

Youth in Papua New Guinea:

With reference to Fiji,
Solomon Islands and Vanuatu

Maev O'Collins



Political and Social Change Monograph 3

**YOUTH IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA:
WITH REFERENCE TO FIJI,
SOLOMON ISLANDS AND VANUATU**

Maev O'Collins

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VOICES OF YOUTH

Community
is the nation's family
culture
is the voice of it's people

Steadied
by our grip on the present
the past
gives us confidence for the future

'Youth', Nick Coleman.

...The past has gone. Ahead is the future
Which will pass and make another past
To cherish, to worship...and to burn.

From 'The Burning', Judith Givere.

The children are loved
The old are respected
But me, I'm neglected
Because I am young.

Alban Kome.

CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	
Introduction	i
1 Youth and community: continuity and change	1
2 International influences on youth policies and programmes	10
3 Youth policies and programmes in Papua New Guinea: 1960-1980	14
4 Social indicators for youth: the Papua New Guinea 1980 National Census	20
5 The National Youth Movement Program: on the move 1981-1983	34
6 Youth in groups: Southern Highlands, Morobe and Manus provinces	49
7 Youth, literacy and economic development in the Southern Highlands	64
8 Youth, church and provincial development in Morobe	80
9 Youth and resource allocation in Manus	92
10 Youth and development in Fiji	103
11 Youth and development in Solomon Islands	111
12 Youth and development in Vanuatu	122
13 Overview and conclusions	131
Appendices	138
References	149
Index	158

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INTRODUCTION

The period of youth in the life-cycle has often been described as the 'restless years', a time of experimentation and relative freedom before taking on family and community responsibilities. This may be why there is often a feeling among the older generation that young people are likely to upset the balance and peace of a society. Unemployed out-of-school youth are of special concern as they are seen as the potentially deviant or delinquent group who need the attention of government and non-government agencies.

In the South Pacific these problems had seemed less pressing, perhaps because island nations were preoccupied with economic and political changes rather than with the appearance in towns of a western style 'youth culture' among increasing numbers of unemployed out-of-school youth. In the 1970s, however, attention began to focus on this group and they became a special target for national and international intervention. This increased interest in youth issues and problems followed a similar development in Western countries in the 1960s which in turn influenced United Nations and other international agencies working with youth.

Nevertheless, it is as true for the South Pacific as for the rest of the world that until a few years ago:

...no one felt impelled even to define 'youth' as a concept. Only when young people began to behave in a 'problematic' way ...did the word 'youth' come to be used generically. And a youth movement, in the very general sense ... only exists when young people feel at odds with older people who see them as disrespectful, rebellious and revolutionary (Heer 1974:7).

Young people were now more visible. Improved health services led to increased birth rates and lower infant mortality rates during the twenty years after the Second World War and younger populations reflected these changes. Changes in existing economic and social structures increased opportunities for young men and women to enter the cash economy and take part in political action. Rising crime rates and an apparent break down in family and community control directed official attention to the situation of youth in society and government and non-government agencies tried to find solutions for growing 'law and order' problems in urban areas.

A further, if less obvious, reason for increased concern with youth development is related more to attitudes and events outside the region than to what was happening within the South Pacific. There has often been a tendency for a ripple effect in social planning, leading to policies and programmes being introduced a few years after similar developments have become outdated elsewhere. In 1979 an evaluation of youth policies and

services in Britain noted that:

This cult of youth which attracted so much journalistic and academic attention during the 1950s and 1960s now seems to have lost its impetus (Jefferies 1979:35. See also Schwartz 1972, for a discussion of youth culture in the North American context).

In Papua New Guinea, and other neighbouring island nations of the South Pacific, however, debate on youth problems and possible solutions, and the planning and funding of youth programmes have continued and do not seem to have lost impetus. In 1980 the National Youth Movement Program was introduced in Papua New Guinea and government involvement in youth activities increased in Fiji, Solomon Islands and Vanuatu.

These developments were in response to a widespread concern that there were not only a higher proportion of young people in the population, but they were more likely to form into groups which were isolated from or in conflict with the rest of society. The 1980 Papua New Guinea National Census provided information about what informants were doing during the week before census interviews. Answers showed that many out-of-school youth not employed in the wage earning sector were also not fully occupied in the subsistence sector. The activities of a significant number of young people were different from the anticipated categories of economic activities and were recorded as carrying out 'other activities and not looking for work'. This suggested that there was a group in society which was more at risk than other young people.

In many South Pacific societies youth have been less involved in economic and community activities and this was seen as a normal phase in the life-cycle, rather than as a sign of family or community disintegration. However, in recent years political and social changes have brought new ideas and influences and many young people, particularly those with Western-style education, are seeking greater opportunities for participation in economic development and political decision making.

These changes are of importance to social planners who need to consider whether specific development policies and programmes should focus on youth as a separate group in society or whether the focus should be on the community as a whole. What information should be obtained so that the situation of young people within their own communities and their relationship with other groups in society can be taken into account by government and non-government development agencies?

In the discussions which follow, the situation of youth in the recent past will be examined in the light of the results of the 1980 Census in Papua New Guinea and the emergence of the National Youth Movement Program. Information from past and present observers, interviews with government officers and community members, participant observation at meetings and

visits to urban and rural communities, have supplemented oral reports, official documents and other written sources. The results of a small survey of youth groups in Southern Highlands, Morobe, and Manus provinces provide additional perspectives on 'youth in action'. These illustrate the diversity in social and economic circumstances which is to be found within and between provinces.

Similar variations exist in Solomon Islands, Vanuatu and Fiji and these will be compared with the Papua New Guinea experience. Fiji, with a two-culture society, a history of established government social services, and an increasing proportion of young urban migrants, has different youth development needs from those of the smaller nation-states of Solomon Islands and Vanuatu. Social development planning in Vanuatu reflects a strong national ideology and the need for policies and programmes which will help unite different groups within the society. Solomon Islands, confronted by difficult economic constraints, has had to rely heavily on youth programmes and activities sponsored by non-government agencies.

A basic assumption in this study is that the problems of youth mirror those of the wider society, even if sometimes the image is distorted. While many of the needs of young people may be met through economic-oriented programmes, there are other needs which cannot be ignored if there is to be an improvement in the well-being of young people and the communities of which they are a part. This means that youth welfare and assistance to those who are odds with their communities or with society cannot be isolated from other youth development activities.

Policies and programmes must also be flexible enough to allow for local or provincial variations, and broad enough to encompass community, government and non-government initiatives. Organizational efficiency is important but youth development is a slow and at times unproductive process and one in which the welfare of young people cannot be assessed merely by the activities which they carry out, or the amount of financial aid given to them by government or non-government sources.

A study of the different social, political, and economic influences which affect the position of young people in their societies cannot provide a single answer to the question: What is the best way to meet the needs of youth in Papua New Guinea and other nations in the South Pacific?

Perhaps the only answer is that there are many types of need and appropriate solutions can only be found if the resources which are available within the community or society are identified and local and regional pressures are understood. Youth policies and programmes will then be able to respond to the needs of the society concerned, rather than relying on models developed to meet the needs of youth at other times or in other places.

CHAPTER 1

YOUTH AND COMMUNITY : CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

A common theme in requests for financial assistance for youth groups is that, because of rapid political and social changes which have taken place in recent years, their needs are very different from those of past generations. These economic and social changes have produced a new situation which requires different strategies and resources from those which were appropriate in earlier times.

While this is often true, there has been little accompanying interest in understanding, not only the changes which have taken place, but also the persistence of family and community influences and values, patterns of leadership, and ways by which family and community resources are allocated. Knowledge of how the transition from childhood to maturity was regulated by different societies, and the relationships between generations, is essential as a starting point for youth workers and planners. What changes have taken place in customary attitudes and practices? Have some persisted while others have changed so much that they no longer have any real influence on younger members of the community? All too often these aspects are overlooked in the training of youth and community workers, but as one writer has pointed out:

When we see ourselves as different from our ancestors we cut ourselves off from the insights they had about their condition (Victor 1973:xi).

The position of young people and the affect of recent changes in their societies varies widely throughout the region. It would be foolish to attempt to generalize but descriptions of the period between childhood and adulthood provide perspectives on how young people view their own societies and the attitudes which older members of the community have towards them.

Observers, both past and present, have described the transitional period between childhood and full adult status as a time of relative freedom from responsibilities, a time which young people may seek to prolong. This chance to remain apart from the pressures and cares experienced by older members of the family or community is often more likely for young men, as women become responsible for household and subsistence tasks at an earlier age, usually marry earlier, and often experience a shorter transition from childhood to adulthood:

The marrying age varies so considerably that it is not possible to generalize beyond saying that most men marry by twenty-five and most girls by twenty (Ryan 1972:703).

Boys tend to marry somewhat later than girls and, as has been noted, are not usually expected to settle down to steady work as soon (Chowning 1972:163).

Marriage and taking over adult responsibilities does not automatically mean that full adult status has been achieved. As Ann Chowning observes:

In many societies, fully grown and married men often announce 'I am but a Child' in recognition of the fact that acquisition of responsibility is a gradual process and that full maturity may come only with middle age (Chowning 1972:163-164).

One of the best known descriptions of the journey from childhood to maturity is that given by Prime Minister Michael Somare, when recalling his own experience and the reasons which prompted him to undertake a further initiation ceremony after he became chief minister of Papua New Guinea. He spoke of initiation chants which emphasized the end of one stage of the life cycle.

A new time begins for you
when you must know
that you will be a man
(Somare 1975:26).

Despite his position as a political leader, it was important to be accepted as an adult in his own society.

It was now essential that I establish my identity at home and that I receive the wisdom and strength that my elders were willing to pass on to me from my forefathers (ibid.:33).

Fifty years ago the official government anthropologist had reported that, despite the economic changes which were taking place,

The ceremony of initiation continues to exercise its educative and disciplinary functions, and it seems to mark the transference of youth to a new status (Williams 1936:206).

The process took many years and was often only completed when those who attained adulthood had the right to initiate and teach others (See Whiting 1941; Allen 1967; Barth 1975; Sillitoe 1979). Most young men were initiated in a group and this shared experience formed a bond which often cut across other loyalties and was a basis for shared activities in later life.

By the fact of group initiation the ties between age group members are strengthened (Du Toit 1975:236).

Age mates undergoing this ordeal together established life-long bonds of friendship which cut across those of clan and phratry (Mc Swain 1977:18; also Brown 1978 and Ryan 1970).

In the past, the transition for young women from childhood to adult responsibilities often involved individual seclusion rather than in a group. (Even today, girls usually share in household and subsistence tasks and are more likely to be under the supervision of older female relatives.) Once again, there were differences in the degree of freedom allowed young women before marriage and the influence of schools and missions varies from one society to another (See Williams 1939, Allen 1967).

Since observers began writing about South Pacific societies, concern has been voiced that old values and customs are disappearing under the onslaught of introduced beliefs and ways of life. Reading earlier accounts, one might anticipate that traditional customs and practices would have completely vanished. But this is far from the reality of most societies, even if village leaders continue, as they did fifty or one hundred years ago, to express the view that youth is abandoning the wisdom of the elders.

One observer, a mission worker in Malaita from 1896-1909, revisited the same community twenty years later and commented with alarm on the dwindling interest in cultural values.

Among every people the elder generation laments the loss of interest which the younger displays in the things which meant so much to their elders, but at Sa'a the case is serious. The young men spend their lives away on plantations; their fathers grew up battling the forces of nature (Ivens 1927:147).

Observers in Buka and Bougainville made similar comments, describing how the younger generation were giving up old customs and showing less respect for their elders (Gordon 1931; Blackwood 1931).

However, if we look at what is happening today it is evident that in many communities young men and women continue to learn the ways of their forefathers and are often eager to gain traditional knowledge and skills. Those who wish to become full members of their communities are aware that access to land, fishing rights and traditional wealth are linked to other less tangible possessions. Perhaps they had never forgotten, and it was really the outsider who took preoccupation with new events to mean that older more fundamental values were being permanently rejected!

Nonetheless, it is true that from the earliest period of missionary and colonial contact young men have been attracted away from their home communities, even if there are different options and alternatives today. In his study, Man Long Taon, Ian Frazer describes how in the past young people

migrated from one area in north west Malaita and despite changes in destination, this pattern has continued.

In all settlements, it remains a common practice for young men, between the ages of 14 and 20, to leave home and seek employment. To-day instead of going to plantations, they mostly choose to go to Honiara (Frazer 1981:143).

In the years before independence, students at the University of Papua New Guinea had been acutely aware of the issue of cultural alienation and, perhaps influenced by outside observers, often considered it to be inevitable. A number of poems written during that period describe problems in relationships between Western-educated youth and their elders or village-based age mates. One writer expressed the feeling of separation and discomfort experienced by many students who returned to their home villages for school holidays:

My age and 'learning' notwithstanding
I am excluded
Uninitiated

Herman Talingapua 1972

Another wrote of a woman waiting for her sons to return:

But my sons, forgetful of me,
are like fruit borne by birds.
I see the sons of other women
returning. What is in their minds.

Kumalau Tawali 1972

This theme of the old mourning for the past was again reflected in a poem entitled 'Occasional Visits'.

Son,
Before I depart.
During your occasional visits,
To recall your good old days,
Trim the grass
Around my grave.

Kama Kerpi 1973

The early 1970s were a time of seeking ways to strengthen and revitalize traditional practices. Many saw this as a means of stabilizing the young, of giving them a continuing place in their home communities, even if they went away to school or to work. One university graduate asked the question: 'Should we revive initiation rites in Enga Society?' He concluded that:

There is no reason why the content of initiation should not change when the life cycle of the society has changed... There is really no reason why urban Enga Communities should not create an initiation ceremony of their own... I feel that initiation rites should be revived. But if we do this we must be flexible (Talyaga 1975).

There was an attempt to gather views from older members of their societies. Many thought that younger men and women were only interested in new ways but others felt that there should be more encouragement for the young to learn traditional skills and knowledge before they were forgotten. A councillor from Simbu Province talked about the problem: 'Of not being allowed to play the flute'. The missionaries had forbidden the practice but he felt it would be important to revive it:

I know that we cannot completely restore all our traditional ceremonies - not as they were done in olden times - but we can bring them back and relate them to our lives to-day. We are concerned that the younger generation receive the knowledge of our traditional village background, and we want to see this happen now (Yauwe Maki, as translated by Kopon Mongomane 1975:15).

Since independence, many communities have revived customs and traditions, often adapted to meet new circumstances. Initiation and family and clan ceremonies may be scheduled for school vacations, and wage-earning family members subsidize the buying of pigs and beer, or shell money some of which may be imported into Papua New Guinea from Solomon Islands.

In the recent past, an important change in the life-cycle for young men had been their employment, often as a group of age-mates, on plantations or in contract labour on economic projects. The absence of young men for several years is a common feature of villages throughout the South Pacific, but changes in labour recruitment and the more recent economic downturn have affected this pattern. Now, although 'circular' migration continues, some young men remain at home and others are away permanently in wage employment and return, if at all, after retirement from the work force. Those who remain at home have often missed the challenge and excitement of going with age mates to seek employment and recreational, religious or sporting activities do not provide access to the modern cash economy.

Others are the children of earlier migrants to towns and 'home' for them is an urban settlement. The problem for these young people is described by one writer in a discussion originally entitled 'Young and out of work in Papua New Guinea's towns' (Morauta 1981). Relationships between urban youth and their elders may be more problematic as they have fewer alternatives and, in any case, their parents and relatives are themselves struggling with the problems of making a living in the harsh town

environment. It is not surprising that young people in these circumstances feel embattled and surrounded by unsympathetic adults. As one youth worker who looked at the problems facing youth in Honiara concluded:

The youth of today should be encouraged by the old and the wise to share with them the richness of their inexperience - so that the old and the wise should also learn from the young; because in today's world no man is an island - everyone needs each other (Kome 1978:1).



Villagers from Lake Ekari, Southern Highlands. April 1984.



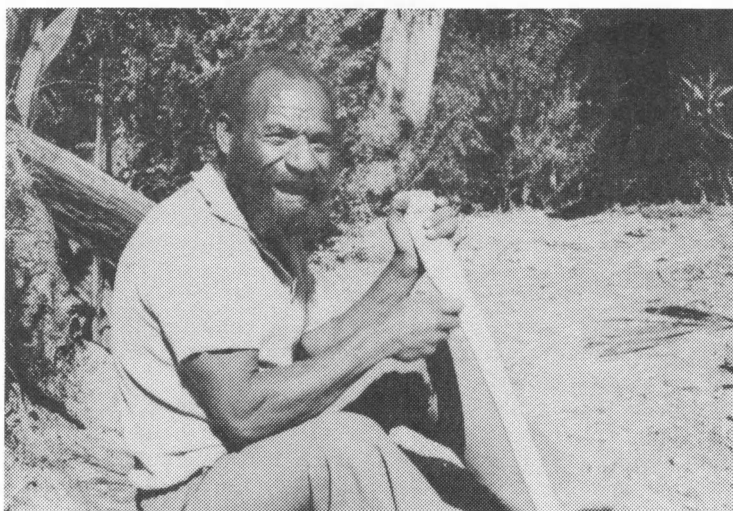
Inside the Lake Ekari Community Centre. April 1984.



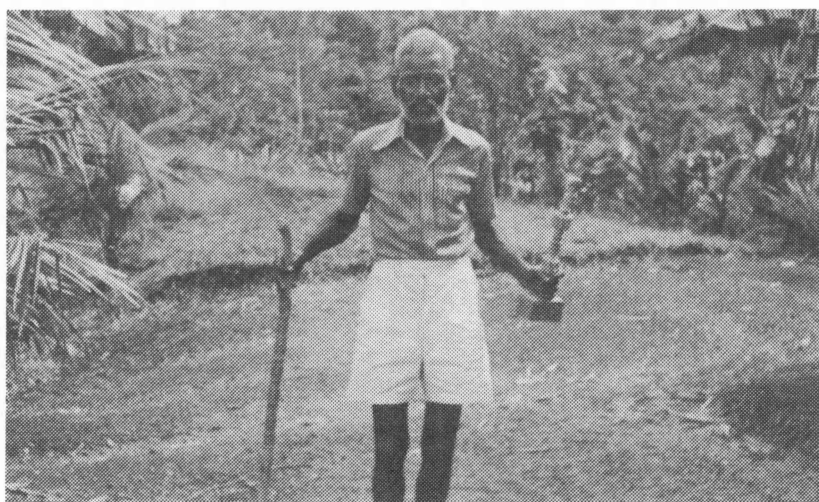
Women preparing to sing at the opening ceremony of the Malpen Business Group, a gardening project at Fatmilak village, New Ireland. July 1983.



Group members and government extension officers inspecting the garden project, Fatmilak village, New Ireland. July 1983.



Retired policeman Wauwe Loru shows his skill in carving axe handles, Namaviare village, Eastern Highlands. July 1983



Expert village carver Mbuai Papen, Sohoniliu village, Nali electorate, Manus. July 1983.

CHAPTER 2

INTERNATIONAL INFLUENCES ON YOUTH POLICIES AND PROGRAMMES

One obvious influence on youth policies and programmes is the way in which the concept of 'youth' is defined. This is not an easy decision to make. For some purposes we may wish to include all out-of-school youth even if they are 10 or 12 years of age. In other situations those considered by their societies not yet ready to take over full adult responsibilities may need to be included even if they are 30 or 35 years of age.

