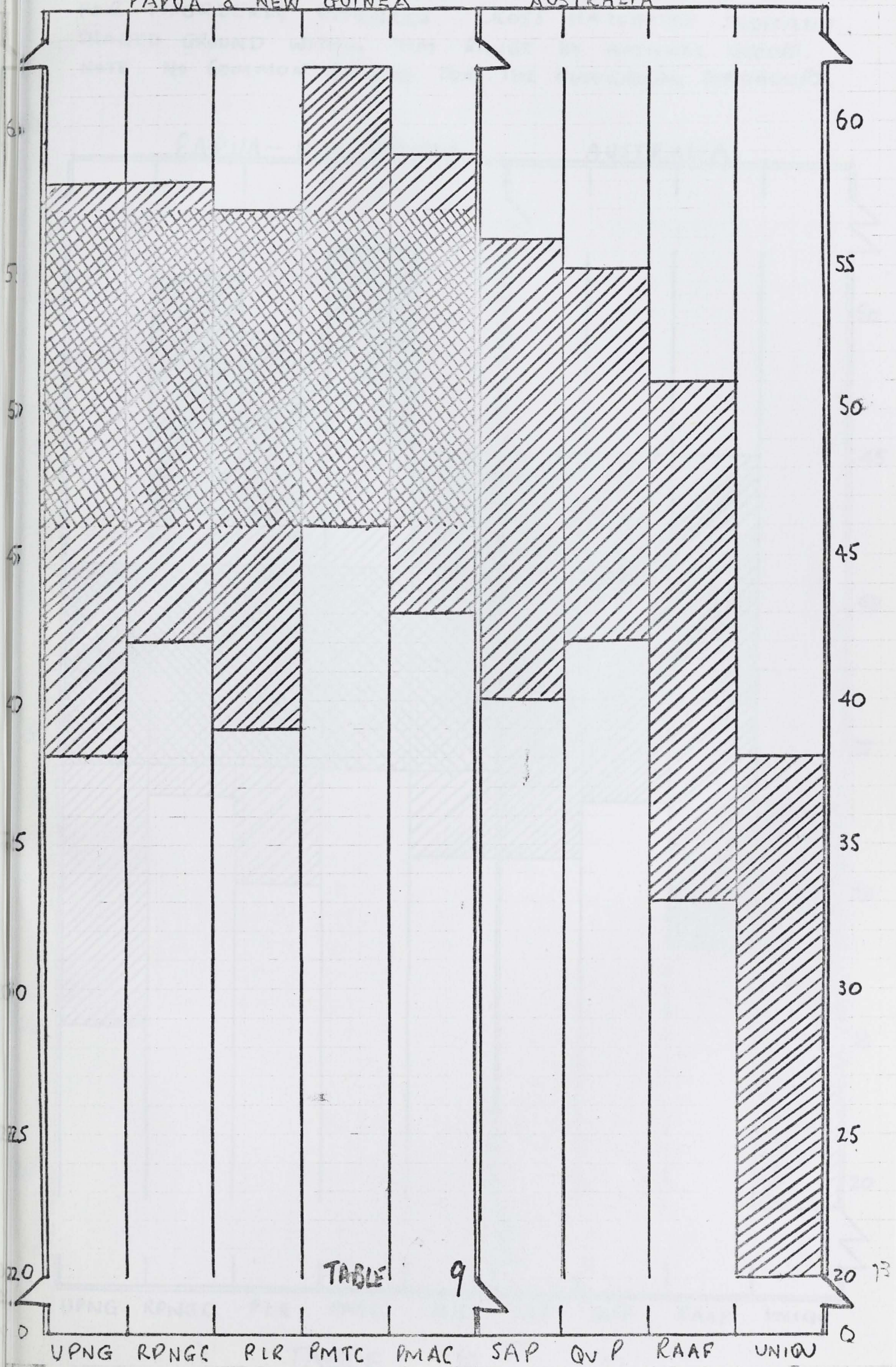
12

8

SUBGROUP MEAN \pm 1 S.D. FOR SEXUAL OFFENCES. CROSS HATCHING INDICATES SHARED GROUND BY NATIONAL GROUPS. NONE FOR AUSTRALIA.

PAPUA & NEW GUINEA

AUSTRALIA



TABLE

9

73

p. 74 69(d)

SUBGROUP MEAN PLUS AND MINUS ONE STANDARD DEVIATION FOR DISORDERLY OFFENCES. CROSS HATCHING INDICATES SHARED GROUND WITHIN THAT RANGE BY NATIONAL GROUPS. NOTE NO COMMON GROUND FOR THE AUSTRALIAN SUBGROUPS.

