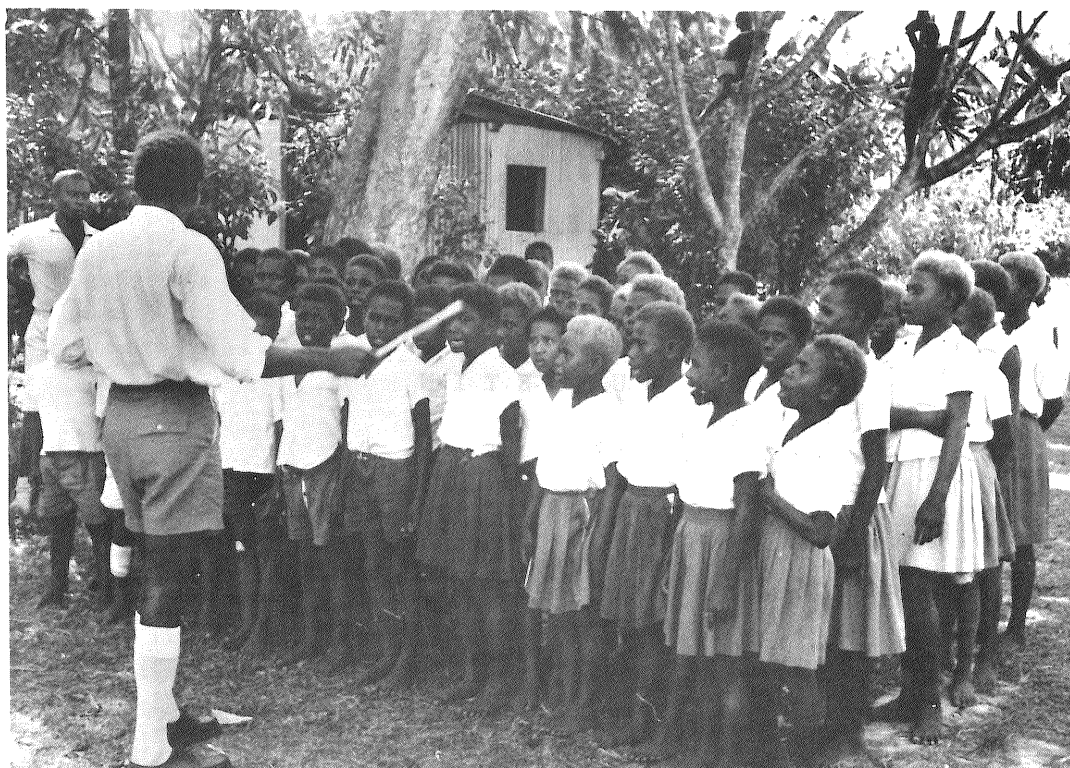


NEW GUINEA RESEARCH

BULLETIN



Pupils at the Torch Bearer Center School, Rabaul, rehearse their songs before taking part in the Vunairima choral festival.

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EDUCATION THROUGH THE EYES OF AN INDIGENOUS URBAN ELITE

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Contents

	<u>Page</u>
List of tables	ii
Preface	1
Chapter 1. Overview of education	3
Chapter 2. Areas of the survey	9
Chapter 3. Methodology	18
Chapter 4. Characteristics of the interviewees	23
Chapter 5. The selected children and their home environment	33
Chapter 6. Opinions and aspirations	48
Chapter 7. Education and employment of girls	57
Chapter 8. Family-school relations	62
Chapter 9. Attitudes towards the missions	72
Chapter 10. Some conclusions	83
 Appendices	
A. Children's form	86
B. Area census form	87
C. Parent interview	88
D. Education of children form	95
E. Different sub-districts among the interviewee couples	96
F. Families with mixed and transferred mission allegiance	97
G. Employment of interviewees related to their education	98
 Bibliography of sources cited	99

List of tables

Table		<u>Page</u>
1.	Growth of school attendance from 1959 to 1964	4
2.	Class enrolments at primary 'T' schools in 1964	5
3.	Numbers of mission and government teachers in 1964	7
4.	Numbers of indigenous teacher trainees in 1964	8
5.	Population of the three towns	9
6.	Composition of interviews	20
7.	Language of interviews	22
8.	Average age and range of age of the interviewees	23
9.	Numbers of interviewees from each district by town	24
10.	Length of urban contact of interviewees by town	25
11.	Religion of interviewees by town	26
12.	Numbers of interviewees by education category	27
13.	Numbers of interviewees by type of schooling	28
14.	Average number of languages spoken by interviewees	29
15.	Numbers of interviewees who spoke the <u>lingue franche</u>	30
16.	Numbers of male interviewees by type of employment and wage	31
17.	Numbers of selected children and interviewed families	33
18.	Numbers of selected children by standard in school	34
19.	Average age and range of age of the selected children	34
20.	Schools attended by the selected children	35
21.	Numbers of children in the interviewed families by sex	39
22.	Numbers of additional children by type of family, sex and age-group	41
23.	Social composition of the dwellings where the interviewed families lived	43

Table	<u>Page</u>
24. Numbers of languages used by family members with one another	44
25. Numbers of families using mass media of communication	46
26. Frequency of the interviewees' choices of occupations for boys and the selected boys' own choices	55
27. Frequency of the interviewees' choices of occupations for girls and the selected girls' own choices	60
28. Numbers of interviewed families with particular religious affiliation by town	74
Figure. Size of family and position in the family of the selected child	38
Plates	
Pupils at the Torch Bearer Center School, Rabaul, rehearse their songs before taking part in the Vunairima choral festival	Frontispiece
A family group in the Papuan Settlement, Lae	42

Preface

This socio-educational survey was conducted by the New Guinea Research Unit of the Australian National University as part of its urban research programme. The survey had two objectives. The first was to study the home and school environment of the indigenous urban school child with a view to ascertaining the concept of education held by the parents of a potential elite as reflected in their comprehension of the educational process and in their aspirations for their children. The second objective, determining the role of the indigenous teacher in the urban community, will be the subject of a second Bulletin.

The survey was undertaken from January until September of 1964 in selected immigrant communities in Port Moresby, Rabaul and Lae, the three largest towns in the country. Guided interviews were held with the parents(or guardians) of children in the upper standards of primary school and with the teachers who taught or resided in the selected areas.

We are indebted to the former executive officer of the New Guinea Research Unit, Dr David Bettison, for his participation, guidance and encouragement in the conduct of the survey. We appreciate the co-operation of the Directors of Education and District Administration (formerly Native Affairs) and their staff at headquarters, district centres and schools who gave practical assistance. Thanks are also due to members of the Papua Ekalesia, the Anglican, Lutheran, Methodist, Roman Catholic and Seventh-day Adventist missions, and the Salvation Army, for their assistance and co-operation.

Finally, we take this opportunity to record our gratitude to the indigenous people who participated in the survey, the parents and teachers who accepted us into their community and their homes and whose real interest in our work made it so memorable.

Chapter 1

Overview of education

Prior to the Japanese invasion of 1942, the Territory of Papua and the Trust Territory of New Guinea were administered separately and education in the two developed independently. In both territories progress in education was very slow. From the end of the nineteenth century various religious missions established schools but the government's contribution was negligible. After the Second World War the two territories became an 'administrative union' known officially as the Territory of Papua and New Guinea. One of the first actions of the post-war Administration was to establish a Department of Education which began developing a government system of education. It also assisted the missions in post-war rehabilitation through grants-in-aid. In spite of the policy of educational advancement pursued over the last decade, the number of total illiterates is still in excess of 80 per cent of the population and more than 65 per cent of school-age children do not go to school.¹ While the opportunities for primary schooling have increasing greatly, the number of Papuans and New Guineans who have completed secondary education is exceedingly small and by the end of 1964 there were only one university graduate and three Papuan Medical College graduates.

Education is governed by the Education Ordinance 1952-7 (which came into operation in 1955) and subsequent Education Regulations. The broad objectives of educational policy, as stated by the former Minister for Territories, the Hon. Paul Hasluck (1956:14), are:

- (a) the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the peoples of Papua and New Guinea;
 - (b) a blending of cultures;
- and, in the absence of any indigenous body of religious faith founded on native teaching or ritual,
- (c) the voluntary acceptance of Christianity by the native peoples.

¹ Estimate by the Department of Education, Konedobu, in 1964.

In October 1961 Mr Hasluck introduced a Five-Year Plan whereby total school enrolments were to increase from 195,436 in 1961 to 350,000 by 1966 and further to 750,000 by 1975, by which time all children of school age would have access to schools. Although emphasis was to be placed on increasing opportunities for primary education, secondary schools and technical and professional training were to be developed in proportion to the numbers capable of proceeding to a higher level of education.

Table 1
Growth of school attendance from 1959 to 1964

	Mission		Government		Total	
	1959	1964	1959	1964	1959	1964
Numbers of pupils at:						
Primary 'A' schools	1,203	1,050	1,936	3,112	3,139	4,162
Primary 'T' schools	53,933	118,857	16,907	50,174	70,840	169,031
Exempt schools*	113,748	61,134	-	-	113,748	61,134
Secondary schools ^φ	641	2,431	1,017	3,453	1,658	5,884
Technical schools	66	213	418	1,372	484	1,585
Teachers colleges	431	313	79	356	510	669
Total	170,022	183,998	20,357	58,467	190,379	242,465

* These are of a very low standard and are not 'recognized' by the government.

^φ The figures for 1959 include 'post-primary' schools as well as secondary schools.

Table 1 illustrates the growth that took place from 1959 to 1964.¹ Formal schooling ranged from pre-schools (conducted by the Department of Public Health) for children of three to five years of age, through primary and secondary schools (conducted by the missions and the Department of Education) to Leaving Certificate or matriculation level. There were eight indigenous students, including one girl, attending university courses in Australia in 1964.

In that year there were 16 pre-schools for indigenous children in urban and peri-urban centres with a total enrolment of more than

¹ The statistics for 1964 used in this chapter were supplied by the Department of Education, Konedobu. Statistics for earlier years were taken from Annual Reports.

700 Papuan and New Guinean children. A few indigenous children were attending fee-paying pre-schools established for children of expatriates.

Approximately 230,000 children were attending primary schools. This represented nearly 35 per cent of the estimated number of children of primary school age. In spite of the rapid growth of the Department of Education, the missions are still providing the bulk of the primary schooling. There are three types of mission schools: 'registered', 'recognized' and 'exempt' schools. 'Registered' and 'recognized' schools¹ use the same syllabus as departmental schools and receive grants-in-aid from the government for every certified teacher and for equipment. 'Exempt' schools generally have only lower primary school classes, the teachers often have no recognized qualifications, and instruction is given in a vernacular. These schools receive no subsidy from the government. In the post-war period the missions have continued to raise standards in their schools to a level which warrants recognition and financial aid.

There are two types of approved primary schools which are known as 'T' (for Territory) schools and 'A' (for Australian) schools. The 'T' schools are designed for indigenous students and follow a syllabus which concentrates on the teaching of English as a foreign language. The 'A' schools accommodate expatriate children, many of the children of mixed race and a few indigenous children, and follow the New South Wales (Australian) syllabus. Some Papuans and New Guineans who have taught their children English at an early age send

Table 2

Class enrolments at primary 'T' schools in 1964

	Mission	Government	Total
Preparatory	34,668	10,239	44,907
Standard I	30,564	9,076	39,640
Standard II	23,016	8,843	31,859
Standard III	13,895	8,378	22,273
Standard IV	8,799	6,373	15,172
Standard V	4,970	4,209	9,179
Standard VI	2,945	3,056	6,001
Total	118,857	50,174	169,031

¹ 'Recognized' schools are, so to speak, on probation for registration.

them to 'A' schools, and 156 indigenous pupils were attending these schools in 1964. However, the required language facility, the cost of clothing and other factors limit the numbers of indigenous children at 'A' schools.

The Department of Education statistics for 1964 reported that the missions had 118,857 children enrolled in their primary 'T' schools and 1,050 enrolled in their primary 'A' schools; while 50,174 children were enrolled in government primary 'T' schools and 3,112 in primary 'A' schools. The primary 'T' school syllabus provides for standards preparatory to VI, but at present many 'T' schools consist of the lower standards only. Table 2 presents the class enrolments of primary 'T' schools in 1964. In addition there were 61,134 children in mission 'exempt' schools.

Secondary education is provided for children of all races by local schools and by a scholarship and subsidy scheme which assists children to attend schools in Australia. In practice, most expatriate children go to Australia under the subsidy scheme and most indigenous children attend the local schools which follow the New South Wales syllabus leading to the Leaving Certificate at matriculation level. There are multi-racial high schools at Port Moresby, Rabaul and Lae. In 1964 the Department of Education reported 330 non-indigenous students attending these high schools. The 1,562 students who received subsidies for secondary schooling in Australia were (by racial groups): Europeans 1,115, Asians 237, children of mixed race 120, and indigenes 90.

Most secondary schools are boarding schools and draw their pupils from many parts of the country. In 1964 the Department of Education listed a total of 5,884 students attending local secondary schools. Of these, 5,498 (or 93 per cent) were indigenes; the remaining 386 students (or 7 per cent) were made up of Europeans, Asians and children of mixed race. The total enrolment at government schools was 3,453 and at mission schools 2,431.

In 1964 the Department of Education's division of technical training conducted 3 technical schools and 25 junior technical schools as well as providing instruction through the Native Apprenticeship Scheme introduced in 1955. The technical schools at Port Moresby, Rabaul and Lae had as a minimum entry requirement the successful completion of primary schooling (standard VI). The junior technical schools accepted boys with about five years of schooling, many of whom were too old to continue at primary school. These schools offered a two-year course. The Department listed 630 students at technical schools and 742 at junior technical schools. The participation of the missions in formal technical education has not been significant.

The government and the missions both employ expatriate and indigenous teachers. In 1964 indigenous teachers outnumbered expatriate

teachers by 4:1, the ratio being considerably higher at mission than government schools. The following table shows the numbers of teachers in 1964.

Table 3
Numbers of mission and government teachers in 1964

	Mission		Government	
	Ex-patriate	Indigenous	Ex-patriate	Indigenous
At primary 'A' schools	33	-	115	-
At primary 'T' schools	668	2,960	411	1,118
At 'exempt' schools	-	2,179	-	-
At secondary schools	144	6	153	13
At technical schools	11	-	68	42
Total	856	5,145	747	1,173

Expatriate teachers, the majority of whom are Australians, are trained teachers recruited or seconded from one of the State education departments, teachers trained for the local conditions under a special cadetship at the Australian School of Pacific Administration in Sydney in association with a State Teachers' College, persons with the necessary qualifications who are local residents, or locally-trained diplomates of the 'E' course. This course, which offers six months intensive training, is available to mature expatriate adults with an Intermediate (or Junior Public) Certificate level of education and usually some other training since leaving school. It provides teachers for both government and mission schools.

Most indigenous government teachers have at some stage undergone a course in teacher training, although some started teaching before any formal courses were in existence. In contrast, the majority of indigenous mission teachers have had little or no formal training as teachers. A 'Permit to Teach' certificate is required for teachers at all 'registered' and 'recognized' schools; but many teachers at 'exempt' schools do not have even this low qualification.

Teacher training for indigenes is offered at three levels. There is the one-year 'A' course for those who have completed primary schooling (standard VI), the two-year 'B' course for those who have completed form II at secondary level, and the two-year 'C' course for those who have completed the Intermediate (or Junior Public) Certificate level of education. In 1964 the Department of Education had Teachers' Training Colleges at Port Moresby, Goroka and Madang; and the missions had fifteen teacher training institutions, nine of which were conducted by different orders of the Roman Catholic mission,

two by the Seventh-day Adventist mission, and one each by the Anglican, Lutheran, and Methodist missions and the Papua Ekalesia (formerly the London Missionary Society). Table 4 shows the numbers enrolled in each of the three courses in 1964.

Table 4

Numbers of indigenous teacher trainees in 1964

	Mission		Government		Total	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
'A' course	149	58	116	28	265	86
'B' course	71	18	134	11	205	29
'C' course	17	-	34	15	51	15
plus 'Technical'	-	-	10	8	10	8
Total	237	76	294	62	531	138

Although there were no educational institutions at a tertiary level in the country in 1964, some professional training was being offered in medicine, agriculture, administration, technical education and teacher training. Since 1959 the Papuan Medical College in Port Moresby has offered a five-year course for students who have reached a standard roughly equivalent to three years of secondary schooling. The Administrative College, which opened in Port Moresby in 1963, was giving full-time classes to matriculation level and administrative training to selected indigenous public servants, as well as providing some clerical training. The Department of Posts and Telegraphs was offering a five-year course for technicians and three-year courses for communications officers and postal assistants at its Training College in Port Moresby. The Department of Agriculture was planning a three-year diploma course for students of Intermediate (or Junior Public) Certificate level of education at Vudal Agricultural College near Rabaul which opened in 1965. Early in 1965 the Australian government accepted the recommendation of the Commission on Higher Education to establish a university (Currie et al. 1964:112).

The pattern of political and economic development in the country has been uneven, and likewise that of education. Some areas have long had some primary education opportunities through mission schools while other areas still await these opportunities. While the opening of new primary schools each year contributes to the goal of universal primary education, the limited extension of secondary schooling perpetuates the overall uneven pattern of educational development.

Chapter 2

Areas of the survey

The survey was designed to be carried out in urban areas where a full range of education facilities is available and where the potential for an educated 'second generation' elite is high. Furthermore, the number of school-age children in the towns who do not attend school is small because there are a maximum of opportunities for school attendance and a minimum of obstacles to it. Town children are more free from daily tasks of gardening, hunting or fishing generally necessary in a village. In addition the minimum age for employment is sixteen years,¹ and the value of education for employment is evident.

The three largest towns - Port Moresby, Lae and Rabaul - were chosen. These were the only towns with an estimated indigenous population higher than 3,500 in 1964 (Marsh 1964:3) and with a European population higher than 750 at the time of the non-indigenous census of 1961 (Bureau of Statistics 1963:1-3).

Table 5

Population of the three towns*

	Indigenous (1964 estimate)	Non-indigenous (1961 census)
Port Moresby	27,000	6,396
Lae	5,500	2,396
Rabaul	5,000	3,462

* Comparable figures are not available for the same year.

There were no towns before European contact. Most of the urban development has been since the Second World War and townships have

¹ P.A.R. 1963-4:87 and N.G.A.R. 1963-4:101.

tended to grow up around government stations. In 1964 only 50,000 indigenes (or 2.5 per cent of the indigenous population) were living in towns (Marsh 1964:3).

In the three towns primary schooling for indigenous children is provided by the Department of Education and by the Roman Catholic mission. In the year of the survey the Department offered a full primary 'T' school course (standards preparatory to VI) only in Port Moresby; in Lae and Rabaul the primary schools finished at standard V and successful students were sent away to boarding schools for standard VI. The Roman Catholic mission provided full primary school courses in Port Moresby and Rabaul but finished at standard V in Lae. The only other missions with schools in the main town areas were the Anglican mission and the Salvation Army, each of which conducted one school in Port Moresby with classes from standards preparatory to V. A very small number of indigenous children were attending the 'A' schools which provided a full range of primary classes and which again were conducted both by the Department and by the Roman Catholic mission.

Indigenous children who passed standard VI at a sufficiently high level could attend the multi-racial high school in each of the three towns (the only three in the country), but in practice nearly all were sent to high schools or junior high schools which were attended only by indigenes. Port Moresby had one such junior high school for day pupils and Lae had one which took both boarding and day pupils, but the majority were boarding schools built away from town areas. Each of the three towns had one full technical school for indigenes (again the only three in the country); and in addition Port Moresby had four junior technical schools for boys and one for girls. There were also several institutions in Port Moresby which offered higher level training for indigenes in various fields (see p.8.

The three towns tend to be composed of geographically and socially discrete areas - areas that are inhabited predominantly by Europeans,¹ Asians, people of mixed race or indigenes. Social interaction between racial groups had increased over the last decade and changing attitudes are reflected in the removal of the curfew in European areas, the repeal of the Native Women's Protection Ordinance, and the lifting of the prohibition on alcohol consumption by indigenes. Furthermore, there has to some extent been a weakening of the traditional master-servant relationship between Europeans and indigenes as a new generation of educated indigenes has arisen who can share common interests with Europeans and who are capable of meeting the European on his own terms.