The United Nations defines youth as those between 15 and 24 years but recognizes that in some circumstances older or younger individuals will need to be taken into account (United Nations 1977:1-3). The National Youth Movement Program in Papua New Guinea considers youth to be those between 12 and 25 years. Another view is that only 13-20 year olds are really youth (Shingi, Singh and Jadhau 1980:3). A much broader definition of youth was put forward by one speaker at the Commonwealth Youth Programme meeting on government youth policy, who stated that:

... owing to an increase in life expectancy and improved nutrition and health care the vitality associated with youth lasts much longer. (It is perhaps for this reason that the wide age range of 15-33 is now almost universally recognised as the period of youth) (Sabanayagam 1979:2).

It is clear that no single definition of youth is satisfactory for all situations, but in this study the term youth will include those between 12 and 25, recognizing that many 12-14 year olds are regarded as children in their societies, that some 23 or 24 year olds have achieved full adult status, and that others of 30-35 are sometimes still considered as youth.

From the early 1960s the South Pacific Commission has sponsored training and research to assist in youth policy and programme development. In 1961 a meeting in Port Moresby of a Sub-Regional Study Group on the Problems of Youth in Urban Communities concentrated on educational enrichment and leadership training activities, mainly by non-government organizations. Even where government programmes were introduced, these followed a similar pattern. The Papua New Guinea Welfare Quarterly reported during this period on the work of the youth work organizer in the then Department of Native Affairs. His responsibilities included organizing the Duke of Edinburgh Awards Scheme, running music groups, and arranging workshops for government and non-government youth workers.

During the 1960s and 1970s, training for youth workers and youth leaders was often sponsored by churches and voluntary organizations. The South Pacific Commission, the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Pacific, and the Commonwealth Youth Programme were also involved in these activities (See Bazinet 1971, United Nations 1977, Waqa 1977).

Annual regional education conferences were sponsored by the South Pacific Commission but, although the inappropriateness of existing formal education and the need to provide vocational and non-formal education for out-of-school youth were recognized, political and economic changes taking place in the region were often ignored.

In Papua New Guinea attempts were made to train school teachers as youth workers and to promote community-based youth workers attached to local government councils. One report on the concept of an all purpose youth worker stated that:

There is more value in assisting youth as part of an integrated community than in trying to assist it as a separate entity (Welfare Quarterly No.21 July 1968).

By the end of the 1960s, the lack of employment or other opportunities for youth to become involved in the formal economy became apparent. A shift in emphasis took place, and the 1968 Regional Seminar on Youth in the South Pacific, sponsored by the South Pacific Commission, stressed the creation of job opportunities. School leaver centres were organized in Port Moresby during the early 1970s and the Fiji Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) was actively involved in urban and rural youth activities. The idea began to emerge that young people needed social and economic 'survival skills' to meet the changes taking place in their societies.

A programme to assist 'shoeshine boys' in Suva, a course for out-of-school youth in Western Samoa, and a work programme for Honiara youth reflected an awareness of their need to have greater access to the cash economy (Sami 1978. Also 'New hope for young people without jobs', and 'Masta Liu gives boys a chance to work and earn new skills' New Nation 2(9) 1978).

Many of the programmes initiated during this period relied heavily on assistance from overseas volunteers and the departure of a particular volunteer often meant that financial backing and organizational and managerial skills dwindled. Non-government programmes were vulnerable to changes in government policies as grants-in-aid could not be relied upon or were slow in being released. International agencies looked to governments to host or co-sponsor workshops or training programmes, so it was inevitable that involvement of governments in the provision of services for youth would increase, and that more control and co-ordination of non-government youth

activities would be advocated.

The fear that, if they were not given assistance, young people might create more 'law and order' problems, particularly in urban areas, led to greater government activity. One report stated that:

The size of the youth group, its importance in total employment and the growing problems of unemployment that largely affect young people, have caused increasing concern. In many countries one manifestation of these problems has been growing politicization, especially of educated youth...Such activity is likely to continue...and the responsibility of governments is in the encouragement and harnessing of youth activities for the support of national development efforts (United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific 1977:56).

The South Pacific Commission continued to offer short workshops, in cooperation with government and non-government agencies. In 1974, a workshop conducted in Fiji involved the Methodist Church, the Ministry of Education Youth and Sport, and the South Pacific Commission specialist in out-of-school education (Nalo 1974). In 1978 the Mobile Training Scheme for Youth and Community Workers was established so that longer training courses could be held in different countries in the region.

During the 1970s church-sponsored youth organizations were active in developing resource material and training although, as one observer noted, they tended to focus on working for youth, rather than with youth, and chose continuity over flexibility in planning. Difficulties inherent in leaving all youth activities to be carried out by youth were seen as stemming from the fact that:

By its nature, youth is a transitory group and those of us who have worked with young people know that it is always a question of a new beginning (Grutzner 1978:183).

In 1978 the Commonwealth Youth Programme, initiated in 1973 as a response to concerns felt by member governments, introduced a diploma course for youth workers. This programme combined practical experience in the participant's own country and formal sessions at the University of the South Pacific in Suva. Meetings of Commonwealth ministers and representatives of departments responsible for youth activities continue to be hosted by the Commonwealth Youth Programme and South Pacific youth workers have attended training courses and workshops at the Regional Centre at Chandigarh, India. These contacts played a decisive role in the development of the National Youth Movement Program in Papua New Guinea.

Mention has been made of the role of overseas volunteer organizations and individuals in shaping youth policy development. Many countries, with past or current responsibility for the development of government and non-government services and administrative structures, have continued their involvement after independence. The Australian Development Assistance Bureau, the New Zealand government, French and British aid organizations, and a wide variety of national and international agencies provide staff and financial aid for a wide variety of development activities.

Contract officers from overseas have played a major role in the development of youth policies and programmes in the South Pacific. However, there is often a lack of understanding of the degree to which traditional values and social structures have both persisted and changed in response to introduced ways of thought and life styles. Programmes which were successful in other countries are transferred with minor changes and national counterparts do not always have the experience to evaluate the implications of planning proposals. Often, despite a feeling of disquiet the programme is funded and limitations become evident only during the implementation phase.

The small-scale nature of most South Pacific societies and the search for national unity while retaining respect for cultural diversity, are factors which social development planners need to take into account when considering the level and type of government intervention which is appropriate in particular communities or the nation as a whole. Understanding the view from the village or community is an essential prerequisite for this task but the history of social planning in the South Pacific suggests that often this has not been recognized. Increased involvement of national youth workers in the planning process may, however, make it possible for policies and programmes to be designed which reflect the real needs of each society rather than those of a predetermined youth development model.

CHAPTER 3

YOUTH POLICIES AND PROGRAMMES IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA: 1960-1980

During the twenty years prior to the establishment of the National Youth Movement Program in 1980, government and non-government agencies were concerned that many out-of-school youth had drifted into town from their home communities and that introduced education only prepared them for work in a Western style cash economy. Those who were unable to obtain employment were seen as restless and frustrated and attempts were made to find alternative activities for the growing number of young people in towns throughout Papua New Guinea. Although this was seen as a problem of urban youth, it was also recognized that many rural youth migrated to urban areas, perhaps because of family or village conflicts or because towns were seen as places of excitement and employment.

From 1964 to 1969 issues of the Welfare Quarterly contained news items or reports of meetings and conferences, reflecting the involvement of church and voluntary youth organizations, mainly in the Port Moresby area. The Council of Social Service of Papua, the Youth Consultative Committee, and the Child Welfare Council were in existence during this period and their annual reports document training for youth workers and studies of the problems of young people. In 1968, T.E.Daw and N.Doko carried out a youth survey of Port Moresby for the Council of Social Service of Papua. While noting that a large number of youth programmes were already in existence, they pointed out that:

Most organisations are dealing with the same kind of youth, the one who is in school or has a job and has probably come from a reasonable home (Daw and Doko 1968:18).

They considered that the administration should be more concerned with co-ordination of youth activities and should liaise with and guide organizations interested in youth work. They also recommended that the possible value of a job corps or a national youth service should be examined.

The April 1969 Welfare Quarterly described the proceedings of a conference on youth held in Port Moresby at which participants 'expressed grave concern at the imbalance between job opportunities and the number of school leavers'. It was becoming evident that more and more young people needed jobs or satisfactory alternatives to wage employment. The 1970-71 Annual Report of the Child Welfare Council stated that:

The problem of the school leaver and the growing number of youngsters in towns and elsewhere who can find no place in the

educational or economic system is no closer to solution (Child Welfare Council 1971).

The 1970s could be described as a decade in search of solutions for the problems of unemployed urban youth and of increasing juvenile crime. In 1973 a study group considering the idea of a national youth service in Papua New Guinea produced an interim report. (This was not followed up but the idea of some form of youth service has been revived on several occasions and in 1984 (Post-Courier 30 May 1984:3) the prime minister, speaking in parliament on a review of defence and police forces, referred to the possible introduction of a national youth service.) In 1973 a leadership seminar at Madang brought together representatives of youth groups affiliated with the Young Christians Association and other voluntary and church sponsored organizations and carried out youth work training seminars. The Lutheran Church sponsored the Yungpela Didiman, an association aimed at helping rural youth become more effective farmers in their communities (Hemmes 1975; Samana 1974).

The Port Moresby School Leavers Association concentrated on school-leavers who were too young to compete in the increasingly tight job market or even to find places in vocational or technical training centres. The Port Moresby Community Development Group, which linked youth and community activities as part of its work with urban settlements, assisted in the training of youth leaders (Dom 1980; Yeates 1979). In 1977 a national conference on youth emphasized the need for greater co-ordination in youth activities and this was echoed at the 1978 National Youth Council Workshop, although with a different emphasis on government and non-government activities.

In 1978, the Office of Home Affairs, in co-operation with the Law Reform Commission and representatives from government departments and non-government agencies, set up a committee to draft a new Youth Court Services Act to deal with 'young persons who may be in conflict with the law' (Office of Home Affairs 1978). However, although a draft of the proposed Act was circulated, nothing more was done to implement its recommendations. (In April 1984, the minister for Justice introduced a revision of the 1961 Child Welfare Act with the aim of making appropriate provisions for youthful offenders (Senge 1984:5 and Post-Courier 18 May 1984:13).)

The focus on urban youth as being the most urgent and visible problem seemed to ignore the needs of the majority of the rural youth population. In his introduction to a study of rural youth, Sheldon Weeks points out that the social reality of youth's role in society is complex.

Youth therefore are not a homogenous group. They also do not constitute a 'social category' in predominantly rural developing

nations as a Youth Culture does not exist. Instead youth occupy positions in their villages in families and clans, and participate fully in village life (Weeks 1978:1).

In 1976, the establishment of a village development fellowship scheme, administered by the Office of Village Development, provided an opportunity for young people to carry out development activities in rural communities. Teachers, public servants, school-leavers, university students or graduates were granted fellowships to carry out non-formal education, agricultural and small business projects, or work with youth and women's groups. The scheme has continued, despite changes in its administrative control, and many former fellowship holders are still involved in rural development activities. (Yumi Kirapim, January 1977 and January 1979 give descriptions of the operations of the scheme and the activities of individual fellowship holders.)

Increasing emphasis on wage employment and the changes taking place in rural as well as urban society make it difficult for some young people to 'participate fully' in family and community life. The concept of a Western-style youth culture is, however, remote from rural Papua New Guinea, although it is reflected in the life-styles of urban youth where understanding of Western ways has been gained from films and magazines. Life in town provides limited alternatives for those who have no money and no way of getting a job. The Pacific Islands Monthly for July 1978 carried an article by Percy Chatterton, who commented that:

Most of our post-war problems, including the problem of youth, are imported problems, so there doesn't seem to be anything inappropriate in importing solutions for them.

He opposed any form of para-military National Youth Service, concluding that:

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

Pressures for immediate solutions to youth problems increased during 1978. Many youth workers were impatient at the apparent lack of national government response to the proposals that had been put forward and blamed the Office of Home Affairs for being ineffective. Unemployment and lack of economic opportunities for out-of-school youth increased and in May 1979 the minister for Labor introduced an urban activities scheme with an initial allocation of K750,000. Reported as a scheme to help urban youth, it was administered, not through the youth section of the Office of Home Affairs, but by the Department of Labour itself. The implementation of the scheme

was later criticized for giving help to 'rascal' groups who were said to have used government-sponsored trucks and other equipment to carry out illegal activities. A further statement by the minister emphasized that the scheme was 'community based' and that isolated youth groups would not be funded (Post-Courier 31 May 1979:4, 11 October 1979:3).

The scheme continued to provide ammunition for those who felt that some community and church organizations had influenced the national government to be 'soft on law-and-order'. Differences in approach between those working with youth had been evident during the meetings of the committee preparing the draft Youth Court Services Act. In August 1978 the lord mayor of Port Moresby presented the hardline view when he called for tougher penalties for juvenile offenders and an urban curfew for young people (Post-Courier 22 August 1979:3).

The national government looked to external consultants to provide solutions. In 1979 Jean-Michel Bazinet, the United Nations Interregional Adviser on Youth Policies and Programmes (who had been a youth consultant with the South Pacific Commission), visited Papua New Guinea and outlined the basic structure for a national youth movement, based on earlier ideas and suggestions. He emphasized that:

The youth situation in Papua New Guinea will have to be tackled within the country's strategy for development.

The National Youth Movement envisaged by the government would have to be part of this strategy and provide a structure which will support the organization of young people in their communities and promote and assist all the initiatives which will facilitate their integration and their contribution to development, as defined in the National Strategy (Bazinet 1979:26).

Later in 1979 Andre Renaud, formerly director of the Commonwealth Youth Programme, reported to the Office of Home Affairs on a national youth policy which could be used as the basis for appropriate youth programmes. In July 1979 the National Executive Council directed that these reports, and a further report on youth in conflict with the law (Mount 1979) should be taken up by relevant government departments. A workshop on the planning of youth projects was conducted in Port Moresby and towards the end of 1979 a working paper, 'Rural Youth League : A Draft Programme for Youth Development', was prepared and circulated by the Office of Home Affairs (Office of Home Affairs 1979a, 1979b).

Political tensions in late 1979 and early 1980 culminated in a change of government and this delayed a final decision regarding a national youth programme. However, when the Chan government took office, pressure increased for the establishment of a separate ministry for youth affairs.

The supporters of this proposal included the Papuan National Alliance who hoped to gain a ministry, youth groups and associations who hoped to get grants from the new programme, and youth officers who hoped to gain autonomy from the Department of Community and Family Services.

At the beginning of April 1980 the Papuan National Alliance presented a cabinet submission calling for a national youth movement and a separate ministry. Two weeks later a rally of youth groups and associations marched to the government offices and presented a similar petition. Early in May the National Youth Council called on the government to provide K6.75 million for rural youth, pointing out that urban youth, who represented only a small fraction of the total youth population, were receiving money through the Urban Activities Scheme (Post-Courier 14 May 1980:13). On the following day a news item appeared entitled, 'Ministry of Youth a step closer' (Post-Courier 15 May 1980:3).

In July 1980 Mr Wesani Iwoksime was appointed as the first minister for Youth and Recreation. In his report on the progress of the National Youth Movement Program, Mr Iwoksime described its development in these terms:

The National Youth Movement Program genuinely reflects the wishes of young people, Provincial Government, Churches, and the practical realities of Papua New Guinea's situation today. Instead of being imposed by the National Government, it took shape in response to the proposals of the people for whom the Program was intended, namely the youth - and those who would be responsible for implementing it...(Youth on the Move 1981 1(3):5).

The first issue of Youth on the Move described the final stages in the development of the National Youth Movement Program as involving provincial consultation and input.

In its draft form, the National Youth Movement Program was sent to provinces for comment and followed up by consultation visits by officers of the Office of Home Affairs.

Comments from provinces were later used in modifying the draft for a final submission to National Government. It was approved and funded in August 1980 ready for implementation in January 1981 (Youth on the Move, 1981 1(1):2).

How did this programme finally gain government support after years of alternative proposals, workshops, internal and overseas reports, and community agitation for 'something to be done'?

An important element was that the gradual firming of government support for some kind of national youth activity took place at a time when many church and voluntary youth organizations were attempting to review their own involvement in order to reflect political and economic changes in the wider society. Whatever their own attitudes might have been, some politicians, or aspiring politicians, recognized that young people and older supporters were a political power base and supported demands for recognition by youth groups and community activists. The internal cohesion and sense of purpose in the youth section of the Department of Community and Family Services helped in these final stages as the presentation of clear proposals and guidelines was in marked contrast to the blurred outlines of many earlier initiatives. Fears that more extreme 'law and order' approaches would prevail if the National Youth Movement Program were defeated may also explain the rapidity of its introduction after so many years of indecision.

However, by January 1981, whatever the actual mix of influences and circumstances which led to its final acceptance, the National Youth Movement Program was officially established and expanding its activities throughout Papua New Guinea.

CHAPTER 4

SOCIAL INDICATORS FOR YOUTH : THE PAPUA NEW GUINEA 1980 CENSUS

It has been noted in earlier discussions of youth in society that variations exist throughout Papua New Guinea and in other island nations of the South Pacific. The results of the 1980 National Population Census in Papua New Guinea have made it possible to identify sub-groups in the youth population and provide comparisons and contrasts with other age groups in the total population. Economic activities, levels of education attained by out-of-school youth, and details of their province of birth and residence enable a profile to be built up for each sub-group. It does not explain the reasons for these findings but comparable information obtained for 824,749 young people (442,803 males and 381,946 females) during the 1980 census has identified those with special needs.

The information obtained about education levels, economic activities, and province of birth is particularly useful in a study of the youth population as it shows the wide disparity in access to education and opportunities for involvement in the cash economy.

Highest Grade Completed

Census interviewers recorded answers to the question: What is the highest grade you finished at school? Figures 1-2 show percentages of 'Highest Grades Completed' of all citizen youth for Papua New Guinea and selected provinces.

In this context 'school' was taken to mean a formal educational institution with a defined grade system. Short literacy courses, bible classes or non-formal agricultural or health extension training were not included (National Statistical Office 1982b:12). Some special groups were not asked this question and they include those who were in educational boarding institutions, inmates of prisons, lockups and mental institutions, hospital patients and guardians, hotel guests and ship's crew and passengers (National Statistical Office 1982b:11). During the analysis and preparation of provincial summaries, another limitation was reported.

It has been definitely determined that many children 'at school' were recorded according to the grade they were in and not the grade they had already finished, i.e. the previous year's grade (National Statistical Office 1983a:7).

This meant that the information about a number of school children may have been recorded as a grade level higher than the one they had completed. It does not affect 'out-of-school' youth, those who either have left school after completing some primary or secondary school education or never attended school. In an earlier discussion of the 1980 census, I commented:

The problems of school leavers or 'push-outs' have received a great deal of attention and are often linked to the belief that they are more likely to be roaming around causing trouble. This may be the explanation for the apparent less concern for those who were never 'pushed-in' to the formal school system and who may be out of sight in rural areas (O'Collins 1983a:62).