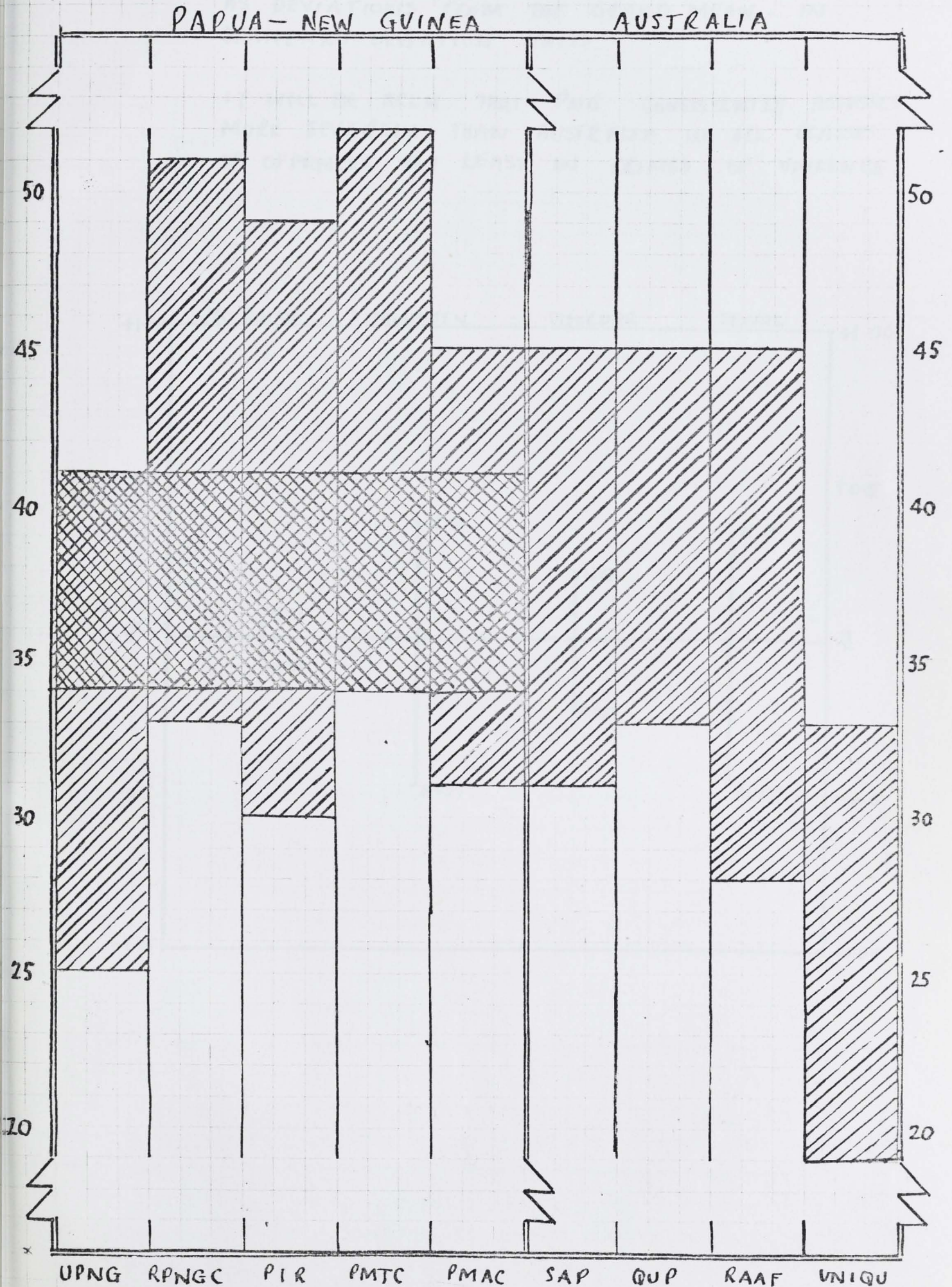


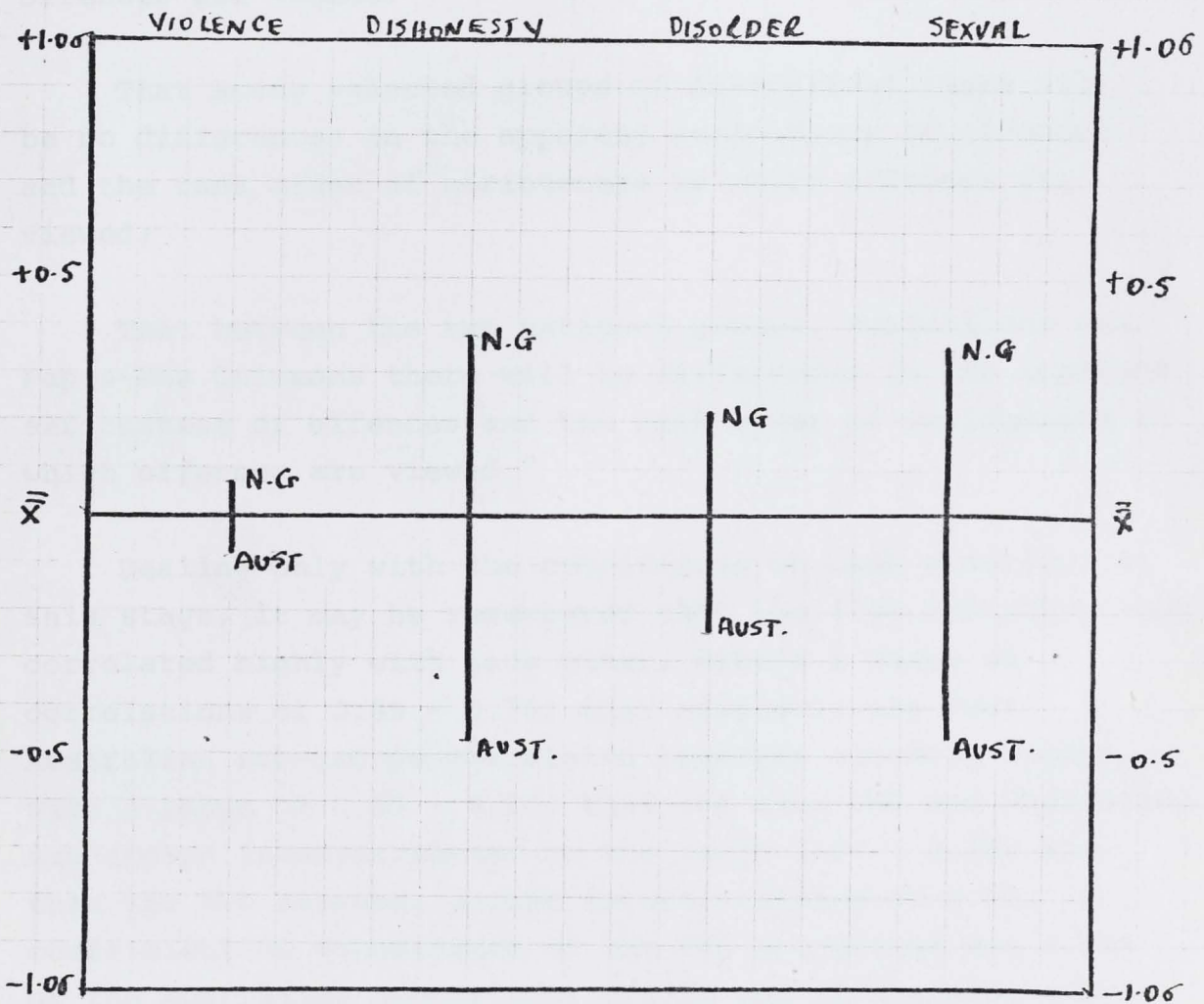
TABLE 10

GRAPH FOUR

P. 75.69(c)

NATIONAL MEANS OF SERIOUSNESS EXPRESSED AS DEVIATIONS FROM THE GRAND MEAN - IN STANDARD DEVIATION UNITS.

IT WILL BE SEEN THAT PNG CONSISTENTLY ASSESSES MORE SEVERELY THAN AUSTRALIA IN ALL CLASSES OF OFFENCES BUT LEAST IN CRIMES OF VIOLENCE.



CONCLUSIONS

The results just described stemmed from an endeavour to obtain quantitative answers to queries about an area of human behaviour which, despite its importance, has not received adequate study.

It was hoped that the results would provide information on which to base answers to the three hypotheses earlier set out:

"That among selected groups of Papuans and New Guineans there will be differences in the apparent seriousness of offences and the rank order of seriousness in which offences are viewed;

That among selected groups of Australians there will be no differences in the apparent seriousness of offences and the rank order of seriousness in which offences are viewed;

That between the two national groups, Australians and Papua-New Guineans there will be differences in the apparent seriousness of offences and the rank order of seriousness in which offences are viewed."

Dealing only with the comparisons of rank ordering, at this stage, it may be remembered that the five PNG sub-groups correlated highly with each other, within a range of correlations of 0.90 - 0.76; that similarly the four Australian sub-groups correlated together slightly higher, with a range of 0.93 - 0.85; that the nine PNG and Australian sub-groups intercorrelated in the range 0.88 - 0.68; and that the two national groups intercorrelated at 0.81. A coefficient of concordance of the PNG sub-groups was 0.91; of the Australian sub-groups, 0.975, and of the nine sub-groups, 0.84.

A short answer therefore to the hypotheses that there will be differences among the PNG sub-groups in rank ordering is not confirmed; that there will be no differences among the Australian sub-groups in rank ordering is confirmed; and that there will be differences in rank ordering between the two national groups is not confirmed. In other words, from the enquiry into the correlation of rank ordering it was established that for the nine selected groups there was close agreement.

The results were similar to those obtained by McConnell and Martin, Mylonas and Reckless, and Velez-diaz and Megargee.¹ It may be remembered that in the latter study a Pearson Product Moment correlation for 21 standard offences between offenders and non-offenders of the same culture was 0.98 and for 131 offences, 0.84. Correlations between a Puerto Rican sample and Pennsylvanian (U.S.A.) subjects were 0.70 and higher. The correlation between PNG and Australian groups was 0.81.

A visual inspection of the tabulated results arising from changes in variables in the questionnaire items, gives support to this short answer.

But there are other results which need to be considered. The deeper probes by the principal components analysis and the MacQuitty linkage analysis revealed relevant and important data which help to refine the rather crude correlation results.

The purpose of these two deeper probes was to discover the underlying social dimensions, if any, to the legal classifications of violence, stealing, sexual and disorderly offences. Their results are striking in their similarity. However the principal components analysis shows the relationships between the major factors whereas the MacQuitty analysis does not. It would appear that differing and useful information can be obtained from both methods of analysis.

The MacQuitty analysis especially was useful in producing some measure of the spread of opinion on the four dimensions used in the analysis. When the results were graphed it was possible to illustrate the amount of "shared ground" by the nine sub-groups on each of the four dimensions.

¹McCONNELL and MARTIN: op.cit., p. 1130; MYLONAS and RECKLESS: op.cit., pp. 81-85; VELEZ-DIAZ and MEGARGEE, op.cit., pp. 549 - 553.

It may be recalled that the first dimension of violence had in fact the smallest group standard deviation (PNG 6.6), and the smallest overall, (7.1). The two sub-groups with the biggest standard deviations were the Pacific Island Regiment and the University of Queensland. Nevertheless the PIR range was still largely within the overall PNG sub-groups' spread so that it is possible to say that within the five PNG sub-groups there was a degree of consensus. This is not possible in the case of the Australian sub-groups because the UNIQU range does not overlap at all with two sub-groups and only marginally with the third.

With the exception of the dimension of "dishonesty", the same position applies for the dimensions of disorderly conduct and sexual offences. The dimension of dishonesty did produce some shared ground for both the PNG and the Australian sub-groups but the amount was considerably smaller for the Australians. This lack of consensus is due almost entirely to the range of responses from UNIQU students.

From the principal components factor analysis emerged two distinct factors associated with stealing, which for the purposes of this study, were called "stealing" and "stealing by inferiors", or in other words, stealing by women and children - "inferior" in the PNG sense only. The main factor, Factor 1, "stealing", did not include all of the stealing items, and in fact, omitted some items which were included in the MacQuitty category of stealing. The results of the "t" tests for testing significant differences between the factor score sub-group means showed, within the Australian group, the differing attitude of the University of Queensland respondents (Figure Two), and what might be termed the "cultural" differences between the two national groups.

Factor 5, the stealing by the so-called "inferiors", women and children, produced other relationships. For example the PNG constabulary related more to the students at the University of Queensland than to those at their own University at Port Moresby; and while the PNG police differed only slightly from the Queensland Police, they were highly significantly different to the other two Australian disciplined bodies, the S. A. Police and the R.A.A.F.

Factor 2, identified for this study as "violence", contains only 2 items (44, 58) from the MacQuitty dimension also called "violence". Factor 2 seems to have included some overtones of violent sexual offences (items 30,58). The sub-group with the largest standard deviation was PIR (1.2053), and this is the sub-group with highly significant differences with every other sub-group. Elsewhere in this study reference has been made to PIR as a typical "licentious" army. It would seem that occupational environment has influenced the PIR respondents, presumably because as infantrymen, they have individual killing missions as against the RAAF, who unless they are aircrew, may have technical competence as their principal aim. A similar occupational environment may have produced the similarity between the PNG teachers and the two Australian police sub-groups.

Factor 4 contained the only three items in the questionnaire referring to the legal offence of male homosexuality (20,34,36). These three were included in the MacQuitty dimension of "sexual". Possibly the outstanding feature of the results of the tests for significant difference on this factor was the position of the University of Queensland students who differed at the .0005 level of significance with every other sub-group.

In Factors 1 and 2 there is evidence of strong national differences but in Factors 4 and 5 the evidence does not reveal itself so clearly. In Factor 4 particularly there is a suggestion that Education as a variable may be swamping the effect of any cultural differences.

From the results of the two analyses a more comprehensive answer can be given to the three hypotheses - (1) Among selected groups of Papua-New Guineans there are differences in the apparent seriousness of offences; (2) Among selected groups of Australians there are differences in the apparent seriousness of offences; and (3) Between the two national groups, Australians and Papua-New Guineans there are differences in the apparent seriousness of offences.

This study began by emphasizing the importance of achieving a level of consensus in Papua-New Guinea on what is right or wrong to enable unification to develop, and in principle, querying the suitability of applying a British Criminal Code to a developing society.