¹ These areas include indigenous domestic servants living in small quarters on the premises of the employer.

The majority of indigenous town-dwellers are single men living in barracks-style accommodation provided by their employers. The demand for family accommodation in the three towns is far greater than the supply. Some family accommodation is provided in government housing areas under a system whereby the head of household (or his employer) pays a weekly rental or makes purchase payments for a small house built in a neat row according to a town plan. A limited amount of family accommodation is provided by the government and by private companies in their labour compounds, where the dwellings are generally permanent structures of timber, fibro-cement or galvanized iron. Sometimes private employers of a domestic servant accommodate a family rather than a single man in the small quarters provided. Lastly there are squatter settlements in and near the towns on land belonging to the government or to a local land-holding group. Native materials are not used to any extent even in these settlements as immigrants to the town have no effective access to raw materials. Their dwellings are rather a composite of sheet iron, boxwood and other materials.

Migration of family units to the towns has not been encouraged by the Administration. In recruiting labour the pattern has been to employ single men, and as a result there is a marked imbalance of the sexes in all the towns. The 1961 population count of Port Moresby, for instance, revealed that in the 15-54 years age groups there were 10,614 men and 3,763 women (Bettison 1964:24). In 1964 private enterprise employed more than half of the indigenous work force in each town: 64.8 per cent in Rabaul, 59 per cent in Port Moresby and 57.9 per cent in Lae.¹ In the larger towns there is a number of long-term visitors, both single men and families. They are generally unemployed, or take employment only from time to time. There is some unemployment in the towns, but it is not regarded as a major problem.² Moreover, there are vagrancy regulations stipulating that no indigenous person may stay longer than four days in the town without work and accommodation. Although there is no pass system per se, an attempt is made to enforce these regulations within the town boundary: and as a corollary, Lae and Rabaul are fringed by unsupervised squatter settlements.

Of the three main towns, Port Moresby alone includes traditional villages (whose inhabitants were included in the 1964 population estimate) within the town boundary. The town boundaries of Rabaul and Lae encompass much smaller areas, and although residents of nearby villages commute to town for work and sport they remain identified with the village rather than the urban community.

¹ Figures supplied by the Department of Labour, Konedobu.

² P.A.R. 1963-4:86; N.G.A.R. 1963-4:100; and Oram 1964:42.

Villagers living in or near a town can profit from a dual economy of subsistence agriculture and wages, if they so choose; but immigrant town-dwellers have to support themselves primarily on the money they earn since few of them have access to gardening land. Accordingly, only immigrant urban communities were included in this survey.

In selecting particular areas within the towns, consideration was given to geographical areas which functioned as social units in themselves. Areas were sought where families were established and where the standard of living was reasonably high; where schools were close at hand so that the children did not have to walk long distances; where facilities existed for interaction between people from different areas; and where there were educational supports in the way of churches and community organizations and societies.

Port Moresby

Port Moresby harbour in the Central District of Papua was discovered in 1873 and the London Missionary Society established a mission station in the area in the following year. Port Moresby has been the administrative centre of Papua since 1884 and of the combined Territory of Papua and New Guinea since 1946. The town owes its development to the presence of the government headquarters and a port which serves the south coast of Papua. It still exists primarily because of these functions, but in recent years has become an education centre as well (see pp.7-8). The country's military headquarters are also situated there.

The town's estimated non-indigenous population of 7,080 in 1964 was comprised of 6,380 Europeans, 200 Asians (mostly Chinese) and 500 persons of mixed race (Marsh 1964:6). In that year Oram¹ estimated the indigenous population to be 25,400, of whom 5,000 were living in villages within the town. The migrant population was living in accommodation provided by the government (4,400) and by private enterprise (3,000); in domestic servants' quarters (6,000); in migrant settlements (4,500); and elsewhere (2,500). Included in the number living 'elsewhere' were persons living on double canoes lying at anchor near Koki, the local market.

In 1957 the government made plans for the development of a low-cost housing area to be open to people of all races. The first families moved to this suburb, which was named Hohola, in 1960. Hohola, with a population exceeding 2,150 at the time of the survey, was selected as it fitted all the specifications. The dwellings, constructed of hollow bricks, were designed to accommodate one

¹ Oram 1964:41. On account of the use of different boundaries, Oram's figures do not correspond exactly with those of Marsh given on p.9.

family. In the older parts of Hohola (known as Hohola No.1 and Hohola No.2) the houses contained two or three bedrooms. They followed several different designs, some being single units and others semi-detached. The size of house was reduced to a single room in the newest section (known as Hohola No.3) to reduce the cost and to prevent overcrowding by relatives and friends. The latter objective, aimed at the result rather than its cause, was unsuccessful as the average number of persons per dwelling was four in a single room compared with an average of six in a two or three bedroomed house.¹

Houses in Hohola were offered to the public on several different bases. For the general public there was a 25-year rent-purchase scheme with full charges being made for electricity, water and garbage collection. Members of the auxiliary and third divisions of the public service paid a small rental and full charges for the essential services, while Administration servants paid a higher rental and no service charges. The smaller houses in Hohola No.3 were rented to public servants at a lower rate. Land on which to construct a home could also be acquired.

The population of Hohola at the time of the survey was made up of nearly 1,900 indigenes, more than 200 persons of mixed race, and a small number of Europeans, Asians and Pacific Islanders. The indigenous people came mainly from the Central and Gulf Districts of Papua, although all six administrative districts of Papua and eight of the nine districts of New Guinea were represented. Papuans outnumbered New Guineans by 32:1. Within the Hohola area there were two government pre-schools, one government primary 'T' school and one Roman Catholic mission primary 'T' school, two churches (belonging to the Papua Ekalesia and the Salvation Army), a clinic, a welfare office and a shopping block. The welfare office served as a community centre where clubs met and where films were screened once a week. An organization called the Hohola Progress Association met from time to time and at the time of the survey was discussing the problems of insufficient street lighting and the granting of a liquor licence to a local store. Clubs active in the area included sports clubs, women's clubs, and Parents and Citizens (P & C) Associations organized for both the pre-schools and the government primary school.

In 1964 the government school in Hohola, which was opened soon after the first families moved into the area, was divided into two sections: an infants' school for standards preparatory to II and an upper primary school for standards III to VI. Both sections were used as a demonstration school for trainees from the Teachers'

¹ Based on data collected in the 'census-type' inquiry (see p.19).

College. Sacred Heart mission school, which was in its first year of operation, also provided standards preparatory to VI. Both schools had sufficient places in all standards for the children of the area, and very few children of school age did not attend school. Children walked home for lunch from both schools.

For clarity in the remainder of this report, the general 'Port Moresby' has been used rather than the specific 'Hohola' when the selected areas of the three towns are discussed.

Lae

Lae, the third largest town in the country, is situated at the head of the Markham valley in the Morobe District of New Guinea. Under the German administration there was a small government station near the Lutheran mission station of Lehe. The development of a town dates from 1928 when Guinea Airways constructed an airfield for the heavy transport planes taking dredge parts to the Morobe goldfields. After the volcanic eruptions of 1937 the decision was made to transfer the administrative headquarters of the Territory of New Guinea from Rabaul to Lae; but during the Second World War Lae itself was obliterated. The town was rebuilt after the war according to a town plan.

Lae has a rich hinterland and there are two good arterial roads, one to Bulolo and Wau and the other over the Kassam Pass to the Highlands, providing their only access roads from the coast. Apart from the building and construction industries, there are sawmilling, trucking and a small brewery. Lae has a major airport and a large shipping port to handle goods brought by road and ship to the wharves. A local market sells produce from the Markham valley and from the coastal villages.

In 1964 it was estimated that the non-indigenous population of the town was 2,550, comprised of 2,107 Europeans, 260 Asians (mostly Chinese) and 183 persons of mixed race.¹ There was no record of the residential location of the estimated 5,500 indigenes living in the town. It was observed, however, that the majority were living in the industrial area, in labour compounds and in one large migrant settlement within the town boundary. Others were living in domestic servants' quarters in the European sections of the town, in the government compound, at the police barracks and in the area known as Chinatown. Again there were many more men than women in the town.

The one migrant settlement, known as the Papuan Settlement, was found to be a suitable area for the survey. It was founded in 1956 when the government set aside land for lease to Papuan immigrants, and at the time of the survey it contained 95 houses. Its population of more than 700 people came from five districts of Papua and five

¹ Figures supplied by the District Office, Lae.

districts of New Guinea. Papuans (mainly from the Gulf and Central Districts) outnumbered New Guineans (mainly from the Morobe and Sepik Districts) by 3:1. There was a small number of persons of mixed race living in the area and the Department of Education was erecting three houses which were occupied by Europeans later in the year.

The Papuan Settlement has two parts - the original Settlement and a new upper section. The original Settlement, laid out around a vacant block of land which was in time to be developed as a sports oval, began with shanty-style dwellings built of randomly collected materials. A very small sum is paid yearly by the lessees of the land. At the time of the survey the government was attempting to raise the standard of dwellings by requiring owners to improve their homes to a minimum value of \$1300 or to vacate them. Most of the houses were constructed of timber with a corrugated iron roof, were elevated on stilts and contained several rooms and a verandah. Nearly all accommodated families, half of them housing more than one family. The average number of persons per dwelling was nine.

The new upper section at the northern end of the Settlement consisted of one street with 25 houses. It was a housing area similar to Hohola in that low-cost houses were being offered on a 25-year rent-purchase plan. At one end of the row there were a few houses of experimental design erected by private employers. For the most part the houses contained one family or single men, and the average number of persons per dwelling was four.

A Settlement Society was formed in 1959 to supervise the small affairs of the community. At this time Settlement children were walking several miles to school each day at a nearby village, and the Society asked for a school in the area. The government took no immediate action, but the Roman Catholic mission built a school adjacent to the area. An approach was also made to the (then) London Missionary Society in Port Moresby who appointed a pastor to the area but provided no school. Later the government did open a school near the government compound to which Settlement children could walk more easily. Finally, in the year of the survey the government opened a school within the Settlement itself. Thus primary schooling was being provided in the area by the new government school and by St Martin de Porres mission school which opened in 1959. Both provided classes from standards preparatory to V; children in standard VI were sent away to boarding schools. There was a small number of children in the Settlement (but a considerably higher percentage than at Hohola) who did not go to school. The fact that the head teacher had removed some of them during the school's first term in operation indicated that the classes were overcrowded and that even with the new school the facilities were inadequate (see pp.52-3).

Church services were held at the Papua Ekalesia church which was adjacent to the Settlement and at the Roman Catholic mission school.

The town's Lutheran church was some ten minutes' walk away. A pre-school was conducted in the local government council building next to the Papua Ekalesia church. On the opposite side of the road next to the Roman Catholic mission school there was a row of trade stores. At the time of the survey the Settlement Society was planning the erection of a licensed club. Two women's clubs were meeting regularly, one under the auspices of the Papua Ekalesia and the other of the welfare section of the (then) Department of Native Affairs.

Throughout this report, 'Lae' has been used instead of 'Papuan Settlement' when the area is discussed in relation to the selected areas in Port Moresby and Rabaul.

Rabaul

Rabaul, now the second largest town, is situated on the Gazelle Peninsula of New Britain. It was established early in this century as the headquarters of the German administration and subsequently became the headquarters of the Australian administration. The town was evacuated in 1937 following volcanic eruptions which smothered it with ash and it was obliterated for a second time during the Second World War. After the war the government considered other sites for the district headquarters because of the volcanoes near Rabaul, but the business community (both European and Chinese) returned to the old site and began to rebuild the town and the port. The government, after deliberating for five years, finally decided to leave the district headquarters in Rabaul but to maintain a strict vulcanological watch. The town was then rebuilt according to an official plan.

Today Rabaul is the biggest port of shipment in the country, being the receiver of copra for the New Guinea islands region as well as that grown locally. A private company operates a copra-crushing mill just outside the town. Cocoa now provides a prominent second industry. There is a good network of roads over the Gazelle Peninsula which date from German times. Rabaul is also an air centre for the New Guinea islands.

Rabaul has the second largest expatriate population (see Table 5). In 1961 there were 1,732 Europeans, 1,295 Asians and 435 persons of mixed race.¹ The indigenous population in 1964 was estimated to be smaller (by 500) than that of Lae.

As in Lae, the indigenous population is, with few exceptions, migrant. There are no villages within the town boundary and the migrant settlements (mainly of people from the Sepik and Morobe Districts of New Guinea and from the Gulf District of Papua) technically lie outside the town. The indigenous population of the town were living mainly in domestic servants' quarters in the European

¹ Figures supplied by the Sub-district Office, Rabaul.

sections, in private enterprise labour compounds in the industrial area, and in the government compound. There were again many more men than women. The small number of indigenous families was reflected by the fact that there was no pre-school and only two primary schools for indigenous children in the town area. The government school, situated at the Torch Bearer Center of the Methodist Mission, taught classes from standards preparatory to V, while St Martin de Porres Roman Catholic mission school offered all classes at the primary level. Both schools had been in operation for at least five years.

Rabaul town has no area that can reasonably be equated either with Hohola in Port Moresby or with the Papuan Settlement in Lae. With few exceptions the local Tolai people, who provide about one quarter of the work force in the town,¹ commute daily from their villages. There was one area near the local market, however, which provided a fair amount of family accommodation. This included the main government compound, a group of low-cost houses for rent-purchase, and family accommodation provided by the Commonwealth Department of Works. There was also a sizeable amount of family accommodation provided at the police barracks and a smaller amount at the extension of the government compound at Rapindik beyond the airfield and technically outside the town's southern boundary. These areas were chosen for the survey in Rabaul, even though they did not fulfil the ideal of being areas that functioned as social units in themselves. Such areas did not exist within the town.

Nearly 600 people were living in these areas at the time of the survey. The houses, each designed to accommodate one family unit, were similar to those in the older sections of Hohola in Port Moresby and in the upper section of the Papuan Settlement in Lae. The average number of persons per dwelling was five. They came from eight administrative districts of New Guinea and from five districts of Papua. New Guineans outnumbered Papuans by 2:1. The few Europeans, Asians and people of mixed race living in these areas were all occupying houses under the 25-year rent-purchase scheme.

The main government housing area, being centrally situated, was within easy walking distance of both schools, and a bus transported children living at the police barracks to and from school and brought them back home to lunch. Children living at Rapindik, however, had a long walk to school either in the town or at the nearest local village.

Henceforth, these areas have been combined for general analysis and have been called 'Rabaul'.

¹ Estimate made by the Department of Labour, Rabaul.

Chapter 3

Methodology

The guided interview was the primary source of data for this survey. Guide questions were intended to elicit the expression of ideas and attitudes and to provide factual data against which these could be interpreted. Interviewing in New Guinea poses some particular problems of communication, as a person who does not understand a question may apologize for his ignorance and become confused rather than state that he does not understand. There is also a danger that some may feel that there are right and wrong, good and bad, and acceptable and unacceptable answers. Furthermore, the cultural background of Papuans and New Guineans is so different from that of expatriate research workers that it is not unreasonable to expect difficulty of interpretation on both sides. In view of these problems of communication, understanding and interpretation, the technique was tested in a six weeks pilot study undertaken in Kaugere, a government housing area in Port Moresby which met the survey specifications. The questions were revised during this period and procedures for locating families, establishing rapport and conducting interviews were developed.

The pilot survey showed that families whose oldest child had not yet reached the upper standards of primary school had given little thought to their children's higher education and employment. Accordingly, it was decided to interview all the families living in the selected areas who were looking after children attending standards V and VI of primary school. In Lae and Rabaul, due to the absence of a standard VI at the government primary 'T' schools, it was decided to include families with children attending standard IV as well. Families with children attending standard VI at boarding school were also included as the children would otherwise have been living at home. The children in these standards are referred to as the selected children. Seventy-two per cent of them were living with their own parents (parent families) and 28 per cent were being cared for by guardians (guardian families).

A distinction has been made between parent and guardian families in the analysis when appropriate.¹

By this procedure 113 families were selected for interview. One family in Lae resisted being interviewed² and one in Port Moresby went on leave before an interview could be arranged. This report is therefore based on data collected from 111 families - 52 in Port Moresby, 34 in Lae and 25 in Rabaul.

Preliminary activities in the field included consultation with the welfare workers and other officers of the then Department of Native Affairs concerned with the selected areas for general orientation and information. The local District Education Offices were visited for statistical information on number of schools, teachers and pupils, and for information on children sent away to boarding schools. The religious missions operating in the areas were consulted also.

Contact with the families was made in two ways. First, a visit was made to the schools to meet the teachers and establish contact with the children. Those in standards IV, V and VI completed a one-page questionnaire which provided such basic information as their name, place of residence, home district, religion, and the occupation of their parents (or guardians) and older brothers and sisters. In addition, they answered questions on what occupation they would like to follow when they finished school and how they spent their leisure time (see Appendix A). Secondly, a 'census-type' inquiry was made at all houses in the areas (see Appendix B). As there were no street names and often no house numbers, it was a means of locating families, it assisted in establishing rapport and it provided descriptive information about the areas.³

The school and home visits were important preliminaries in establishing rapport. What was being done, who was doing it and

¹ Parent families included biological parents, step-parents and couples who had adopted a selected child. Guardian families included couples who were caring for a selected child whom they identified as a temporary addition to and not a part of the family.

² The head of this family was reputed to be of low mentality. He remained silent when approached, so the interview was abandoned. Another family living in the same dwelling was interviewed without difficulty.

³ This 'census-type' inquiry provided a great deal of otherwise unavailable sociographic data which have been processed on an IBM 1620 computer and are available to other research workers at the New Guinea Research Unit office in Canberra.

why it was being done were carefully explained. Since the research workers were women, their initial contact with the women at their homes during hours when the men were away at work was useful in developing a degree of mutual acceptance. Whereas the women were often shy and reticent in the presence of their husbands, they were comparatively articulate and confident during the 'census' visits. Their command of simple English in Port Moresby and of New Guinea Pidgin in Lae and Rabaul was generally adequate for this purpose. The research workers had studied New Guinea Pidgin and were able to conduct most of the 'censusing' without using an interpreter. When communication was difficult a woman often solicited the help of a friend or neighbour without embarrassment. It was also not uncommon for a young woman with a better-than-usual command of either language to offer to go next door or down the road to translate at a house where neither language was spoken. The 'census' inquiry in each area took several days and gave residents an opportunity to become used to the research workers as they walked or cycled about the area. In Port Moresby one of the research workers lived in Hohola with her family, but it was not possible to make similar arrangements in Lae and Rabaul.

Whenever practicable the research worker who had made previous contact with the family arranged and conducted the interview. With the one exception of a teacher and his wife interviewed at the home of the research worker living in Hohola, all of the interviews were held at the home of the interviewed family. Wherever possible they were held with both parents (or guardians) at the same time and, as may be seen in Table 6, this was achieved in 96 instances. The fact that the research workers were women encouraged participation from the women and did not appear to create undue difficulties in establishing rapport with the men.¹ One of the three fathers

Table 6
Composition of interviews

	Numbers of interviews held with:					
	Two parents	Father	Mother	Two guardians	Male guardian	Female guardian
in Port Moresby	31	1	-	16	2	2
in Lae	27	1	1	5	-	-
in Rabaul	12	1	4	5	2	1
Total	70	3	5	26	4	3

¹ The fact that the research workers were expatriate women may well have influenced the interviewees' stated preferences for men or women teachers and for indigenous or expatriate teachers (see p.51).

interviewed singly was a widower and the other two were permanently separated. The husbands of the five mothers interviewed singly were temporarily absent on job postings. The wives of two of the male guardians were permanently separated and the wives of the other two were temporarily absent on home village visits, while the husbands of the three female guardians were in hospital or temporarily absent on job postings. Expressions of opinions and ideas were recorded on a family basis unless there was disagreement. Factual data were gathered for 217 individuals (111 men and 106 women) to include the temporarily absent spouses. No data were recorded for the permanently absent wives.