Almost one out of every two males (49.5 per cent) and two out of every three females (64.1 per cent) in the 12 to 25 out-of-school age group of citizen Papua New Guinea youth are in this category. The differences between provinces are illustrated by ranking the percentage of young men and women in each province who had not completed one grade in a formal school system, and the relative size of each sub-group needs to be taken into account. In nine provinces less than 50 per cent of the male out-of-school youth population have completed one year of formal school. Young women have even less access to the formal school system. In thirteen provinces, over half this sub-group had not completed one year at school.

It is essential that these differences, within and between provinces, are taken into account when designing youth programmes. Basic literacy may, as will be shown in later discussions of particular provincial youth populations, involve help for small scattered groups in some provinces where particular circumstances have led to lack of educational access. In other provinces, however, almost entire sub-groups are educationally disadvantaged. Young girls in many rural areas have had very limited access to community schools and in Enga and Southern Highlands over 90 per cent of out-of-school female youth have not completed one year of formal education. In some rural areas non-formal education programmes have been introduced, and urban youth populations usually have higher formal educational achievement than those in rural areas. Nevertheless, for many young people, lack of basic literacy and numeracy skills is a factor which should be taken into account in the design and implementation of youth programmes.

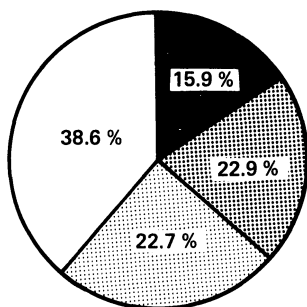
But what of those who have been to school? Census results show considerable disparities in male and female educational attainment and highlights the fact that those who have completed some secondary school education are more likely to be male although, as shown in figures 1-2 and table 2, sex differences vary between provinces.

FIGURE 1

Male Youth Population: Education Levels

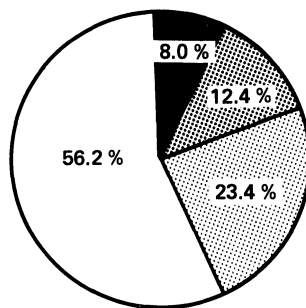
Papua New Guinea

N = 442,803



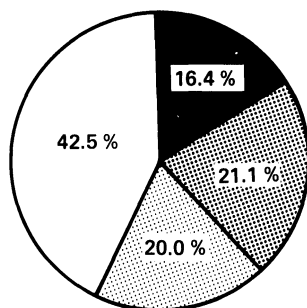
Southern Highlands

N = 27,082



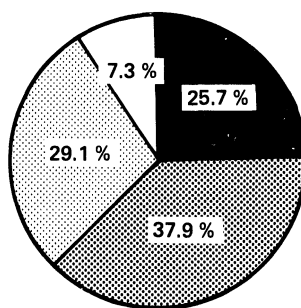
Morobe

N = 47,240



Manus

N = 3,937



Grades Completed



7-12



1-5



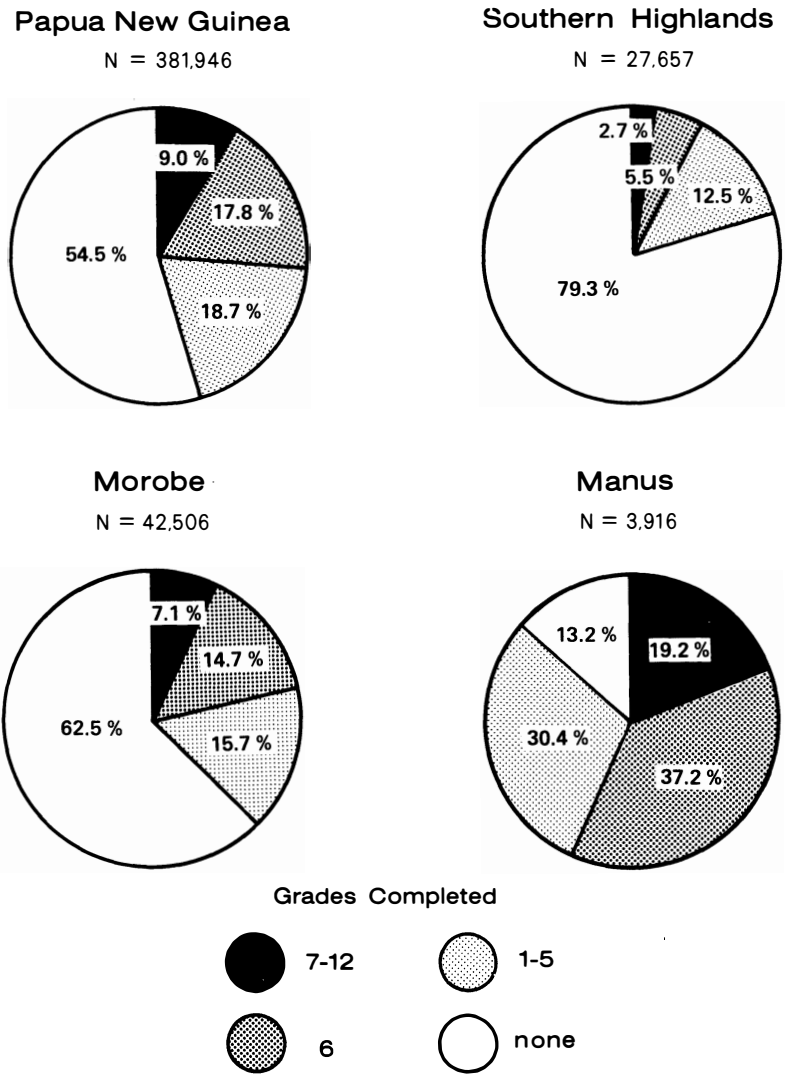
6



none

SOURCE: National Statistical Office
1980 Census Data

FIGURE 2 Female Youth Population: Education Levels



SOURCE: National Statistical Office
1980 Census Data

TABLE 1: OUT OF SCHOOL CITIZEN YOUTH : 12-25 YEARS

Percentages of those who had not completed one grade at formal school

PROVINCE	% MALES	RANK	% FEMALES	RANK	% TOTAL	RANK
Western	38.1	9	51.0	10	44.7	10
Gulf	46.2	11	55.9	11	51.3	11
Central	39.2	10	47.2	7	43.3	9
N C D	15.3	2	24.2	2	9.1	2
Milne Bay	37.5	8	47.2	7	42.2	8
Oro (Northern)	31.0	6	42.6	7	36.6	7
Southern Highlds	74.3	19	90.7	19	83.3	19
Enga	75.6	20	92.0	20	83.8	20
Western Highlds	61.7	16	83.2	16	71.3	15
Simbu	69.5	18	85.8	17	77.0	17
Eastern Highlds	69.4	17	85.9	18	77.6	18
Morobe	53.7	14	70.8	14	62.3	14
Madang	51.5	13	66.4	12	59.0	12
East Sepik	47.1	12	69.7	13	59.0	12
West Sepik	55.1	15	71.6	15	63.7	16
Manus	11.4	1	18.0	1	14.9	1
New Ireland	29.6	5	24.5	4	27.4	4
East New Britain	29.9	6	25.6	5	28.0	5
West New Britain	29.3	4	31.6	5	30.3	6
North Solomons	25.4	3	24.2	2	24.9	3
National Average	49.5		64.1		56.6	

Papua New Guinea (N=167,595)

(N=206,041)

(N=373,636)

Note: Rank is the comparative position of each province. Lowest number equals lowest percentage without formal schooling.

Source: National Statistical Office 1983b.

TABLE 2: PAPUA NEW GUINEA OUT-OF-SCHOOL CITIZEN YOUTH
GRADE COMPLETED BY SEX

Grade	MALE		FEMALE		TOTAL	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
None	167,579	49.5	206,041	64.1	373,636	56.6
1-5	41,295	12.2	33,501	10.4	74,794	11.3
6	86,687	25.6	60,014	18.7	146,701	22.2
7-12	42,871	12.7	22,011	6.8	64,882	9.8
Total	338,446	100.0	321,567	100.0	660,013	100.0

Source: National Statistical Office 1983b.

Employment opportunities for both male and female youth vary with educational levels and jobs for those with secondary school education are more likely to be found in urban areas, so more educated youth tend to move to, or remain in, towns.

TABLE 3: PAPUA NEW GUINEA OUT-OF-SCHOOL CITIZEN YOUTH
EDUCATION BY URBAN OR RURAL RESIDENCE

Grade Completed	RURAL		URBAN		TOTAL	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
None	348,121	62.7	25,515	24.3	373,636	56.6
1-5	60,882	11.0	13,912	13.3	74,794	11.3
6	115,705	20.8	30,996	29.5	146,701	22.2
7-12	30,349	5.5	34,533	32.9	64,882	9.8
Total	555,057	100.0	104,956	100.0	660,013	100.0

Source: National Statistical Office 1983b.

These figures show that urban youth populations have, as might be expected, a higher level of formal schooling. Only 5.5 per cent of all rural out-of-school youth have completed at least one year of secondary school, compared with 32.9 per cent for urban youth.

The organization and management of youth and women's activities and projects often depends upon school leavers, but in the five highlands provinces less than 10 per cent of young women have completed grade 6. Even where female youth have a higher overall level of educational attainment only three provinces recorded significant proportions of young rural women who had completed some secondary education (Manus 15.5 per cent, New Ireland 22.6 per cent, and East New Britain 13.5 per cent).

It should be stressed that the proportions of rural male youth with some secondary education are also low, ranging from 3.5 per cent with secondary school education in Enga to a relatively high 20.3 per cent in Manus. The presence in New Ireland, East New Britain and North Solomons of numbers of young unskilled workers from other provinces means that the proportions of male and female youth with some secondary education is different from the rest of the country. In East New Britain, for example, a higher proportion of rural females with some secondary school education was recorded (13.5 per cent as compared with 11.9 per cent for males). Overall, however, rural youth populations contain only a small proportion of young people with the level of formal education often taken for granted in urban areas.

Economic Activities: What are young people doing?

A problem of continuing concern is the large number of Grade 6 leavers who are unable to continue on to secondary school and who are often described as troublemakers in villages and towns alike. Interviewers asked about activities carried out in the week prior to the census.

Answers to the question 'Last week what did you do most of the time?', were coded as follows:

01. Worked at a wage job.
02. On leave or temporarily absent from work.
03. Big or small-scale business (including unpaid helper).
04. Farming or fishing for food and money.
05. Farming or fishing, subsistence only.
06. Fulltime student (including student on holidays).
07. Working in the house (e.g. housewife).
08. Too old or too young to work, or handicapped.
09. Other activities and looking for work.
10. Other activities and not looking for work.

N/S Not Stated

(National Statistical Office 1982a:25)

Categories 1-4 may be combined to show those actively in the economic sector and some analysts include 09 in this group as the person was 'looking for work'. If 06 (fulltime student) is excluded, 05,07,08 are those with little access to the cash economy. Census reports noted that:

A considerable number of persons were coded 08 (too old or young to work; or handicapped) or 10 (other activities and not looking for work), particularly young persons. It is known that many of these persons were available for work but were not openly seeking it, as they knew none was available (Emphasis added. National Statistical Office 1983b:5).

TABLE 4: OUT OF SCHOOL CITIZEN YOUTH : 12-25 YEARS

Percentages coded 'Other activities and not looking for work'

PROVINCE	MALES		FEMALES		TOTAL	
	%	RANK	%	RANK	%	RANK
Western	28.2	6	17.6	5	22.7	5
Gulf	28.6	5	14.7	9	21.3	7
Central	13.2	19	14.8	7	14.0	15
N C D	15.0	17	10.8	18	13.3	19
Milne Bay	22.2	9	15.3	7	18.8	8
Oro (Northern)	19.8	12	14.4	10	17.2	11
Southern Highlds	23.2	7	12.9	13	17.6	10
Enga	36.7	3	13.0	12	24.9	4
Western Highlds	19.9	11	11.4	16	16.1	12
Simbu	36.7	3	23.6	3	30.7	3
Eastern Highlds	40.6	1	24.2	2	32.5	1
Morobe	17.1	16	10.9	17	14.0	15
Madang	18.4	13	11.9	14	15.1	13
East Sepik	17.4	12	10.7	19	13.9	16
West Sepik	17.4	12	11.7	15	14.4	14
Manus	38.2	2	26.3	1	32.0	2
New Ireland	22.6	8	19.9	4	21.4	6
East New Britain	14.2	18	13.8	11	14.0	15
West New Britain	10.2	20	7.1	20	8.8	20
North Solomons	20.7	10	16.0	6	18.7	9
National Average	22.7		14.3		18.6	
	(N=76,713)		(N=46,089)		(N=122,802)	

Note: Rank is the comparative position of each province. Lowest number equals highest percentage.

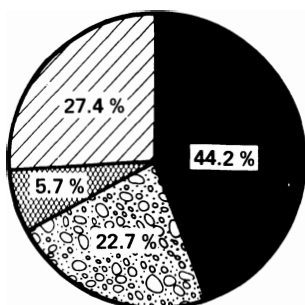
Source: National Statistical Office 1983b.

There is a wide range in the proportion of young men and women who are not involved in the cash economy or the subsistence sector or even looking for work. This is particularly noteworthy for Eastern Highlands where 40.6 per cent of the out-of-school males were coded as 'other activities and not looking for work'. Manus, Enga and Simbu Provinces also have over 35 per cent recorded in this group, in contrast to West New Britain with only 10.2 per cent and National Capital District with 15 per cent.

FIGURE 3 **Male Out - of - School Youth Activities**

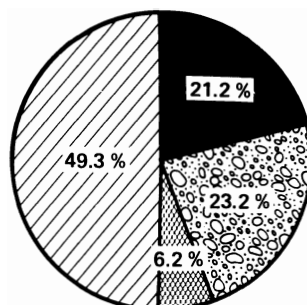
Papua New Guinea

N = 338,616



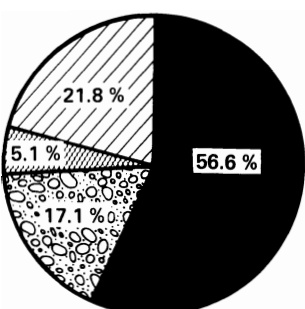
Southern Highlands

N = 19,988



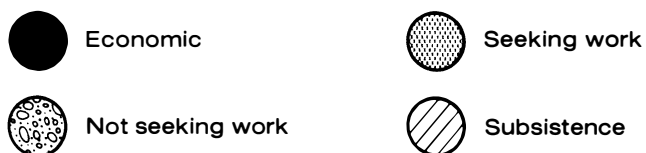
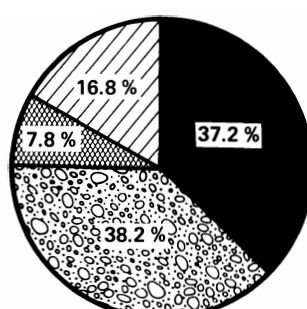
Morobe

N = 36,727



Manus

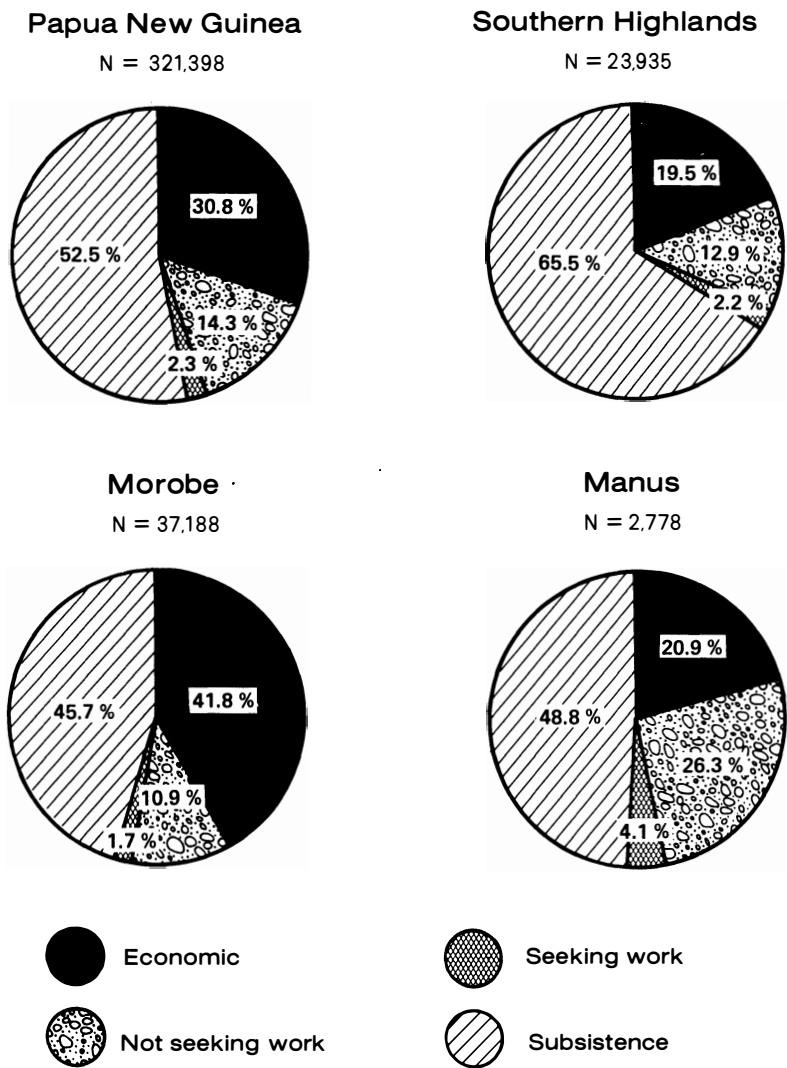
N = 2,510



SOURCE: National Statistical Office
1980 Census Data

NOTE: Economic includes activities 01-04
Subsistence includes activities 05, 07, 08 and not stated
Seeking work activity 09
Not seeking work activity 10

FIGURE 4 Female Out - of - School Youth Activities



SOURCE: National Statistical Office
1980 Census Data

NOTE: Economic includes activities 01-04
Subsistence includes activities 05, 07, 08 and not stated
Seeking work activity 09
Not seeking work activity 10

The proportion of the female youth population in category 10 is lower overall and ranges from a high of 26.3 per cent in Manus and 24.2 per cent in Eastern Highlands to a low of 7.1 per cent in West New Britain. The reasons why young people are more likely to be carrying out the activities that were included in this category are diverse, but it has been noted by observers that in some societies young people are less likely to be involved in the formal economy and that young women become more involved in the subsistence and household sectors as they enter their twenties. Provincial and local differences also mean that traditional or church sponsored activities may involve a great deal of time in some areas and sex, age and urban-rural differences all have to be taken into account.

Table 5 and figures 3 and 4 show variations in the activities of male and female out-of-school youth.

TABLE 5: OUT OF SCHOOL CITIZEN YOUTH : ACTIVITIES BY SEX
AND URBAN OR RURAL RESIDENCE

ACTIVITY	% MALES		% FEMALES	
	URBAN	RURAL	URBAN	RURAL
Economic	66.5	39.5	23.0	32.1
Subsistence	5.7	32.0	58.9	51.5
Seeking Work	9.9	4.8	3.5	2.1
Not Seeking Work	17.8	23.7	14.6	14.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	(N=59,563)	(N=278,883)	(N=45,393)	(N=276,174)

Source: National Statistical Office 1983b.