Professor Nash, in his inaugural lecture at the University of Papua and New Guinea, said¹ "It is unfortunate, in a new environment quite different from that in which our rules of procedure and evidence are currently applied in England and Australia, to cling to rules which were not applied in England when the English legal system and the administration of justice throughout that country were at the stage of development which currently exists in the Territory of Papua and New Guinea. What I am saying is that the law to be effective must at least be comprehensible to those to whom it is administered."

In furtherance to this there is Lawrence's already quoted conclusion.² "The New Guinea process of social control rests on principles diametrically opposed to those underlying our own legal system. Hence to try to impose Australian law on New Guinea societies without having changed their basic structures is to invite one of two reactions: either metamorphosis or total rejection of the original."

This study was an attempt to discover the attitudes of the Territory's young elite towards offences contained in the Criminal Code.

One aspect the questionnaire did not cover was the importance to the respondent of the social and political distance between offenders and offended. Traditionally in PNG society this has been almost always highly relevant to the evaluation of the offence. Thus injury, murder, theft in respect of clansmen, or rape or or adultery with a clansman's wife are likely to be highly condemned. Conversely though, with strangers, customarily these actions would be most likely regarded as of negligible seriousness.

This social differential is not recognized in the British legal system - "the law is no respecter of persons" -

¹ P. G. NASH: Some Problems of Administering Law in the Territory of Papua and New Guinea, Port Moresby, 1967.

² LAWRENCE: Op.cit., pp. 16 and 25.

and was a complication faced by the PNG respondents but not the Australians. Few of the 63 items identified the relationship between offender and offended so that it could be presumed that the PNG respondents were likely to show greater dispersion of opinion because of this additional complexity. Blalock draws attention to the difficulty of measuring variables that are defined in terms of deviations from standards that are either unclearly defined or that may vary according to the context.¹ But in this investigation there was in fact less dispersion amongst the PNG respondents.

In this regard it is helpful to know, in adjusting to a modern, urban existence just how important is the exposure of a village bred child to such western institutions as Christian churches, schools, army and police barrack life, and wage employment.

The introduction of cash payments for labour in PNG has, in fact, produced important social problems. The licensing inspector for the Central District reported on 14.9.71 that many spent all their pay on drink and this led to malnutrition and wife beating.² Nearly half of the fortnightly pay cheque at the town of Daru was spent on liquor, the Western District Commissioner Ken Brown told the Commission on Alcoholic Drink on 22.9.71³, and Brigadier Nicholls, the Police Commissioner, stated that every encouragement must be given to changing the attitude of many local people, towards drinking.⁴

In a way this is what the author's investigation was about - how attitudes are formed and changed in PNG, and how these changes can be measured. In a western society the mother is the most important agent for socialization and the transmission of the traditional canons of good behaviour⁵ but in Manus Margaret Mead found a society where the father was the principal agent.⁶ In discussing how

¹H. M. BLALOCK, Jr: "A Dual Measurement Problem: Indirect Measurement and Deviations about Imprecise Standards", A.N.Z. J. Sociology, Vol. 7, Oct. 1971, pp. 19-22.

²Superintendent Spackman, reported in Sydney Morning Herald, 15.9.71.

³D. C. Ken Brown, reported in Brisbane Telegraph, 23.9.71.

⁴N. Nicholls, reported in Sydney Morning Herald, 15.9.71.

⁵T. PARSONS: "Certain Primary Sources and Patterns of Aggression in the Social Structure of the Western World", Psychiatry, Vol. X, May, 1947, pp. 167-181.

⁶M. MEAD: Growing Up in New Guinea, London, 1942, p. 14.

socialization occurs in Manus, Margaret Mead came to the conclusion that any method would do. She believed the forces of imitation were so much more potent in a homogeneous culture than any adult technique for exploiting them.¹ For the more marginal children's groups in PNG, i.e. those who live in townships, their experiences as they grow older begin to differ from those of village children. They mix with members of other ethnic groups at school and, while some may return to their villages for varying periods, others may not learn rural skills. Older members of their village-groups in the towns continue to impress upon children, however, the importance of preserving their own cultures.²

Doob experimented in Africa with the effect of education and leadership as two variables affecting the outcome of contact between native Africans and Europeans. He found those with relatively greater contact rejected the old modes and used new norms to make judgments; more of them tend to deviate from traditional beliefs and practices concerning the family; and more of them feel hostility towards Europeans; more feel generally frustrated and hence are generally aggressive. Of the two variables he found education to be the more important.³

Roe has pointed out that importing education from more advanced countries as opposed to growing your own is another perennial problem in developing countries. He states that in practice the intruders from civilization, sent by government or by mission, waste little time in imposing their alien culture on their uncomprehending, if willing, hosts. Elements in the indigenous culture are altered with a violence psychological if not physical. He goes on to say that many educators in Papua-New Guinea have followed the common patterns of imposition of Western culture.⁴

¹M. MEAD: Op.cit., p. 196.

²N. D. ORAM: Indigenous Social Organization in Port Moresby, Seminar paper, ANU, 6.11.68, unpub.

³L. W. DOOB: "An Introduction to the Psychology of Acculturation", J. Social Psychology, Vol. 45, 1957, pp. 143-160.

⁴E. ROE: "Education Problems in Papua-New Guinea", in F. M. KATZ and R. K. BROWNE (eds.), Sociology of Education, Adelaide, 1970, p. 57.

Yet to the author the channel of acculturation provided by education, or even by missionary influence, does not adequately answer the query - how did the PNG respondents acquire such a detailed sharing of common attitudes as revealed by the results of the responses to the questionnaire, and where the groups differed, as they did on occasions, how did this deviation arise. For example, why did the very raw recruits at the RPNGC training depot, with only a few weeks residence, respond in a way suggestive of "old coppers". In Australia one possible solution to this query would be to suggest that various occupations tend to attract certain types of personality, e.g. authoritarian for police duty, who would respond in a similar way with little if any professional training. However in PNG at this stage of its economic development, there are few jobs as attractive as policemen, consequently there is no lack of recruits, probably with a wide range of personalities.

Just how did the respondents' assessments arise. Obviously partly from communication, from imitation, and from other learning devices, but in PNG even the communication channel must have presented a problem for one needs to know English quite well to pick up the subtle nuances, the delicate shades of meaning sometimes used in words and tones to convey small gradations of social disapproval of deviant behaviour. Until recently details of such "shameful" activities as incestuous relationships, and homosexual practices were not readily available or publicly discussed, especially in missionary-run schools.

Toby who was not thinking at the time especially of societies like PNG, said "Socialization might well be described as miraculous."¹ If he had been thinking about the PNG responses at the time, he could well have added, "and mystifying."

¹J. TOBY: Contemporary Society, New York, 1964, p. 256.

According to Wheeler, men are constantly surrounded by a thick tissue of rules, and it is important to appreciate how complex this tissue can be. The life of any given person is guided by several different clusters of rules at once: he must act in reference to family traditions, ethnic ways, state laws, neighbourhood customs, regional mores, occupational norms, and a vast array of other pressures and demands imposed upon him by the various groups to which he belongs. It is only natural that some of these normative pressures will be contradictory and others will be confusing.¹

Certainly in providing anonymous answers to a questionnaire a person is not subjected to the same pressures to conform as an open declaration could cause; nevertheless Wheeler's description provides some idea of the difficulty in marking on a seven point scale the appropriate degree of seriousness for 63 items of misbehaviour, and for 653 persons of widely varying backgrounds to do so and produce a co-efficient of concordance of 0.84 for the judgments of seriousness suggests a deeper sharing of common values and attitudes than appears superficially.

RECOMMENDATIONS

There are a number of improvements which can be made to the study. There is an obvious need for a more rigorous sample selection. The questionnaire itself needs modification, and if possible to have included some items with a racial bias, for example, white/black offenders. The study would benefit from analysis of sex differences, and there is present, as always, the need to have some behavioural measures to act as a check on attitudes and opinions.

SUMMARY

A questionnaire containing descriptions of 63 items of illegal behaviour was submitted to 653 respondents, 356 Papua-New Guineans, 297 Australians divided into nine sub-groups.

¹S. WHEELER: "Deviant Behaviour", in N. J. SMELSER (ed.) Sociology: An Introduction, New York, 1967, p.605.

The questionnaire was designed to obtain data to confirm or not the following three hypotheses:

1. That among selected groups of Papuans and New Guineans there will be differences in the apparent seriousness of offences and the rank order of seriousness in which offences are viewed;
2. That among selected groups of Australians there will be no differences in the apparent seriousness of offences and the rank order of seriousness in which offences are viewed;
3. That between the two national groups, Australians and Papua-New Guineans there will be differences in the apparent seriousness of offences and the rank order of seriousness in which offences are viewed.

The results showed that amongst selected groups of Papua -New Guineans there were differences in the apparent seriousness of offences but there were no differences in the rank order of seriousness; that likewise amongst selected groups of Australians there were differences in the apparent seriousness of offences but there were no differences in the rank order of seriousness; that between the two national groups, Australians and Papua-New Guineans, there was no difference in the rank order of seriousness of offences, but that between the two groups there were differences in the apparent seriousness of offences. Details of recommendations were given which would improve the study.

The results tended to confirm Goodenough's statement: "Every system of social rules gives expression to a set of what we may call public values. The rights and duties it defines are the moral code, specifying the things we may demand of others and they of us. These public values reflect in many ways the personal sentiments shared by a community's members. But they do not necessarily coincide with all of the personal preferences people have regarding themselves and others."¹

¹GOODENOUGH: Op.cit., p. 106.