Contrary to formal interview procedure but essential to good rapport and permissive atmosphere in the context of this survey, the interviews were frequently held in the presence of numerous children, relatives and neighbours who sat in for all or part of the interview. Rarely, however, did members of the 'assembly' take an active part in the interview.

The interviews took place in the living area of the house, on the verandah or out-of-doors under a tree. If a family had a table and chairs or benches, the group often gathered around the table. Frequently, however, everyone sat on woven mats on the floor, on a wooden platform built around a tree trunk, or on the ground. The research workers took care to resist any suggestion of a 'master-servant' relationship at the interview. With the exception of some families in Port Moresby, being interviewed was a novel experience. Although it was obvious, particularly among the women, that they were unused to holding discussions as equals with expatriates, the interviewees generally seemed pleased to participate in the study. Apart from the one refusal to be interviewed, co-operation was consistently good. The interviewees were assured that the interviews were confidential. It was made clear that the research workers were attached to a university¹ and not to a government department or religious mission.

Simple English or New Guinea Pidgin was used in most of the interviews and no major difficulties of comprehension were encountered. The few instances where there was some difficulty, as in presenting a hypothetical idea, have been noted in the analysis of findings. If language difficulties were encountered during the 'census' inquiry or while arranging the interview, arrangements were made for an interpreter; but when the interviewees' language

¹ Some families in Port Moresby knew members of the New Guinea Research Unit who had worked or lived in the selected area. Others had some idea of the nature of a university following the visits of the Commission on Higher Education in 1963.

ability was fair the assistance of a friend or member of the family (who would in all likelihood be present at the interview anyway) was preferred rather than an employed interpreter who might not be acceptable or imply an insult to the family. Thus in addition to 9 occasions when an interpreter was taken to the interview, there were 17 interviews (7 in Port Moresby, 6 in Lae and 4 in Rabaul) when assistance in interpretation of the more difficult sections of the interview was given by a friend or a member of the family. On three occasions in Port Moresby a short return visit was made with an interpreter to clarify some points or to complete the information. There were difficulties in communication at only six of the interviews. As shown in Table 7, most of the interviews in Port Moresby were conducted in simple English while in Lae and Rabaul the majority were in New Guinea Pidgin.

Table 7
Language of interviews

	Port Moresby	Lae	Rabaul	Total
English	44	4	3	51
New Guinea Pidgin	1	22	14	37
English and New Guinea Pidgin	-	6	8	14
Toaripi (with interpreter)	6	2	-	8
Motu (with interpreter)	1	-	-	1
Total	52	34	25	111

One or other of the two research workers conducted each interview. Notes were made on the interview schedule form (see Appendix C) at the time of the interview, as far as possible in the interviewee's own words. The research workers had no reason to believe that this inhibited the interviewees to any extent. Spontaneous probes were used to enlarge upon and/or clarify responses or to elicit a response from the second parent or guardian.

The average length of interview was 1 hour and 40 minutes. Parent interviews took a longer time (average 1 hour and 50 minutes) than guardian interviews (average 1 hour and 30 minutes). The length of interview ranged from 1 hour to 4 hours and 15 minutes, and two-thirds of the interviews fell within the range 1 hour and 30 minutes to 2 hours.

Chapter 4

Characteristics of the interviewees

The analyses for this chapter have been based on a total of 217 persons, 111 men and 106 women. In addition to the 207 individuals (103 men and 104 women) who took part in the 111 interviews, basic data were collected about 8 men and 2 women who were temporarily absent but whose schooling, religion and other characteristics were considered to have influenced the home and family environment.

Sex and age

As the recording of age is a post-contact innovation, the stated ages are given with some reservation. The average stated age of the interviewees was 33 years. Their average age and range of age is given in Table 8. The 11 men and 10 women for whom no age was recorded were mostly older persons who had no knowledge of their ages. There were no significant differences in the average ages in the three towns¹ but, as the table shows, the parents were an average of ten years older than the guardians. The parent category included adoptive parents which explains why some young parents had children 12 years of age.

Table 8

Average age and range of age of the interviewees

	Parents	Guardians	Total
Average age			
men	39	28	36
women	35	23	31
Range of age			
men	27-55	20-36	20-55
women	24-48	16-30	16-48

¹ The average age of the men in Port Moresby, Lae and Rabaul was 34, 37 and 38 years respectively; that of the women was 31 years in each town.

Home district

Some 71 per cent of the interviewees came from Papua and 29 per cent from New Guinea. The country is divided into 15 administrative districts which are in turn divided into sub-districts. Table 9 shows that although 59 per cent came from the Gulf and Central Districts of Papua, 12 of the 15 districts were represented. Among the Gulf District people 85 per cent came from Kukipi Sub-district.¹ Despite a smaller number of families, Rabaul had the broadest representation of home districts due to the inclusion of the police barracks in the study

Table 9

Numbers of interviewees from each district by town

	Port Moresby		Lae		Rabaul		Total	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Papua								
Central	16	23	4	3	2	3	22	29
Gulf	22	19	17	17	1	1	40	37
Milne Bay	7	3	-	-	-	-	7	3
Northern	3	2	-	-	1	1	4	3
Southern Highlands	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Western	3	3	1	1	1	-	5	4
New Guinea								
Bougainville	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Eastern Highlands	-	1	-	-	1	1	1	2
Madang	-	-	-	-	3	3	3	3
Manus	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	1
Morobe	-	-	5	5	3	2	8	7
New Britain	1	-	-	-	5	4	6	4
New Ireland	-	-	-	-	3	3	3	3
Sepik	-	-	7	7	4	3	11	10
Western Highlands	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	52	51	34	33	25	22	111	106

In a majority (61 per cent) of the marriages both husband and wife were from the same rural village area, in 21 per cent they were from different villages within the same sub-district, and in the remaining 18 per cent they were from different sub-districts.

¹ Ryan (1964:1) points out that Kukipi Sub-district has a very high absentee rate - about one-quarter of the population and nearly one-half of the able-bodied men.

There were two marriages involving a Papuan and a New Guinean. The combinations of different sub-districts in marriage and the sub-district with which the selected child identified himself is shown in Appendix E. Women from Rigo Sub-district featured prominently in these mixed marriages.

Time away from home village

On an average the men had spent 17 years away from their home village, the women 11 years. Table 10 shows the average length and range of time since leaving the home village for the first time and the length of time since coming to the town of interview and the precise area of that town.¹ As with stated ages, these figures are

Table 10

Length of urban contact of interviewees by town

	Port Moresby		Lae		Rabaul		Total	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Average number of years since leaving the home village for the first time	17	11	16	12	19	12	17	11
spent in town of interview	12	9	8	7	6	4	9	7
spent in selected area*	3	3	5	5	4	3	4	3
Range of years since leaving the home village for the first time	5-41	0-26	2-29	0-29	7-31	0-24	2-41	0-29
spent in town of interview	0-37	0-19	0-17	0-17	0-30	0-17	0-37	0-19
spent in selected area*	0-4	0-4	0-10	0-10	0-13	0-8	0-13	0-10

* The time at which the first families moved into the selected areas is discussed in chapter 2.

¹ The years since leaving the home village were not necessarily spent in an urban environment. Time spent away from the village during the war or while working on plantations and small out-stations was included since the significant aspect was the period spent away from the home village.

given with some reservation. The higher average figure for Rabaul results from the inclusion of 12 policemen who had had long and varied experiences away from home.¹ Thirty-five men, or more than half of those old enough for military service, described war-time work as cargo carriers, road builders, medical orderlies, soldiers, coast-watchers and interpreters both with the Allied Forces and with A.N.G.A.U. (Australian New Guinea Administrative Unit).

Two-thirds of the men had made their first trip away from the home village before marriage but three-quarters of the women were married before they left their village for the first time. The women who had left their village before marriage had gone with their parents to live elsewhere, to attend a boarding school or for an arranged marriage.

Religion

Table 11 shows that the religious affiliation of the interviewees was in the main with the Papua Ekalesia (52 per cent) and with Roman Catholicism (21 per cent). The instances in which religious preferences differed within the family are discussed in chapter 9 and are listed in Appendix F.

Table 11
Religion of interviewees by town

Mission	Port Moresby		Lae		Rabaul		Total	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Papua Ekalesia	36	36	16	17	4	4	56	57
Roman Catholic	5	6	9	9	9	8	23	23
Methodist	3	2	-	-	7	5	10	7
Lutheran	-	1	5	4	1	1	6	6
Seventh-day Adventist	2	2	2	1	1	1	5	4
Anglican	5	4	-	-	2	2	7	6
Jehovah's Witness	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	1
Baha'i Faith	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	1
None	1	-	1	1	-	-	2	1
Total	52	51	34	33	25	22	111	106

¹ The average length of time since leaving the home village for the Rabaul policemen was 21 years and for their wives 14 years. One listed postings at seven different stations and the majority had lived at five and more stations.

Schooling

When most of the interviewees were young the only opportunities for schooling were provided by mission schools, the primary objective of which was to facilitate religious instruction. At that time there were no uniform standards and the daily schedule often included hours of gardening, building and other practical activity for the mission as well as classroom work. This schooling can be only roughly equated with present day standards, and five years of mission schooling at that time might be the equivalent of two or three years of present day schooling. It has been (and often still is) the practice in mission schools to provide a minimum amount of schooling up to about standard II level in the village and then to send a few of the more promising pupils to area schools. Many older men knew how many years they had attended school but had no idea what standard had been completed. For these reasons four general categories have been used: no formal schooling, less than standard III (or up to 5 years of village mission schooling), standards III-VI (or more than five years of mission schooling) and beyond standard VI. The amount of their formal schooling is presented in the following table.

Table 12

Numbers of interviewees by education category

	Port Moresby		Lae		Rabaul		Total	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
No formal schooling	3	2	6	2	7	6	16	10
Less than standard III	9	18	13	17	6	7	28	42
Standards III-VI	26	30	11	13	7	9	44	52
Beyond standard VI	14	1	4	1	5	-	23	2
Total	52	51	34	33	25	22	111	106

Schooling taken some time after initial schooling was completed has been considered in compiling this table in order to place individuals at their level of schooling at the time of interview. An overwhelming majority of the men (86 per cent) had received some schooling but few (21 per cent) had received any beyond standard VI. A higher percentage of the women had had some schooling but only two, both of whom were under 20 years of age, had had schooling beyond standard VI.

Table 13 presents the type of schooling received and, as may be seen, most of those with any government schooling had attended school beyond standard VI. The three men with government schooling only were from Rabaul and Kavieng Sub-districts where the government provided schools before the war.

Table 13

Numbers of interviewees by type of schooling

	Mission schooling only		Mission and government schooling		Government schooling only	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Less than standard III	28	41	-	-	-	1
Standards III-VI	38	51	5	1	1	-
Beyond standard VI	2	-	19	1	2	1
Total	68	92	24	2	3	2

Eighteen men, 12 of whom had previously completed schooling beyond standard VI, were undertaking educational activities that involved formal instruction at the time of the survey. They were engaged either in full-time study at the training college of the Department of Posts and Telegraphs, the Port Moresby Teachers' College and the Administrative College, or in part-time correspondence study. The men in full-time study were receiving a stipend comparable with the pay they would be receiving in their jobs. Generally the men taking correspondence courses attended classes on two evenings a week.

In the past, 52 (or 47 per cent) of the men had acquired some additional training - either on the job, through correspondence, or in short-term special courses. The numbers undertaking post-school training increased as the level of their initial schooling increased. The training ranged from in-service police training among those with no formal schooling to teacher training, correspondence for pre-entry¹ or the Junior Certificate, and agricultural, postal and telegraphic, pastoral and technical courses among those with schooling beyond standard VI.

Of the women, 56 had received less schooling than their husbands, 36 had received the same amount and 14 had received more. This disparity was augmented by the subsequent training which many of the men had received while only four of the women had undertaken any post-school instruction or training. One had received a year's training in teaching handicrafts, another had completed the 'A' teacher training course, and two had trained as nurses. Forty-nine women, however, mentioned participation in women's club activities where they had received instruction in homemaking, child care,

¹ Completion of which was required for entrance to the auxiliary division of the public service prior to the Public Service Ordinance 1964.

sewing or basketweaving. Three women had attended short-term women's club training courses and six others had attended evening classes in English.

Language facility

Several hundred vernacular languages are spoken throughout the country. Police Motu, however, has become a fairly widespread lingua franca in Papua and New Guinea Pidgin in New Guinea. Furthermore, some missions have used one village or area language as a church language, translating parts of the Bible into it and teaching it in their schools over extended areas. English is the official language throughout the country.

With the existence of many languages in the urban areas it is an advantage to have facility in more than one. A man may, for example, use his village language with his wife, his church language with his friends, New Guinea Pidgin at the market, and English in his job. The following table, giving the average number of languages spoken by the interviewees indicates considerable linguistic skill. No evaluation was made of how well a language was spoken but it has not been included in the tabulation if the interviewee indicated just a little knowledge.

Table 14

Average number of languages spoken by interviewees

	in Port Moresby	in Lae	in Rabaul	Total
by men	4.4	3.4	3.8	4.0
by women	2.5	2.1	2.8	2.4

For all of the men the languages included at least one lingua franca. Although this was also true for a majority of the women, 36 per cent of the women in Lae spoke no lingua franca. Most of these were Gulf District women whose vernacular language was Toaripi. No progressive correlation was found between the length of absence from home and the number of lingue franche spoken. On an average the men in Port Moresby spoke more lingue franche (2.2) than those in Lae (1.8) or Rabaul (1.7). Due to the predominance of Papuans among the interviewed families, the most frequent combination was simple English and Police Motu. There was a progressive relationship between the education of the men and the number of lingue franche spoken. The numbers of individuals who said they spoke a particular lingua franca is shown in following table.

All but 1 of the 95 men who had attended school said that they were literate in some language and 4 of the 16 who had not attended school claimed some literacy in New Guinea Pidgin. Two men with

Table 15
Numbers of interviewees who spoke the langue franche

	Port Moresby		Lae		Rabaul		Total	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Said they spoke								
English	44	7	10	1	10	-	64	8
New Guinea Pidgin	23	5	31	16	25	20	79	41
Police Motu	48	40	20	9	8	5	76	54
Said they spoke some								
English	5	17	1	9	6	7	12	33
New Guinea Pidgin	8	4	1	8	-	2	9	14
Police Motu	3	6	2	2	-	1	5	9

less than standard III schooling had become literate in English on their own, and another 7 in this education category claimed some literacy in English. More than half of the 44 men with standard III-VI schooling said they were able to read and write in English and 12 more claimed some literacy in English. All the men with schooling beyond standard VI claimed literacy in English. Among the women, 45 said they were literate in some language but only 9 claimed literacy in English and another 2 said they could read and write a little English.

Employment and income

Table 16 shows that most of the men interviewed were employed in work requiring some degree of skill. They were most frequently employed as carpenters, clerks and policemen. The wages of all but a few unskilled workers were considerably higher than the basic minimum urban wage of \$12 per fortnight, the overall average being \$28 per fortnight. Fortnightly wages ranged from \$12 to \$96. The men with schooling beyond standard VI were in the most specialized jobs and their average wage was \$46.22 per fortnight as compared with \$19.60 for those with no formal schooling. Nearly twice as many men were employed by the government as by private enterprise. In this respect the interviewed families were atypical of the total employed population in the towns where the percentage of private enterprise employees exceeded that of government employees (see p.11). There was no significant difference in the average wages of those employed by the government and those employed by private enterprise in any given occupation. All six self-employed men were in Lae. Those who were able to give an estimate of their income earned more than the average wage earned by men with a comparable level of schooling. The type of employment has been related to education category in Appendix G.

Table 16
Numbers of male interviewees by type of employment and wage

Number of men	Type of employment	Average fortnightly wage* \$	Range of wage \$
Specialized			
1	Co-op inspector	42.00	
2	Electricians	30.00	24.00 - 36.00
2	Pastors	5.40 ^φ	2.80 - 7.00
1	Radio announcer	94.20	
8	Teachers	56.30	42.00 - 74.00
6	Technicians	40.10	20.00 - 78.59
<u>20</u>			
Skilled and semi-skilled			
1	Butcher	30.00	
22	Carpenters	30.98	12.00 - 96.00
19	Clerks	24.20	14.00 - 40.00
1	Contractor	30.00	
2	Crane operators	40.00	24.00 - 56.00
6	Drivers	20.00	16.00 - 22.60
1	Linesman	20.00	
1	Malaria control man	19.60	
1	Mechanic	28.00	
1	Medical orderly	24.00	
3	Painters	29.70	26.40 - 34.00
2	Plumbers	36.58	30.00 - 43.18
12	Policemen	23.28	15.00 - 34.34
2	Printers	26.20	22.00 - 31.00
1	Sawbenchman	22.00	
1	Shoe repairer	26.00	
<u>1</u>	Skipper	30.00	
<u>77</u>			
Unskilled			
1	Cargo carrier	12.00	
1	Cleaner	20.00	
1	Drum roller	12.00	
1	Groundskeeper	14.00	
2	Storemen	14.80	14.00 - 15.60
<u>6</u>			
Self-employed		No fixed wage	
1	Bus owner		
1	Contractor		
1	Gold miner		
<u>3</u>	Wood carvers		
<u>6</u>			
Unemployed		No wage	
<u>2</u>			

* The average has been computed without rations. The total income of some men in lower paid jobs was often substantially increased by rations provided for wife and children.

^φ An incomplete statement as the missions provide substantial additions to the monetary income.

At the time of the survey, only one woman was employed (as a domestic at the hospital), but 19 had been employed at some time, chiefly in domestic work. Two women had been nurses and one a handicraft teacher; the two pastors' wives had helped their husbands in church work and two women had assisted their husbands in medical aid-post work. Neither of the two women with schooling beyond standard VI had worked at any time, although one had completed a course of teacher training.

Chapter 5

The selected children and their home environment

The selected children

The 111 interviewed families were determined on the basis of 147 children who lived in the particular areas and attended the upper standards of primary school. The distribution of these selected children in the interviewed families by town is shown in the following table.

Table 17

Numbers of selected children and interviewed families

	Numbers of children	Numbers of families
Port Moresby	70	52
Lae	42	34
Rabaul	35	25
Total	147	111

On account of the differences in the school facilities and in the very nature of the towns themselves, all families were interviewed whose children were attending standards IV, V and VI in Lae and Rabaul and standards V and VI in Port Moresby (see p.18). The only children of standard IV included in Port Moresby were the younger brothers and sisters in families who were already being interviewed.¹ This explains the small number of children shown in Table 18 as attending standard IV in Port Moresby.

As may be seen in the table, there were 104 boys and 43 girls. The average age of the selected children was 12.5 years; that of boys (12.6 years) was slightly higher than that of girls (12.2 years).

¹ The choices of career made by these children are included in Tables 26 and 27.

Table 18
Numbers of selected children by standard in school

	Port Moresby		Lae		Rabaul		Total	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Standard IV	7	4	10	5	8	5	25	14
Standard V	25	7	15	4	8	3	48	14
Standard VI	17	10	6	2	8	3	31	15
Total	49	21	31	11	24	11	104	43

In contrast with adults, no difficulty was experienced in recording the age of the children either at the schools, where the children completed a form (see Appendix A) or at the homes at the time of the census-type inquiry. (Although both the children and their parents gave an age readily, there were some discrepancies in those given.) There was a minimal difference (0.1 year) between the ages of children at government schools and at mission schools, but there was nearly three years difference between the average ages of children in standards IV and VI, as is seen in the following table.

Table 19
Average age and range of age of the selected children

	Boys		Girls	
	Average age	Range of age	Average age	Range of age
Standard IV	10.9 years	8-15 years	10.6 years	8-13 years
Standard V	12.6 "	10-15 "	12.6 "	11-15 "
Standard VI	13.9 "	11-17 "	13.5 "	11-16 "
All standards	12.6 "	8-17 "	12.2 "	8-16 "

Of the 147 selected children, 110 (76 boys and 34 girls) were attending government schools and 37 (28 boys and 9 girls) were attending mission schools.¹ One hundred and thirty children (94 boys and 36 girls) were attending local day schools and 17 (10 boys and 7 girls) were attending boarding schools. One hundred and forty-two children (100 boys and 42 girls) were attending 'T' schools and 5 (4 boys and 1 girl) were attending 'A' schools. Table 20 shows the placement of the selected children of each town in 18 different schools.