In urban areas male out-of-school youth are likely to be involved in economic activities, while female out-of-school youth are more likely to be in the subsistence sector. However in rural areas 32.1 per cent of female out-of-school youth are involved in economic activities compared to 39.5 per cent for male out-of-school youth. For both sexes there is a higher proportion looking for work in urban areas but the proportion of females who are carrying out other activities but not looking for work is the same for both urban and rural sectors. Urban males are less likely than rural males to be carrying out other activities but the combined percentages of those seeking work or in the 'other activities' category is almost the same.

Migration by youth to other provinces

A frequent assertion is that young people, particularly young men, are more likely to migrate to other provinces and that a high proportion of unemployed male youth are from other provinces. However, census results

suggest that out-of-school male youth outside their provinces of birth are more likely to be involved in economic activities and less likely to be carrying out other activities than those residing in their provinces of birth. Differences between young women who are residing within or outside their provinces of birth are less marked, perhaps reflecting that subsistence and family responsibilities are the same for wives of migrants, as for those who remain at home. (See figures 5 and 6.)

Age, sex, urban or rural residence, and residence in province of birth or elsewhere, are significant variables from which we can develop a profile of different sub-groups in the total youth population. However, there are other factors which need to be considered. Male out-of-school youth are less involved in either economic or subsistence activities in some provinces but it is not clear why the Eastern Highlands and Manus, with very different patterns of educational attainment and of economic opportunities, have a similarly high proportion in category 10 'Other activities and not looking for work'.

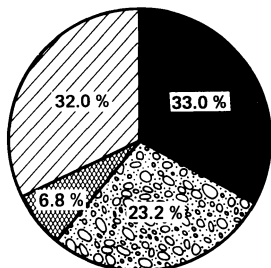
While demographic data provide a basic framework for analysis, the economic, political and historical situation in each province, and changing cultural and societal influences within and between provinces, must also be taken into account. The 1980 census began the process of gathering comparable information about the activities of different groups in Papua New Guinea, including the youth population. Now that data from the census has been analysed it may be possible to focus attention, and government budgetary and staffing commitment, on particular groups. It may also be possible to revise youth programmes which were designed before the 1980 census to assist sub-groups with special needs.

FIGURE 5

Male Out - of - School Youth: Activity by Age

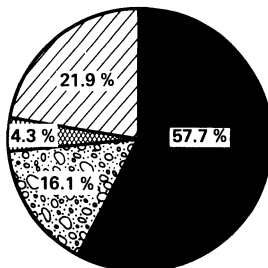
Age Group = 12-19 years

N = 184,654



Age Group = 20-25 years

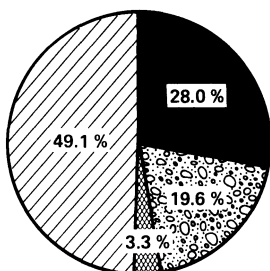
N = 953,162



Female Out - of - School Youth: Activity by Age

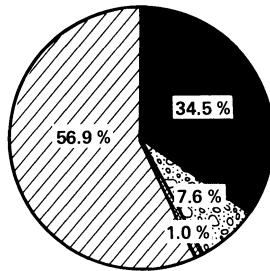
Age Group = 12-19 years

N = 179,458



Age Group = 20-25 years

N = 141,940



Economic



Seeking work



Not seeking work

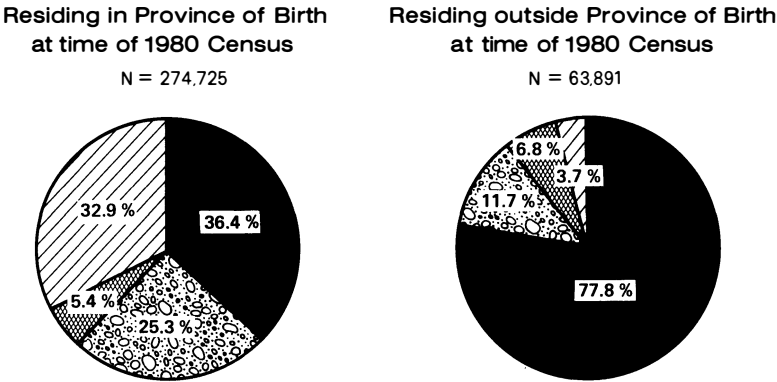


Subsistence

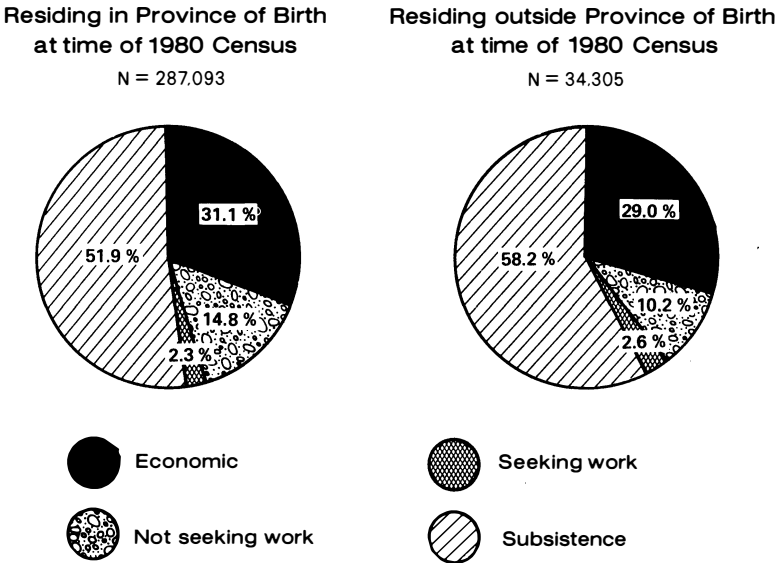
SOURCE: National Statistical Office
1980 Census Data

FIGURE 6

**Male - Out - of - School Youth:
Activity by Residence**



**Female - Out - of - School Youth:
Activity by Residence**



SOURCE: National Statistical Office
1980 Census Data

CHAPTER 5

THE NATIONAL YOUTH MOVEMENT PROGRAM : ON THE MOVE 1981-1983

By the end of 1980, the Office of Youth and Recreation had a separate minister, although its administration still came under the overall control of the Department of Community and Family Services. The National Youth Movement Program (NYMP) defined 'youth' as those between 12 and 25 years of age, and initially consisted of four components:

- (a) a grants scheme which would provide assistance to youth groups registered with their provincial youth coordination centres.
- (b) a community youth coordinators scheme which would provide salaries for community youth coordinators, locally based youth workers who would assist youth groups to develop viable projects and liaise with the Provincial Youth Coordination Centre.
- (c) financial and other assistance to plan annual provincial youth weeks in each province.
- (d) the development of training opportunities and resource material.

Grants Scheme

After the NYMP received cabinet approval in mid 1980, national youth officers visited provinces to encourage the formation of provincial youth councils in readiness for the implementation of the grants scheme. By the end of 1980 initial grants of K10,000 had been made to fifteen provinces. From these grants the first allocations were made to youth group projects approved by provincial youth councils. Grants were for a maximum of K1000 with provincial youth officers responsible for overall supervision. Guidelines prepared by the NYMP Headquarters staff were published in the first issue of Youth on the Move, the NYMP official newsletter. Approved activities could involve:

- self-employment training including economic projects
- sports, recreation, leisure
- culture
- spiritual development
- community service.

The guidelines emphasized that:

Priority is given to income-generating and employment-creating projects.

Community Youth Coordinators will work with village youth groups helping them set their projects up....

The Grants Scheme in the NYMP is a tied grant to the Provinces to assist youth groups with small scale projects.

The objectives of the NYMP Grants scheme are :-

1. to support youth group projects that promote training in self-employment skills, or training in organization and management of commercial or group undertakings.
2. to support youth group projects as a means of introducing new ideas into the Community.
3. to support youth group projects that will strengthen co-operation leading to better community life.

(Youth on the Move 1981 1(1):2,5)

The rush was on to obtain grants and in August 1981 Youth on the Move reported that a total of 2,537 youth groups had been registered in all provinces except the National Capital District, where moves were being made to introduce an urban youth programme. Groups ranged from 15 in Western and Gulf provinces, to 320 in Northern. During the first eighteen months it became evident that general management, monitoring, and accountability varied between provinces. It was decided that there was a need for clearer and more stringent guidelines, and further training for youth managers and other youth workers. In July 1982 the Office of Youth and Recreation circulated guidelines which used the Eastern Highlands Provincial Coordination Centre as a model:

The Eastern Highlands PYCC is the most effective and best documented PYCC in Papua New Guinea. Its minutes show how hard-working and well-intentioned people have struggled to make the National Youth Movement Program work successfully. We publish the minutes to encourage other Provinces, and to help those still unsure of themselves to see just what can be done....

Staff from the NYMP in the Office of Youth and Recreation help Provincial Youth Councils set up effective PYCCs. Too many programmes in the past have failed for lack of supervision and on-going concern. The PYCC exists to make sure this does not happen to the National Youth Movement Program (Office of Youth and Recreation 1982:1)

Problems in reporting back on how grants had been spent led Minister Tom Awasa (who in a departmental reshuffle was about to become the Minister for Youth, Women, Religion and Recreation) to caution that, despite the good progress which had been made, problems in accountability remained:

I am impressed with the accountability and reporting steps that have been laid down. Provincial Youth Councils are working well in almost every province. I know that there are one or two where improvements have to be made. Let me repeat my earlier warning: no Grants Scheme Allocations will be given to a Provincial Youth Council whose performance is not up to standard. As managers of the NYMP, all of you have to make sure that administrative systems are functioning properly in your province. (Address by the Hon. Tom Awasa, M.P. when opening the first National Workshop of Managers of the NYMP, Goroka, October 1982. Youth on the Move 1982 2(3):13)

Following this workshop, revised guidelines were distributed and provincial quarterly reports increased. The revised guidelines for grants schemes reiterated that:

Priority must be given to projects which generate productive action in the informal economy of villages and settlements in urban areas. The National Youth Movement Program is one of the major attempts by the National Government to develop and retain wealth there....

The objectives of the National Youth Movement Program Grants Scheme are to :

- i) support youth group projects that promote training in self-employment skills, or training in organization and management of commercial or other group undertakings.
- ii) support youth groups to carry out experimental projects as a means to introducing new ideas into the community and which youth would potentially be more willing to accept.
- iii) support group projects that will strengthen co-operation and social harmony throughout the community...

Each quarter the Provincial Youth Coordination Centre shall provide a statement of expenditure out of this Fund Account to the National Youth Coordination Centre. This is a mandatory requirement (Office of Religion, Youth and Recreation 1982a).

The general lack of administrative and management skills was noted at the Managers Workshop and their proposed plan for the five year period 1983-1987 stressed the need for improvement:

Both Government and Church organizations involved with the implementation of the National Youth Movement Program must have

the proper structure and establishment to cope with the heavy demands of the Youth Movement. The Workshop emphasized that administration become a strategy on its own, so that something positive can be done in the next five years, if not sooner, to meet this need. Strong and responsive administration at all levels of the National Youth Movement Program is viewed as a necessary element of the NYMP 1983-1987 Plan (Office of Religion, Youth and Recreation 1982b:4).

To assist provincial managers in their task of providing financial and statistical information to the National Youth Coordination Centre, a model report from the Enga Youth Movement Program was circulated (Office of Youth, Women, Religion and Recreation 1983a).

The supervision of the scheme meant additional administrative tasks for youth workers and further procedures were introduced for monitoring and reporting on the performance of community youth coordinators.

The National Youth Movement Program Coordinators Assistance Scheme

This scheme, based on the village development fellowship model, began in 1980 with the gradual appointment of locally-based youth workers recommended by provincial youth councils. The payment of K83.33 per month and the final authority to hire or fire community youth coordinators remained with NYMP headquarters. By mid 1982 approval had been given for the appointment of 131 community youth coordinators (CYCs) out of a total of 190 approved positions. A probationary period of three months could be followed by appointment for up to three years. Guidelines, as revised in 1982, outlined the responsibility of CYCs to attend youth group meetings, provide information to youth groups, the Provincial Youth Council and the Provincial Youth Office, and prepare detailed work reports. This presumed a level of resources, time and commitment not always available. Provinces were also advised that additional CYCs should be funded out of provincial budgets (Office of Youth, Women, Religion and Recreation 1982a).

Provincial and district training courses and workshops for CYCs have been carried out and during 1982 Youth on the Move reported the establishment of district councils in several provinces. In November 1982 the NYMP headquarters circulated the Bereina District, Central Province, Constitution as a District Youth Council Constitution Model to encourage this development. In mid 1983 additional procedures were initiated by which provincial youth managers should evaluate the performance of community youth coordinators. These evaluation forms were added to the quarterly reports and provided up-to-date information on the work being carried out by the CYCs and their contact with, and acceptance by, the communities in which they worked. The development of district councils meant that CYCs would

also be involved in liaising with these new bodies and between district and provincial councils.

Provincial Youth Weeks

The need to publicize the NYMP and to encourage youth activities at provincial level led to the promotion and funding of provincial youth weeks. In July 1981, West New Britain and Western Highlands held youth weeks and National Capital District and Milne Bay held similar celebrations in September. These set a pattern followed by other provinces of sports events, traditional dancing, demonstrations, exhibits of youth group projects and talks from extension officers. Each provincial youth council received K5000 for the expenses involved in bringing youth groups to the venue. Youth weeks attracted a great deal of community interest and, depending on the level of organization and the activities involved, demonstrated to the general public the vigour and growth of the NYMP.

In 1983, a coordinated national youth week was held from July 3-9 in all provinces. Organizing committees were set up to provide 'youth leaders and activists' with 'a clear understanding of modern PNG and the influences in it'. A further aim was to 'look at projects and how they fit into provincial plans'. Seminar topics included cultural and spiritual development and training for self-employment (Youth on the Move 1983 3(1):1-2). There was less emphasis on sports and traditional activities so the involvement of community members depended upon the mix of people who attended as youth group representatives. This shift in emphasis was reflected in plans for International Youth Year, scheduled by the United Nations for 1985:

Since February 1983, the National Youth Council and the Office have been preparing for IYY, and a plan of action was presented to the Annual General Meeting of the National Youth Council on 7-8 April 1983. It was adopted.

Among other elements the plan included:

identifying the problems facing Youth, by setting up consultations with Youth through Provincial Youth Weeks, National Youth Weeks and special conferences in 1983, 1984 and 1985 (Youth on the Move 1983 3(1):4).

Training and Resource Materials

The implementation of this component has been highly visible with numerous workshops and training seminars, publications and teaching materials distributed to national, provincial and district youth workers. These have included, not only youth group members or officials, but youth

workers from church and other non-government organizations. In July 1981, fifty participants attended the Ministers of Religion Workshop on Youth and Development and adopted a Christian Declaration on Youth and Development. A certificate course was initiated in 1982 and is administered by the YMCA in Lae in cooperation with the Office of Youth. The aim is to provide a general development orientation for CYCs as well as training in practical extension skills and NYMP procedures. Regional training officers have conducted courses for CYCs, youth leaders, and church workers in many provinces and districts throughout Papua New Guinea.

International links had already been established through such courses as the Commonwealth Youth Diploma but further contacts have been made. These include the National Youth Leaders Training Workshop sponsored by ESCAP and held in Lae in December 1980, and the Youth Exchange Scheme linked to the Office of Youth Affairs in Australia. A Commonwealth Youth Study Fellowship Work Programme in South East Asia and an ESCAP sponsored seminar for trainers of youth workers and youth leaders held in the Republic of China, provided opportunities for youth officers to discuss new developments with youth workers from other countries.

In September 1983 the appointment of a statistician to NYMP headquarters staff provided the opportunity for demographic data on youth to be made available to national and provincial youth workers.

The NYMP headquarters provides the secretariat for the National Youth Council, which was set up in 1978 and strongly supported the establishment of the Office of Youth. At its annual general meeting in April 1982, the National Youth Council adopted a statement on Directions for Youth and Development. This was circulated by the NYMP Office and called for the adoption by the national government of a national youth policy. Other publications produced by the NYMP Office included 'Towards a National Employment Strategy', a report by Colin Benjamin and Don Fraser who visited Papua New Guinea under the auspices of the Papua New Guinea-Australia Youth Exchange Scheme, and a 'Discussion Paper for a Metropolitan Social Planning Council' November 1982, by Kepas Paon, which followed a workshop on resources available for urban youth in Port Moresby held in September 1982.

In December 1983 a staff member of the Australian National University Centre for Continuing Education visited Papua New Guinea to advise on the preparation of an evaluation and assessment of the progress of the NYMP.

Urban Youth Program

In the initial stages of the NYMP, the National Capital District was not included as the major focus was on rural youth groups. However, the Urban Areas Activities Scheme (or Self-Reliance Scheme as it was renamed) had not proved an effective tool for assisting youth groups and there was

considerable concern over an increase in gang activities. The National Capital District Youth Council included many youth organizations and associations which catered mainly for employed youth or those with access to the cash economy. School leaver centres and vocational schools were active but Office of Youth staff considered that these were not community based and that unemployed out-of-school youth in the National Capital District were not receiving adequate support. Direct government assistance to existing youth organizations was limited and there was reluctance on the part of both Education Department and Youth Office staff to take further responsibility for funding church sponsored school leaver centres.

National government youth officers, who had been working in the National Capital District, were unable to continue when the Motu Koita Assembly was established and this added to the lack of assistance available to young people, particularly those living in settlements.

In 1981 with the help of Len Barnett (a youth exchange visitor from Australia) a submission was made for an urban programme in Port Moresby and other urban centres. The New Zealand government provided an initial grant of K20,000 to enable the programme to be implemented in 1982 and a New Zealand volunteer youth worker was appointed to establish an urban youth network in Port Moresby. Government funding began in 1983 with separate allocations for urban community coordinators and a separate grants scheme. General NYMP guidelines were followed but additional aims were set out:

The aims of the Urban Youth Program are:

- (a) To build a strong and productive urban youth movement.
- (b) To improve the standard of living of urban communities.
- (c) To strengthen leadership within urban communities.
- (d) To introduce social planning into urban centres.

...The Urban Youth Program is initially controlled by the Office of Youth in Port Moresby. This is because there is no other expertise in running such a program. As Co-ordinators are appointed on a full-time basis, and as urban decision-making bodies are formed and prove themselves, responsibilities will be devolved (Office of Youth, Women, Religion and Recreation 1983c:1-2).

Existing church or voluntary urban associations were generally excluded from the initial operations of the urban youth programme as they were regarded as institutional, rather than community based.

The Urban Youth Program will only work with youth groups from a settlement or low-income area, or a village inside or close to a town. There is no point in working with so-called "groups" based

on churches or other kinds of buildings unless their members come from the same community (ibid.:7).

By mid 1983, the programme was described as running smoothly in Port Moresby, Lae, Wewak and Goroka, and training courses had been conducted by an Australian youth worker funded by the Australian Development Assistance Bureau (Youth on the Move 1983 3(1):9).

The assumption that a separate urban youth programme was the best way to resolve broader community needs and law and order problems was questioned by some youth workers who felt that this would be divisive and not make the best use of all available community resources. Problems faced by urban youth are related, not only to questions of law and order or gang activities, but also to employment opportunities and housing and subsistence needs in migrant settlements and urban villages. While a stated aim has been to involve community leaders, the major focus has remained on youth, and many observers consider that there needs to be a greater sharing of power and decision-making if the programme is to become a significant force in the community.