APPENDIX ONE

HEADMASTER	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	TOTAL	MEAN	RANK
OFFENCE:																			
BURGLARY	9	4	9	12	17	8	8	4	8	4	11	7	3	11	6	7	128	8.0	7
ATT. SUICIDE	17	8	8	8	13	2	11	3	9	9	9	11	18	16	18	15	175	10.9	12
DRUNK	20	14	20	20	16	13	16	20	18	15	16	19	6	14	20	12	259	16.2	19
CRUELTY TO CHILDREN	12	15	16	11	12	19	4	10	19	13	10	16	19	7	17	13	213	13.3	15
ADULTERY	3	9	6	2	6	7	7	15	3	1	4	8	14	2	1	6	94	5.9	2
LARCENY	11	12	12	18	7	4	10	12	20	7	14	6	1	12	14	9	169	10.6	10
ROBBERY	8	5	7	10	3	6	6	5	13	5	12	3	7	13	10	8	121	7.6	5
ASSAULT WIFE	7	13	14	13	11	12	17	6	10	14	17	4	4	9	4	4	159	9.9	9
INCEST	1	2	5	1	1	14	15	7	1	2	3	9	8	1	16	3	89	5.6	1
CRUELTY TO ANIMALS	19	19	14	16	20	18	19	14	15	18	18	13	20	18	12	20	271	16.9	20
PROSTITUTION	14	7	13	6	10	9	13	16	6	20	5	10	5	5	3	1	143	8.9	8
DRUNKEN DRIVER	15	20	19	19	15	15	1	18	17	10	13	18	11	15	19	11	236	14.7	18
INDECENT ASSAULT	6	17	4	7	18	17	18	13	14	19	20	15	9	20	2	16	215	13.4	16
MANSLAUGHTER	18	1	1	9	14	1	20	19	11	12	19	20	2	8	8	18	181	11.3	14
GAMBLING	16	10	10	14	9	10	3	11	7	11	2	12	15	17	9	17	173	10.8	11
INFANTICIDE	5	16	2	4	2	20	9	1	2	3	8	1	10	6	13	14	116	7.2	4
FALSE PRETENCES	10	18	11	17	4	5	12	9	12	6	15	17	13	10	7	10	176	11.0	13
ABORTION	4	11	3	5	8	3	5	2	5	16	7	2	16	4	5	5	104	6.3	3
SODOMY	2	3	17	3	5	11	14	8	4	8	1	14	17	3	11	2	123	7.7	6
EVASION OF COUNCIL TAX	13	6	18	15	19	16	2	17	16	17	6	5	12	19	15	19	215	13.4	16

RANK ORDERING OF TWENTY OFFENCES BY SIXTEEN MALE HEADMASTERS FROM ALL DISTRICTS EXCEPT SAMARAI. SEVEN YEARS TEACHING EXPERIENCE. AGED AV. 32 YEARS.

APPENDIX TWO

Further discussion on correlation analysis

The dominant theme of any discussion on the result of the visual examination of shifts in degrees of seriousness must be to stress the high level of association amongst all nine subgroups, and particularly among the members of the two national groups, as can be seen from tables 1, 2 and 3. There was in fact such agreement on many of the 63 items that probably the most rewarding discussion would come from an examination of those items on which there was a lack of agreement.

The following tables set out the items on which the individual subgroups differ most, together with comments that appear relevant.

The tables set out the differences between an individual subgroup, first with the two subgroups within its own national group that differ most with it, and then with the two subgroups in the other national group that differ most. The Spearman correlation between the subgroup and the differing subgroup is also shown under the subgroup's name.

As well the rank order of each item is shown together with the differences in the rank order of the item by the two differing subgroups. The difference is shown by "+" meaning a higher place in the rank order in terms of seriousness, "-" meaning a lower placing in the rank order of seriousness. For example the first item, 14, shows that abortion was ranked 13 by the University of Queensland students, but the South Australia Police, who overall correlated 0.85 with them, on this item differed by 22 ranks, in order of increasing seriousness. Likewise the Queensland Police who also correlated 0.85 overall, ranked abortion an additional 30 places in order of increasing seriousness.

UNIQU - with Australian subgroups

	UNIQU	SAPOL	QUPOL	
	Correlation with	0.85	0.85	
Item No.	Rank	Rank	Rank	Offence
14	13	+22	+30	Abortion
16	37	-12	-12	Windscreen smashing by adult
20	2	+28	+39	Male homosexuality
25	29	-13	-12	No headlight on car
29	20	-12	-13	Windscreen smashing by boy
36	12	+30	+30	Male prostitution
38	17	-2.5	-13	Boy steals \$20 from mother
39	34.5	-8.5	-12.5	Father/willing 17 year daughter incest
41	28	+18	+16	Man hits child
45	27	-20	-22	Non-payment council rates
51	22.5	-17.5	-10.5	Two men fight with knives
59	8	+19.5	+18.5	University students burn flag

Rank ordering from 1 least, to 63, most serious

Comment:

The differences on the sexual offence items all with willing partners except the foetus, and the flagburning, were predictable. The no headlights and the windscreen damage differences could have occupational explanations in that police would tend to regard these as lesser traffic problems. University students may see greater social dangers in these practices.

UNIQU - with PNG groups

	UNIQU	PMTc	PIR	
	Correlation with	0.71	0.68	
Item No.	Rank	Rank	Rank	Offence
4	14	+36	+32	Brother/sister incest
17	44	-33	-33	Cruelty to animals
20	2	+16.5	+37	Male sodomy
36	12	+15	+31	Male prostitution
59	8	+33	+39	Burn Australian flag
22	44	0	-22	Husband punches wife
30	59	-6	-24	Rape
42	51.5	-15	-23	Policeman taking bribe
43	4	+41.5	+28.5	Adultery with another married person

Comment:

These principal differences in the rank ordering between UNIQU and PIR to a large extent could have been predicted, except possibly for the degree of seriousness given by UNIQU to police bribery, and wife assault. That PIR represented a general PNG attitude on cruelty to animals was supported by the identical lowest possible rating given by PMTC. Similarly with the PIR attitude to brother/sister incest, and adultery with another married person.

On the other hand PMTC, perhaps because of the female component in the subgroup, or because of a higher educational level, or from occupational factors, gave intermediate assessments between the two extremes; as in Item 20, male sodomy; Item 36, male prostitution; Item 42, police bribery; but was itself more extreme in Item 43, adultery; or supported UNIQU as in Item 30, rape; and in Item 22, wife assault.

RAAF - with Australian subgroups

	RAAF	QUPOL	UNIQU	
	Correlation with	0.71	0.90	
Item No.	Rank	Rank	Rank	Offence
18	23.5	+7.5	+11	Wife breaks husband's arm
20	25	+16	-23	Male sodomy
57	5	+7	+17.5	Mother hits child's arm
59	44	-7.5	-36	Students burn flag
60	33	-6.5	-17	Students demonstrate
1	26.5	+2	+8.5	Drunk husband knocks out wife's teeth
10	2	+1	+9	Female prostitution
22	35	+4	+9	Sober husband knocks out wife's teeth
56	6	+6	+9	Disorderly crowd light crackers

Comment:

It can be seen that apart from Item 59, students burn flag; Item 20, male sodomy; Item 57, mother assaulting child; and Item 60, student demonstration; the other item differences are minor.

The RAAF assessment of Item 57 appeared to be on the light side by QUPOL standards which were closer to UNIQU. Similarly with Item 59, flag burning; and Item 60, student demonstrations. On the other hand RAAF occupied an intermediate position in regard to male sodomy, to which QUPOL gave a much higher assessment.

As it is, with only 5 items out of 63 having a disagreement of more than eleven places and less than 36 places, the correlation between RAAF and its lowest Australian subgroup, must still be regarded as high.

RAAF - with PNG subgroups

	RAAF	UPNG	PMTC	
	Correlation with	0.75	0.75	
Item No.	Rank	Rank	Rank	Offence
4	8	+25.5	+42	Boy/sister incest
17	39	-33	-38	Cruelty to animals
24	4	+13.5	+24	Adultery with unmarried woman
34	54	-2	-21	Boy prostitution
43	10	+25.5	+38.5	Adultery with another married person
61	57	-35	-37	Man murders sorcerer
62	61	-14	-26.5	Man kills wife

Comment:

The difference in Item 4, boy/sister incest; and in Item 17, cruelty to animals, were predictable. The 24 item difference in Item 24, adultery with unmarried woman, and Item 43, adultery with another married person, stemmed more from the PMTC's above PNG average for these two items than the RAAF's slightly below Australian average assessment of these two actions. PMTC may have been influenced by their female component in Item 34, boy prostitution; where PMTC only rated it 33 against RAAF 54, because when the prostitute became a girl, the figures were reversed. RAAF were now 5 places lower at 49, and PMTC jumped from 33 to 54.

Item 62, man kills wife, with a big difference of 26, seemed odd because PMTC only gave a middle range of seriousness to an apparently very serious offence. Their rating was even more inexplicable in view of the PMTC rating for Item 15, the same offence but with the wife, instead of being the victim, this time stabs and kills her husband. PMTC rating for Item 15 was 6.2, equal highest in PNG and roughly the same as the Australian groups.

This apparently inexplicable reduction in comparative seriousness of 28 places in PMTC rank ordering, and a reduction of 1.4 in degrees of seriousness merely because of a sex variation in the offender/victim circumstances, raised a suspicion that there was possibly something wrong with the procedure.

However PMTC overall correlated highly with UPNG 0.90, and between items 15 and 62 made a similar reduction of 1.4 in degrees of seriousness and a reduction in comparative seriousness of 14.5 places.