¹ Although the selected children showed a higher ratio of boys to girls at mission schools than at government schools, it is not suggested that this is a general phenomenon.

Table 20
Schools attended by the selected children

Name of school	Boys	Girls
Port Moresby		
Hohola 'T' School	37	18
Koki* 'T' School	1	-
Sacred Heart 'T' School	8	2
St Francis 'T' School, Koke* (Anglican Mission)	2	1
Salvation Army 'T' School, Koke*	1	-
Total	49	21
Lae		
Papuan Settlement 'T' School	18	3
Dregerhafen Boys' School	4	-
Dregerhafen Girls' School	-	6
St Martin de Porres 'T' School	7	2
St Mary's 'A' School	2	-
Total	31	11
Rabaul		
Torch Bearer Center 'T' School	7	4
Matupit 'T' School	2	2
Raval Boarding School	4	-
Dregerhafen Boys' School ^ø	1	-
Court Street 'A' School	1	1
Kamarere Street 'A' School	1	-
St Martin de Porres 'T' School	7	3
St Michael's School, Vuvu	1	-
Our Lady of the Sacred Heart Girls' School, Vunapope	-	1
Total	24	11

* The two spellings for this area are used by different authorities.

^ø One policeman from Morobe District specially requested that his son be sent to Dregerhafen.

At Hohola in Port Moresby the government and the Roman Catholic 'T' schools both provided all classes to the completion of primary schooling. As Table 20 shows, however, five selected children were attending day schools in the Koki area, three miles distant by road.

The government and the Roman Catholic 'T' schools in Lae provided classes only as far as standard V. Boys and girls in standard VI

were normally sent to boarding schools at Dregerhafen, some 65 miles from Lae; and because government authorities thought that girls had more opportunity for getting into trouble in the town than at supervised boarding schools, the more mature girls in standard V were also sent to Dregerhafen. The two boys attending standard VI at St Mary's 'A' school had younger brothers at the mission 'T' school. Two other boys formerly at the mission 'T' school had been sent (with the blessing of the church) to the government boarding school at Dregerhafen.

In Rabaul the Roman Catholic 'T' school provided all classes at the primary level while the government school went only to standard V. Boys who had completed standard V at the government school in town were sent to boarding school at Raval, some 15 miles away. It is of interest that no girl was sent from the town of Rabaul (as well as from the selected areas) to attend standard VI at a government boarding school. The Roman Catholic mission had transferred two children (one boy and one girl) to boarding schools for standard VI. Some families living at the Rapindik section of the government compound sent their children to the government school at Matupit village rather than the town school on account of the traffic. By choice, three families were sending their children to government 'A' schools where they considered the children had better opportunities.

The schools attended by the selected children at the time of the survey are listed in Table 20. Changes of school, however, were the rule rather than the exception. Only 8 children had always attended the one school; 66 had attended two; 57 had attended three; and 16 had attended four or more schools. The establishment of new schools and the arrival of families from the village or from another station contributed to the high rate of mobility. For instance, 7 of the 8 children who had attended the one school for all their education were from St Martin de Porres school in Lae, one of the few schools established for more than five years. Likewise a majority of the children who had attended four and more schools were in the families of teachers or policemen who frequently had new postings.

The children's education history also revealed that 29 children (or 20 per cent) had attended mission schools only; 65 (or 44 per cent) had attended government schools only; and 53 (or 36 per cent) had attended both mission and government schools. The rate of transfer of children from mission to government schools (45 children) was far higher than that from government to mission schools (8 children). This would concur with family preferences on type of school (mission or government) which is discussed in some detail in Chapter 9.

Eighty-seven children (or 59 per cent) had attended schools outside the town in which the survey was being made. Of these, 48 had previously been to school in the home village and 60 had attended schools at other government stations or at mission headstations away from the home village. (The overlap is explained by 21 children coming into both categories.) The remaining 60 children (or 41 per cent) had received all their schooling in the town of interview.

Of the selected children, 106 (66 boys and 40 girls) were living with their own parents and 41 (38 boys and 3 girls) were living with guardians. As well as the marked predominance of boys over girls among the children living with guardians, their average age was more than one year higher than the total average. A much higher percentage had started school with a mission in the home village, due to a shorter time spent in the town areas. Features of these children living with guardian families, who are called additional children, are discussed later in this chapter.

The family

The average number of children in the interviewed families was 4.5, with that in parent families (5.4) considerably higher than in guardian families (2.4) - a fact related to the younger average age of guardians (see Table 8). The average was higher in Lae and Port Moresby than in Rabaul (4.9, 4.6 and 3.8 children per family respectively). The accompanying graphs show the size of family and the position in the family of the selected child. The selected child was the oldest in the family in 39 of the 78 parent families and in 27 of the 33 guardian families; he was the only child in 2 parent families and in 5 guardian families.¹

In the graphs a distinction has been made between 'own children' and 'additional children'. The 503 'own children' were the total number of offspring in the 111 families - they included children who had become adults, children living away from home, children of one parent only (step-children) and adopted children, as well as children living at home. There were 73 children living away from home: more than half were attending school, either at boarding schools or in the home village; others were married, employed or in training and living elsewhere; others were living with a relative for the time being; and still others were away on a visit. Step-children were recorded in 10 families and adopted children in 14, and it is possible that the incidence of both was higher than recorded. 'Additional children' were those being cared for by

¹ The recency of urban development may well have contributed to the large number of young parents in the selected areas. See p.9.

SIZE OF FAMILY AND POSITION IN THE FAMILY OF THE SELECTED CHILD

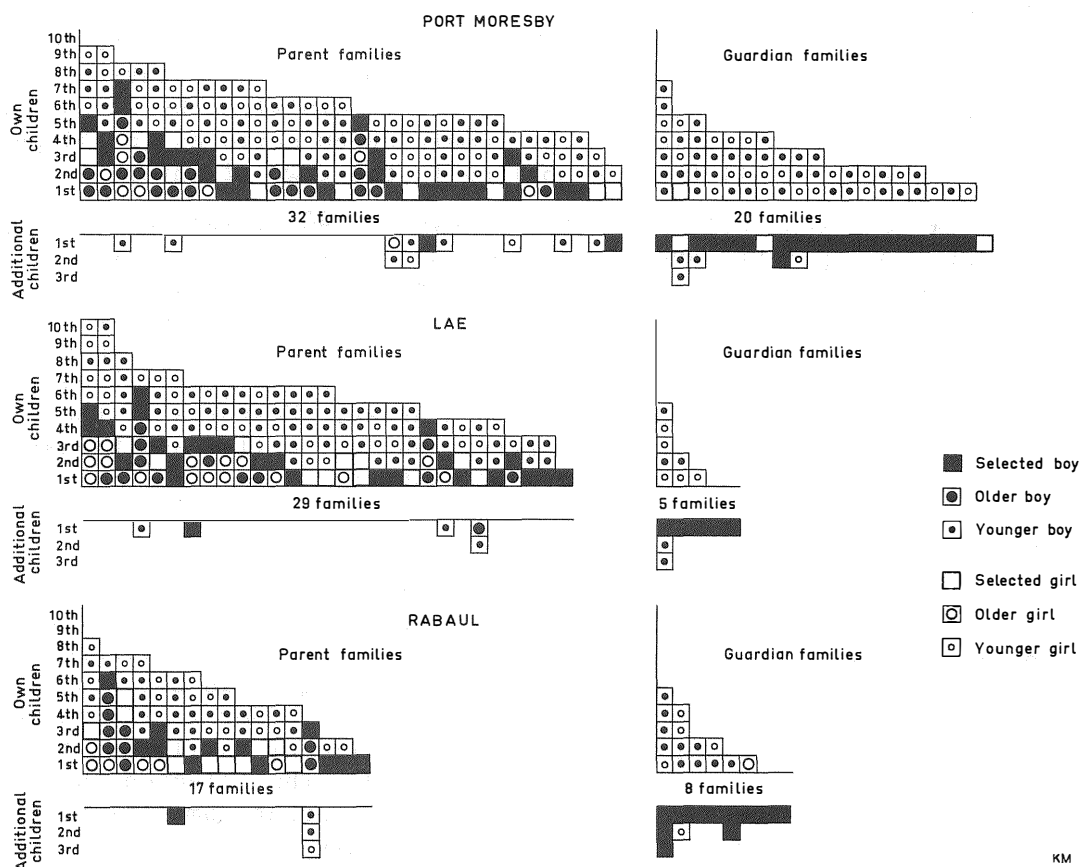


Figure. Size of family and position in the family of the selected child.

guardians. The 65 'additional children' were living in 49 families, 5 of whom had no children of their own. Four selected children were 'additional children' in parent families who also had a selected child of their own. One selected child appears as an 'own child' in a guardian family, due to the inclusion in analysis of only those Port Moresby children in standard IV who belonged to a family interviewed on the basis of a child attending standard V or VI.

There were more boys than girls in the interviewed families in all three towns,¹ as is seen in the graphs. Boys outnumbered girls

¹ The sex imbalance is probably a chance result. In contrast, the age and sex distribution of people living near Mintima (Brown and Winefield 1965:184) showed 125 males and 160 females born since 1950.

by 2:1 in Lae, by 1.5:1 in Port Moresby and by 1.3:1 in Rabaul. The sex ratio of 'own children' was 1.4 boys : 1 girl and that of 'additional children' 6.2 boys : 1 girl. In Table 21, as in the graphs, 'own children' and 'additional children' have again been separated into groups of older, selected and younger children. This table shows more clearly that the sex ratio, although greatest among the selected children, was maintained in the other groups as well.

When only the children living at home at the time of the survey were considered, a still larger discrepancy by sex was found. With 41 boys and 32 girls among the 'own children' absent and 53 boys¹ and 9 girls among the 'additional children' present, there was a total of 492 children in residence, 303 boys and 189 girls.

Table 21

Numbers of children in the interviewed families by sex

	Parent families		Guardian families		Total	
	boys	girls	boys	girls	boys	girls
Own children						
older	42	30	-	1	42	31
selected	66	39	-	1	66	40
younger	135	111	48	30	183	141
Total	243	180	48	32	291	212
Additional children						
older	1	1	-	-	1	1
selected	4	-	34	3	38	3
younger	12	3	5	2	17	5
Total	17	4	39	5	56	9

(i) Own children. As the selected children have been described in the preceding section, the following discussion is concerned with the older and younger children.

In the interviewed families there were 73 children (42 boys and 31 girls) older than the selected children. Of the older boys, 25 were still at school, the majority in forms I and II of secondary school. Their level of education ranged from standard III of primary (where a selected child was in a higher class than his older brother) to form V of secondary school. One boy was at school in Queensland on a scholarship.

¹ Three selected boys were away at boarding schools.

The occupations of the older boys who had left school were: clerk (6), carpenter (2), teacher (1), loans officer (1), mechanic (1), assistant to surveyor (1), apprentice with architect (1), and teacher trainee (1). Three were unemployed. All had received some schooling; the range of their formal education was from standard III of primary school to matriculation (completion of secondary school), the majority having received between standard VI of primary and form II (or the old standard IX) of secondary school. Two of the boys were unemployed in the town and one was in his home village.

Six of the 31 older girls were attending school in standards ranging from standard III of primary to form II of secondary school. One had completed form III (the highest level recorded for a woman) and was training as a clerk-typist and another (who had completed form II) was in teacher training. Five girls were employed: two were teachers (both held teaching certificates), two minded children for European families and one was a nurse. Their schooling ranged from standard V to form II.

The education of the remaining 18 older girls ranged from no formal schooling (in one instance) to the old standard VII, the majority having reached standard III or IV at primary school. Nine were married, one had been deserted, one was an unmarried mother, and seven were single and living either at home with the family in town or with relatives in the village. Four had worked previously: one as a nurse, one as a welfare assistant, and two as domestic workers (one for a mission and one for a 'missis').

There were 324 children (183 boys and 141 girls) who were younger than the selected children. In no instance was a younger child in a higher standard of school than a selected child. The younger children of school-going age were all attending school, with the one exception of a six-year-old girl in Lae who had never been to school. She was a sister of the one older girl who had never attended school.

(ii) Additional children. The frequency of additional children is best described first in terms only of the parent families since the guardian families were interviewed simply because they were looking after an additional selected child. A total of 33 (or 42 per cent) of the parent families had cared for one or more additional children at some time, although only 16 were currently doing so.

In all, 65 additional children were living with the interviewed families (both parent and guardian) at the time of the survey. The preponderance of boys over girls was particularly marked in the older age-groups where boys outnumbered girls by 11 to 1, as is seen in the following table. These groups included the 41 selected additional children (38 boys and 3 girls). The discrepancy was smaller among the children of 9 years of age and under, there being 12 boys and 5 girls.

Table 22
Numbers of additional children by type of family,
sex and age-group

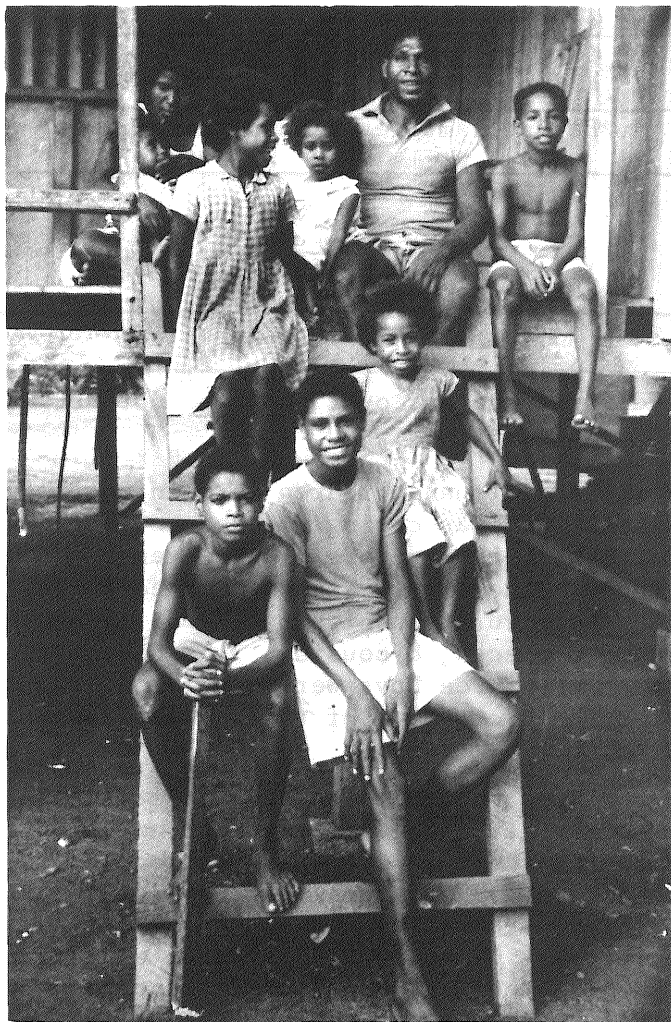
	Parent families		Guardian families		Total	
	boys	girls	boys	girls	boys	girls
0-4 years	3	1	-	-	3	1
5-9 "	7	2	2	2	9	4
10-14 "	5	1	23	3	28	4
15-19 " *	2	-	14	-	16	-
Total	17	4	39	5	56	9

* Persons of 15 years of age and over who were not attending school were classified as adults.

Nearly all of the additional children were in some way related to the guardian family who was caring for them. There was no significant difference in the numbers of children related through the husband and through the wife. With reference to one or other or both guardians, their relationships included: 15 brothers, 3 sisters, 26 nephews, 6 nieces, 8 cousins, 3 grandsons and 1 boy more distantly related. Three boys were unrelated: two came from the same district as one (or both) of their guardians and one from a different district.

The child's education and family responsibility were the two reasons most frequently given by families for caring for an additional child. More than half mentioned education: the child had reached the highest standard of school that was taught in the village, or the village school was thought to be of low standard. Family responsibility was cited nearly as often as education. Some children were orphans, others had lost one parent and the other was finding it difficult to look after the child. In two cases the child's father had been transferred to an area where the school taught only the lower standards. The importance attached to education is discussed in the following chapter (see pp.49-50).

The average length of time the additional children had lived with the guardian families was between one and two years for those in the 10-19 years age groups (range 1 month to 7 years) and less than one year for those in the 0-9 years age groups (range 2 months to 2 years). On an average the girls had lived with the guardian families for a shorter period of time than the boys; two families further indicated that the girl was staying with them only on a temporary basis and would soon be returning to her own parents. One case is instanced to show the extreme mobility of some additional children. A Kerema (Gulf District) man who married a Chuave (Eastern Highlands District) girl while he was working in the



A family group in the Papuan Settlement, Lae

highlands brought one of his wife's young cousins with him to Port Moresby. He was then transferred to an out-station so he left the child in the care of his brother who was already supporting a large household. There were frequent squabbles in that household, and the child (in the words of yet another guardian family) 'was not feeling well there so we asked him to stay here'. This all took place within six months.

There were two instances of an additional child being cared for by two families concurrently. One Sepik District child in Lae, whose father had remarried and was living elsewhere, was living in

a house that contained five families. He was a nephew (brother's son and sister's son respectively) in two families resident in the same dwelling. In Port Moresby there was a similar situation with a child from Kukipi (Gulf District) except that the two families were living some 200 yards apart. The child was the wife's brother in one family and a cousin (father's sister's son) in the other. In both instances the family which the child designated as his guardians at the time of the survey was interviewed.

The home environment

The selected areas in the three towns, which have been described in Chapter 2, varied considerably in their physical and social structure. In Port Moresby and Rabaul most of the interviewed families lived in dwellings occupied by one primary family, either on their own or with additional persons, while in Lae they lived in dwellings occupied by two or more primary families.¹ Usually

Table 23

Social composition of the dwellings where the interviewed families lived

	Port Moresby	Lae	Rabaul	Total
Number of dwellings containing:				
no family units*	-	-	2	2
incomplete ^φ primary family only	-	-	3	3
incomplete ^φ primary family with others	5	-	2	7
one primary family only	11	3	5	19
one primary family with others	26	8	10	44
two primary families only	5	6	2	13
two primary families with others	5	6	1	12
three primary families with others	-	3	-	3
four primary families only	-	1	-	1
four primary families with others	-	1	-	1
five primary families with others	-	1	-	1
Total	52	29	25	106

* Single men's quarters at the police barracks.

^φ The term 'incomplete primary family' refers to one parent or guardian and the child(ren) dependent on him/her. In this table it has been used only when it occupied a separate dwelling; when it shared a dwelling with another family its members were treated as additional to the basic unit.

¹ The primary or nuclear family (husband, wife and their own children) has been taken as the basic unit in determining the social composition of dwellings.

the families and any additional persons living in the dwelling were related. The social composition of the dwellings where the interviewed families lived is shown in Table 23. The 111 interviews were conducted at 106 dwellings as there were five instances in Lae where two interviewed families were living in the same dwelling.

The average number of persons per dwelling in Lae was correspondingly much higher than in Port Moresby and Rabaul. The numbers ranged from 4 to 23 (average 12) in Lae, from 3 to 13 (average 8) in Port Moresby, and from 2 to 11 (average 6) in Rabaul.

The head of the interviewed family was also head of household in 93 of the 111 instances. The name of a woman was at no time given as head of household, but in 7 of these 93 instances a woman was acting as head of household during the temporary absence of her husband. In the remaining 18 instances, the head of the interviewed family was related to the head of household in 11 dwellings and was unrelated in 5, while there was no head of household at the 2 single men's quarters where interviews were held.

In view of the linguistic ability of the interviewees (see pp.29-30) it is not surprising that most of the families said they used two or more languages within the home. Eight families said that they used four languages, 27 said that they used three languages, 58 that they used two languages, and only 18 said that they used one language all the time. The following table shows the number of languages used in the family circle.

Table 24

Numbers of languages used by family members
with one another

	One language	Two languages	Three or more languages
Husbands with their wives*	82	21	3
Fathers with their children	48	55	8
Mothers with their children*	73	30	3
Children with their siblings ^ø	45	43	12

* Not applicable in 5 families.