Misunderstandings between the existing executive of the National Capital District Youth Council and Urban Youth Program staff were probably inevitable, given the different basic philosophies of both groups but at the 1983 annual general meeting of the Council, members of non-government youth agencies and urban youth groups were elected with the aim of achieving greater cooperation in the future.

Youth gangs have continued to operate in Port Moresby and other urban centres. Assistance for youth who have been involved in delinquent or criminal activities or who are in special need continues to be provided by non-government agencies, notably the Salvation Army and the Catholic Church. Child welfare functions formerly carried out by the Department of Community and Family Services were transferred to the Justice Department in 1982 and bureaucratic confusion and conflict over the allocation of child and youth welfare responsibilities between the Justice and Provincial Affairs departments has hampered the carrying out of youth welfare and probation services.

Serious concern was expressed by managers of juvenile detention centres at delays in payment of allowances for young people who had been placed in their care, usually as a result of convictions in the Children's Court. Welfare officers were unable to provide social histories as a guide to Children's Court magistrates and regular visits to corrective institutions ceased. While in large measure these problems arose from administrative delays, there was also a sense of impatience with remedial or rehabilitative approaches and this may explain why attention was given to ensuring that welfare services were not disrupted during the restructuring of government

services.

The Urban Youth Program concentrated on economic projects which would involve urban youth, with the assumption that this would turn them away from delinquent activities. At the same time there was an implicit attitude that those already in trouble with the law should be banished from the community, and proposals for increased residential facilities received greater support than those for community-based probation or youth welfare services. This was not surprising and reflected earlier debates on the introduction of alternatives to residential care for juvenile offenders (see O'Collins and MacPherson 1980). The growth of organized gang activities has often involved unemployed youth and linked urban and rural areas in a network of criminal activities, and this calls for combined government, non-government and community action (Po'o 1975; Utulerea 1981; Reay 1982; Gemo 1982; O'Collins 1983b).

In April 1984 the minister for Justice introduced a bill on juvenile courts to provide a wide range of sentencing alternatives including imprisonment, fines, probation, suspended sentences, and committal to open or secure custody. This bill appeared to be a revised version of the Youth Court Services Act and owed a great deal to the work of church and voluntary youth workers who had continued to press for action to be taken on earlier recommendations (Senge 1984:5). The Justice Department was concerned at the frequency of imprisonment of offenders under sixteen years of age in adult corrective institutions and, as a result of complaints by the Ombudsman Commission and the Superintendent of Boys Town, the Chief Justice was asked to consider the cases of juvenile offenders who had been sent to Bomana Corrective Institution (Post-Courier 18 May 1984:1). The report of the Review Committee on Law and Order, which had been established by the government to review policy and administration on law and order, was also released in May 1984. A major theme in its recommendations was that there needed to be a broader approach to long-term youth programmes and that non-government initiatives should be seen as an important part of the overall approach to youth in society (Post-Courier 4 June 1984:12-13).

It is clear that the urban youth programme can only provide a partial answer to these problems, and that there needs to be greater links with community-based groups and with government and non-government agencies working with youth. This has been recognized in Goroka, where the Eastern Highlands Rehabilitation Committee and provincial government probation and youth welfare services have maintained close links with other youth services and with the Provincial Youth Council (Giddings 1981, 1982). This more integrated approach to youth development and welfare has yet to be achieved in other urban centres.

The National Youth Movement Corporation

A further innovation, which has been accepted and funded by the national government, is the establishment of a 'business wing' for the NYMP. The reasons put forward for this proposal were that greater autonomy in developing youth projects would be possible and that a maximum of K1000 for grants did not provide assistance for larger economic projects. Successful economic projects could be used as a starting point, rather than as an end in themselves, if funds were available through such a corporation. A proposal prepared by the Office of Youth was approved, and the corporation received an initial grant of K100,000 in the 1983 National Budget. The report of the Provincial Managers Workshop stated that:

In this regard the managers welcomed the initiatives at the National level of the Office of Religion, Youth and Recreation and the National Youth Council towards a National Employment Strategy which focuses on productive work by youth in the informal economy, and the National Youth Movement Corporation which will mobilise savings of youth groups to support bigger youth projects in the informal economy. This initiative was viewed as a more stable form of assistance which will be under the control of the Youth Movement itself...

The National Office sets 1987 as the target for the full co-operation of the 19 Provincial Youth Council business wings (Office of Religion, Youth and Recreation 1982b:5-6).

Since then additional funds have been allocated and an executive officer has been appointed. During 1982, a task force was set up to prepare a national youth employment strategy, and included representatives from government, the private sector and individual experts (Youth on the Move, 1982 2(2):1-2). The chairmanship of the task force was initially in the Office of Youth but the relocation of several senior youth office staff brought it more directly under the control of the Prime Minister's Department. By May 1984, it had not completed its deliberations but it was anticipated that a report on youth employment would be prepared before the end of 1984.

The National Public Expenditure Plan: 1984-1987 listed budgetary allocations to National Youth Movement Program. In 1984 these will include:

Youth coordinators allowances	K300,000
Regional training workshops	K30,000
Allowances for youth exchange	
system with Australia	K3,000
Provincial and urban youth grants	K600,000

In 1984 the National Youth Movement Corporation will receive a grant of

K50,000 but is expected to become self-supporting. The on-going Development Fellowship Scheme which was to receive a separate grant of K69,000 annually to 1987, will be reviewed, 'with a view to absorbing the youth and women's project coordinators into the youth and women's programmes and abolishing the scheme' (National Planning Office 1983:168-169). An assumption in this proposal is that community-based development projects can all be carried out under the auspices of youth or women's activities.

In the four years since its inception the NYMP had been vigorously promoted at national level and by many provincial youth councils and provincial youth managers. The stress on efficiency, regular reports and financial accountability demanded a high level of commitment on the part of national supervisory staff and provincial youth officers and previous training and experience had not always prepared them for these tasks. Training was undertaken at all levels to improve administrative and accounting skills and a great deal was accomplished.

Changes in NYMP headquarters staff: November 1983 to May 1984

Until the last quarter of 1983, the NYMP had been administered by a small number of senior headquarters staff who saw their area of responsibility as separate and distinct from other sections in the Office of Youth, Women, Religion and Recreation. Although some provinces were seeking or had already gained greater control of local decision making, the overall management of the youth programme was still largely centralized. Many youth officers lacked confidence in their ability to understand and implement the guidelines which had been laid down and, even if they resented administrative direction from headquarters, relied upon national staff for advice and assistance.

In October 1983 a new director was appointed to the Office of Youth, Women, Religion and Recreation. A senior public servant, he had anticipated taking control of all sections of the office and considered that its subordinate position within the overall administrative authority of the Prime Minister's Department was unsatisfactory (Post-Courier 21 November 1983:2). Tensions between the new director and several senior youth officers led to relocation of the senior projects officer, the senior training officer, the assistant director of the Youth Division and the statistician. Accusations and counter-accusations of authoritarian behaviour and lack of cooperation affected the general administration of the youth section of the office. The National Youth Council supported senior officers and called for the Prime Minister's Department to take over direct responsibility for the NYMP (Post-Courier, 4 June 1984:15).

At provincial level, youth councils and government workers became concerned that problems in Port Moresby were affecting the distribution of allowances to CYCs and hampering communication with NYMP headquarters.

The breakdown in lines of communication and authority continued during the first quarter of 1984. At the New Guinea Islands Regional Youth Conference, held in Lorengau in April 1984, concern was voiced that central administration conflicts were making it difficult for provincial youth councils. After considerable discussion, the meeting agreed that continuity and efficiency were the major issues of concern and urged the director and the National Youth Council to resolve their differences. As an observer at this meeting, I noted the feeling of dependency expressed by some participants who saw the youth movement bureaucracy as complicated and difficult and did not want to lose the support and guidance of the remarkably dedicated and ideologically committed initiators of the programme.

Other participants saw the dispute as a minor issue reflecting a clash of strong personalities who believed that their positions were being threatened. However, the fragility of a centralized administrative structure, which depends upon a few senior staff who understand what it is all about, was clearly demonstrated. A number of provincial youth council members and youth officers saw this temporary paralysis of central NYMP functioning as a good opportunity to assess the degree to which the NYMP should be decentralized so that a more flexible structure could evolve.

Most adopted a 'wait and see' approach with the hope that the central NYMP staff would overcome their management problems and return to normal administrative activities.

Future directions for the NYMP

The early years of NYMP reflected the remarkable achievements and vigorous and dedicated work of a few committed individuals. Its basic ideology is shared by most youth and community workers, even if differences exist in the choice of implementation strategies. It reached out to young people and those interested in their welfare with a promise that their situation would be improved if they gave their support. The emphasis on accountability, commitment and professionalism was seen as the only way to ensure that it would not collapse as so many development programmes had in the past.

Nevertheless, despite the significant contributions which have been made to youth development, the almost exclusive emphasis on economic development is in striking contrast to the stated aims of promoting 'integral human development'. The all-encompassing nature of the many activities which have been introduced in the first three years of its operation have encouraged young people and youth workers alike to see it as providing economic solutions for development problems. Unrealistic expectations make it more difficult for supporters to face setbacks and failures and there is a danger that the programme might be abandoned if it

does not fulfill its promise of economic progress and development.

In terms of practical implementation there are other questions which will need to be considered. It is not clear how provincial and district level youth workers cope with a centrally planned and supervised programme while also responding to provincial and community pressures. Provincial and local differences in eligibility for membership of youth groups means that in some areas all age groups are 'youth', while in others the 12 to 25 years age range is more closely followed.

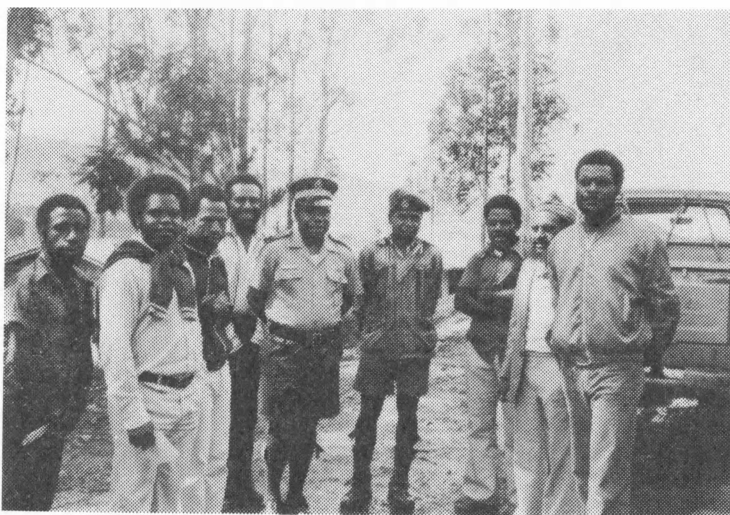
Young women have often been less involved in NYMP activities, and procedures for obtaining grants, in some provinces at least, differentiate between groups who are termed 'women's' groups and others which are seen as legitimate 'youth' groups. The 1982 Managers Workshop recommended that, as women members were rarely found in leadership positions, 'policy and programme initiatives are required to meet the special needs of young women' (Office of Religion, Youth and Recreation 1982b:13).

Participation of older community members, while a normal fact of rural village life, has also raised questions about the degree to which youth groups should be controlled by young people themselves. Should control be shared between community and youth, be only by young people, or are middlemen and middlewomen needed to bridge the gap between youth groups and clan or community leaders?

Other questions arise when we look at what has taken place in the first three years of the NYMP. How has it been accepted in different Provinces? Are most groups who register functioning two years later? What are the similarities and the differences in provincial approaches to the movement? Finally, do problems which have arisen reflect the speed of its implementation and suggest that there is a need to sort out national, provincial and district objectives and relationships before moving on to a new phase?



A youth group member, village elder and district extension services officer from Koroba, at the Southern Highlands Provincial Youth Week seminar, Mendi High School. July 1983.



The Provincial Community Development Officer, Community Youth Coordinators, youth group members and guest speakers at the Provincial Youth Week seminar, Mendi High School. July 1983.



Kundakapangi villagers and the community centre which they are completing as part of a youth and community project, Southern Highlands. April 1984.



The President of Kundakapangi Youth Group and the chicken project for which the group received a grant from the Provincial Youth Council, Upper Mendi, Southern Highlands. April 1984.

CHAPTER 6

YOUTH IN GROUPS: MANUS, MOROBE AND SOUTHERN HIGHLANDS

During the second half of 1983, a survey of youth groups was carried out in Manus, Morobe and Southern Highlands provinces. The purpose of this survey was to obtain comparable data about youth groups who were known to provincial youth officers and to learn why these groups were formed, their sponsors, problems, activities, and ways of raising finance.

The data collection phase: collaborative research in action.

From April to June 1983 initial contacts were made with a number of groups and individuals involved in youth activities. It was impracticable to attempt a survey of all provinces, but those selected provide relevant inter-provincial comparisons: Southern Highlands, where access to education and other services is a recent event, and which has been the focus of the multi-million kina 'Southern Highlands Rural Development Project'; Morobe, with the largest provincial population, the second largest urban centre, a wide diversity of social and economic features, and a strong provincial government; and Manus, the smallest and most distant province which ranks first in educational and health indicators but in economic terms is one of the least developed provinces. Letters were sent to provincial and national officials in Southern Highlands, Morobe and Manus, requesting help in carrying out the survey (see Appendix 1).

For a number of years, the Department of Anthropology and Sociology at the University of Papua New Guinea has been involved in fieldwork and research projects in which we co-operate with government and non-government institutions and organizations. A particular aim has been that the community members and government and non-government workers should share the fieldwork and research experience and be part of the teaching and learning process for both staff and students (O'Collins 1977, 1979).

This meant that the outline which accompanied the introductory letter emphasized the collaborative nature of the research and the practical value of the research topic (see Appendix 2).

Although Southern Highlands, Morobe and Manus provinces were selected for the survey, supplementary information was gathered from a number of other areas, in particular Eastern Highlands, New Ireland and the National Capital District. As the study got under way, it was clear that some initial aims would have to be modified but the overall focus of working with provincial youth officials in collaboration with community groups and non-government organizations was maintained.

In May 1983 Jaru Bisa and Nick Araho, two senior social science students at the University of Papua New Guinea, carried out preliminary interviews in Goroka and the National Capital District and contributed ideas and suggestions for the survey. The revised survey guide outlined information to be obtained about the person interviewed as well as the specific youth group. A total of eighteen separate information categories was included, some with suggested coding categories which could be used if appropriate, and others which were more open-ended. This provided a structure for inexperienced interviewers, although with hindsight it may have been better to have included fewer suggestions (see Appendix 3).

After approval had been given by provincial officials interview guides were distributed to the three provinces, according to the number of youth groups registered with provincial youth offices. It was hoped that one half of all registered youth groups would be interviewed. This involved about 30 groups in Manus, 120 groups in Southern Highlands, and 140 groups in Morobe. The final count was Southern Highlands 93 groups, Morobe 36 groups, and Manus 28 groups. The reasons why the final figures were much less for Morobe than anticipated will be considered later.

Between June and September 1983, and again in April 1984, I visited Southern Highlands, Manus, and Morobe and discussed with youth workers, community leaders, government and non-government officials, and youth group members themselves, the particular problems facing youth in each province and the activities which were carried out. Group meetings with youth officers and community youth coordinators took place in each province and several community meetings were also arranged. I was a speaker at a seminar organized in Southern Highlands as part of Provincial Youth Week in July 1983, an observer at the third New Guinea Islands regional youth conference held in Manus in April 1984, and attended meetings of the Morobe Provincial Youth Council and the National Capital District Youth Council.

Because of weather conditions, visits to Morobe scheduled during August 1983 could not take place so communication was not as constant as with Southern Highlands and Manus.

Southern Highlands Province

The restructuring of government services in 1982-1983 led to the establishment of an extension support unit which combined non-formal education, youth and women's activities with information services. The administrative changes and the overall impact of the Southern Highlands Integrated Rural Development Project will be discussed in chapter 7, but what proved to be important and timely was a provincial survey of all community groups planned for the second half of 1983.

At my initial visit to Mendi it was agreed that officers conducting the larger survey would also complete the information guide for each youth group. Surveys were conducted on a district by district basis and, although some officers were more familiar with interviewing procedures than others, by October a total of 93 information guides had been completed. Meetings with CYCs and extension workers helped to explain some of the difficulties involved in locating registered youth groups. It became apparent that many of these groups had collapsed or were now re-established under other names and that the whereabouts of former office bearers were often unknown.

Morobe

Following contacts with the Provincial Planning Office and the Provincial Youth Officer, I visited Lae and explained the overall objectives of the survey and the specific details of the information guide. Several youth group members and CYCs were present at this meeting and it was agreed that a briefing would be carried out at the meeting of all provincial CYCs scheduled for July, and that the Youth Office would distribute the interview schedules at that time.

However, the survey briefing did not eventuate and forms were distributed with only minimal explanation as to the purpose of the survey. From August to October, Morobe experienced very serious floods and communication between Lae and other areas was often difficult. Two planned visits to Lae had to be cancelled so it is surprising that even 36 information guides were completed.

In addition to the environmental problems which occurred during the period of the survey, tensions between provincial and national authorities were another factor in the lack of involvement by youth officers, although this was not evident during initial discussions.

Subsequent contacts with provincial youth workers and other officials have provided additional details so that the information from the surveyed youth groups can be interpreted more fully, although they do represent a very small percentage of the officially registered groups in Morobe Province. An important feature in Morobe is the large number of long established church-sponsored youth groups and any conclusions about the status of youth activities must take these into account. All of the surveyed groups were linked to the Lutheran Church and the significant involvement of churches in youth activities will be discussed in chapter 8.

Manus Province

In Manus, underlying community tensions reflect political differences and conflicts over the allocation of scarce resources. Simmering disputes over land, fishing rights and the use of forest products limited the success

of many youth projects in the province. In addition the emergence of the 'Makasol Movement', a new version of the older Paliau Movement, split some communities in Manus. These long-standing political and social tensions meant that CYCs in 'Makasol' areas were seen to be government workers and encountered particular difficulties (see Schwartz 1972 and Pokawin 1983 for discussions of the Paliau and Makasol movements).

In discussions with youth leaders and community members, many of the problems noted by interviewers for the twenty-eight surveyed groups were reiterated. The realities of collaborative research, were also reflected as CYCs only receive a monthly allowance of K83.33 and it is understandable that they may not feel obliged to undertake further voluntary, and potentially sensitive, tasks for which they receive no extra financial reward.

Despite these limitations which became apparent during and after the interviewing phase, details obtained for the 157 groups provide insights into the situation of young people in their communities and reflect the tendency for youth problems to mirror those of the wider society.

Who were the informants?

Some details about informants were obtained for 150 groups. Seventy-four (49.3 per cent) of the informants were group presidents, a further thirty-five (24.7 per cent) were other office bearers or members, government and church youth workers totalled thirty (20 per cent), and nine businessmen, politicians, and community members made up the remainder. The seven unidentified informants were probably the interviewers themselves but the affect on the total spread of information is not significant.