These data suggest that there is a difference in attitudes to the sex of the offender/victim, but as there was only one female respondent in UPNG group, it may not have been the large female component in PMTC that produced the drop in seriousness when it was the husband and not the wife who was the killer. The common factor could hardly have been education because PMAC had higher qualifications than PMTC. PMAC gave identical ratings for both types of killing.

QUPOL - with Australian subgroups

This table would merely duplicate that prepared for UNIQU so none is offered at this stage. Correlation = 0.85.

QUPOL - with PNG subgroups

	QUPOL	PMTC	PIR	
	Correlation with	0.75	0.80	
Item No.	Rank	Rank	Rank	Offence
4	24	+26	+22	Boy/sister incest
16	25	+22	+16	Man smashes windscreen
17	35	-34	-34	Cruelty to animals
20	41	-13	-2	Male sodomy
24	5	+23	+11	Adultery with single woman
25	17	+21	+13	No lights on car
34	53	-20	-2	Boy prostitute
43	12	+33	+20	Adultery with married woman
60	58	-38	-45	Student demonstration
62	61	-27	0	Husband stabs and kills wife

Comment:

The problem of explaining the difference in Item 62, husband killing wife, has been covered in commenting on RAAF results. The boy/sister incest, Item 4, student demonstration, Item 60; and cruelty to animals, Item 17, were predictable and merely offer confirmation. The "no lights on car" offence, Item 25, in view of the RAAF rating, suggested an occupational influence for policemen would regard this as trivial, but apparently a view not shared by RAAF, or UNIQU as representative of Australian laymen. SAPOL were even lower than QUPOL on this item.

The two adulteries, Items 43 and 28, were probably as valid as the cruelty to animals offence, Item 17, to demonstrate that in this area of morality (until recently an offence under Native Regulations in PNG) there are strong cultural differences.

SAPOL - with Australian subgroups

As SAPOL correlated very highly with QUPOL 0.90, and least with UNIQU at 0.85, any data and comment would only largely duplicate that given in discussion on UNIQU and SAPOL.

SAPOL - with PNG subgroups

	SAPOL	PMAC	PBTC	
	Correlation with	0.79	0.76	
Item No.	Rank	Rank	Rank	Offence
4	23	+5.5	+27	Boy/sister incest
16	25	+7	+22	Man breaks windscreen
17	24	-23	-23	Cruelty to animals
24	4	+18	+24	Adultery with single woman
25	16	+13	+22	No lights on car
34	53	-5	-20	Boy prostitute
43	22	+17	+23	Adultery with married woman
61	58	-6	-38	Man kills sorcerer
62	62	0	-28	Man stabs and kills wife

Comment:

As all items have been previously commented upon in earlier commentaries there seems little point in duplication here.

In dealing with the PNG differences in rank ordering the author plans not to touch upon the Australian/PNG differences which have been described earlier, but to examine the intersubgroup differences in the five units, RPNGC, PIR, PMAC, UPNG, and PMTC.

RPNGC - with PNG subgroups

	RPNGC	UPNG	PMTC	
	Correlation with	0.82	0.86	
Item No.	Rank	Rank	Rank	Offence
4	31	+2	+19	Boy/sister incest
6	44	+10	+16	Father rapes daughter-in-law
8	50	-13	-19	Priest steals \$20
18	12	+27	+9	Woman breaks husband's arm
22	26	+14	+17	Man punches wife
23	14	+14	+15	Married woman loses husband's wages by gambling
34	44	+8	-11	Boy prostitution
59	38	-27	+3	Students burn Australian flag
61	55	-33	-35	Man kills sorcerer
62	62	-15	-28	Man stabs and kills wife

Comment:

Interesting that Item 4, boy/sister incest was viewed about the same by PNG police and University students but much more seriously by PMTC - females voting in PMTC? Similarly with Item 6, father rapes daughter-in-law, but this time the UPNG were nearer to PMTC. Item 8's differences appeared to be more due to RPNGC's serious view of priestly stealing - by far the highest in the

nine groups. In item 12, woman breaking husband's arm, the differences may have been due to the comparative lightness of the police assessment; perhaps RPNGC are more accustomed to marital violent misbehaviour. This suggestion was supported by Items 22 and 23 above. Items 34 and 59 showed RPNGC as intermediate between the two groups. Interesting that UPNG gave a higher rating than police for homosexuality - contrary to the Australian position. Items 61 and 62 showed police taking a legal view of murder in both cases; PMTC and UPNG inexplicably dropped in their ratings.

PIR - with PNG subgroups

	PIR	PMTC	UPNG	
	Correlation with	0.84	0.76	
Item No.	Rank	Rank	Rank	Offence
2	49	+2	-12	Unlawful use of car
4	46	+4	-13	Boy/sister incest
9	52	+3	-15	Mother kills twin infant
21	39	+3	-13	Drunken driver
23	22	+7	+18	Married woman gambles away wages
31	35	+26	+12	Burglar steals \$1000
43	28	+17	+25	Adultery with married woman
45	34	-12	+14	Non-payment of council tax
60	47	-31	-36	Students demonstrate
62	56	-22	-34	Man stabs and kills wife
34	51	-18	-5	Boy prostitution

Comment:

PIR correlated 0.93 with RPNGC, and correlated 0.82 with UPNG and 0.86 with PMTC, so that much of the RPNGC comment was relevant to PIR. Boy prostitution, Item 34, did not cause a major disagreement with UPNG as it did with PMTC; on the other hand, Item 2, unlawful use of car, Item 4, boy/sister incest, Item 9, infant killing, Item 21, drunken driver, and Item 23, mother gambling, showed support by PMTC for PIR attitudes compared to UPNG - possibly because both were probably stronger on discipline than UPNG. PIR seemed to have given low ratings to the theft of \$1000, Item 31, and to the adultery, Item 43, compared to the other two groups.

Summary

There seems to be no great advantage in continuing this type of commentary with PMAC responses, for PMAC has a range of high correlations with all other PNG groups, minimum PMTC 0.87.

However from the examination which has been conducted so far it is clear that there was a high degree of correlation among subgroups, and between groups. There were, indeed, few items which presented any serious barriers to agreement.

Within the Australian group these stemmed principally from reversals in order of seriousness by UNIQU respondents against the more highly correlated responses of RAAF, SAPOL and QUPOL. There were in fact only four items that caused anything other than light disagreement. These items referred to the relative seriousness of abortion, and homosexuality, father/daughter incest, and student flag burning.

Within the PNG group there was a wider range of such items. Some of the lack of unanimity may have stemmed from the presentation of a completely new situation, e.g. a priest stealing \$20. Presumably there would be in this situation a few cues to guide an assessment. In terms of standard seriousness however the assessments were within a surprisingly narrow range, 5.2, 4.9, 4.7, 4.5, 4.4; but even these differences were sufficient to establish a difference in comparative rank ordering of 50, 52, 32, 33, 37.

The use of a sorcerer as a murder victim may have produced some complications. Certainly it is difficult to gauge the motives behind the assessments. RPNGC adhered rather strictly to the legalistic approach but UPNG and PMTC were much lighter, and similarly with the husband/wife murder. On the other hand RPNGC appeared to regard the daughter-in-law rape, the wife's attack on her husband, and the reverse case, and the boy/sister incest all much lower than UPNG and PMTC.

APPENDIX THREE

Some measures of Shift in Assessments by subgroups produced by changing a variable

Stealing

Item No. 5 was the base item. This was the theft of \$20 from an unaware owner. The PNG subgroups' averages ranged 4.8 to 4.6, RPNGC, PMTC, and PMAC all returned 4.8; the PIR and UPNG subgroups were slightly lower at 4.6. The Australian subgroups, RAAF, QUPOL and SAPOL were 4.1 to 4.2; but the UNIQU subgroup was much lower at 3.2. Throughout all of the 63 items the UNIQU score was consistently about 1.0 below the other three Australian subgroups. This may have stemmed from a reluctance to impose punishment preferring treatment as a more appropriate action.

It appears from these figures that in PNG there was a reasonable agreement between all subgroups as to what was the appropriate punishment for this offence; the Australian subgroups viewed the theft a little less seriously, except the UNIQU subgroup who was much lower. Possibly the difference between the national groups may merely stem from a different scale of money values, i.e., \$20 in Australia may not be the equivalent of \$20 in PNG, not in money terms but in the perceptions of the respondents.

The first variation was a change, in Item 13, from simple larceny to shopbreaking and stealing, legally a more serious offence. In all Australian States the simple theft case can be disposed of in the lower courts, the breaking offence invariably requires final disposal by a superior court. Strangely this legal change in seriousness is reflected most in PNG where UPNG was the only one to make no change. In Australia the RAAF alone considered it more serious - the two police subgroups, SAPOL and QUPOL, who ought to have responded did not. Perhaps the result would have been different had the police respondents not been recruits but more experienced officers.

The second variation was to give the offender, in Item 3, an occupational identity - he became a policeman instead of just an anonymous man. There was unanimous agreement by all nine subgroups that this was a much more serious event, and interestingly enough there was a great deal of consensus as to just how much more - the range is

from +0.7 to +1.1. Again interestingly enough whilst the various criminal Acts make no provision for additional penalties for a police offender, quite frequently the court itself will make reference to the policeman's breach of trust and the need therefore for a heavier penalty. It would seem the courts have the support of public opinion for this attitude. The two University subgroups returned identical lowest increases, +0.7; the greatest increase coming from QUPOL; but overall there was little difference.