^ø Not applicable in 11 families.

Most of the men (77 per cent) used only one language with their wives, usually a village language. With the children, however, more than half of the men used two or more languages, usually a combination of a village language and one or more of the lingue franche (Police Motu, New Guinea Pidgin and English). A majority of the women used only the village language with their children.

With each other the children within a family most often used a combination of their village language and a lingua franca, while with other children outside their family circle the children used one or more lingue franche almost exclusively.

The official language, English, is the language of instruction in all recognized schools. Some families realized that a child had an advantage at school when some English was used in the home, and accordingly a large number of those who were able to speak even a limited amount of English used it at home from time to time. One schoolteacher and his wife used English exclusively within the home, and 38 other men and 8 other women said they sometimes used, or tried to use, some English with their children. Forty families gave English as one of the languages used by their own children among one another and in their contact with other children of the area.

In general, indigenous school children live in a home environment which does little to promote their progress in a European-based system of education. In 9 families, for example, neither parent had been to school, and in 13¹ neither claimed ability to read or write in any language. In addition to the fact that most of the families never used any English with their children, very little reading material was available in the home; few families had any books, other than stories from the Holy Scriptures and 'songs of praise' in the local language. Most of the families, however, were able to name a newspaper or a periodical which they saw at least occasionally. (Of course they may have done as two said they did - only looked at the pictures - or they may have seen them at work rather than at home.) There were radios in the homes of half of the interviewed families and, if observations made at the various times of interview are any indication, they were used a great deal. The following table shows the numbers of families who claimed readership of a newspaper or other periodical and who had a radio in working order.

Most of the 24 families who did not read newspapers would not have had the ability to do so. The relatively large number of families in this category in Rabaul, for example, lived mainly at the police barracks where there was a low average level of literacy. The three local newspapers, South Pacific Post, New Guinea Times-Courier and Nu Gini Toktok, were most frequently named. Other local language papers such as Iseda Sivarai, Gulf News and local mission publications were also named. Seventeen men who had access to publications at their place of employment or study mentioned reading

¹ These 13 families included 8 of the 9 families in which neither parent had been to school.

Table 25

Numbers of families using mass media of communication

	Port Moresby	Lae	Rabaul	Total
Newspapers and periodicals				
Read, seen or looked at	46	26	15	87
Did not read etc.	6	8	10	24
Radio				
One in the home	27	10	19	56
None in the home	25	24	6	55

overseas newspapers such as the Sydney Morning Herald or the Brisbane Courier Mail and other publications such as Time and Women's Weekly.¹

The proportion of homes with radios was by far the highest in Rabaul where there were two local stations (Australian Broadcasting Commission and Department of Information and Extension Services) and good reception. It was lowest in Lae where there was no local station and where reception from other centres was generally poor. Port Moresby offered the Australian Broadcasting Commission station only but reception was good.

The programmes named by the families showed a strong preference for local rather than Australian programmes. Most frequently listed were the news broadcasts (Territory news and news in simple English, Pidgin, Motu or the local language being stipulated in many instances), music programmes (Listeners' Choice easily topping the popularity poll) and instructive programmes in health, education and agriculture.

As regards basic facilities which would be conducive to reading or studying, the children at Hohola in Port Moresby and in the Rabaul areas were comparatively well off. The usual dwelling contained a living area and two or three other small rooms. Although there was little furniture, most of the homes had at least a table and a chair at which a child could do schoolwork. Electricity was available in these areas so study after dark was possible. Overcrowding in some of the dwellings doubtless caused distractions

¹ Among the more extensive reading lists were that of a teacher who included the South Pacific Post, Time, Pacific Islands Monthly, Sydney Morning Herald and Brisbane Courier Mail, and that of a radio announcer who included the Sydney Morning Herald, Readers' Digest, Signs of the Times (a Seventh-day Adventist publication), and Moral Re-Armament News. These families were exceptional and were among the few who had a supply of books and magazines in their home.

from study and would have made it almost impossible in the single room dwellings of the new section of Hohola.

The schoolchild at the Papuan Settlement in Lae was less fortunate. As the average number of persons per dwelling indicates, overcrowding was particularly acute there, and the size of the dwellings was not correspondingly larger, nor was practical use always made of the larger floor space. The most extreme example of cramped, inadequate accommodation was that in which five families (including 23 persons) had a shade-house living area and a small covered building for sleeping. There was little furniture in most of these houses, so any study had to be done on the floor or on a makeshift table and chair arrangement. Study after dark was difficult as none of the houses where interviews were held had electricity.

Chapter 6

Opinions and aspirations

Without exception the families considered schooling to be of prime importance and had faith that the schooling being provided in the towns was good and would make life better for their children. As one parent said: 'Education is the most important thing in the development of Papua and New Guinea - it is the key to everything.' Few, however, were sufficiently knowledgeable about the school system and employment requirements to be specific in expressing their opinions and aspirations in other than a very general way.

Some families said they had moved to the town because of the school opportunities. The statement of one father is illustrative. 'I want all of my children to go to school. It is no good if they know only Yabem [a Lutheran church language] well such as I do. The mission school is not enough. They must speak English. At the time all of my children have finished school and are working in good jobs I will go back to the village. I stay here where I do not have enough money just so they can go to school.' This was a case of a family from a village where the mission school provided only the lower standards being attracted by the reputedly better government schools in the town and the opportunity for schooling to a higher level.

In expressing a preference for type of schooling desired for their children, 53 per cent of the families specified government schooling only. In contrast mission schooling only was preferred by 11 per cent of the families. Some 22 per cent indicated a preference for mission schooling followed by government schooling, most often in order first to ensure the religious education of the child. The remaining families (14 per cent) said that they had no preference, with the exception of one who declined to respond. In Chapter 9, where school choices are discussed in some detail, it is pointed out that the preference for government schools may have been somewhat overstated due to the absence in the town areas of any actual choice between government and mission schools, except for Roman Catholics, and the fact that the concept of a hypothetical choice was difficult for some to comprehend.

To remain in the town sometimes meant hardship, particularly for parents with little or no education who could not compete for skilled employment. One father of seven children (five of whom were living at home) and guardian of another had had no formal schooling and was employed as an unskilled labourer on the minimum wage. He said that he stayed on in the town because the schools were good but that he had to spend almost everything he earned on food. He explained that if he worked outside the town for a 'master' he would be given food for all the family as well as some money and would be better off.

Although most families paid no school fees¹ and books and other school supplies were provided free, money was the most common problem to which the families referred in relation to their children's schooling. Frequently they spoke of school collections at times when they had no money and of their children's things not being as good as they should have been for school inspection.

It is probable that many families were unaware that the minimum age for employment was sixteen years and very few had experienced any loss of potential income by keeping a selected child in school since only six of the selected boys and one of the selected girls had reached that age. Nevertheless, there was widespread recognition that the more schooling a child had the greater would be his earning potential. Acknowledgement of this fact was reflected in the educational history of the older children in the families. As has been pointed out in Chapter 5, 60 per cent of the older boys were still attending school, and the majority of those who had left school and entered employment had completed the top class of primary school (see pp.39-40).

The importance placed on schooling was further emphasized by the 65 additional children living with the families at the time of the survey. 'It's good for education here, not like in the village' and 'The children get good learn here' were two of the reasons given for the presence of an additional child (see p.41). One father intimated that there might have been more additional children had there been more places in schools. 'If there are more schools and more teachers it will mean more children going to school. Now sometimes the children come here to school and the teachers say they haven't room and the children stay back in the village another year or two.' Although most guardians indicated that they assumed responsibility for feeding and clothing the additional children, few considered the extra expense to be a problem. Their attitude is summed up by the driver with five children of his own plus one

¹ Roman Catholic schools generally adjusted their fees to the family's income and in some instances did not require any fee.

additional child, and a fortnightly income of \$19, who said: 'It is hard. My money is not enough for all of us for good clothes and so on. I must spend it all on food. But he [the additional child] is as one of my own.' Gifts received from the home village from time to time contributed to reducing the expense for some families.

Despite the very evident concern about money all of the families, with the exception of two guardians, said that they would be willing to pay a fee to send their children to school if required. A number of Roman Catholic families were, in fact, paying fees of one and two shillings per week for each child. A few families qualified their willingness in terms of their ability to do so. Two responses are illustrative: 'I would send my children to school if I had to pay, but I am a native and get low money' and 'If there was a fee I could not send all of them'.

The reason given for the importance of schooling was often utilitarian - schooling was viewed as the means to a better standard of living. The statement of one father reflecting a confidence in education as an entrée to the European's world was typical. 'I want my children to get big pay - more money - the same as Europeans. At school they see and learn about European work.' Another said: 'If the children go to school they will get good jobs and will repay me.'

The families had no doubt that the schools were good and would fulfil their expectations. This confidence, however, was often based more on faith than on knowledge. The average interviewee had difficulty in specifying what useful things he felt the children were learning at school, in suggesting additions to the school curriculum, in expressing reasons for any preference for kind of teacher, and in naming a precise age or standard which he would like his children to reach before leaving school. The more precise opinions were expressed by the better educated interviewees. This group, which included eight teachers, shared the general confidence in the present schooling.

Accordingly, two of the questions requiring precise knowledge were unsatisfactory. 'What useful things are your children learning at school?' drew a response from only 62 families (or 52 per cent), of whom 44 named English which was seen as a necessary tool for effective participation in the Europeans' world. Other 'useful things' were arithmetic¹ named by 23 families, good behaviour and hygiene each by 6, religious instruction and European customs each by 5, science, technical and domestic subjects and drawing each by

¹ A pass in English and arithmetic at standard IX level was formerly a requirement for entry to the auxiliary division of the public service.

4, sport by 2 and how to think and singing each by 1 family. A response to the companion question 'What else should they be taught?' was attempted by only 10 families. Their suggestions included more instruction in religion, in the local handicrafts, and in the country's history and geography; practical lessons in agriculture, more technical training for boys and domestic science for girls; and more emphasis on good manners. Good behaviour and good manners were mentioned as very important by a number of families. One father who was sending his children to the government 'A' school commented on certain western customs which his children learned at school and which he considered good. These included washing hands before meals and knocking at the door before entering a room.

Nearly all of the families responded in general terms on the other questions of choice, even though many were unable to give reasons or elaborate upon their responses. For instance, 66 per cent of the families stated a preference for either a man or a woman teacher. In general women teachers were preferred for small children because they were more patient and explained things in a way which small children could easily understand, but there was a shift of preference to men teachers for older children because they maintained better discipline in class and were held in more respect. The families who did not express a preference usually said that both were equally good. As well as the few who did not respond, there were others who said that their preference would depend on the teacher's general ability and qualifications.

Nearly as many families (59 per cent) stated a preference for either an indigenous or a European teacher. Their recorded remarks (to an American and an Australian interviewer) showed a strong preference for the European teacher: 27 said that Europeans were better for both small and older children, 23 that they preferred a European teacher for small children but had no preference for older children, 7 that an indigenous teacher was better for small children and a European for older children, and the remaining 9 making a variety of other suggestions which included both Europeans and indigenes in different circumstances. The reasons most frequently expressed for the preference for Europeans were that they taught English better and that they used it all the time. 'What we learn is English and arithmetic and that comes from white people' was how one family expressed it. Others referred to the Europeans' wider knowledge, greater range of experience, better discipline, and ability to impart western customs and manners. Of the 45 families who did not make a choice, 40 said that both were equally good and 5 declined to respond. Again a few said it depended on the individual teacher.

Whereas all the families thought it desirable for children to go to school for as long as possible, only 50 per cent expressed a

precise age and 78 per cent named a standard which they thought appropriate for boys to reach before leaving school. Parents and guardians with little schooling tended to leave it to the school and the teachers to do what was best. 'The school will know when the child should leave' and 'The teacher knows when they're finished' were typical responses from this group. Other families set the limits in terms of the schooling opportunities or the capacity of the children. The most sophisticated comments came from two parents who were teachers, both of whom advocated one level of schooling as appropriate for all children and another for the more gifted. One reasoned: 'Boys start to pay tax at eighteen. They should leave school at seventeen so they can pay. But those who are brilliant can go on to a higher school.' And the other: 'For universal education standard VI is the level every boy should reach, because even now many employers are looking for boys with more than that. When a boy can do the work he should go on for his matriculation or whatever is the maximum at the time.' Standard IX (which can be equated with form II of secondary school) was the average response of the families who specified a standard they thought should be completed before a boy left school. The ages specified as being appropriate for the termination of schooling ranged from 13 to 25 years, with 18 years of age being the average.

As a preliminary to eliciting information on the activities of the town children who did not go to school, the families were asked whether all, or only some, of the children of the area were attending school. For the most part the replies of the families agreed with the information collected in the census-type inquiry that nearly all of the school-age children were attending school. Those who commented on children who were not in school observed that perhaps more girls than boys stayed at home and that they usually helped their mothers in the household. References were made to some boys leading their parents to believe that they went to school when they actually went into the bush or fishing. Some families were reluctant to comment on the activities of others, saying: 'It is something for the father and mother' and 'I can't look out for the children of other parents'.

The families were well aware that children who attended school irregularly, who were too old for the appropriate school standard, who were difficult at school or who did not apply themselves to their school work were often expelled. Although all of the families said that their children went willingly to school, it appeared that a few needed some encouragement from time to time. One parent, in fact, had once resorted to very severe measures to ensure school attendance.¹

¹ He said: 'Last year my son ran away into the bush when it was exam time. When he returned I told him to stand by the door and

Other families, particularly in Lae, showed concern about there not being enough places in schools to meet the demand, especially for older children. One pointed out, for example, that there were children in the Papuan Settlement who did not go to school because of the shortage of teachers. 'If older children don't work well or are too hard [difficult] for the teacher they are put out.' A teacher explained that of the group of children expelled from standard IV at the time of the survey only the younger ones were re-enrolled in standard III, the others being refused school enrolment. Action on the part of parents in two families had resulted in the reinstatement of expelled children.¹ These expulsions which occurred from time to time led parents to be apprehensive about their children being able to stay in school and no doubt contributed to the admonishments they recounted making to their children: 'I tell them to work and listen to the teacher' and 'I say no play every afternoon, but do your study'.

With regard to the problems of school space and attendance, a few of the more highly educated interviewees made specific recommendations. One parent, a teacher, felt that children of twelve years of age were too young to be sent to boarding schools and that the local schools should go to higher standards. This same parent also felt that there should be some additional training available for the child who finished standard VI with poor marks but was not old enough to be employed and therefore was often idle for an extended period. Another father expressed the same sort of concern when he said: 'There should be more good teachers. It is no good if a child fails an exam and cannot go back to school.'

Other problems mentioned by the families in sending their children to school were fairly individual in nature. Misconduct (such as misbehaviour at school or roaming the streets during the lunch hour), traffic along the route to school or transportation for a child who had to go some distance, cleanliness, and in one instance control of an adopted son were mentioned. One guardian was concerned that perhaps he would be forgotten later by the boy whom he was giving a good education.

(continued)

hold the post. I hit him with a leather strap until it broke and explained that always before I had punished him with words but this would be the last time I would say anything. He has been OK since.'

¹

In one instance the father had visited the District Education Office and obtained a second chance for his child, in the other the mother had visited the head teacher and the boy was taken back into a lower class.

The interviewees were also asked what sort of things they would like their children to do on leaving school. In most cases they made a ready response, a majority (86 per cent) naming one or more specific occupations for boys. In all, 26 occupations were included in their 247 occupation choices. The better educated interviewees tended to give a greater number (to a maximum of six) and variety of choices. The families were not asked to rank their choices and Table 26 presents a straight frequency distribution.¹ The occupational choices of the selected boys, which were recorded during the initial visits to the schools, are also listed in the table. Again 86 per cent of the boys made from one to three (maximum requested) specific choices of occupation, their 165 choices including 25 occupations.

The specific occupation choices made by both the interviewees and by the boys were, with few exceptions, realistic in terms of being feasible within the economic, political and commercial structure of the country even though they were often made without any real comprehension of the ability, training or application necessary for the particular occupation. As one would expect, the occupations most frequently chosen were ones with which the families were acquainted and which they knew could be followed by an indigenous worker.

Teacher, clerk, doctor, carpenter and mechanic comprised 73 per cent of the interviewees' choices. There were no significant differences between the choices of the parents and those of the guardians, or between the choices of interviewees in the three towns. Although the choices of children with an average age of 12.5 years (range 8-17 years) are possibly unreliable, the expressed occupational preferences of the boys were not unlike those of their parents and guardians. The five occupations named most frequently by the interviewees made up 69 per cent of the boys' choices. However, three occupations in particular - carpenter, mechanic and teacher - were favoured considerably more by the boys than were clerk and doctor. In general the boys' other preferences were also more favourable towards manipulation skills and the armed services than those of the interviewees who tended to place more emphasis on white collar employment.

The infrequent choice of certain high prestige western occupations such as lawyer and the popularity of the trades were features of both the interviewees' and boys' choices. This may be a

¹ There were no significant differences in the order of choices when they were weighted for order, and in view of the method in which the data were collected the straight frequency distribution is the more appropriate method of presentation.

Table 26

Frequency of the interviewees' choices of occupations for
boys and the selected boys' own choices

Occupation	Times named by interviewees*		Times named by selected boys ^ø	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Teacher	52	21.1	26	15.8
Clerk	41	16.6	10	6.1
Doctor	31	12.6	14	8.5
Carpenter	30	12.2	32	19.4
Mechanic	27	10.9	32	19.4
Pastor/priest	8	3.2	4	2.4
Plumber	7	2.8	1	.6
Policeman	5	2.0	6	3.6
Engineer	5	2.0	2	1.2
Storeman	5	2.0	2	1.2
Agricultural officer	5	2.0	1	.6
Patrol officer	4	1.6	1	.6
Posts and Telegraphs worker	4	1.6	1	.6
Lawyer	4	1.6	-	-
Driver	3	1.2	10	6.1
Welfare officer	3	1.2	-	-
Pilot	2	.8	5	3.0
Co-operative inspector	2	.8	1	.6
Operator	2	.8	1	.6
Farmer	1	.4	1	.6
Plantation owner	1	.4	1	.6
Bank teller	1	.4	-	-
Electrician	1	.4	-	-
Linesman	1	.4	-	-
Oil company worker	1	.4	-	-
Printer	1	.4	-	-
Navy	-	-	5	3.0
Army	-	-	4	2.4
Painter	-	-	2	1.2
Dentist	-	-	1	.6
Harbour master	-	-	1	.6
Police band	-	-	1	.6
Total	247		165	

* In 16 interviews no choice of occupation for boys was given.

^ø Fifteen of the boys made no occupation choice.

reflection of the occupations in which the men were engaged as well as the obvious practicality of being skilled in a trade. Furthermore, as was indicated in Table 16, the income of tradesmen compared favourably with that of men in other occupations. The trades also predominated in the 41 instances in which at least one occupation choice of the family and one of a selected child corresponded. Carpenter and mechanic, for example, were the most frequent common choices of both and accounted for 25 of the 41 instances. There were 17 instances in which a boy chose his father's or guardian's occupation. Carpenter was again the most frequent (in 10 instances). There were 26 instances (or 23 per cent) in which the interviewees' choice of occupation for boys was that of the father or guardian, most often carpenter (in 10 instances). Although a few preferences were expressed in the off-handed manner of one guardian who said a boy could be 'whatever he likes - linesman like me or whatever', the majority were given simply as acceptable forms of employment. A few were given in terms of a particular job desired for a particular child, such as: 'Mechanic for Ouke, teacher for Gogoro'.

When asked who should decide what a child would do when he left school, 75 families (or 68 per cent) were of the opinion that a particular person should make the decision; in 38 instances that it should be the child, in 18 the parents (or simply the father), in 16 the teacher (or the school) and in 3 the government. The others felt that it should be a decision made by more than one person; most often the child in collaboration with his parents, teacher, pastor or priest, or others. As was so often the case, the families with little or no formal education found difficulty in being specific and depended on the teacher or the school to decide what a child should do on leaving school. The apologetic attitude of some families was suggested in the comments: 'The school will tell a boy what to do because the mothers and father don't know' and 'What the white man thinks is good'. Others felt that the 'schools see the boy and know the jobs [available] so they should decide'. One family said the decision was 'something that belongs to the government, they pay for everything for the school'. Several families referred with confidence to the practice of the teacher giving the child a note to take to the prospective employer. This was expected to ensure good employment.