The ages of seventy-three group presidents were recorded. The majority (56.2 per cent) were over 25 years. Only four (5.5 per cent) were less than 20 years, twenty-eight (38.4 per cent) were 20 to 25 years, twenty-nine (39.7 per cent) 26 to 35 years and a further twelve (16.4 per cent), were over 36 years. Other office bearers and group members tended to be younger and to have had more formal education. Only six women were included as informants although female members were recorded for 126 of the 157 groups. None was a group president, so the information obtained provides an almost exclusively male perspective.

Informants who were office bearers or group members tended to have more formal education than the average for their age or sex group in the particular province.

TABLE 6: EDUCATIONAL LEVELS OF GROUP INFORMANTS
(Percentages in each category)

Grade Completed	President	Other Group Member	Total
None	14.1	10.8	13.0
1-5	4.2	2.7	5.3
6	25.4	21.6	24.1
7+	36.6	56.7	43.5
Other	19.7	8.2	14.1
Total	100.0 N = 71	100.0 N = 37	100.0 N = 108

Note: Other includes those who attended Bible or Tok-ples schools or literacy classes.

Source: Youth in Groups Survey

TABLE 7: AGES OF GROUP INFORMANTS
(Percentages in each category)

Age Range	President	Other Group Member	Total
15-19	5.5	34.3	14.8
20-25	38.4	37.1	38.0
26-35	39.7	28.6	36.1
36+	16.4	0.0	11.1
Total	100.0 N = 73	100.0 N = 35	100.0 N = 108

Source: Youth in Groups Survey

Group structure

Groups ranged in size from small family groups of less than 10 members to groups which were stated to consist of 'one thousand' members or 'the whole village'. Out of 150 groups where information about size was obtained, seven seemed to be large estimates, although they are included in this summary:

TABLE 8: SUMMARY OF GROUP SIZE

No of members	No of groups	Per cent

Less than 25	40	26.7
25-49	48	32.0
50-99	45	30.0
100-199	10	6.7
200+	7	4.7
Total	150	100.0

Source: Youth in Groups Survey

Church affiliation

Of the 137 groups where this information was obtained, provincial and local variations in church membership were reflected.

TABLE 9: CHURCH AFFILIATION OF GROUPS

Church	No of groups	Percentage

Lutheran	62	45.3
Catholic	30	21.3
Evangelical	18	13.0
United	14	10.3
S D A	7	5.1
Pentecostal	3	2.2
Paliau-Makasol	1	0.7
No church links	2	1.5
Total	137	100.0

Source: Youth in Groups Survey

Date group started

The majority of the groups had been set up after the commencement of the National Youth Movement program and 47 (31 per cent) of the 152 whose date of commencement was recorded, had only been in existence a few months.

TABLE 10: DATE GROUP STARTED

Date	No of groups	Per cent

Before 1981	51	33.6
1981	27	17.8
1982	27	17.8
1983	47	30.9
Total	152	100.0

Source: Youth in Groups Survey

Group sponsors

Informants were asked to list all major sponsors and 156 groups listed 435 sponsors. Churches, the National Youth Movement Program, young people themselves, community leaders, and educated or employed wantoks were the most frequently mentioned sponsors.

A wide variety of sponsors was stated to have assisted in the formation of the groups or to have provided support after the groups were established. Morobe had the highest percentage of church-sponsored groups (28.3 per cent) and Manus the highest percentage of NYMP sponsored groups (28 per cent compared with Morobe 20.8 per cent and Southern Highlands 15.8 per cent). Self-help by local youth was mentioned most frequently by Southern Highlands informants (27.1 per cent, compared with Manus 14.0 per cent and Morobe only 5.7 per cent). Manus groups had a high proportion of community and educated or employed wantoks sponsoring groups. As groups could list more than one sponsor, it was not always clear who the main sponsors were and so the inclusion of 'church', or 'NYMP' may be related to a sense of attachment rather than to definite sponsorship.

Provincial variations in aims, activities, finance and problems

The reasons why youth groups were set up varied considerably between the three provinces, and the perspectives of the interviewers were not always the same as those of the informants. Law and order reasons included a fear that young people would become rascals or cause trouble. There was a

desire by elders to provide young people with better development opportunities, and in their turn, a wish by young people themselves to learn more of the traditional and cultural knowledge and skills of their communities. Economic projects and financial motivation were a significant factor, but not as great as one might have anticipated.

Differences between the three provinces were evident with more emphasis in the Southern Highlands on economic objectives (24 per cent, compared with 11 per cent for Morobe and only 6 per cent for Manus). It was noteworthy that the reasons given by the interviewer often differed markedly from those of the informants, but this may have been because these were additional reasons rather than differences in perspective. The variations between youth groups in Southern Highlands, Morobe and Manus provinces are shown in figures 7-10.

Southern Highlands

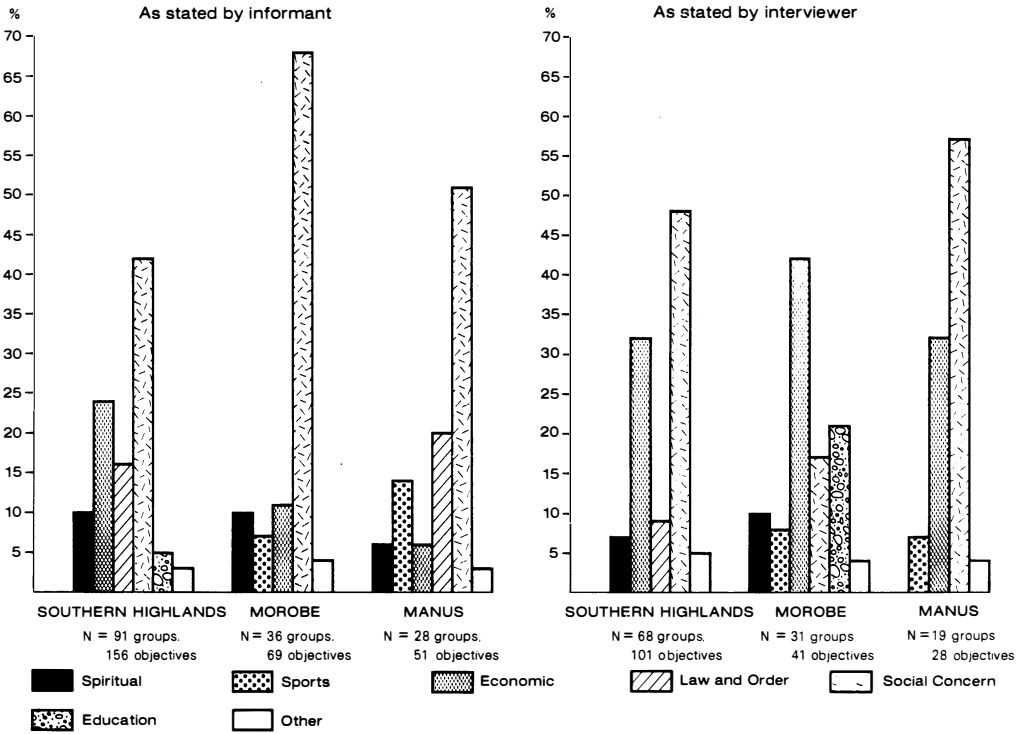
Youth groups in the Southern Highlands gave social concern, law and order, and general youth or community development objectives as the main reasons why groups had been set up. Their activities reflected a focus on economic projects or group employment (48 per cent of all activities could be categorized as economic) but sports and recreation, spiritual activities, education and management were all mentioned and this suggests that some groups had developed broadly-based programmes. Non-formal education and literacy classes were mentioned more frequently than in the other provinces, suggesting that some literacy groups have now registered as youth groups.

Physical and environmental problems such as droughts, frosts, and distance from markets, were mentioned frequently (31 per cent by informants and 24 per cent by interviewers). Informants were more likely to mention financial difficulties as the next major problem but observers ranked this lower as a major problem (29 per cent compared with 19 per cent). Observers considered that internal conflicts and mismanagement were significant problems (27 per cent compared with 18 per cent for informants). Lack of help from NYMP staff or other extension officers was another significant problem (19 per cent for informants and 23 per cent for observers).

Sources of finance were varied but membership fees (29 per cent), garden or livestock projects (19 per cent) and group employment (15 per cent) were the principal sources. Grants from the NYMP through the Provincial Youth Council were mentioned by eighteen groups and these, with grants from non-government sources and family or friends, accounted for 26.5 per cent of the total. Information was not gathered on the actual amounts obtained from each source but 73.5 per cent of all sources of finance involved youth groups in self-help activities such as group employment, fund raising, and economic projects.

FIGURE 7

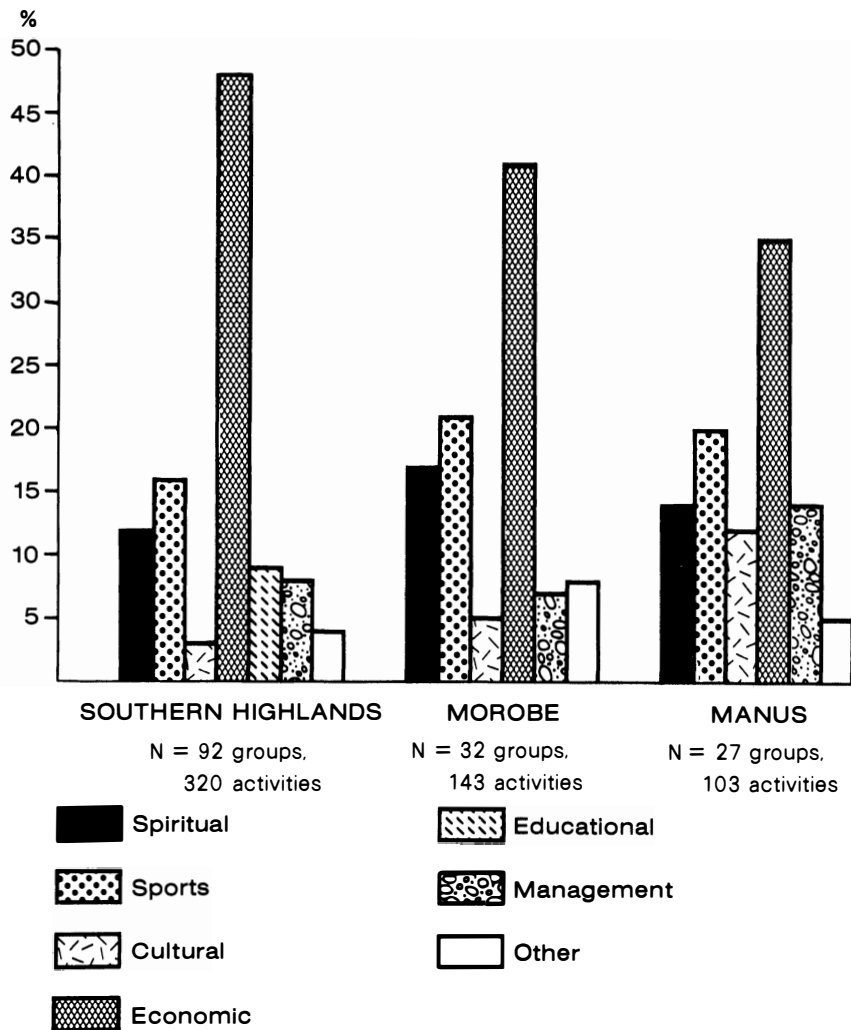
Youth Survey: Main Group Objectives



NOTE: Social concern includes development goals for the community as well as for youth.

Law and order includes concern by elders that youth are involved in or may turn to 'rascal' activities.

FIGURE 8 Youth Survey: Main Group Activities



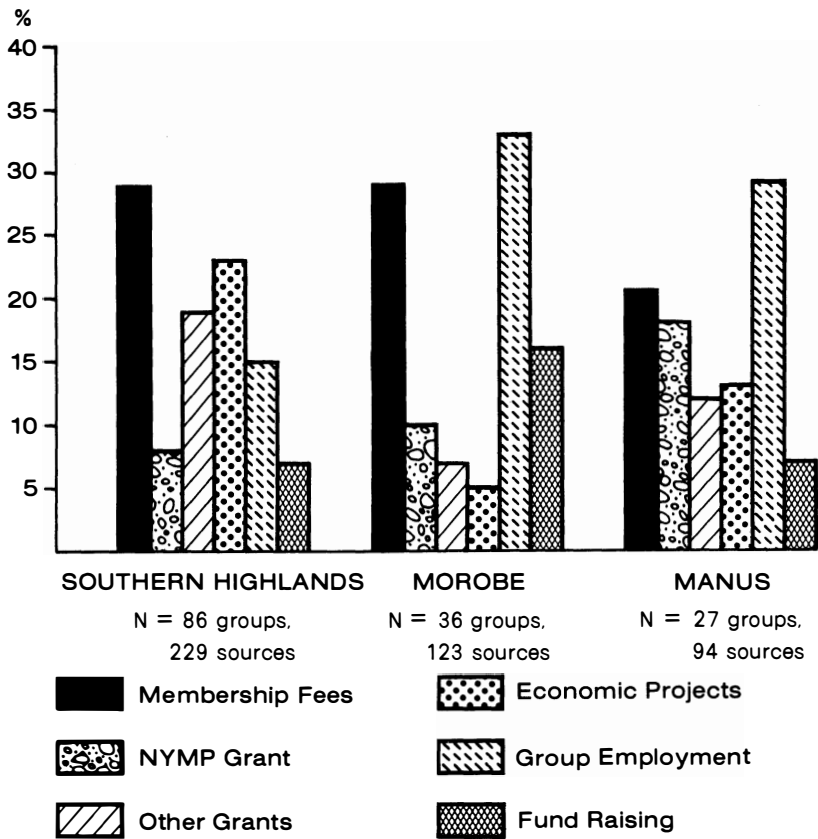
NOTE: Economic includes farming, fishing, business projects and group employment

Education includes literacy and non-formal extension training

Management includes meetings, and workshops for youth leaders

Other includes community and voluntary service

FIGURE 9 Youth Survey: Main Sources of Finance



NOTE: Other grants includes donations from churches, wantoks, non-government organizations and aid agencies

Youth Survey: Group Problems

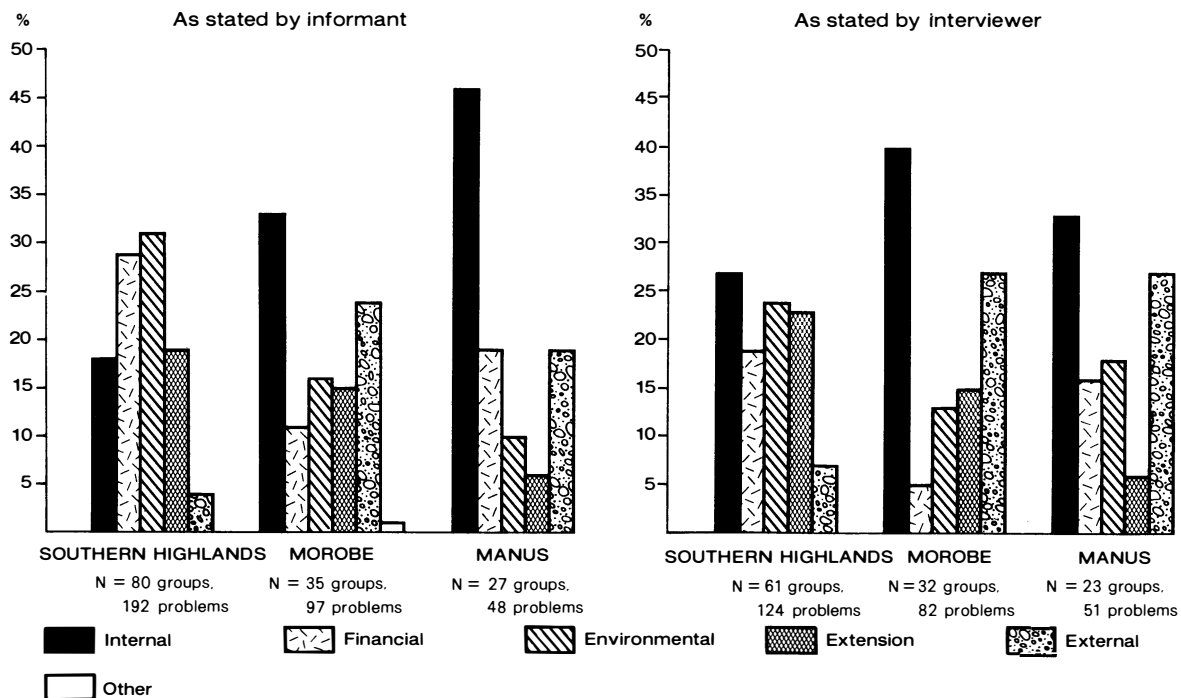


FIGURE 10

NOTE: Internal problems include personal conflicts and financial mismanagement

Environmental problems include distance, terrain, frosts, floods and droughts

The general comments added by interviewers pointed to the varied activities of some youth groups but also reflected the tendency for some groups to be set up merely for short-term economic reasons and to disappear after they had been given a grant or if their request for a grant was not approved. About 25 per cent of the groups were described as 'successful', a similar number were experiencing serious problems, and 56 groups were considered to need more NYMP or extension help, either to rescue them from imminent collapse or to assist with on-going projects. (See chapter 7 for further discussion of the survey results.)

Morobe

All thirty-six groups were in rural areas and connected with the Lutheran Church so the information gained from the survey is not really comparable with other youth groups in the province.

Questions which required separate answers by group informants and interviewers had clearly confused the interviewers and from other comments included in the completed interview guides it appeared that the majority of interviewers had treated the questions on objectives together and that the reasons given by informants were the 'main' reasons and those by the interview were additional reasons. Figure 7 shows that 68 per cent of informants but only 17 per cent of interviewers gave social concern as a major objective in establishing the youth group, and that economic objectives also differed markedly (7 per cent for informants and 42 per cent for interviewers). If, however, all objectives are combined, of the 110 reasons given by both informants and interviewers the major categories were social concern (50.9 per cent), economic (25 per cent), spiritual (10 per cent), and sports (8.2 per cent).

As with the Southern Highlands, activities reflected the varied interests of youth groups. Economic activities made up 41 per cent of the 143 activities listed for 32 groups, sports 21 per cent, spiritual 17 per cent, management 7 per cent. Of the 32 groups who listed activities, six mentioned community service, and seven cultural activities. (In Figure 8 these are included with 'other'.)

Sources of finance for youth groups included group employment (33 per cent), membership fees (29 per cent), fund raising (16 per cent), and NYMP grants (10 per cent). Only six groups included finance from gardening, livestock or business projects. Out of the 123 sources of finance which were listed, only 21 (17 per cent) involved grants or donations from any source.

Informants listed major problems as involving internal conflicts or mismanagement (33 per cent), external conflicts or lack of community help (24 per cent), lack of NYMP or extension help (15 per cent), and

environmental problems such as floods and distance from markets (16 per cent). On the other hand, observers saw internal conflicts as of greater significance (40 per cent) followed by external conflicts and lack of community help (27 per cent), lack of NYMP and extension services (15 per cent) and environmental factors (13 per cent). Once again these may have been additional problems rather than different perspectives on the particular group.

Seventeen of the thirty-six groups were described by interviewers as successful compared with thirteen who were experiencing serious problems. Fifteen groups were said to need more assistance from provincial youth office staff and the lack of continuous contact and follow-up visits from extension workers was described as a major problem.