A difference on a national basis appeared, in Item 28, with the introduction of the third variation, an assault accompanying the theft. Australians all agreed within the narrow range +1.0 to +1.1 that this was a more serious offence, and on this occasion they were joined by UNIQU who voted +1.1. This particular item produced the most agreement between the Australian subgroups. On the other hand whilst the PNG subgroups also considered it a more serious matter, they gave it a smaller increase than the Australians. They ranged from +0.4 to +0.9, PMTC being the higher PNG subgroup but still not as much as the lowest Australian subgroup. The lower PNG rating may stem from a cultural acceptance of violence generally as being less serious than it would be in Australia.

The fourth variation, introduced by Item 31, was a change in the amount of the money stolen, from \$20 to \$1000. The PNG respondents would all be in a lower salary category than the Australians, including UPNG students, yet all of the nine subgroups responded with similar increases; the Australian subgroups ranged from +1.0 to +1.2, the PNG subgroups ranged from +0.9 to +1.2. Somehow the nine subgroups have acquired almost identical attitudes to money, at least in terms of seriousness of its larceny. The national responses to this item nevertheless still contained the original national differences in their assessments of seriousness of stealing only \$20, so that for stealing \$1000 PNG responses are still higher than those of the Australian subgroups.

The fifth change, in Item 8, introduced two variations - a priest stealing from a church - so that the offender and the victim were both identified, unlike the base item, but the amount stolen remained the same. No general consensus appeared in the ratings of national groups, rather there was a split by occupation. The Armed Services and the police subgroups in both countries all gave an increase,

ranging from +0.5 to +0.2; whilst the remaining subgroups including UNIQU gave decreases, ranging from -0.1 to -0.3. The two University subgroups both returned -0.2. In PNG priests possibly have a different status than in Australia. This may have been one cause for the difference in ratings. The largest decrease came from PMAC -0.3, which had 41% Roman Catholic respondents; on the other hand RPNGC with exactly the same percentage of Catholic adherents considered the offence should be increased in severity by +0.4, the second highest increase in all nine subgroups.

The sixth change, in Item 26, was another variation of the offender and victim, switching to a teacher as offender and a school as victim. The outstanding return was from PMTC who thought it should be punished more severely by +0.4, the greatest increase of the nine; two subgroups thought no special significance was introduced, i.e., QUPOL and UNIQU. Perhaps there was a degree of professionalism developing in the teacher trainees who possibly held high occupational ideals.

The seventh change, in Item 46, was another variation in offender/victim, this time naming the victim as a co-operative store, and the offender as a secretary. Co-operative concerns are becoming increasingly common in PNG, but the offender's given occupational status in the questionnaire may have caused confusion. The title "secretary" could have been thought of as either the manager or a typist-secretary. It is of interest to note that the biggest decrease in severity came from PMAC where there are secretaries of both type in training, but none actually were included in the sample.

The eighth change, in Item 52, introduced the concept of the youthful offender, i.e. a twelve year old boy. All nine subgroups agreed upon a substantial decrease in severity, ranging from -0.4 to -1.2, with both University subgroups rating -0.9, and PMTC and RAAF granting the smallest of -0.4. These two are the disciplined subgroups who carry no police responsibilities.

The ninth change, in Item 38, produced a situation where the twelve year old boy stole, not from an anonymous store as earlier but this time from his mother. All nine subgroups agreed on a greater reduction in seriousness but not in the same order as previously, ranging from -0.6 to -2.0, RPNGC again being the biggest decrease.

The author has no explanation to offer why RPNGC should be the most tolerant to the youthful offender.

The tenth variation, in Item 49, changed the sex of the offender to female, with a resultant reduction in seriousness by eight subgroups, SAPOL remaining unaltered by the sex change, range 0 to -0.7, the RPNGC again making the biggest reduction. Again the author can offer no reason for the attitude of the RPNGC assessment.

The final variation, in Item 19, was to change a coat for the earlier \$20 and the sex remained female. The change made little difference in the Australian subgroups, but all PNG subgroups, perhaps accustomed not to value women's coats as high as \$20, made increased reductions in seriousness over the previous theft by a woman of \$20, by a range -0.1 to -0.3.

Civil Disorder

The base item, No. 54, was male drunkenness in a street, and except for the two University subgroups, there appeared to be a fairly general assessment ranging from 2.7 to 3.2; the police subgroups, the RAAF, and PMTC ratings were the most severe.

The first variation, by Item 27, was a change of sex to female drunk in the street. The Australian subgroups made little change (+0.1 to -0.2), but the PNG respondents, with the exception of the PIR, all viewed the woman's behaviour more severely, especially the teachers, (+0.5). PMTC had the greatest number of female respondents, 33%, and this may have influenced the result. The next subgroup most severe on the woman offender was the PMAC. They had the second highest percentage of female respondents, 13%. It would have been interesting to have ascertained how in fact the female respondents voted.

The second variation in this division of offences was to change, in Item 50, the age of the male drunken offender to boy. This change made little difference to the Australian subgroups, but the PNG subgroups, again with the exception of RPNGC, all voted for increases in severity, PMTC topping the increase with an +0.7. UPNG differed with UNIQU by giving an increase, +0.5. Again the RPNGC showed itself most tolerant of the youthful offender.

The third variation on the drunkenness theme, in Item 35, was to change the drunken man in the street to a drunken crowd blocking the road. A most interesting response to this change was that the greatest increase came from the two University subgroups, both returning an added assessment of +0.7; and all other subgroups, with the exception of RPNGC, giving increases in the range +0.3 to +0.7. The response by the RPNGC was to reduce the severity by -0.6, so that it would seem the PNG police considered the offence much less serious than a single man drunk in the street. In view of the increases by all other subgroups, PNG as well as Australians, the RPNGC response was unexpected. Perhaps the reason was that the RPNGC are well accustomed to this situation, especially in towns like Port Moresby, Lae and Rabaul on pay nights. All that usually happens is that a riot platoon is called out. They clear a tavern in a few minutes, or in exceptional circumstances police dogs are used and they clear the obstruction even more quickly. Often the crowd merely disperses and no arrests are made, contrary to the "man drunk in the street" who usually is always arrested. The interesting aspect of this response by the RPNGC group, who were recruits in the Police Depot, is how they acquired the attitude of the more experienced policemen. Did they acquire this in their few weeks in the Depot from their instructors? If they did the professional socializing effect of the RPNGC Depot training must be high. This is surprising since the recruits' instructors are not specially trained teachers but native policemen, whose pedagogical skills are considered not to be high.

Item 47 introduced the concept of gambling, and although in Australia this loss of wages could have been done through legitimate activities so that it really represented no crime, the Australian response showed a general agreement on its seriousness, ranging from +1.2 to +1.6. In PNG gambling is repressed by law and there is a deal of vocal condemnation of it not only by church groups but by native members of the House of Representatives. The PNG response was therefore predictably more severe, ranging from +1.9 to +3.1, interestingly enough the highest figure came from the teachers, with Army second.

The first variation on the gambling theme, in Item 11, was to make the loser a married man, and all subgroups considered this a more serious matter; in one case, for RPNGC, the added seriousness was expressed as more than the initial offence; several subgroups, UPNG, SAPOL, RAAF, UNIQU, considered the added seriousness was about the same amount as the original offence.

The second variation on gambling, in Item 23, was to change married man to mother as the loser of her husband's wages. All nine subgroups thought this at least as serious as the married man's loss, and all four Australian subgroups thought more so, they adding an extra measure of seriousness ranging from +0.1 to +0.5 on to the married man's measures. Interestingly enough the largest increase came from QUPOL.

The third theme in disorderly conduct, described in Item 55, was street fighting by two men. All nine subgroups gave about the same measure of seriousness; both University subgroups again the lowest with identical ratings.

The only variation on the street fighting theme was to change, in Item 12, the venue from the street to outside a church. All four Australian subgroups thought this was less serious, range -0.7 to -0.3, while PIR, PMTC, and PMAC thought it slightly more so. RPNGC and UPNG both considered it less so, -0.2 and -0.3.

Item 16 introduced a wilful damage offence, that of smashing a car windscreen by throwing a stone at it. All four Australian subgroups gave it a moderate seriousness rating, range +2.2 to +3.9, but all five PNG subgroups gave it a considerably higher rating, range +4.5 to +5.2, the highest being the PMTC. Throwing stones at passing motorists occurs with some regularity in PNG. It is possibly more than a simple act of misbehaviour but may have racial overtones because native driven vehicles tend not to attract the attention of the stone throwers. Police patrols in Port Moresby especially are always on the lookout for stone throwers, who are arrested and prosecuted. Windscreen smashing by a deliberately thrown stone would be a rare event in Australia. The PNG respondents have shown their greater concern by the higher figures.

Item 29 made the stonethrower a juvenile instead of a man, and all nine subgroups responded by reducing their ratings; Australian subgroups range -0.8 to -1.1, PNG subgroups -0.9 to -2.0, so that it would seem that PNG are more lenient in this case with children. RPNGC again made the biggest concession to youthfulness.

Item 21 introduced drunken driving as causing an accident with no resultant physical injury. Fairly general agreement on a medium range of seriousness by all nine subgroups resulted, with the exception of UNIQU which was slightly lower. For the remainder their assessments were 4.3 to 5.1.

Item 53 changed the car driver into a bus driver and with the accident injuring two of his passengers. All four Australian subgroups gave a substantial increase in severity +0.7 to +0.8 with the exception of QUPOL who returned only +0.2. The PNG subgroups were not so much in agreement, RPNGC making no change, PIR and PMTC actually reducing, with only UPNG and PMAC giving an increase. Possibly the difference nationally stems from the different role of the bus driver in PNG as compared with Australia. Frequently the hiring or purchase of a motor vehicle is the first step by a native towards becoming a small capitalist and motor lorries with makeshift seats provide a reasonably cheap and frequent bus service for the Port Moresby residents in fierce competition with the better and longer established transport company's vehicles. It is interesting to note that again both Universities returned the same figure, +0.7, as their assessments of the added seriousness.