Chapter 7

Education and employment of girls

The 1962-3 Annual Report for Papua states (p.107): 'It has been difficult to persuade the native people to move from their traditionally conservative attitude towards the educational advancement of women and girls....' At a seminar held in 1960¹ several reasons for this reticence were enumerated. They included beliefs that women should be gardeners and providers in the home; that girls had greatest value as labourers and on the marriage market; that girls must be fostered and protected in the home circle until they reached marriageable age; that there was no profitable future in educating girls destined to marry; that girls in training or service away from home might contract an unacceptable alliance; that there might be trouble between male teachers and girl students; and that vocationally trained girls might not want to return to the village.

Although the development of educational facilities in the country reflected this reluctance towards the education of girls, it may also have contributed to it. While the earliest outstation schools welcomed girls in their classes, attendance at the higher level headstation schools involved living away from home for all but the local children. The few girls who attended the headstation schools were given some basic domestic training as well as school work, but overall in the period prior to the Second World War the attendance of girls at school beyond the lowest classes was minimal. Some discrimination in educational opportunities was still evident in the early post-war period. One of the teachers interviewed said that his wife (now about thirty years of age) left school after getting a very good pass in the standard V examination only because there were no higher schools for girls similar to those for boys.

The 1962-3 Annual Report for Papua, however, went on to say: 'But as indigenous women fill more and more positions as teachers, nurses, shop assistants and typists and otherwise take a more prominent part

¹ Seminar in conjunction with the Camilla Wedgwood Memorial Lecture entitled 'The Education of Women and Girls'. Territory of Papua and New Guinea 1960:28.

in social life, prejudice is gradually breaking down and the importance of education for women is being increasingly recognized.' Certainly this was the case among the urban families interviewed. Eighty-three per cent expressed the opinion that education was as important for girls as it was for boys. Some recognized that schooling could help girls in their traditional roles as wives and mothers as well as train them for employment. 'If a girl goes to school...when she marries she can take good care of the house, food and children; she can help her husband and children to do well.' One man, a teacher, observed: 'Boys with education want to marry girls with education; if they can't find them it is a source of problems.' Others associated the education of girls with the changes taking place in their way of life. 'Times are different now. When my girls are grown they will have to speak English and may have to work.' Still others viewed the education of girls with self-interest: 'If they are to help their parents, girls need to go to school.'

The families who said that education was not as important for girls as it was for boys were not actually opposed to schooling for girls but simply considered it less of a necessity. They reasoned that, since schooling costs money, those families who had to make a choice should send the boys. 'Girls can be educated, but afterwards they get married.' Only one man suggested that girls were inferior to boys. A few expressed no opinion on the basis of not having any daughters.

The 'Female Education' section of an earlier Papuan Annual Report (1954-5:66) drew attention to the transition in opinion: 'The number of girls attending schools increased considerably, reflecting the changing attitude of the Papuan people to the education of girls.' After describing the opening of a new boarding school for girls with 27 pupils and the addition of a new domestic science wing to an established school, the report announced that 8 young women from different parts of the country were being trained as teachers at an education centre. 'This is a marked advance as it is customary for girls to remain in their own area, if not in their own villages.'

For the urban families interviewed, some of the traditional concepts such as the role of women as gardeners and the reluctance of vocationally trained girls to return to the village had lost much of their meaning. Nevertheless, it appeared that some of the traditional restraints on education for girls persisted. Nearly half of the families who expressed the opinion that education was equally important for girls as for boys, for example, also felt that less schooling was desirable for girls. In particular, they held reservations about girls going to school beyond the age of puberty. Beyond concern about girls becoming pregnant, there were no problems mentioned as being peculiar to sending girls to school.

The idea of less schooling being necessary for girls was expressed in other ways. Whereas 56 of the additional children living with the interviewed families were boys, only 9 were girls. And whereas, on the average the families considered it desirable for boys to reach 18 years of age and/or form II before leaving school, they considered 16 years of age and/or standard VI sufficient for girls. School statistics show that although the numbers of boys and girls at the primary level of school have been rising steadily, the ratio of girls to boys has remained fairly constant at about 1:1.5 over the last ten years. Beyond the primary level, however, the marked increase in numbers of students has been accompanied by a fairly steady increase in the ratio of girls to boys, having been approximately 1:7 in 1954 and 1:3.5 in 1964. In the year of the survey the ratio of girls to boys at the preparatory level was 1:1.3, but by standard VI it was 1:2.3.¹

The employment of women in New Guinea is recent and not extensive, but like the education of women it is gaining acceptance. Although the Annual Reports for 1963-4 listed only 1,869 female employees in a labour force of 80,269 (or 2.3 per cent) this is a marked increase over the 553 in a force of 63,791 (or 0.9 per cent) reported in 1954.² With expanded education and employment opportunities for girls the increase is likely to be much greater in the future. In 1954 women were employed in only 9 different occupations while in 1964 the occupations in which women were employed numbered 31. Among the families interviewed, 97 (or 87 per cent) indicated approval of girls working. Disapproval was voiced by only 2 families; the other 12 expressed no opinion.

Approval of girls working was stated in different ways. Some families simply said yes, and went on to name occupations which they thought desirable. Others related the employment of women to the changing nature of their society. 'In town we stand only on money. If a girl doesn't work where will she find money?' and 'Girls must work and help their husbands in the European way'. The one man whose wife was in paid employment said: 'It is better than doing nothing.' Then there was the father with a vested interest in having his daughter train as a nurse so she could look after him when he was old!

As Table 27 shows, the 163 choices of occupations for girls made by the interviewees included 17 different occupations. These

¹ Based on school statistics in the Annual Reports of Papua and New Guinea, 1953-4 and 1963-4. The figures exclude technical training.

² P.A.R. and N.G.A.R. 1953-4 and 1963-4: Appendices XVII

choices were made by 77 families (or 69 per cent). Of the other 34 families, 16 offered an explanation for not making a specific choice.¹ Nine occupations were included in the 68 choices made by 37 of the 43 selected girls (or 86 per cent).

Table 27

Frequency of the interviewees' choices of occupations for girls and the selected girls' own choices

Occupation	Times named by interviewees*		Times named by selected girls ^ø	
	Number	Per-centage	Number	Per-centage
Nurse	45	27.6	17	25.0
Teacher	44	27.0	27	39.7
Clerk	30	18.4	9	13.2
Typist	10	6.1	5	7.4
Salesgirl	10	6.1	4	5.9
Welfare assistant	6	3.7	3	4.4
Doctor	4	2.5	-	-
Sewing	3	1.8	-	-
Cooking	2	1.2	-	-
Posts and Telegraphs worker	2	1.2	1	1.5
Stenographer	1	.6	1	1.5
Airline hostess	1	.6	-	-
Book-keeper	1	.6	-	-
Child care	1	.6	-	-
Dentist	1	.6	-	-
Domestic	1	.6	-	-
Mission	1	.6	-	-
Artist	-	-	1	1.5
Total	163		68	

* In 34 interviews no choice of occupation for girls was given.

^ø Six of the girls made no occupation choice.

Nursing, teaching and clerical work were the occupations named most frequently by both the interviewees and by the girls. The

¹ Five declined on the basis of not having any girls, 5 said to leave it to the child, 3 thought the teacher should decide, 2 said they would make a choice when their children were older, and 1 felt that girls should not work.

only notable difference was the girls' more frequent choice of teacher.¹ The interviewees' choices of occupations for girls did not differ significantly in the three towns. Beyond the fact that only a small proportion of the group with little or no formal schooling made choices, the education of the parents seemed to have little bearing on the number and variety of choices.

The employment history of the older girls in the families revealed that 9 of the 31 older sisters (or 29 per cent) had been or were employed. Among the five working at the time of the survey, two were teaching, two were minding children in European homes, and one was nursing. Of those who had previously worked, one had been a nurse, one a welfare assistant and two domestic workers. Eight of the older girls were still at school or were undergoing further training (see p.40).

¹ Teaching as a career for women was given further support by the many families who preferred women as teachers for small children and by those who said that men and women were equally good - see p.51.

Chapter 8

Family - school relations

The school teacher has long been regarded in village communities as a person of some prestige. After visiting some New Britain villages where there were primary 'T' schools, Fink wrote:

In every case, I was impressed by the way in which the native teachers were so thoroughly immersed within their own communities, they obviously belonged to the villages on an equal footing with the rest, and were thoroughly at home with the people. There was no evidence of any barrier between these teachers and other parents or children in the village. However inadequate some of them were as teachers, their close relation to the community gave them prestige and influence and the people respected their abilities to train and instruct the young. (Fink n.d.:3.)

She was describing the situation in villages where some of the first government schools were established and where the situation was similar to that in villages with long-established mission schools. The post-war development of towns, however, has created communities which encompass a variety of ethnic and linguistic backgrounds and present a way of life for which there is little local tradition. Town residents face new, often strange, living conditions and media of social intercourse. This chapter is concerned with the kind of relationships which the interviewed families maintained with the schools and the teachers in the three towns. The teachers themselves expressed the opinion that the degree to which school and teacher were an integral part of the community was one of the chief differences between teaching in the town and in a village.¹ When teaching in his own village a teacher is automatically a part of village activities. Even when he comes from a different district the villagers feel some responsibility for his accommodation and food and there is personal contact in the course of the everyday activities of gardening, hunting or fishing. These

¹ A subsequent New Guinea Research Bulletin will be devoted to the role of the teacher in the urban community.

traditional media of contact do not exist in the towns where there is a money economy and where the teacher does not necessarily live in that part of the town in which he is teaching.

The opportunities for family-teacher contact are more formal in the town than in the village. Participation in the community life of the town depends to a large extent on the interest and initiative of individuals rather than any traditional pattern, obligation or responsibility. Furthermore, many of the possible channels of contact have a sectional appeal. Membership in the town churches, for example, is made up primarily of persons from those parts of the country in which the particular mission has been active, and most of the welfare societies draw their members from the one district. Those organizations which endeavour to attract a cross-section of the community are often of western rather than indigenous origin and entail procedures which are unfamiliar to the indigenous participant. Sport and social activities organized on a community-wide basis provide more informal media of contact. The varied ethnic and linguistic backgrounds of the residents are deterrents to the development of any organization or activity with cross-sectional appeal.

Government schools promote Parents and Citizens (P & C) Associations, but the heterogeneous origins of the school population are often an obstacle to their success. Furthermore, since only the head teacher is obliged to attend P & C meetings they really only provide a means for him to establish contact with the parents. Sports days and end-of-school programmes or parties which are planned to incorporate parents provide somewhat less formal possibilities for establishing family-school contact. Most other contact depends on the initiative of the parent or the teacher to seek the other out.

Two prevailing practices of the Department of Education influence a government teacher's relationship with the community in which he is teaching. First, for reasons related to a teacher's development and teaching effectiveness it is a general, although not rigid, practice to transfer teachers every one or two years. Secondly, a government teacher is not likely to be posted to his home community until he has served some postings elsewhere. Shifting of staff by the missions was also very much evident in the selected areas.

The recency of educational opportunities in the country as a whole means that teachers tend to be young. The continual extension of opportunities encourages them to engage in correspondence study in order to qualify for added income or more senior appointments which are becoming available as indigenous teachers are appointed to positions previously held by expatriates. This pursuit of additional schooling- which is probably most intense in the towns where more facilities exist and where the value is more obvious - also

reduces the time available to the teachers for involvement in the life of the community in which they teach. Furthermore, the youthfulness of many teachers makes it difficult for them to assume leadership outside their position as teachers. It is perhaps even more uncommon for a woman to assume leadership in a society which traditionally invests the male with this function.

The selected areas of Lae and Port Moresby, which have been described in Chapter 2, had many similar features. Both had a government and a Roman Catholic school in, or immediately adjacent to, the area. The P & C Association of the government schools in each area had held one meeting in the year of the survey, thereby providing a recent opportunity for parents to visit the schools. Church services were held every Sunday at the Roman Catholic schools. Beyond these functions, however, the schools did not appear to serve any other community groups as the locale for meetings, film showings, adult education classes or other activities. Instead, community functions were held at either the Papua Ekalesia church or the local government council building near the Papuan Settlement and at the welfare centre in Hohola. Both areas did have one community-wide organization - the Hohola Progress Association in Port Moresby and the Papuan Settlement Society in Lae - which was concerned with local community affairs, including education (see pp.13 and 15).

There were indigenous teachers on the staff of both schools in Lae and Port Moresby, but in all cases the upper standards, which included the selected children, were taught by expatriates. None of the indigenous teachers had completed two years of teaching in the area. Four of the five indigenous teachers at the government school in the Papuan Settlement in Lae were married (one wife was absent) and living in the area; two had also lived there the previous year when they taught at a nearby school attended by Settlement children prior to the establishment of the new school. The two indigenous teachers at the mission school had both taught at the school the previous year but only one was married and living in the Settlement. At Hohola in Port Moresby, four of the five indigenous teachers at the government school were married and living in the area. Only two (including a single girl living elsewhere) had taught there the previous year. Neither of the two indigenous teachers at the new Roman Catholic school lived in the area. The average age of the indigenous teachers at the Hohola schools was higher than that of teachers at the Papuan Settlement schools (29.1 and 23.6 years respectively). This was more marked among the government teachers where the averages were 32.4 and 24.9 years respectively. It is likely that older, more experienced teachers had been selected for the Hohola school because it was a demonstration school for the Port Moresby Teachers' College. There were five other teachers living in Hohola: one was teaching at Idubada Technical School while the others were attending senior officers' courses at the Port Moresby

Teachers' College or matriculation courses at the Administrative College.

In these two town areas it was found that all but a few of the parents and guardians (six in Lae and eight in Port Moresby) had visited their children's school at some time - although the occasion may have been a considerable time in the past and a different school. The few who had not visited the school were mainly guardians who had no children of their own in school. Most of the visits had been for P & C meetings (the inaugural meeting at the Papuan Settlement school had attracted nearly half of the interviewed families who had a child attending school there) or end-of-the-year functions. Several families in the Papuan Settlement mentioned having cut grass or otherwise assisted with the opening of the new government school and two said they had done work for the Roman Catholic school. By comparison, the Hohola families had performed considerably more volunteer work for the school; there, 30 families (or 58.5 per cent) described work - such as ground clearing, pouring concrete, carpentry and sewing - which they had performed for the school. The two pre-school associations in Hohola were comparatively vigorous and in several instances the work had been done for one of these. Fourteen families specifically mentioned assisting in the construction of the Hohola school. Commonwealth Department of Works employees living in Hohola at the time appeared to have been encouraged to volunteer their services.

Personal contact between families and teachers in the school context, however, was minimal. Most families (parents who were teachers excepted) did not know by name or sight the teacher of their selected child. (This group was augmented by families who had been guardians for less than a year and by families whose selected child was at boarding school.) One explanation of the minimal contact between families and teachers was the practice of seeing the head teacher rather than the child's own teacher about school matters. Furthermore, the teachers of the selected children were expatriates and unless the teacher made the first overture or the family had a concrete problem to discuss, the likelihood of any contact was very slight. There was one parent in the Papuan Settlement who said he knew well the Father who was teaching his child at the mission school and two who knew well the indigenous teacher who had taught their children the previous year at the mission school. In Hohola there were two families who said they knew well the selected child's teacher and five who had known well the teacher the previous year, in all instances expatriate teachers at the government school. Another eleven families in the Papuan Settlement and fifteen in Hohola knew the child's teacher at the time of the survey or in the previous year slightly.

Consultation by parents with teachers about their children was also infrequent. Only 11 Lae families (or 32 per cent) and 16 Port

Moresby families (or 31 per cent) recalled occasions during the course of their selected child's school career when they had talked with a teacher - and this was usually with the head teacher. Topics of recalled conversations included enrolment, transfer of schools, absenteeism, misbehaviour, the school savings programme and one about organizing men to clear the school grounds.

These encounters with individual teachers were mostly at the initiative of parents who called at the school (see p.53). On rare occasions a parent had been requested to come to the school and in a very few instances a teacher had visited the home. Three of the Lae families recalled being visited by the Father from the mission school to talk about their children. One of these families explained that the Father 'talked about washing the child and cleaning his teeth before sending him to school'. Five Port Moresby families recounted visits by a teacher concerning their school-age children: two about absences, two about misbehaviour, and one by a mission Sister who came to remind the family of school after a holiday break. Numerous social visits by teachers who were relatives, friends or neighbours were recalled but they were totally unrelated to children in school. Illustrative is the teacher who visited a family from his home district to get betel nut.

Interviewing in Rabaul was conducted in three discrete areas rather than one and the school situation in relation to the selected areas was quite different from that in Lae and Port Moresby. As stated in Chapter 2, there was no school serving any one of the selected areas in particular, but rather one government and one Roman Catholic primary 'T' school served the whole town. Both schools were centrally located and, unlike the schools in the Papuan Settlement and Hohola, had indigenous staff teaching the upper standards. The only expatriate staff were the head teacher and one married woman of mixed race at the government school and a part-time supervisor at the Roman Catholic school. There were two Methodist mission teachers on the staff of the government school.

There were no community organizations in the selected areas of Rabaul comparable with the Papuan Settlement Society or the Hohola Progress Association. Both schools, however, featured more in the community life of the town. The government school was located in buildings of the Methodist Mission which were also used extensively by several protestant mission groups for church services, meetings and youth fellowship activities. There had been no P & C Association meeting that year at the government school. During the course of the survey a sports day was held to which parents were invited, but since it was held mid-week it excluded men at work. The Roman Catholic school was part of a complex of mission buildings which included a church, primary 'A' and 'T' schools, a social hall, a sports ground and staff quarters. The primary 'T' school was used for adult education classes on several nights a week.

Two of the eight teachers at the government school had come to live at the main government compound in 1964 when they were posted to the town school. No other teacher at either of the local town schools was living in a selected area, although four of the six teachers at the Roman Catholic school were living in single men's quarters at the mission centre which was in close proximity to the main government compound. A government teacher who had been teaching at Matupit village outside Rabaul had been living at the Rapindik extension of the government compound for several years. At the time of the survey he was working temporarily in the District Education Office in town. Obviously, there were no teachers living at the police barracks where twelve (or 48 per cent) of the families lived.

Both Rabaul schools had been in operation for at least five years and four of the eight teachers at the government school were in their third (or more) year of teaching at the school - longer than any teacher had taught at a Papuan Settlement or Hohola school. A married Tolai woman who lived in a nearby village was in her fifth year of teaching at the school; the other three were men, one a local Tolai who commuted daily from his village, one an outstanding athlete who used facilities in the town for training, and one a Methodist mission teacher. The other four teachers were in their first year of teaching at the school. The Roman Catholic school did not have a similar record of continuity of staff because a recent reorganization of mission schools in the area had involved considerable shifting of staff and only one of the six teachers had been at the school for a year previously. The average age of 23.4 years of the Rabaul teachers was comparable with that of the Lae teachers.

The small number of families interviewed in Rabaul reduces the significance of the findings, but it is nevertheless interesting to note the influence which different school and community features had on family contact. The geographic location of the schools outside the selected areas and the fact that no P & C Association meeting had been held at the government school may explain why less than half of the families had visited the school. Furthermore, the fact that the longer-established schools did not require as much volunteer assistance may well explain why only four families recalled having worked for the school.

The degree of parents' consultation with teachers about their children was as slight in Rabaul as in Lae and Port Moresby. Only six families recalled having ever talked with the selected child's teacher about the child. The reasons for these conversations were much the same as in the other towns. Only three families recalled a teacher having visited them at home. Asked the reason for the visit, one family said that it was to talk about sport, another to discuss world affairs and a third to have a meal. However, the proportion of families (excepting parents who were teachers) who

knew the selected child's teacher - at least by name or sight - was higher than in the other towns. This may have been because the teachers were indigenous and had taught at the school for a longer average length of time. Of the 25 families, 3 knew well and 12 knew to greet or recognize the selected child's teacher in either the year of survey or the previous year. Most of the families who had virtually no contact with the school lived in the police barracks, several were in fact new guardian families with no children of their own in school.