Manus

Although social concern was a major reason for the formation of youth groups (51 per cent for informants and 57 per cent for interviewers), there were marked discrepancies in the other reasons listed by group informants and those completing the interviews. Law and order problems were mentioned by informants for ten out of the twenty-eight groups but were not included by interviewers while economic reasons were listed only three times by informants, although they were included nine times by interviewers.

Group activities reflected a lesser emphasis on economic activities than found in Southern Highlands or Morobe. Out of 103 activities listed 35 per cent were in the economic category, compared with 48 per cent for Southern Highlands and 41 per cent for Morobe. Other major activities included sports (20 per cent), spiritual (14 per cent), management (14 per cent) and cultural (12 per cent).

Only one out of the twenty-eight groups stated that there was no source of group finance. Main sources included group employment (29 per cent), membership fees (21 per cent), NYMP grants (18 per cent), economic projects (13 per cent), and other grants and donations (12 per cent). However, it should be noted that seventeen out of the twenty-eight groups had received a grant from the NYMP and that the amount involved may have been significantly higher than other sources of finance.

The most significant problems experienced by youth groups related to internal conflicts and mismanagement. These were 46 per cent of all problems reported by informants and 33 per cent of those reported by interviewers. External conflicts and lack of community help were significant (19 per cent for group informants and 27 per cent for interviewers). Other major problems were financial (19 per cent for informants and 16 per cent for interviewers), and environmental problems

related to isolation and lack of transport (10 per cent for informants and 18 per cent for interviewers).

Out of the twenty-eight groups, only seven were described as successful and a further twelve were experiencing serious problems. For six groups the interviewers noted that increased help from youth workers was needed and another six groups were described as being more interested in church or family business activities, rather than functioning as a youth group.

Youth groups and the National Youth Movement Program

Of the 157 youth groups, eighty-six (54.8 per cent) listed the National Youth Movement Program or the Provincial Youth Council as a major sponsor. However, only twelve groups gave the expectation of an NYMP grant as a major reason for the formation of the group and forty-seven (29.9 per cent) had actually received grants.

Significantly, interviewers considered that nearly one half of all the groups were in need of more help from youth workers (77 of the total of 157 youth groups). This suggests that many youth groups have not received follow-up contacts after their initial registration and perhaps explains the significant numbers who could not be located by youth office staff. Groups established prior to 1981 were less likely to be described as in need of NYMP or other extension help and more likely to be described as successful (31.4 per cent of groups formed before 1981 were considered successful, compared with 20.4 per cent of those formed in 1981 or 1982). As might be anticipated, newly formed groups seemed to require greater assistance from NYMP and other extension workers and established groups were more independent. This is reflected in the comments of interviewers, as 70.5 per cent of groups established during 1983 were described as in need of greater assistance, compared to 56.9 per cent of those established in 1981-82 and only 36.2 per cent of those established prior to 1981.

Finally, while problems of limited and selective interviewing made it impossible to generalize to other provinces or within a province, the results obtained suggest that the role of government and non-government youth workers involves a great deal more than the financial management and reporting tasks which seem to receive greater official emphasis. Conflicts and tensions within or between youth groups and between young people and older community members often need the help of experienced negotiators. Project applications may need appraisal, not only for financial viability and the initial availability of land or other community resources, but also to assess future tensions and problems which might arise as a result of the project. Many of the groups which were described as successful were also recorded as being fully supported by the community and as having varied activities which were of interest to young people.

CHAPTER 7

YOUTH, LITERACY AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN THE SOUTHERN HIGHLANDS

The 1980 Census recorded the citizen population in the Southern Highlands as 236,052 persons. The 12-25 year old youth population was 27,082 males and 27,657 females (approximately 23 per cent of the total population). A further 38 per cent were aged 0-11 years. School attendance is among the lowest in the country and about 66 per cent of children aged twelve years at the time of the census were not attending school (Office of Youth, Women, Religion and Recreation 1983f). The out-of-school youth population have had relatively little access to economic activities, with only 21.2 per cent of the 19,988 males and 19.5 per cent of the 23,935 females recorded as having carried out any economic activities during the week prior to the census.

Since the 1960s, large numbers of young men have participated in migrant labour schemes and, during the coffee season, in seasonal employment in Western and Eastern Highlands. Employment opportunities are unequally spread throughout the province and some districts and sub-districts are more disadvantaged in terms of health, education and economic development (Crittenden 1982; Lynch 1978; Wilson 1975).

With a view to assisting less developed areas of the country, the National Planning Office ranked provinces according to health, education, roads, cash crops and government services. In 1978, Southern Highlands had the lowest composite ranking (20 compared to 93 for East New Britain). It ranked lowest in education, second lowest in health and government services and fourth lowest in cash crops. It ranked eleventh in the provision of roads but this reflected a recent World Bank major road project linking Southern and Western Highlands. (See Appendix 5.)

In sum, inequalities in development opportunities exist within the Southern Highlands which is itself one of the least developed areas in the country. For the past twenty years economic opportunities have been limited and many rural communities have been affected by out-migration of younger men in search of work.

Development programmes in the Southern Highlands

The Southern Highlands has been the subject of a number of development reports and subsequent economic and infra-structural programmes aimed at improving its ranking among the provinces in Papua New Guinea. The first permanent administrative headquarters was not established until 1951 and twenty years later a draft economic development plan prepared for the Office of the Economic Adviser reported that:

Economic development in the Southern Highlands has been very limited and confined largely to isolated centres in the northern half of the district.... Short of a major mineral discovery, the further development of the district will continue to depend mainly on the expansion of tea, coffee, pyrethrum and beef production.... Transport consultants under contract to the World Bank and United Nations Development Programme have recommended that high priority be given to completion of the Highlands Highway, from Mt Hagen to Mendi, at an estimated cost for design and construction of \$6.3 million (Office of the Economic Adviser 1970:2).

During the early 1970s discussions continued on ways to bring about improvement in the health, education and economic status of the area. A seminar at the University of Papua New Guinea in 1972 discussed the possibility of introducing small-scale projects such as bee-keeping or a silkworm industry, in addition to the expansion of coffee and tea plantations. University students from the Southern Highlands took part in this meeting but their enthusiasm for economic development was tempered by uncertainty as to the real benefits which would accrue to the rural population. 'Development for whom?' was a frequent question. In response to the question, 'What will you do if the people don't want this type of development?', one student replied, 'We will have to respect their wishes and leave them alone!'

But it was not possible to leave them alone and, in any case, Southern Highlanders were anxious to gain access to economic development opportunities and catch up with the rest of Papua New Guinea. Internal and external pressures were exerted to obtain the necessary funding for a major integrated rural development project which would link agricultural development and improved communications with health and non-formal education projects to assist those who had missed out in the past.

The World Bank project appraisal team which visited the Southern Highlands reported that it was one of the poorest and most remote provinces in Papua New Guinea. Massive injections of funds would be needed in order to improve its position as 'one of the least developed areas, not just in Papua New Guinea but throughout the world' (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development 1978).

During the 1970s, the Papua New Guinea Institute of Medical Research established a pneumonia research unit in the Southern Highlands and the government sponsored literacy and non-formal education, often in cooperation with church groups and staff and students from the University of Papua New Guinea. However, basic statistical information was lacking and the World Bank team expressed dismay at the limited nature of the economic and social data which was available. It advised that a major priority would be the development of an adequate data base to provide a framework for planning and

evaluation.

When it was finally approved, the Southern Highlands Rural Development Project included data collection, nutrition and agro-economic research, non-formal education and health training, in addition to its major focus on economic development projects. (See Appendix 4, also Wallis and Walter 1980:11-34.)

This was a massive and complex project which required the employment over five years of technical experts, short-term consultants, and local staff. Periodic evaluation of the various components and a final evaluation and transfer of on-going components were part of the project design and it was envisaged that the project would wind down during 1984-1985.

It will be difficult to evaluate the final impact on the Southern Highlands of this massive undertaking. Indeed, some would argue that such an evaluation can only be impressionistic as basic development indicators were not available at the outset. However, it is clear that, despite many shortfalls in the implementation of the project components, improvements in economic opportunities, in roads and bridges, and in the collection of demographic data, have been accomplished.

Communication and cooperation between project staff and provincial and national staff has often been marred by misunderstanding and tension. This is not surprising as there were inevitably feelings of resentment on the part of provincial staff that their roles and functions were being taken over and impatience on the part of project staff that target dates were not being met and that local staff were not interested or fully committed to the development goals of the project. In addition, technical and research interests were given greater attention than extension and community development aspects of the project. In many ways this was inevitable as project staff reflected disciplinary and development preferences which were not always shared by others in the Southern Highlands.

While the project has not achieved, and perhaps realistically there was no way it could have achieved, many of the objectives set out in the original proposal there have been a number of improvements in services within the province and the spin-offs from the project are evident in youth, community and non-formal education activities, and government services.

Community development and the Extension Services Support Unit

Community extension activities have been carried out by a variety of government and non-government agencies, although until recently the major government involvement has been by community development and non-formal education staff.

The Welfare Quarterly for July 1974 listed a staff of six community development officers and two trainees for Southern Highlands. Their responsibilities included youth work, women's activities, sports, and general community and welfare work. The District Community Development Officer reported that fifty-two week-long courses were conducted from July 1973 to February 1974.

The fifty-two courses have been a co-operative effort involving council and mission welfare workers under the guidance and supervision of administrative staff. The courses have been conducted in five sub-districts where there is resident staff but it is hoped that Koroba, at least, will be included in the programme during the next few months. Ialibu and Pangia have a combined total of thirty-six courses which is a tribute to the united efforts of the staff in those areas and also is indicative of the general acceptance and appreciation of community development activities by the village people and councils concerned. Kagua is once more involved with the return of a Council Welfare Assistant from training at Ahioma, who is under the supervision of the Community Development officer at Ialibu. Tari is receiving some intensive course work now that Miss Sasges is there directing the operations of Council and Mission welfare workers. A number of courses have been conducted at Tari by the Capuchin Mission graduate from Kundiawa but records have not yet been received. Mendi, however, has proved less successful and with the failure of the Local Government Council to adequately support field activities and with the general lethargic approach in the villages, staff for the time being have been directed elsewhere (Fischer 1974:12).

Community development officers continued to work with youth, women and community groups and their activities included running sports events, assisting in non-formal education and advising on small economic projects. Many of these activities were also undertaken by non-formal education officers, local church groups and, to a lesser degree, by extension workers from the Departments of Health, Commerce and Primary Industry.

The appointment of a district adult education officer in 1974 followed a move to develop literacy and non-formal education, particularly for youth and women's groups. His role was also that of an initiator and coordinator of village-based extension work. The report of a team evaluating non-formal education and the extension services support unit described his involvement in:

.. village extension work related to subsistence agriculture, nutrition and health education which, in the absence of extension services at that time related to such subjects from the departments of Primary Industry (DPI) or Health, led him into

active participation in servicing activities to chicken projects and later to water supply projects as part of a preliminary stage to extension education work (Dodds and Apelis 1983:8-9).

A provincial literacy committee was set up in 1977 to link literacy work, which had been mainly carried out by churches, with government non-formal education. Additional funding through the Southern Highlands Rural Development Project (SHRDP) enabled district non-formal education officers and village motivators to be appointed throughout the province and by 1982 there were twenty-three staff employed in the non-formal education section of the provincial education division.

Village development fellowship holders and church welfare workers were also engaged in community extension work and, perhaps because of a feeling that their area of expertise was threatened, primary industry, health and business development extension workers became more active. In the initial stages of the implementation of the SHRDP there was considerable confusion regarding the respective roles and responsibilities of provincial and project staff. In 1982, the Provincial Management Team discussed ways to resolve problems of duplication where community groups were assisted by several extension agencies, often in isolation from each other and proposed that:

..the NFE Office and the Community Development Office should be merged, with the provincial office of information, the newly created media unit and extension training office, into an Extension Services Support Unit (ESSU) to support and service the technical extension divisions such as Health, DPI and Business Development at provincial and district level. These proposals were implemented by the PMT in September 1982, and the Non-Formal Education Office ceased to exist under that name. Its work was absorbed by ESSU. (ibid.:21)

The aim of the Extension Services Support Unit was to provide a coordinating structure at district level through which extension priorities could be assessed and staff and resources allocated for work with youth, women, community groups and farmers. District extension services officers were to liaise with other extension workers in the development of appropriate non-formal education and economic projects. The new structure was seen by provincial planners as meeting the need for greater integration of all extension efforts in the province. The implementation of the new arrangements has faced a number of difficulties and the outgoing non-formal education coordinator commented in his final report that:

There needs now to be some rationalization of duties between

- community Youth Co-ordinators
- community Welfare Assistants
- Office of Village Development Fellowships

- Village Motivators
(Croft 1983:3)

He noted that discussion and clarification of purpose had taken place at provincial level but that :

..your district level workers are still far from clear - especially district managers. And even more important the "clarity" is the ability to see the consequences of the change in terms of rural mobilization. District officers are in danger still of trying to do their own "thing," in terms of youth, womens, literacy "project" rather than Extension Support - using these 4 activities to increase or enhance the effectiveness of your other extension efforts - through Health, DPI, Education or Commerce.
(ibid.:5)

The Koroba district model of a District Youth and Womens Council was seen as a move towards greater integration at district level instead of maintaining separate services reflecting vertical links with national government departments. Youth and women's groups had already been established during the 1970s as part of non-formal education, nutrition, and community development activities. The introduction of the National Youth Movement Program to the province in 1981 provided a new resource base for rural groups and they were quick to take advantage of the opportunity to register and apply for project funds. The coordinating role of the Extension Services Support Unit was now essential if these new activities were to be integrated into overall development efforts in the province.

The National Youth Movement Program in the Southern Highlands

In December 1980 the Southern Highlands was one of fifteen provinces with Provincial Youth Councils which received grants of K10,000 to initiate the National Youth Movement Program. In May 1981 the Post-Courier reported that a further grant of K14,000 from the Urban Activities Scheme had been given to the Southern Highlands Provincial Youth Council to encourage young people to remain in rural communities:

Thirty eight registered youth clubs in the province, which have submitted applications requesting assistance, would be given the money....

The provincial youth council plans to spend K5000 from a K10,000 grant made by the National Government in 1980, to stage a provincial youth week when leaders will be brought together to share thoughts and ideas.

Projects such as sewing, farming and sports activities are already in progress in the province (Post-Courier 21 May 1981:17).

By August 1981 three community youth co-ordinators had been appointed and seventy-eight youth groups registered (Youth on the Move 1(3):9). Although the Southern Highlands has been allocated twelve community youth co-ordinator positions there have been some delays in filling all of these positions. Nonetheless, registration of youth groups has continued and by the end of 1982 over 180 groups were recorded as having been registered with provincial and district youth councils. Additional groups were registered during 1983 and in July 1983 provincial youth office records showed that approximately 250 youth groups were registered with the Provincial Youth Council. In July more than 300 participants took part in the National Youth Week Seminar held at Mendi High School and speakers included NYMP youth co-ordinators, provincial ESSU staff and representatives from the departments of Primary Industry, Commerce, and the police.

During 1983, Mendi experienced a 'crime-wave' which was largely attributed to young men who were wandering around town in larger numbers than in previous years. The national government's minimum sentences provisions had recently been enacted, and were accompanied by increased police activity against potential or actual juvenile delinquents. When I revisited Mendi in May 1984, law and order problems had abated and some informants expressed approval of tougher court and police action, while others were concerned that rehabilitative approaches had been abandoned. Another view was that understanding of youth welfare as well as economic development was an important part of training for youth and community work but that this often seemed to be overlooked.

The relationship of youth and community services to non-formal education has been a source of tension between NYMP headquarters staff and provincial staff. It was feared that the emphasis on non-formal education would limit the effectiveness of the operation of the NYMP in the province and that grants might not be spent on clearly defined youth projects. Changes in provincial staff also led to delays in the completion of quarterly and annual reports and this, as in many other provinces, held up the allocation of grant scheme funds.

The National Executive Council required that grants be distributed according to provincial populations but approved changes to enable smaller provinces to receive at least K10,000 and increased funding for the urban youth program. Grants were distributed during the third quarter of 1983. Southern Highlands with a 1980 census population of 235,390 persons (including 54,739 youth) received only K20,000 compared with Enga (164,270, including 43,051 youth) which received K25,000 (Youth on the Move 1983 2(2):1-2). This was seen at provincial level as the cost of opting for a more integrated approach not fully endorsed by national youth officers.

The Second NYMP Grants Scheme Implementation Report described the Southern Highlands in these terms:

The Southern Highlands Provincial Youth Council has funded fifty-one (51) projects at a cost of K20,041.00. Forty-two (42) are economic projects, while four (4) are Community Service, three (3) are Sports/Recreation and one (1) each are Cultural and Spiritual Development projects.

The Province has been slow in the previous years in implementing the Grants Scheme. The interference by Non-Formal Education was the key reason for the poor performance.

Due to visits by the Projects Officer and others from the NYMP Headquarters and the amalgamation of all extension agencies into a unit known as Extension Services Support Unit (ESSU), the management of the Grants Scheme should improve.

The Provincial Government gave financial assistance and endorsed the Program in the Province. K11,600 was allocated to the PYC this year to carry out the administration work of the PYC and Provincial Youth office.

The only problem now is the bottle-neck at the Provincial Youth office. The Provincial Youth Office needs to improve the management of the NYMP. There is no problem with transportation (Office of Youth, Women, Religion and Recreation 1983d:14).

These comments illustrate the practical problems of shared responsibility for youth development in the Southern Highlands which, perhaps more than any other province, has attempted to integrate non-formal education with community extension and youth and women's activities. The financing of projects carried out by different community groups is complex. It is not easy, for example, to differentiate elements of a nutrition project, in which youth and women's groups participate, if it is funded by the SHRDP but also receives assistance from the Provincial Youth Council.

Integration of manpower and material resources cannot be effective without a revision of departmental or sectional duties and areas of responsibilities. Dodds and Apelis noted that the relationship between ESSU staff, district managers and divisional staff is still in the process of redefinition and clarification. Of even greater importance within ESSU is the need for all levels of staff to share in planning and implementation. NYMP-funded community youth workers, district extension officers who are often ex-community school teachers, youth officers who have been trained as youth managers, women's activities officers, non-formal educators and staff from the Media Unit are still in the process of learning to work with each

other as well as with other government and non-government extension workers.

Youth groups and development projects

During the second half of 1983 a survey of youth, women and community groups was carried out by the provincial government with staff from the Extension Services Support Unit taking a major role in the operation. At the same time, my own survey of youth groups was incorporated into the larger survey so that interviewers could obtain information about all groups on a district by district basis. The results of the smaller 'youth in groups' survey have been discussed in chapter 6, but comparable information obtained from the overall survey provides additional perspectives. (Details of the results of the ESSU survey are derived from Dodds and Apelis 1983:22-35.)

The ESSU survey obtained information for 260 groups (124 youth groups and 138 womens groups) compared to the 93 completed interview schedules for the youth in groups survey. However, some of the data from the ESSU survey was obtained from provincial or district records which may have overstated enrolment figures. Other information on literacy enrolments was obtained from church agencies who have carried out most of the literacy work in the province. Most youth groups had been in existence for less than two years (62.7 per cent for the youth in groups survey compared to 62.4 per cent for the ESSU survey). Only 16.5 per cent for youth in groups and 15.3 per cent for ESSU were established prior to the introduction of the National Youth Movement Program. Male participants dominated youth groups and were the major informants. ESSU recorded 64.5 per cent males to 35.30 per cent females for the 124 youth groups, with a total enrolment of 4397 (2845 males and 1552 females). Average enrolment for each group was about 35 with groups ranging in size from 7 to 300 members.