Violence

Item 14 introduced the theme of abortion and the response by all subgroups except UNIQU shows little national difference except that PNG is somewhat more severe: Australian range 3.4 to 4.6, PNG 3.7 to 4.8. UNIQU was much lower at 1.7. The results did not show close agreement by the respondents.

Item 9 made a variation on the abortion theme by making the mother kill one of her newly born twins.

This variation has a cultural base because in some parts of PNG this used to be demanded by tradition. Perhaps this cultural background explains the slightly lower increases given by PNG subgroups, range +0.9 to 1.9, compared to the Australians, range +1.1 to 2.1.

Item 51 introduced the first killing theme, with two men fighting with knives, one killed the other. All nine subgroups gave high ratings for this offence, PNG a little higher than Australians, RPNGC with the highest and UNIQU the lowest.

Item 61 introduced the killing of a sorcerer - because of the special role of the sorcerer in PNG this item ought not to be a good choice for an intercultural comparison, but in fact a similar pattern developed. The police in both countries gave the highest rating, the Armed Services in both countries were midway, and the Universities were the lowest with nearly identical decreases from their national police rating, viz. RPNGC 5.5, UPNG 3.6, difference -1.9; SAPOL 6.0, UNIQU 4.0, difference -2.0. Nationally the PNG range 5.5 to 3.6, was lower than the Australian range 6.0 to 4.0, and possibly this was due to the greater acceptance of a sorcerer in PNG. The Australian groups made little distinction between the killing by knives and the killing of the sorcerer, but in PNG there were considerable reductions in severity UPNG -1.9 and PMTC - 1.4. In both countries the two Universities gave the lowest assessments, this time UPNG being lower than UNIQU.

Items 15 and 62 introduced wife/husband killings. All subgroups gave these two items high ratings. The Australian subgroups considered the husband's killing of the wife slightly more serious than the reverse situation; in PNG it was a less serious matter, PMTC reducing it by 1.4 and UPNG similarly. It may have been possible to suggest that the greatly reduced PMTC rating was due to the high proportion of female respondents, 22:24, but UPNG had only one woman, 1:30, yet gave an identical reduction. The PMAC respondents, 10:65, on the other hand, made no alteration, whilst the PIR and RPNGC, all male respondents, gave a slightly lower rating, perhaps reflecting the still widely accepted PNG tradition of the inferior position of the female.

Item 57 began a series of minor assault items, and started with a mother hitting a child and making its arm swell. There were fairly consistent views by all nine subgroups, the Australians being slightly more severe than PNG, highest rating by QUPOL, and lowest by PMAC.

Item 39 gave a variation substituting a stranger for the mother. All subgroups gave a fairly large increase for this action, Australians range +0.8 to +1.1; PNG even more so, range +1.2 to +2.0; the biggest increase coming from the PMTC, perhaps the result of the female vote.

Item 18 gave another variation by having the assault committed by a wife and the husband's arm this time being broken. All nine subgroups gave an increase in severity but only of the same order as for the hit by the stranger; actually there was a very slight increase in Australia, much less than the author expected from his experience of police investigations in this country. RPNGC and PMAC gave a lower assessment than for Item 39, PMTC gave a slight increase. UPNG gave the most, +0.3, whereas its Australian counterpart considered the two actions were equally serious.

Items 1 and 22 introduced the concept of drunkenness affecting the degree of seriousness of an offence, the only difference in the two items being that the man was drunk/sober when he punched his wife and knocked out two teeth. Every subgroup, except PIR who gave a small reduction -0.1, considered the sober man's actions more serious than when he was drunk. The Australians showed general agreement by increasing within the range +0.3 to +0.4, including UNIQU. PNG respondents, except PIR, gave a very similar response, range +0.2 to +0.4.

Sexual offences

This was a collection of offences in which it was expected there would be national differences in attitudes arising from the difference in cultural traditions towards women and sexual activities.

Item 10 introduced prostitution, man/woman, and whilst there were more serious ratings from PNG respondents, there did not appear to be overall agreement as to its seriousness. In Australia the two police subgroups gave higher ratings than the RAAF or UNIQU.

In PNG, PMTC, presumably because of the female content, gave by far the highest rating, 3.5. Traditionally in PNG payment of money for sexual intercourse is an acceptable transaction and the general PNG higher rating was unexpected.

Item 24 eliminated payment but introduced a marital complication by making the man a husband. This produced fairly steep increases in PNG, range +1.1 to +0.3, UPNG lowest. In Australia the increase was less, range +0.8 to -0.1, UNIQU being the lowest. It is of interest to note the Universities' relationship, but the extent of the PNG increase suggests a strong cultural opposition to a husband's infidelity, much more so than in Australia. The opposition which was strongest in PIR and RPNGC, may stem from early missionary teaching.

Item 43 introduced a further variation by making the woman, married, and having sexual intercourse with a married man. Apart from UNIQU, all subgroups considered this arrangement much more serious, with PNG subgroups higher than Australian subgroups. Whilst in Australia UNIQU respondents treated the offence lightly, UPNG, while still the lowest in PNG, gave a substantial increase, +1.4. PMTC remained the most censorious subgroup, assessing seriousness at 5.2, while the other four PNG subgroups ranged 4.2 to 4.9 against the Australian range, 1.5 to 3.5.

Item 4 dealt with incest, and it may be that the results were compounded because of a lack of clarity by PNG respondents as to the relationship of the sister. In pidgin "sista tru" would have explained the relationship, but in the opinion of experienced officials, few if any of the PNG respondents would have, in fact, actually mistaken the relationship. The ages of the two parties were kept at 15 years and 14 years to reproduce a fairly common family situation. As expected, the PNG overall response was much higher than Australia and it appeared there was fairly general agreement amongst PNG subgroups as to its relative seriousness, range 4.2 to 4.7 except PMTC with a very high 5.3, again possibly because of the female component in the group. UPNG was still the lowest figure but not much below RPNGC and PMAC. In Australia, predictably, the two police subgroups gave the highest ratings 3.8 and 3.5 but still well below PNG. UNIQU considered the offence rather trivial by comparison.

Item 41 further developed the incest theme by having a father have sexual intercourse with his consenting 17 year old daughter. National differences appeared quite strongly. The Australian subgroups all gave this offence a big increase on the brother/sister situation, even UNIQU moving one complete division towards a more serious offence, RAAF +0.9, QUPOL, +1.3, SAPOL +1.3. On the other hand all PNG groups decreased the seriousness, even PMTC who did so by -0.4, PIR -0.9, PMAC by -0.5, UPNG by -0.7 and RPNGC by -0.2. The PNG respondents, in fact, gave the father/daughter act a much lower rating, range 3.5 to 4.9, than the married man/married woman act, range 4.2 to 5.2. The Australians considered it the reverse; the married man/married woman act, range 1.5 to 3.5, the father/daughter act, range 2.7 to 5.1.

Item 32 returned to prostitution but made the girl only 13 years of age. There was agreement by all nine subgroups that this transferred the act of prostitution from the lighter range into quite a serious category, but the Australians even more so. UNIQU was the lowest Australian figure, +2.4, but this only equated with the highest PNG figure. Oddly enough PMTC were equal lowest in PNG.

Item 34 introduced a new theme of homosexuality. Unfortunately the author omitted to give, in the questionnaire, an age to the boy, and this may account for the lack of agreement in the group responses. There are contrary reports by anthropologists and by missionaries concerning the history of male homosexual acts in PNG, but there is fairly strong support for a reported increase in it when the PNG men first began accepting contracts to work away from their home villages residing for long periods in men's barracks. Apart from UNIQU the Australian subgroups regarded this offence as about the same as for a 13 year old girl; UNIQU reduced the seriousness slightly (and inexplicably). On the other hand the UPNG increased the seriousness and so did the PIR who also live at times in single men's barracks. The remaining PNG subgroups reduced the seriousness, PMTC by far the greatest, -0.7, again possibly because of the number of female respondents.

Item 20 produced the usual sodomy situation between two consenting adult males. There was a corresponding reduction by all nine subgroups, with the University subgroups in both cases being the lowest.

Item 36 introduced male prostitution by having a man pay the other for sexual intercourse. The Australian subgroups were divided on the seriousness of this action, 1.7, 3.7, 4.5, 4.3, compared with the PNG subgroups, all, including UPNG, viewing this action seriously, 4.5, 4.6, 4.5, 4.7, 4.5; so that PNG really presented a united front on this offence. It is of interest to note that on male homosexual offences PMAC consistently gave higher ratings than PMTC who just as consistently gave higher ratings for sexual offences involving women.

Item 6 began a new section on sexual offences accompanied by violence, and this item dealt with a man forcing his daughter-in-law to have sexual intercourse with him, behaviour perhaps more common in PNG where fathers contribute to the bride price. It is perhaps therefore more understandable and less seriously viewed in that territory. In the event all nine subgroups assessed it most seriously, even UNIQU giving it their sixth highest rating, but still the lowest for all subgroups. Amongst the remaining three Australian subgroups there was a consistent rating 5.6, 5.6, 5.5; whilst the PMTC predictably was the highest overall assessment, 5.8, but all others were high 5.0, 5.4, 5.2; with PIR starting to give a consistently comparatively low scoring for the three violent sexual crimes - a "licentious army"?