It may be concluded, then, that the urban environment, the geographic location of the school, the opportunities for participation in community and school activities, the location of the teacher's dwelling, and certain characteristics of the teacher influenced family contact with schools and teachers in the town setting. There was, for example, slightly more contact with the school when it was located in the area where the people lived. There was little or no contact between families and teachers unless the teacher lived in the area or had been teaching at the school for some time. And as will be seen in the following discussion, contact between families and teachers was most frequent when both came from the same home district.

By selecting families whose children had attended school for several years, the design of the survey may have produced findings biased in the direction of more school contact than might be general in the urban environment. The pronounced lack of contact among these families therefore may be considered a general characteristic of the town setting. Comments by indigenous teachers in the selected areas also substantiated this finding: 'I know well only one parent who lives nearby'; 'I only talk to parents I knew before'; 'I knew all the parents in the village, the children helped me, it was their custom to look after teachers'; and 'In the village parents had more interest in the school, there was greater participation by parents and the school was a social centre'.

This situation notwithstanding, it was observed that under certain circumstances - i.e., when a teacher lived in proximity to the residents, had a home district in common with a sizeable proportion of them and participated in community activities - the teacher would become known. Although a teacher did not hold an exalted position by virtue of being a teacher, as may have been the case in some villages, one indigenous teacher in each of the selected areas had established fairly extensive 'extra-school' associations.

In each area one government teacher was known by substantially more of the interviewed families than any other teacher. In each case his recognition did not seem to be derived from the children

he taught but rather to be based on his age, where he lived, his home district and what he did outside the school. All three men were older (average age of 39 years), married and had lived in the area for longer than one year. Two had a home district in common with the largest number of residents and each was involved in local community activities.

In Lae the best known teacher was from the Gulf District which had the greatest representation among the families. Although he held no elected position he regularly attended the Papua Ekalesia church and Papuan Settlement Society meetings, and in addition to conducting an election-education meeting in the Settlement prior to the House of Assembly elections he worked at the election booth in the Settlement on polling day. He was also familiar to residents because he frequently relaxed by sitting under a guava tree in the yard of his home close to the school and at an intersection of movement in the area. But this teacher substantiated the general nature of the teacher-parent relationship when he said he knew the parents of only seven of the forty-five children in his class and six of these because they spoke his language. He said he had not talked with any of the parents about their children.

The teacher best known to the Port Moresby families came from Rigo Sub-district which is contiguous to Port Moresby Sub-district and is one widely represented among the Hohola families. He was a deacon of the Papua Ekalesia church and a former president of the pre-school association. He and his wife had taken a prominent part in an effective Red Cross appeal and he had been active in the Hohola Progress Association. Some of the families knew of his appointment to the Port Moresby Town Advisory Council. This teacher also said he had little contact with families through the school or his job as a teacher. He knew six or seven parents of the twenty-nine pupils in his class, but said that the parents might talk with him if a child was ill or if the family was going on leave. He had visited some families as president of the pre-school association.

Despite the fact that he had not taught at either school, the teacher most frequently known by the Rabaul families was the government teacher who had lived for six years at Rapindik and was temporarily working in the District Education Office. He was very active in community affairs being a leader in sports, active in the Native Workers' Association, a member of the Town Advisory Council, a local government councillor and a person invariably called upon by administrative agencies to express the opinion of the indigenous community or to serve as a liaison between indigenous groups and the government. This teacher was living in his home sub-district which may have contributed to his importance, but it is doubtful whether this fact held much relevance among the interviewees who came from so many different home districts.

Other teachers who were fairly well known were in somewhat similar circumstances. One was a young mission teacher in Lae who also came from the Gulf District, was married, had lived in the area for more than one year and took part in the activities of the Papuan Settlement Society and of his church. Two other married men in their thirties who were living in Hohola were quite frequently named by the Port Moresby families. One was from Rigo Sub-district and the other married to a Rigo woman. Both were active in church matters and participated in community activities - one as president of the pre-school association and the other in sport. The only unmarried teacher who was known by a fair number of interviewees was a young man in Rabaul who did not live in a selected area but who had taught at the government school for three years and was one of the country's outstanding athletes.

In general the younger unmarried teacher who did not live in the area where he taught, was new to the school, and had no link with the residents of the area in out-of-school activities was very likely to go unnoticed. Furthermore, he was often engaged in correspondence study.

The analysis of school and teacher contact by the interviewed families revealed certain other features of the town setting. Although the town community did not accord a teacher the same role as did the village, he had not lost all of his prestige as a person with influence. Sixty-one families (or 55 per cent) said that if they had a problem concerning their children they would talk with the teacher or the teacher in conjunction with others. Evidence suggests, however, that either problems did not often arise or parents were unaware of them. There were 33 families who named the teacher, or the teacher in conjunction with others, as the person who should decide a child's career (see p.56).

In enumerating teachers known to them, only 19 families (or 17 per cent) mentioned expatriate teachers, and they were not usually considered to be known well. In eight instances the expatriates mentioned were teachers at Roman Catholic, Anglican or Salvation Army mission schools.

There were five families who had a selected child attending a primary 'A' school. The contact of these families with the school and teachers was not substantially more than that of parents with children at the 'T' schools. Two, for example, had not known the child's teacher in either the year of the survey or the previous year. The recalled conversation of one parent with the teacher about the expense of special sports day uniforms did reflect the additional burden assumed by these parents.

No parent with no formal education knew a teacher well, but otherwise the education of the parents and guardians seemed to have little influence on whether or not they knew the selected child's

teacher. While the government schools offered some opportunity for parental participation in the P & C Association, the mission teachers appeared to make more of an attempt to establish contact by home visits or at Sunday church services. Family-school contact was so minimal, however, that no substantial differences were found between that with government and that with mission schools.

Chapter 9

Attitudes towards the missions

Since the religious missions introduced education into the country and still provide the bulk of primary schooling, and since most of the interviewees had received all their schooling from the missions, this chapter discusses mission schooling as it pertained to the interviewed families and their children.

A portion of the interview was designed to find out whether the families had any preference for mission or government schools. As was stated in Chapter 6, 53 per cent of the families favoured government schooling only and 22 per cent favoured attendance at mission schools followed by government schools. Only 11 per cent of the families favoured mission schooling. Of the remainder, 13 per cent said they had no preference and 1 declined to respond. The significance of this finding is increased when correlated with the interviewees' mission allegiance, their evaluation of their own schooling, and the actual placement of their children in schools. The latter, of course, was to a large extent determined by the immediate availability of schools.

The Roman Catholics alone had a de facto choice of school, however limited it may have been by mission pressure. Initially adherents of other missions tended to respond in terms of what existed. 'There is no mission school here so I send them to the government school.' By rephrasing the question in terms of the hypothetical 'Suppose there were two schools here, side by side, one a government school and one a mission school, to which would you prefer (like more better) to send your children?', a concrete response was usually elicited. Any choice made by these families unfortunately involved a comparison of village mission schools as they were a generation ago with government schools in the town at the time of the survey.

In general the interviewees felt that they had not had enough education, had not been taught enough English, and had spent too large a part of each day doing odd jobs for the mission. The degree of their satisfaction increased considerably with the amount of their schooling; and, although their overall evaluation was low, they often added that these schools had helped them in learning

'how to live' and in teaching them 'talk belong God'. Naturally the schooling provided by different missions was evaluated somewhat differently.

Most of the families, while rating their own mission education as low and expressing the opinion that government schools were better, were not only uncritical of the missions but were also appreciative of what they had received as being good 'for those times'. One parent who was a deacon in the Papua Ekalesia, however, was openly critical.

Every mission has let down our people ever since 1874 by finishing off the education early. The mission schools never gave a good education or taught us how to run our country. The children do all the jobs at the mission schools, we are kind to the mission people and they don't do anything for us.... We pay from our pocket money every week, native pastors get very little, where the [mission] grant from Australia goes I don't know. The mission has been treating us like slaves for years and years.

This man's stated views were exceptional, but they are recorded here as an exaggeration of what is possibly a latent, generally unvoiced criticism that may have a more general application to all missions. They also suggest that a thorough examination of attitudes towards the missions in urban areas would be worthwhile.

Furthermore, the questions in the interview on who should choose a child's career, who should teach a child how to behave and who would be seen if the family had some worry about a child at school, revealed that the missions are not generally approached about these matters.¹ Of the 111 families, only 4 mentioned the mission in regard to choice of career; 9 in regard to behaviour; and 10 in regard to a worry. No Methodist family mentioned the mission in any of these responses; the Roman Catholics, Anglicans and Lutherans appeared to show the most reliance on the mission, but the degree of reliance was below 15 per cent in any one denomination.

It should be noted that the religious affiliation of the interviewed families is in no way indicative of the size of each mission throughout the country.² In Hohola the families were fairly typical of the Port Moresby urban community; 67 per cent of those interviewed belonged to the Papua Ekalesia, while in the 1961 population count of the town's indigenous population 64 per cent belonged to this church (Bettison 1964:35). Due to the geographical distribution of the missions in the country, however, the selection of the Papuan

¹ Other replies to these questions are included in Chapters 6 and 8.

² P.A.R. 1963-4:264-5 and N.G.A.R. 1963-4:306-7.

Settlement in Lae - a migrant community - favoured the Papua Ekalesia and the Roman Catholics in numbers rather than the Lutherans who have the largest mission in the Lae area. Likewise there was a smaller representation of Methodist families in Rabaul, where the Methodist mission has been prominent, than would be the case with random sampling. Further to the individual religious affiliations of interviewees indicated in Table 11, the following table has been drawn to show the religious affiliation by family. To classify families by mission, the religion given for the male and female interviewee and for their children, the interviewees' statement on church attendance (see Appendix C) and the selected child's statement as to religion (see Appendix A) were considered. Details of families with mixed¹ and transferred mission allegiance are given in Appendix F.

Table 28

Numbers of interviewed families with particular
religious affiliation by town

	Port Moresby	Lae	Rabaul	Total
Papua Ekalesia	35	16	4	55
Roman Catholic	7	9	9	25
Methodist	3	-	7	10
Lutheran	-	5	1	6
Anglican	4	-	2	6
Seventh-day Adventist	3	2	1	6
Jehovah's Witness	-	1	-	1
Baha'i Faith	-	-	1	1
No religion	-	1	-	1
Total	52	34	25	111

For the remainder of this chapter an attempt has been made to analyze the opinions and practices in relation to the individual missions.

Papua Ekalesia

The administrative organization of the London Missionary Society in Papua was steadily developed until in 1962 it became an independent

¹ The variety of mission allegiance which could (and did) occur within a dwelling is illustrated by one house in Hohola whose thirteen residents, comprising two primary families, included adherents to the Papua Ekalesia, the Roman Catholic and Anglican missions, and the Jehovah's Witnesses.

church under the title of the Papua Ekalesia. This was the culmination of work begun in 1874 with the arrival of the first missionary who had been preceded by a group of Samoan teachers. In order to further its religious objectives, the London Missionary Society established schools which aimed at teaching literacy in a vernacular, with English being taught as a subject. In the late 1950s, when government schools were being established side by side with mission schools, the London Missionary Society, in order to make the best use of the resources available, reduced its education commitments in areas where the government had opened schools. Accordingly there were no mission schools in Port Moresby at the time of the survey although the mission was conducting 267 schools elsewhere in Papua.

The 55 families (nearly half of those interviewed) who belonged to the Papua Ekalesia rated their own schooling lower than the average. They frequently mentioned that they had not learned enough English at school and that they had spent their time doing odd jobs for the mission rather than school work.

In 21 of these families the children had attended only government schools, while in the remaining 34 they had experienced both government and mission schooling. Those who had attended London Missionary Society schools had done so in the home village, at a nearby mission station or in Port Moresby before the town schools were closed. In addition to the children who had attended London Missionary Society schools, one or more children in 10 families had been to Roman Catholic schools, in 4 to the Salvation Army school in Port Moresby and in 1 to a Seventh-day Adventist school.

In order to discuss their choice of school in a conversational manner, the families were asked about their church attendance and the location of the nearest mission school. Nearly half of the families in Port Moresby were unaware that the mission had closed its schools there. A few families, however, went to some length to explain that there used to be some mission schools in the town but there were none now, while others made no further comment than that there was none nearby. This lack of exact knowledge of their mission schools is understandable, but when it is coupled with a drift away from their own mission to another (see Appendix F) and the fact that they did not claim as regular church attendance as did followers of other religious groups, it is indicative that the Papua Ekalesia lacked the discipline over its members of some of the other missions.

A majority of the families said they preferred government schooling only for their children. Their choice of school was as follows:

- 36 favoured government schooling only
- 1 favoured mission schooling only
- 11 favoured children starting at a mission school and later transferring to a government school

6 had no preference
1 declined to respond.

The two main reasons given for the preference for government schools were that they provided the children with a better, wider education, and that they taught English from the start while the missions often used a vernacular. Families stated that the government schools brought children to a higher standard, provided more practical training, and sent children on scholarship to Australia; that they had better teachers and a better method of teaching; that people who had been to government schools got better jobs and were thus able to do more important work and to help their country more; that children learned more quickly at government schools; and that there was more discipline at government schools, with a better attempt to control absenteeism and to instruct children in the practical matter of cleanliness. In criticism of the mission schools they mentioned, apart from teaching in a vernacular, that they taught only the lower standards, were short of teachers, and sometimes the pastors who were in charge of the schools could teach only Bible stories. One parent said that education was a full-time job of the government teacher but was only one aspect of the missionary's.

The 11 families who preferred children to start at a mission school and then transfer to a government school came predominantly from the two more highly educated groups. The majority said that children should go first to a mission school to learn their religion while they were young. Four families mentioned specifically that it was better for children to learn first in their own language and be taught English as a subject as it was too difficult for them to go straight to a government school where English was used exclusively. To some degree these families were in disagreement with government policy on the use of English at all levels. They advocated a transfer to a government school at some higher level as they considered the government schools better for older children, stating reasons similar to those families who preferred government schooling only.

The reasoning of the six families who said they had no preference for type of school showed varying degrees of sophistication. Some were content to leave the choice of school to the children themselves. One man who had three children at the government school sent one to the Roman Catholic school because one of the sisters there was 'a very good teacher'. Another man, who had four children at government schools, said he would like to put a good child in a mission school to be shown the good life so he could show others, while the naughty ones could go to the government school. The most sophisticated reply was made by a young guardian from the most highly educated group: 'One cannot say categorically - it depends on which is providing the better education at the place and time.'

Two mission pastors, both parents of children who had started their schooling with the mission and were at the time of the survey attending government schools, were among this group of families. One was the sole advocate of mission schooling, the other declined to give a response because he was a pastor.

Roman Catholic mission

The Roman Catholic mission, which also established its first schools towards the end of the nineteenth century, is now the largest mission in the country and maintains the largest number of mission schools. In 1964 there were 138 schools in Papua and 1,324 in New Guinea conducted by ten different orders.¹ Each order conducts its educational activities autonomously, although all adhere to the universal policy of a Catholic education in Catholic schools for all Catholic children² wherever possible. To this end they provide schools in urban areas irrespective of the presence of government schools, and alone of the families interviewed a majority of the Roman Catholics said they preferred mission schooling for their children. In the words of one parent: 'This is according to our faith: it is our obligation to send our children to the Catholic school to get the faith.'

These parents' general rating of their own schooling with the mission was fair to good, being somewhat higher than the average rating of Papua Ekalesia adherents. A factor which contributed to this more favourable evaluation was that more English was taught at Catholic schools in the pre-war period.

The 25 Roman Catholic families all knew the location of the nearest mission school and had sent at least one of their children to attend a mission school at some stage. Seven families had sent all their children to mission schools only, and 18 families had sent theirs to both mission and government schools. The only instance of a Roman Catholic family using the education services of another mission was one in which a few members maintained allegiance to the Anglican mission and in which the older children had gone to Anglican mission schools (see Appendix F).

An analysis of the preferences of the 25 Roman Catholic families for government or mission schooling for their children revealed that:

- 8 favoured mission schooling only
- 2 favoured government schooling only

¹ The Divine Word, Holy Ghost, Holy Trinity, Most Sacred Heart of Jesus, Capuchin, Franciscan, Marist and Montford missions, and the Marionhill and Passionist Fathers.

² Pius 1929:38.

- 10 favoured children starting at a mission school and later transferring to a government school
- 5 had no preference.

Parents who chose mission schooling only for their children did so either because they wanted their children to receive religious instruction in the faith or because the mission said that it was right for all Catholic children to go to the mission's schools. 'The mission calls me - I answer' and 'I belong to the mission so I send my children there to the mission' were responses typical of their generally uncritical attitude. The two families who preferred government schooling only for their children said they did so because the government schools taught higher standards than the mission schools.

The most illuminating group of responses was that of the families who advocated a transfer from a mission school to a government school at some higher level, after the child had been instructed in the religious faith. Two families said that children should continue at the mission school until they completed the top class there and then the mission would send them to a government school. (This was in fact the practice in Lae where the highest class at St Martin de Porres school was standard V and children at standard VI level were sent to the government boarding school at Dregerhafen.) One family said that a child could go to any school when he was old enough to know his religion, another that it was up to the child to transfer to a government school if he wanted to. Five families thought government schools better for older children, using reasoning similar to that of adherents of the Papua Ekalesia. One family had a different view for boys and for girls: they were happy to leave their daughters with the mission but they wanted their sons to go to the government school to get a good education.

In all the families who said they had no preference as both kinds of school were good, both parents had either not been to school or had received a minimum of schooling. But even among these families the authority of the mission was recognized. One family who had three children attending the mission school and two attending the government school explained: 'The mission doesn't mind - I have plenty going to the mission.'

Methodist mission

The Methodist mission established its first stations on the small islands off the eastern coast of Papua and on the Duke of York islands near New Britain, and as early as 1880 recommended 'that increased attention be paid to our schools'.¹ The Methodist mission was conducting 98 schools in Papua and 133 in New Guinea in 1964.

¹ Journal Resolutions, quoted in Lewis n.d.:2.

In Rabaul the government school was situated at the Torch Bearer Center of the Methodist Mission, and there were two mission teachers on the staff of the school working alongside the government teachers. All the Methodist families who were sending their children to this school knew that it was a government school in spite of its location.

There were too few Methodist families to warrant much generalization, but their evaluation of their own education was slightly higher than the average. Their average level of education was also higher although not limited to mission education; half of the male interviewees had attended government schools in the New Britain and New Ireland Districts (among the few established before the war).

Of the 10 Methodist families, 3 had sent all their children to government schools only and 7 had sent theirs to mission and government schools. In three families one or more children had formerly attended a Roman Catholic mission school, and one family had previously sent two children to the Salvation Army school in Port Moresby.

The preferences of the families for mission or government schooling for their children were:

- 7 favoured government schooling only
- 2 favoured children starting at a mission school and later transferring to a government school
- 1 had no preference.

The reasons for choice of school were basically the same as those given by the Papua Ekalesia families. Again they mentioned the broader education, the better teachers, the provision of higher standards, and the utilitarian advantages of children getting good jobs and good money when they left school. Those who preferred mission schooling for very young children again mentioned the need to learn about their religion and to learn to read and write first in their own language. (One family, however, criticized the mission for teaching in the vernacular.) The family who gave no preference left the matter to the child - if he ran away from one school he could go to the other.

Lutheran mission

The first Lutheran missionaries arrived in the Finschhafen area of mainland New Guinea in 1886, and in order to inform the people thoroughly on the teachings of the church, schools were established almost immediately (Frerichs 1957:147). The mission taught through certain 'church' vernaculars and still holds the view that a vernacular is a necessary medium for teaching religion. In 1964 the Lutherans¹ were conducting 744 schools in New Guinea and 4 schools in Papua.

¹ Includes the Australian, Missouri Synod and New Guinea Lutherans.

The level of education of the six Lutheran families was below the average; their evaluations of their schooling were fair, two interviewees mentioning that when the war came they ran away. But again the number of families is too small to draw any general conclusions. All claimed to be regular church attenders, and observation of the Lutheran Mission in operation confirms that they probably were.

All the families had sent children to both government and mission schools, but in one family, where both parents were in the lowest education category, two girls (aged 6 and 12 years) had never gone to school - the only instance of this occurrence.

The families' choices of school for their children were:

- 5 favoured government schooling only
- 1 gave no preference.

Government schooling was preferred because of the wider education, the instruction in English, and the continuity of schooling. Two of the families, however, referred to the need for a child to learn about his religion at Sunday School or at home in the evenings.

Anglican mission

The first missionaries of the Anglican Communion arrived in the Milne Bay District of Papua in 1891 and schools were opened soon afterwards. The early schools were mainly concerned with teaching the people the Christian way of life, but right from the beginning the mission taught a fair amount of English in its schools. There were 114 Anglican mission schools in Papua and 36 in New Guinea in 1964.

Although its activities in the main have been concentrated in the villages, the mission has one school in Port Moresby in order to make provision for Anglican children whose parents work in the town. It was attended by the children in three Anglican families living in Hohola, and in these three families all the children had attended mission schools only. The children in the other three Anglican families had all attended government schools only.

The six families - again too few in number to provide any generalizations - had an above-average level of education which they also evaluated somewhat higher, a contributing factor being the use of English in the schools before the war. The family preferences for mission or government school were:

- 3 favoured government schooling only
- 2 favoured mission schooling only
- 1 had no preference.

Better and wider education and the teaching of English, with the additional point that government schools had more supplies and better

equipment, were again mentioned by those who chose government schools. Mission schooling was selected by two families because of the need to learn about God and the Bible; and one continued: 'The father always tells me to send them to the mission school and not to the government school, he says all Anglican boys should go to the mission school.' This man accepted the advice: his five school-age children were attending Anglican schools. In this respect the Anglican mission showed a tendency similar to the Roman Catholic mission.

Seventh-day Adventist mission

The Seventh-day Adventist¹ mission established its first stations on the New Guinea islands soon after the First World War. It also entered the field of education as an essential part of its work: 'It is to fortify the youth against the temptations of the enemy that we have established schools where they may be qualified for usefulness in this life and for the service of God throughout eternity.'² More of the parents in these families had attended London Missionary Society schools than Seventh-day Adventist schools. However, the latter were rated favourably by the few who had experienced them, one a former teacher and another a former clerical worker with the mission.

The educational history of the children showed that in two families they had attended government schools only and in four they had attended both government and mission schools (a Roman Catholic school in one instance and a Salvation Army school in another).

Reasons similar to those given by adherents of the Papua Ekalesia were given by these families for their choices of school, which were as follows:

- 3 favoured government schooling only
- 1 favoured mission schooling only
- 1 favoured children starting at a mission school and later transferring to a government school
- 1 had no preference.

The oldest child in the family who preferred mission schooling only was at the time of the survey away at a mission boarding school while the younger children were attending the local government day school; the father in the family had formerly been a teacher with

¹ Includes the Coral Sea Union and the Bismark-Solomons Union.

² Coral Sea Union Mission of Seventh-day Adventists, Educational Advisory Board, programme of meeting at Kabiufa (near Goroka), August 1964.

the mission. The family who had no preference was the one with dual allegiance (see Appendix F).

Others

There were 18 different religious missions in Papua and 29 in New Guinea in 1964,¹ so it is not surprising that the interviewed families included adherents to some less conventional faiths. More surprising is the fact that the Annual Reports list neither the Jehovah's Witnesses nor the Baha'i Faith, each of which was represented by one family. Both of these families took an active part in the activities of their particular religion, one witnessing in neighbouring villages and the other being treasurer for the group. The family who said they had no religion was a young couple with a small baby who were looking after an additional child. All three families favoured government schooling only for their children for much the same reasons as those generally expressed; the Baha'i family, however, was sending their youngest child to the Roman Catholic mission school because it was nearer than the government school.

¹ P.A.R. 1963-4:264-5 and N.G.A.R. 1963-4:306-7.

Chapter 10

Some conclusions

The findings discussed in this Bulletin are based on guided interviews conducted with 111 indigenous families living in selected residential areas of the three main towns. The areas were chosen because they provided a comparatively high standard of living accommodation in an environment favourable to school attendance, the rationale being that these areas had the greatest potential and the fewest deterrents for producing an educated 'second generation' elite. The interviewees were the parents and guardians of children attending the upper standards of primary school.

The families were of one accord in considering schooling of very great importance. Their children's schooling had brought some of them from the village to town and others were remaining in town with some hardship only because of the school opportunities. The number of additional children being looked after - often with considerable financial strain - lent credence to the importance given schooling, as did the educational history of the older children. Furthermore, although inadequate money was probably the families' most universal problem, all but two families said they would be willing to pay fees for their children to attend school if it were necessary. The importance given schooling was not accorded to boys only: nearly all of the families said they considered it as important for girls to go to school as for boys, even though not as much schooling was necessary for girls. Schooling was viewed as being valuable for a woman in her traditional role of wife and mother as well as in preparing her for possible employment in a changing society. Most families, however, also considered that less schooling was necessary for girls, and some reservations were held about girls attending school beyond the age of puberty.

Few families were sufficiently knowledgeable about the school system and the educational requirements of various occupations to be specific in their ideas about how much or what sort of schooling was desirable. Although they appeared to have considerable informal contact with teachers who were relatives or came from the same area of origin, they generally had very little association with the school and almost no contact with their children's classroom teacher.

They simply wanted their children, particularly the boys, to have as much schooling as possible. All had confidence that the present school system would prepare their children for good jobs and a good income which in turn would ensure a better standard of living. The less educated families in particular placed great faith in the teacher and the school to know what was best. The average of the specific responses was that boys should attend school until they were 18 years of age and/or had completed form II (or the old standard IX). The average of responses given for girls was 16 years of age and/or completion of primary schooling. A few of the more sophisticated interviewees indicated that different levels were appropriate for children of different ability.

On the whole the families, having settled in a town environment, did not acknowledge any major problems in sending their children to school. Although schooling was free, insufficient money for adequate clothing, proper food and miscellaneous school costs for their children was the most common problem cited. Several families were concerned that there were not sufficient places in school to accommodate children who were too old to attend the lower standards. A few families revealed difficulty in getting their children to attend school regularly or some other behaviour problem. Concern about traffic on the road to the school troubled some parents with young children.

Generally, the families aspired to well-paid employment for their boys which would ensure a better way of life - like that of the expatriate. With few exceptions the occupational aspirations were realistic for the economic, political and social structure of the country but were often made without any real comprehension of the ability, training or application necessary for the particular choices. The families made a total of 26 occupational choices for boys, of which 5 - in order teacher, clerk, doctor, carpenter and mechanic - constituted 73 per cent of the choices made. The selected boys' choices corresponded closely with those of the families except that technical jobs were chosen by a higher percentage of the boys, whose most frequent choices were carpenter, mechanic and teacher. Only two families expressed disapproval of girls working. The families named 17 occupations which they thought appropriate for girls, of which nurse, teacher and clerk, in order, constituted 73 per cent. The girls' own choices included only nine occupations, and again teacher, nurse and clerk constituted a high proportion (78 per cent) of choices.

More than half of the families preferred that their children attend only government schools. The reasons given most frequently were that government schools taught in English or taught English better, brought children to a higher standard, provided more practical training and had better teachers and a better teaching method. It was believed that people who had been to government schools had

a better command of English and got better jobs. Nearly one-quarter of the families wanted their children to go first to a mission school followed by a government school because they wanted them first to have a religious education and/or to learn their own language with an introduction to English prior to undertaking instruction given in English. The few families who preferred to send their children only to mission schools considered this the right thing for them as members of the particular mission.

Inherent in virtually all of the reasoning given for expressed opinions - whether overtly stated or not - was not merely a desire for schooling but specifically a desire for schooling which would ensure facility in English. English was considered the key to success in the more sophisticated society which was developing in the towns. The extent to which English had been taught at school was the factor on which the parents most frequently evaluated their own education. Those missions which had taught more English were generally evaluated more favourably, and the few interviewees who had attended government schools often supported their satisfaction with their schooling by saying that it had helped them to learn to read and write in English. One of the main reasons for the general preference of government schools was that they taught in English or taught English better. Likewise European teachers were preferred to indigenous teachers because they used English all the time and spoke it correctly while some indigenous teachers had a limited knowledge of English and tended to make explanations to the children in their own language. For example, one teacher was sending his oldest child to an 'A' school so that he would speak English all the time as English was rarely used in the playground at the 'T' schools even though it was spoken all the time in the classroom.

The value of a good knowledge of English to obtain and keep employment was fully realized. Some of the men attributed their holding of more highly paid positions to the fact that they spoke English well and were able to understand both oral and written instructions. 'When they finish school and get a job they use all the time English' reasoned one family when asked what useful things the children were learning at school.

A large number of the families who were able to speak even a limited amount of English said they used, or tried to use, some English in the home with their children. Yet the emphasis on English was not without its contradictions. On the one hand a mission pastor spoke his village language, Motu, Pidgin and English every day so the children would not lose their own languages, while on the other, a teacher who had himself experienced great difficulty in learning English used it exclusively with his children. The pragmatism of the present exalted status of English in the urban situation can be summed up in the comment of one family: 'Speaking English - that is what everyone is trying to do now.'

Appendix A: Children's form

AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY
NEW GUINEA RESEARCH UNIT

The name of my school is

I am in standard

The date today is

My name is
(give both names)

I am years old. I am a (boy or girl)

In I live
(give number of house or street name if there is one)

The name of my father (or man who looks after me) is

His work is

He works for

The name of my mother (or woman who looks after me) is

Her work is

My home village is

The sub-district of home village is

I belong to the Mission

When I leave school I would like to be a:

1. Please list one, two or three
2. kinds of work. You may answer
3. "don't know".

How do you spend your time during school holidays?

.....
.....
.....

What do you do in your spare time during the school term?

.....
.....
.....

Have you any older brothers? If you do please fill in:

<u>Name</u>	<u>School standard</u>	<u>His work</u>
.....		
.....		
.....		

Have you any older sisters? If you do please fill in:

<u>Name</u>	<u>School standard</u>	<u>Her work</u>
.....		
.....		
.....		

PRIMARY FAMILY COMPOSITION

Date:

Interviewer:

Date:

[illegible]

Appendix C: Parent interview

No:

Date: Interviewer: Interpreter:
Selected child: Length of interview:
Names of parents/guardians interviewed:
Address:
Place of interview:
Language of interview:
Interview situation:

If interviewee is not head of household, give name of head and relation to interviewee:

Social composition of dwelling:

Number of persons living in dwelling on day of interview:

1. I would like you please to tell me something about your family - how many you are, what you are doing, where you come from, and so forth? (check Primary Family Composition form)
2. What is the name of your home village?
Is it near a main centre?
When did you leave your village?
Where have you lived since then?

When did you come to _____ ?
(town)

_____ ?
(precise area)

Were you married when you came? When were you married?

What about your wife? _____, what is your home village?
(name)

Is that near your husband's village?

When did you leave your village?

Where have you lived since then?

When did you come to _____ ?
(town)

_____ ?
(precise area)

Were you married before you left your village for the first time?

No:

Did you work before you were married?

Do you work now?

3. Please tell me now about your education (where, type, standard completed).

What language(s) did the teachers teach in?

Do you read in some language?

Do you write in some language?

How do you feel about your own education? Has it helped you? And in what ways has it not been as good as it might have been?

Are you taking any sort of training or classes now (details)?

Have you taken any previously since leaving school?

	Technical?	Educational?	Standard reached?
1.			
2.			
3.			
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100.			

How does it (do they) help you in your job? In other ways?

What about your wife? _____, where did you go to school, or didn't you go?
(name)

What standard did you reach?

What language(s) did the teachers teach in?

How do you feel about your own education? Has it helped you?

Have you had any further training or education since leaving school?

None at all?

(P) What about instruction in health, language classes, homemaking?

Do you read?

Do you write?

No:

Language - not being able to understand other people properly - is one of the biggest problems in Papua-New Guinea. I'm most interested to know:

(husband) How many languages can you speak? (list)

(wife) How many languages can you speak? (list)

Of these, which do you use at home, just with your own family?

(husband with wife)

(father with children)

(mother with children)

(children with each other)

(children with other children)

4. Now tell me about your children's education. (Fill in Education of Children form)

(Re additional children)

How long has _____ been living with you?
(name)

Why does he/she live here?

Does it make any difference to you having _____ living in your home?
(name)

Have you ever had other children living with you so they could go to school?
(Include relationship, length of stay, reasons for coming to stay and reasons for going)

5. Do you have any problems in sending your children to school?

Do your children go to school willingly, or do you have trouble getting them to go to school? All of them?

Does it cost you more to send a child to school than if he did not go?
(if yes) Do you have any idea of how much?

No:

Would you be willing to pay a fee to have your child(ren) go to school?

6. How many of the children who live in _____ go to school?
(section)

All or only some of them?

How do boys who do not go to school spend their time?

And how do girls who do not go to school spend their time?

I think that you and I agree that all children should go to school - that is right?

But do you think it is as important for girls to go to school as it is for boys?
And why?

Are male or female teachers better for small children? Why?

for older children? Why?

Are native or European teachers better for small children? Why?

for older children? Why?

At what age do you think boys should leave school?

At what age do you think girls should leave school?

At any particular standard? Boys:

Girls:

Who should decide what a child will do when he/she leaves school?

(P) Yourself, your wife, the teacher, the pastor, the child, combination?

Do you think girls should go to work?

No:

What sort of things would you like your children to do when they leave school?

Boys

Girls

How much education will they need for this?

Have you asked _____ what work he/she would like to do?
(selected child)

Do you think this will be possible for him/her?

What useful things are your children learning at school?

What else should they be taught?

(Note degree to which interviewee seems to have thought about these questions beforehand)

a good deal
a fair amount
scarcely at all
probably not at all

7. Who should teach children how to behave properly?

Do teachers help in this?

a lot
a good deal
not much
very little
not at all

8. What religion are you?

And you wife?

And children?

Do you attend church services?

How often?

Does your mission have a school near here? (If yes, where? if no, where is the nearest?)

Would you rather your children started school in a mission or Administration school? Why?

No:

When a child gets older, would you rather he went to a mission or an Administration school?

Do you think the missions or the Administration run schools better? Why?

If you had some worry about your child at school, who would you talk to about it?

9. (Treat two years as applicable)

Do you know _____'s teacher? This year? Last year?
(selected child)

(selected child)

How well? (to talk to as a friend)
(to greet when you meet)
(to recognize when you see)
(not at all)

(to greet when you meet)

(to recognize when you see)

(not at all)

When did you last have a talk with _____'s teacher?
(selected child)

(selected child)

Do you remember where you had this talk, and what it was all about?

How many other schoolteachers do you know? - not necessarily teachers of your children, just teachers generally (list names)

How well do you know them?

Has a school teacher ever come to visit you here at home?

If yes, do you remember why he came?

And when?

When did you last go to the school?

Why did you go?

What events at the school do you go to? How often do you go?

Have you ever done any work for the school?

10. Have you thought about these things before? (their own estimation)

No:

11. What persons are leaders in _____ ? (name, occupation and why important)
(section)

In _____ ? (name, occupation and why important)
(town)

What meetings do you go to, what clubs do you belong to?

Have you seen these people at meetings?
(Which, how often, their participation)

Do many teachers belong to these clubs, associations, etc.? (elaborate)

What sort of a part do they play in them?

12. Do you have a radio in your house?

What programmes do you like to listen to?

Do you read any newspapers regularly or sometimes? Which ones?

13. Did you vote in the elections for the House of Assembly? And your wife?

Who are your members in the House of Assembly?

14. What ideas about education do you have that I have not asked you about?

Appendix D: Education of children form

EDUCATION OF CHILDREN

No:

Interviewee(s):

Address:

Interviewer:

Date:

[illegible]

Appendix E: Different sub-districts among the interviewee couples

Town of interview	Husband's sub-district	Wife's sub-district	Selected child's relationship to couple	Sub-district listed by selected child
Lae	Abau	Rigo	husband's relative	Abau
Port Moresby	Beara*	Rigo*	husband's child	Beara
	Gasmata*	Rigo*	wife's child	Rigo
	Port Moresby	Rigo	couple's child	Rigo
	Port Moresby	Rigo	couple's child	Rigo
	Losuia*	Rigo*	wife's relative	Rigo
	Tufi*	Rigo*	husband's relative (adopted child)	Tufi
	Daru*	Rigo*	husband's relative (adopted child)	Daru
	Samarai*	Rigo*	wife's relative (adopted child)	Rigo
	Samarai*	Kairuku*	husband's relative	Samarai
	Samarai*	Daru*	couple's child	Daru
	Kukipi*	Daru*	couple's child	Kukipi
	Rigo*	Goroka*	unrelated - from wife's area	Goroka
Rabaul	Rigo	Abau	wife's relative	Abau
	Ambunti*	Namatanai*	couple's child	Namatanai
	Finschhafen*	Madang*	couple's child	Finschhafen
	Daru*	Kairuku*	husband's child	Daru
	Kavieng*	Kokopo*	wife's relative	Kokopo
	Rigo	Port Moresby	husband's relative	Rigo

* Also different districts.

Appendix F: Families with mixed and transferred mission allegiance

Families with allegiance to two or more missions

Husband's religion	Wife's religion	Children's religion	Family classification
P.E.	R.C.	R.C.	R.C.
R.C.	Meth.	R.C.	R.C.
R.C.	P.E.	P.E. & R.C.	R.C.
Ang.	R.C.	Ang. & R.C.	R.C.
P.E.	R.C.	R.C. & P.E.*	R.C.
P.E.	Luth.	P.E. & Luth.*	P.E.
R.C.	P.E.	P.E. & J.W.	P.E.
Meth.	P.E.	Meth. & P.E.*	Meth.
S.D.A.	P.E.	S.D.A.	S.D.A.

* Guardian child

Families with individual transferred allegiance

Former religion of husband	Former religion of wife	Religion of family
R.C.	P.E.	R.C.
R.C.	P.E.	R.C.
Meth.	R.C.	Meth.
Meth.	R.C.	Meth.
Ang.	P.E.	Ang.
Ang.	Luth.	Ang.
P.E.	S.D.A.	S.D.A.
S.D.A.	P.E.	S.D.A.
P.E.	R.C.	P.E.

Families with joint transferred allegiance

Former religion of husband and wife	Present religion of husband and wife
P.E.	S.D.A.
P.E.	J.W.
P.E.	Nil
Meth.	Baha'i

Families with dual allegiance

In the home village	In the town
R.C.	S.D.A.

Appendix G: Employment of interviewees related to their education

	Total number	No formal education	Less than standard III	Standards III-VI	Beyond standard VI
Specialized					
Co-op inspector	1	-	-	-	1
Electricians	2	-	-	1	1
Pastors	2	-	-	1	1
Radio announcer	1	-	-	-	1
Teachers	8	-	-	1	7
Technicians	6	-	-	1	5
Skilled and semi-skilled					
Butcher	1	-	1	-	-
Carpenters	22	1	7	11	3
Clerks	19	-	-	14	5
Contractor	1	-	-	1	-
Crane operators	2	-	2	-	-
Drivers	6	2	2	2	-
Linesman	1	-	1	-	-
Malaria control man	1	-	-	1	-
Mechanic	1	-	-	1	-
Medical orderly	1	1	-	-	-
Painters	3	-	2	1	-
Plumbers	2	-	1	1	-
Policemen	12	5	5	2	-
Printers	2	-	1	1	-
Sawbenchman	1	-	-	1	-
Shoe repairer	1	-	-	1	-
Skipper	1	-	1	-	-
Unskilled					
Cargo carrier	1	1	-	-	-
Cleaner	1	-	1	-	-
Drum roller	1	-	1	-	-
Groundskeeper	1	1	-	-	-
Storemen	2	2	-	-	-
Self-employed					
Bus owner	1	1	-	-	-
Contractor	1	-	-	1	-
Gold miner	1	1	-	-	-
Wood carvers	3	-	3	-	-
Unemployed	2	1	1	-	-

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