Item 30 contained the elements of the basic rape by man of a woman. Traditionally because of PNG attitude towards sex and the inferior social position of women it could be expected that Australian respondents would score higher on the seriousness scale. If an allowance of 1.0 is added to UNIQU score - the amount consistently underscored by UNIQU - then the Australian four subgroups showed general agreement on the very serious nature of the offence 5.9, 6.0, 5.9, 6.0. The PNG respondents, less the PIR, also rated it highly, PMTC and UPNG giving the highest scores, 5.1, 5.5, 5.4, and 5.5. The "licentious army" was well down at 4.3, the lowest of all nine subgroups.

Finally comes Item 58 in which a man raped and killed two teachers. There was a consistent very serious view taken by all nine subgroups and a large number of individual respondents gave death as the appropriate punishment, although there were less PNG respondents who did so.

Whilst the Australian University subgroup maintained its attitude of assessing 1.0 below, if this is added then there is a remarkable consistent view taken by all four Australian subgroups, 6.7, 6.7, 6.7, 6.8. (Seven was the death penalty). Amongst PNG respondents PIR again were 1.0 lower than the others, with UPNG surprisingly giving the highest PNG rating of 6.3, with PMAC ahead of PMTC, certainly only by 0.3. The PNG range 5.0 to 6.3, was predictably lower than the Australian range 5.7 to 6.8.

Unallotted items

There were six items included in the questionnaire partly to test attitudes towards forms of behaviour comparatively new to PNG; and partly to test the validity of the items because the results could be well predicted from personal knowledge.

Item 7 described women arguing loudly in the street. This did not produce much information except that of the nine subgroups the PIR soldiers gave it the highest rating which perhaps fits into the image of the PIR building up from earlier results. The second highest rating came from the PMTC, with the two University subgroups lowest overall.

Item 17 covered cruelty to animals and because of the known PNG attitudes towards their treatment it was expected that there would be a national difference produced in the result. This was so, the Australian subgroups assessing the seriousness at about twice that of the PNG respondents. The PMTC, while nowhere near the seriousness mark of the Australians, was highest, and they started a run for the next four items of unruly behaviour whereby they consistently gave the highest rating for all nine subgroups. Whether this was due to occupational differences or the presence of female respondents is not known.

Item 59 described the burning, by students, of the Australian flag in a street, a practice not yet known in PNG. In both national responses the University subgroups were the lowest; but in Australia it was the RAAF who gave a much higher rating than even the two police subgroups. In PNG there was a general higher rating, but with PMTC, 5.0, being higher than the Armed Services, PIR, 4.7, and RPNGC, 4.8.

Item 60 covered an unauthorized demonstration by students. If the usual underscore of 1.0 is added to UNIQU there was close agreement, 4.0, 3.9, 3.9, 3.9; whilst the PNG subgroups to whom this would be an entirely new experience were more widely scattered, with PMTC highest and UPNG predictably lowest. Nevertheless the PNG results are of interest because of their reaction to a phenomena they would not have witnessed themselves or which had occurred in their own country. Range was 3.7, 3.2, 4.1, 3.6, 2.1.

Item 48 however was an incident which they could more easily identify with, although it had not occurred for many years, and for many of them their only examples of courthouses would have open sides and no glass windows. Again the Australian responses, if 1.0 is added to UNIQU score, were close, 4.0, 3.9, 4.2, 4.0. The PNG would possibly see the breaking of courthouse windows as more than a wilful damage offence and therefore would give it a higher rating. This is what they did, with PMTC again rating easily the highest.

Item 33 covered the burning of a motor car and because of the likelihood that cars would appear more valuable in PNG, it could be expected that the PNG responses would be higher than the Australians. The Australians, if 1.0 is added to the UNIQU score, gave a fairly consistent view, 4.9, 5.0, 5.2, 4.8, whilst the PNG subgroups had several higher ratings, PMTC 5.5, PMAC 5.4, and the PIR maintained its "low" run 4.6.

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NOTES

1. It is not strictly true that sorcery is not an offence in Queensland. Section 432 of the Criminal Code reads:

"Any person who pretends to exercise or use any kind of witchcraft, sorcery, enchantment or conjuration, or undertakes to tell fortunes, or pretends from his skill or knowledge in any occult science to discover where or in what manner anything supposed to have been stolen or lost may be found, is guilty of a misdemeanour, and liable to imprisonment with hard labour for one year."

2. An analysis of the social backgrounds of Australian High Court Justices is contained in G. SCHUBERT, "Opinion Agreement among High Court Justices", Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology, Vol.4, 1968, pp 2-13. See also newspaper editorial on Federal and State Governments' appeals against inadequate punishments by Courts, Melbourne Herald 9.12.70.
3. Other observers share McArthur's view of the rate of change. "The speed of social change in New Guinea is greater than it is anywhere else on earth". Report of a Conference, Honolulu, Hawaii, August 18-25, 1965, published as Behavioural Science Research in New Guinea, publication 1493, National Research Council, Washington, D.C. 1967.
4. By "qualitative" is meant an index which records some assessment of the degree of criminality as distinct from the Uniform Crime Reports which record all offences, irrespective of their degree of "criminality", as 1. For example stealing a bicycle is recorded as 1, and murder as 1, i.e. total crimes = 2.

5. Results in rank order:

<u>Offence</u>	<u>Durea</u>	<u>Clark</u>
Immorality	6	4
Assault	7	5
Larceny	8	7
Stealing	9	9
Drunkenness	10	10
Incorrigibility	11	11
Malicious Mischief	12	12
Vagrancy	13	12
Truancy	14	14

SELLIN and WOLFGANG, op.cit., p.62.

6. Possibly there may have been some misunderstanding as to what prescribed actions were covered by each of the terms used.
7. An interesting result from persons in close daily associations with various types of convicts.
8. A different indicator of consensus was used by Armer. In a survey of national prestige, examination of the data indicated that all 34 of the nations received respondent prestige ratings in every one of the five rating categories with the exception of France and Nigeria. Only 10 nations received 50% or more of their prestige ratings in the same category ... The data was said to show a lack of consensus. J. MICHAEL ARMER, "A Preliminary Analysis and Measurement of National Prestige", Pacific Sociological Review, Vol.9, Spring 1966, p.1.
9. The Cambridge Institute of Criminology has criticized the results because "there are disparities between groups of raters and therefore it must be concluded that the scoring system and methods of constructing indexes are invalid". B.J. Criminology, Vol.6, No. 4. October 1966, pp 414-421.
10. These two authors, together with Robert Figlio, subsequently published a reply to the criticism in their "A Rejoinder and Beyond". Brit. J. Criminology, Vol.7 No. 4. October 1967, pp 442-449.

11. For a report on a study on attitudes related to the size of the victim organization see ERWIN O. SMIGEL, "Public Attitudes towards Stealing as Related to the Size of the Victim Organization", American Sociological Review, Vol.21, No. 3, 1956, pp 320-327. Smigel found differences in intensity of disapproval.
12. For a recent example of the effect of the age of the offender on the degree of punishment thought appropriate see R. v Thompson, a Launceston case of rape committed by a 15 year old boy. Only report so far in Melbourne Herald 9.12.70.
13. This information has come from a proof page for the magazine POLICE and from a paper presented to the International Federation of Operational Research Societies' Conference 1969, by Messrs D.R. Kaye, D.A. Rigby and V.C. Watts. Copies of both were kindly sent to me by Mr Watts.
14. For early reports of "courtesy bias" see Report of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to the Torres Straits, 1898, Vol.1, Cambridge, 1935, p. 286. See also H.L. GRIFFEN, op.cit., p.231: "While their inveterate habit of saying what they believe to be pleasing rather than what they know to be true adds to the complexity of the problem". For a discussion on "courtesy bias" and other problems in transitional countries, see Intern. Social Science J. Vol.XV, No. 1, 1963.
15. In 1970 the author met a distraught mother at Banz, Central Highlands, who was under pressure from her mother to kill one of her newly born twin infants.

APR 20

Ka-9

I N S T R U C T I O N S .

(Territory of Papua & New Guinea Only)

I am doing some work for the University and for this work I would like to know what you think about some things that people sometimes do.

In a very few years Papua-New Guinea will be an independent country. This means that it will make its own laws. To make good laws it is necessary to know what the people want and what they think.

Today I am going to ask you what you think about these things that people sometimes do. I want you to tell me if people who do these things should be punished by the Court and how much punishment they should get from the Court. For some things you might think they should get no punishment at all.

This is not a test. You don't get marks or anything like that. All I want to find out is what you think about these things. I want you to say exactly what you think, to tell the truth. It is important that you do because if you don't, your answer will be no use and will give me wrong ideas. You will not be asked your name so no one will know what you write.

On the last page I do ask some questions about you but not what your name is. These questions will tell me if people from different places in Papua and New Guinea think the same or think differently about these things.

If you do not know what a word means or can't understand a sentence, put your hand up and I will come and explain it to you. You can ask any questions you want to at any time.

Do not take too long with one question, read the question then make your answer quickly and go on to the next question. You can have as much time as you want but please don't be too slow.

I will now show you some examples on the board of the way of answering the questions. You will see that you are to put a tick in the space underneath the type of punishment you think should be given in each of the questions.

I N S T R U C T I O N S

I am trying to find out how much punishment, if any, people think should be given by a Court for different types of behaviour.

On the attached sheets you will find, briefly described, 63 incidents. You are asked to place one tick in one column alongside the description. The tick should be placed in the column you think is most appropriate.

If you have any questions or doubts about the meaning of any of the sentences, please raise your hand and I will come and explain it.

Please do not take too long with one question, read the question then make your answer quickly and go on to the next question. You can have as much time as you want but please do not be too slow.