Comparable figures for the youth in groups survey showed a total of 3480 enrolled in 93 groups, an average of 37 members per group with about 61 per cent male and 39 per cent female membership. Groups ranged in size from four members (described by the interviewer as being really a family business group and not properly a youth group) to estimates of 280 members. It was not possible to establish whether all members were active participants in a group or whether some at least were only potential members.

It was anticipated that the data from each survey would provide comparable results and that answers to similar questions would be transcribed from one interview schedule to the other. However, the strikingly different results for questions relating to youth group activities require further examination and interpretation.

The ESSU survey listed 190 activities which had been recorded for the 124 groups. Over 82 per cent involved what might be categorized as 'economic activities' and only 18 per cent non-economic activities (these included sports, church fellowship attendance, community service and leadership training). The youth in groups results showed, however, that out of the 320 activities recorded for 92 groups only 48 per cent were categorized as economic and 52 per cent as non-economic. Table 11 provides a comparison of the activities described for the two surveys.

TABLE 11: SUMMARY OF YOUTH GROUP ACTIVITIES

Activity	ESSU		Youth in Groups	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Livestock	82	43.1	58	18.1
Gardening	45	23.7	43	13.4
Other projects	25	13.2	11	3.4
Paid group work	3	1.6	28	8.8
Sports	8	4.2	51	15.9
Church related	4	2.1	39	12.2
Non-formal education	9 *	4.7	26	8.1
Other non-economic**	14	7.4	64	20
Total	190	100.0	320	100.0

*Sewing and handcraft were included as it is not clear if these were economic or educational activities.

**Non-economic included cultural, social and community activities, and attendance at meetings.

One explanation for the marked differences in the findings on group activities is that the youth in groups survey asked about all activities, past and present, including work groups, religious activities, sports and education. The focus on economic projects in the ESSU survey results seemed to reflect the preoccupation of youth workers and other community development staff with processing of applications for funding, and monitoring and reporting on economic projects. Informants may also have thought that the ESSU survey was more interested in economic activities and so failed to report other non-economic activities.

This also illustrates the limitations of defining youth and community activities in terms of specific categories; within an 'economic' activity there are often educational and social components and many community activities have definite, if less obvious, economic benefits. A social event to raise funds for sports equipment or a church hall; house-building by a youth group for a village leader; sports days with cash prizes to be won, are all complex activities which may involve all the community, not just youth or women's groups. But, if government intervention is seen only in terms of economic development, informants consider it inappropriate to emphasize other aspects of community life; these can only be assessed through direct observation over time.

Youth groups in action.

In July 1983 youth groups throughout the Southern Highlands gathered in Mendi to celebrate National Youth Week. This provided an opportunity to observe the mix of young and old, men and women, government and church, youth workers who participated in the programme. One youth group from Koroba District was remarkable for the inclusion of an elderly man who, when asked why he was interested in youth activities, replied cheerfully: 'Mipel olgeta, mipela yuti!' ('We are all youth'). However, other participants explained that his involvement was because of concern that it was unwise for young men and women to participate in celebrations involving a week away from their own communities unless some older people were present to ensure correct conduct.

Participation of older community members in youth group activities was noticeable in most of the rural communities which I visited in Mendi District. Older men were building community centres and constructing playing fields, younger men cleaned the roads as part of a council contract and women worked on garden projects. The Youth Office staff and local youth workers pointed out that these were activities in which older people had control over the management of resources. During sports days, however, young people played a major role in all arrangements while older members of the community enjoyed being onlookers, rather than organizers.

The enthusiasm for economic projects was part of an overall sense of expectation, perhaps resulting from ten years of visible development efforts and the impact of various community based schemes, literacy and nutrition projects, Yangpela Didiman and Village Development fellowships, and more recent NYMP funded economic projects.

At one village in Upper Mendi, a community house had just been completed to be used for meetings, bible study and to accommodate extension workers or other visitors. It is adjacent to a trade store and close to a sing-sing ground where fund-raising activities were being planned. A gardening project, a sports field and a road maintenance contract were

on-going activities. At a nearby village, a chicken project had been established with the assistance of a K400 NYMP grant. A group leader emphasized that the community had also contributed K90 as well as their labor and ended his speech with a strong statement that development was now in the hands of the people rather than in the hands of the government. This same speaker also pointed out that the reason why youth groups were set up or why particular activities were carried out could not be characterized as merely economic or social or youth development. To try to divide life up in this way was not satisfactory and illustrated the differences between the thinking of rural people and 'tingting bilong waitman' (white man's thinking, meaning Western ideas and concepts).

Some of the schemes to raise money reflect a belief that the Southern Highlands will develop as a tourist attraction. One youth group has built a rest house on Mt Giluwe and hopes to raise funds by providing guides, carriers and accommodation for climbers. Lake Egare is seen as a potential tourist site and there are plans to obtain a small boat so that tourists can fish on the lake. Imaginative small development schemes are, however, only marginal preoccupations compared with basic subsistence and cash-cropping activities.

Youth groups seem to enjoy the novelty and are more likely to be interested in these economically peripheral schemes. This search for something new and different may also explain why so many groups operate for only a period, perhaps the life time of a small project, and then disintegrate.

What is success or failure in the life of a youth group?

One village close to Mendi town illustrates problems in the management of a group established through the enthusiasm of a few educated members of a community, rather than by the community as a whole.

This group was registered in 1982 with the Provincial Youth Council. It was described as having an initial membership of twenty, a savings bank passbook and a constitution (Kombeson 1983). Office bearers included employed members of the extended family which was the basis of group membership. They planned to start with a number of small projects, obtain a substantial grant or loan, and establish a large chicken and piggery project (personal communication by group members).

When I visited Mendi in July 1983 the group was at a peak of successful activities. A volley ball court had been levelled and male and female teenagers participated in sports days. Plans were underway to build a church, a trade store was in operation, fully grown chickens were ready for sale, and ducks, pigeons, and a gardening project were other ongoing activities. The community youth worker (also a group member) and an older

clan spokesman were confident that the group would succeed and spoke of obtaining further finance and expanding their level of economic activity. At that time, the small-scale nature of the enterprise seemed a very hopeful feature, as the younger members of the group could enjoy looking after the chickens and other livestock but still have time for sports and social activities. Informants stated that they had recently joined the Pentacostal Church, given up deviant behaviour, and now worked to promote development. The group president was in wage employment away from the village and it was hard to gauge the degree to which these activities reflected involvement as a youth group or as a family or clan business.

I revisited this youth group in April 1984 and found that most of the activities had ceased after the chickens had been sold. The K400 obtained from the sale had gone to purchase a second-hand truck which shortly afterwards broke down and was abandoned. There have been difficulties in finding a market for the ducks, the volley ball was destroyed in a dispute and, although a number of minor activities were being carried on, the level of enthusiasm and youth involvement had diminished. The president of the group was said to be in Port Moresby and there was a feeling of marking time, waiting for the next development project when perhaps enthusiasm might rekindle and activities would recommence.

It is hard to say whether this is success or failure as it is part of the reality of the development experience. The spin-off may occur at some time in the future when 12-19 year olds who were part of this group are able to use their experience to establish other, perhaps more viable, economic projects.

Is this a common experience in the province or does it reflect the particular problems of being close to Mendi town, the temporary enthusiasm of religious conversion, and an unreal expectation that it would be easy to obtain funding and develop a large economic project? Throughout the province there are many success stories although there are also many recorded failures. What the records do not tell us is just how many of the groups which were registered in the period of establishment and expansion of the NYMP are actually functioning two or three years later. Only one third of the groups which were surveyed had been in existence prior to 1981. Going through the list of youth groups recorded with the Provincial Youth Council it became evident that many groups registered during 1982 were not functioning in mid 1983 (Southern Highlands Youth Co-ordination Centre 1983).

New groups continue to be registered but from discussions with community and youth workers, it seems that some may have re-established themselves with only a slightly different membership. Nevertheless, these seem to be understandable and anticipated problems which reflect the way in which rural communities have responded to new opportunities for economic

activity.

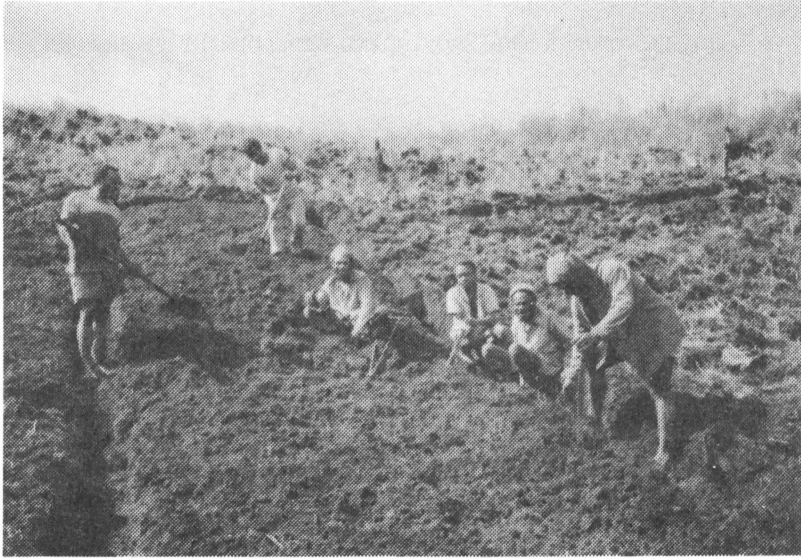
A more serious question is how far projects and grants can be effective if deeper understanding of development options and resources does not exist. The Media Unit has continued the task of preparing basic literacy material but it is a painfully slow process, and provincial and national government support is unpredictable. Increased community school enrolments will be an important factor in long-range development planning in the Southern Highlands but non-formal education and literacy will remain an essential part of overall youth and community development activities.



A game of volley-ball by youth of Umbimi village, Southern Highlands. September 1983.



Members of Umbimi Pentacostal Youth Group with chickens ready for sale, Southern Highlands. September 1983.



Working on a gardening project, Karel Mani Youth Group, Upper Mendi, Southern Highlands. April 1984.



Garden produce ready for market, Karel Mani Youth Group, Southern Highlands. April 1984.

CHAPTER 8

YOUTH, CHURCH AND PROVINCIAL DEVELOPMENT IN MOROBE

The 'National Youth Policy of Papua New Guinea', as accepted by the national government in the last quarter of 1983, sets out the ideal relationship between national and provincial youth activities in these terms:

The power-sharing created by National/Provincial dualism is welcomed by the National Youth Policy. We foresee a clarification of roles emerging over time as the impact of the National Youth Movement Program is increasingly felt. Detailed program implementation, and program development functions will become the responsibilities of more and more Provinces within national guidelines; policy creation will be largely inspired by the National Government in consultation with the National Youth Movement; network development will remain a National responsibility; training will be a shared responsibility (Office of Youth, Women, Religion and Recreation 1983b:7).

The policy statement includes a discussion of the role of non-government organizations which are seen as playing only a 'marginal role in policy formulation and decision making for development'. Churches are described as having generally failed in the past to assist in the development process:

The National Youth Policy would like to see the Christian Churches form an alliance with social institutions and processes from the traditional culture to play their full part in bringing about integral human development.

But more than this is needed. There must be agreement between the government and the churches to 'pool' resources for development. This requires prior consultation, and we have noted earlier that development planning and adaptive decision making is not a widely shared role in Papua New Guinea. However, we are pleased to note that in the Youth Policy sector, moves have been made for Church-State dialogue based on the Christian Declaration on Youth and Development (*ibid.*:8).

The themes of provincial-national power sharing and church-government dialogue and pooling of resources will be used as the basis for analysis of youth development in Morobe Province as the influence of church and provincial leaders has been stronger here than in most other provinces.

The significant role of church agencies in youth development in Morobe Province has been a major theme, particularly within the Lutheran Church whose influence stems from one hundred years of active work in Morobe and the promotion of economic as well as spiritual development. In the early 1970s, the Lutheran Economic Service, a church sponsored agency set up to encourage rural development, assisted the Lutheran Agricultural Training College at Banz in the Western Highlands to set up the Yangpela Didiman Senta' (Hemmes 1975; Samana 1974). Rural youth clubs were established and 'village motivators' were trained in agricultural and leadership skills so that, after completion of the ten months course at Banz, they could return to their villages and work with young people in programmes which combined economic projects with sports and spiritual activities (Ruthenberg 1974; Tietze 1980). The aim of the village motivators was to 'encourage the involvement of young people in the development of their villages in cooperation with other village people and leaders' (Tietze 1980:35).

Rural youth clubs established throughout Morobe Province attracted large numbers of young people, particularly in Finschhafen and Mumeng districts. A multi-faceted programme linked spiritual, sporting and economic activities with community service and the clubs aimed at providing an alternative for young people who might otherwise migrate to urban centres. The strength of these youth groups has varied but in many areas they have had a very real impact on youth and community development. When the National Youth Movement Program was introduced to Morobe rural youth groups were often already carrying out similar activities so it was anticipated that Morobean youth would be receptive and enthusiastic participants.

However, youth activities had often been seen as separate from government although there was some degree of cooperation with DPI and other extension workers. Church agencies seeking to avoid duplication of effort or any hint of competition with government departments were more comfortable with independently-run activities. In his description of the work of the Lutheran Economic Service, Ruthenberg made the point that:

LES has always gone into areas when government has not been involved. As soon as the government sets up a parallel programme, we review our programme to cover another area of work (Ruthenberg 1974:55).

This cooperative but separate development has been a feature of non-government youth development work although in recent years the Melanesian Council of Churches and the Melanesian Institute have provided a network of social concerns committees, orientation workshops and seminars on religion and development.

In 1981, at the NYMP sponsored workshop on 'youth and development' held at the University of Technology in Lae, it was accepted that while churches would continue their involvement with youth groups

There should be common effort by governments and churches to encourage all youth groups to join the National Youth Movement Program and become involved in all its activity areas - economic, cultural, social, spiritual and community service ('Christian declaration on youth and development', Catalyst 11(4) 1981:278).

Nevertheless, the workshop also voiced concern that the NYMP was not giving enough encouragement to community service and that an over-emphasis on economic activities would be harmful to other youth development goals (ibid.:275).

Church-sponsored youth groups have continued to be a strong force in rural villages in Morobe while the NYMP has often been seen as a source of additional government funding rather than playing a significant role in youth and community development.

At village level, church and politics are hard to separate. This is particularly true for Morobe where economic and political development has been seen as part of a whole. Lay members play an active part in decision making within the Lutheran Church and, to a somewhat lesser extent, other church organizations. In Morobe, as in other parts of Papua New Guinea, local pressures have often led to the formation of new movements and associations, sometimes labelled cargo cults, which seek greater access to the benefits of 'development'. It is difficult to isolate grass roots development movements from their religious or political background even if they are disowned by formal church or political organizations. One such example of the mixture of church and political party influence is the Pitenamu Society, which has been described as

...a movement of major dimensions and considerable significance. It represented a wide group of relatively disadvantaged villagers from the Morobe highlands and their urban kin who considered development had passed them by. In a few short years it demonstrated an extraordinary ability to draw together diverse groups of Morobeans motivated by collectivistic ideals, a determination to secure greater control over their affairs and a drive for economic betterment (Adams 1982b:63).

This association was most active during the years immediately preceding independence and was opposed by church and government authorities as a 'cargo cult'. However, as Adams observes:

Although business was emphasized as the Society's principal goal,

its appeal encompasses political, social, religious and economic spheres of activity and clearly impinges upon church and council domains. In such circumstances it is perhaps not surprising that some feel threatened by its development (ibid.:96).

The lesson to be learned from the Pitenamu Society, and other similar movements, is that the anticipation of attaining some 'development' goal may sweep groups and communities up in a temporary fervour but lasting development benefits may be harder to achieve. Often these movements reflect a dissatisfaction with what exists, with the balance of power in the community, and with church and government development efforts.

During the post-independence period there has been an attempt on the part of church and non-government agencies to re-assess their work in rural areas. Cooperation between church and government workers is now more acceptable and shared training workshops and seminars provide opportunities for youth workers to learn from each other. Geographic isolation and environmental factors are still barriers to effective coordination of youth development efforts and many church groups continue, by necessity if not by choice, to carry on their work in relative isolation.

Urban youth and political development.

While Church based youth groups or grass-roots development movements have been most active in rural areas in Morobe, urban pressure groups in the 1970s involved young people who had migrated to Lae from rural areas or other provinces. Tensions between residents of urban villages and newcomers occupying village or government land encouraged the formation of different interest groups. (See Willis 1974, for a description of the development of Lae as a city.) Urban youth, particularly those who had moved to Lae in search of paid employment, faced housing and subsistence problems not found in the rural areas and existing recreational or social activities did not meet their desire for access to the cash economy.

It was here that the more direct political involvement of younger members of the community was significant as students and younger community leaders played a major role in identifying provincial development goals and implementation strategies and in the creation of a Morobe sense of identity.

Since the early 1970s, the emergence of urban village and settlement associations such as the Ahi and Butibam Progress associations, reflected the changing needs of local and provincial groups. They continue to have a strong influence on political developments in Lae and throughout Morobe. The involvement of younger educated Morobeans in provincial affairs can be traced back to this period when the Morobe District Development Association was formed. This association was officially disbanded in 1974, but Adams

notes that it was one of the major influences in the development of a Morobe political consciousness, as

Morobe students from the two universities combined with the Ahi Association to hold a 'Morobe Peoples' Seminar' in early December 1974 to consider socio-economic development in the Province...Morobe political power drawing upon grass roots village action groups was broadly seen by the seminar organizers as the means of mobilizing and transforming the patterns of development in the Province (Adams 1982a:236-237; also Willis 1974:151-153).

In 1980 Utula Samana, one of the main student activists and spokesman for Morobe development, became premier and the mobilization of community groups continued to be an important development strategy.

In more recent times, youth projects in Lae have been affected by conflicts between the Lae City Council and the Morobe provincial government. The Council was abolished in 1982 and the Lae Interim Authority has responsibility for town planning and the provision of services. The Interim Authority has been responsive to requests for employment contracts for urban areas and has assisted in providing community facilities for youth activities. Migrant settlements and low-cost housing areas are home for many young people whose support during elections may be important for a particular candidate or interest group, and assistance to youth employment and other urban youth activities often reflects the political reality of tensions between provincial and national governments.

These mixed elements of church and politics are not unique to Morobe but are more visible here than in some other parts of the country. In addition, the development of a strong provincial government with a well-articulated development philosophy has threatened central government authority. Decentralization of powers and functions has been taken seriously and affects many programmes which have been planned and implemented by national departments. This mix of church and community influences, provincial aspirations, and political conflicts needs to be taken into account in the analysis of youth development activities and the way in which the National Youth Movement Program has been implemented in the province.

Youth and provincial development

Morobe has been described as being the 'sample' province in Papua New Guinea as its demographic and environmental diversity mirrors features found in other provinces.

At the time of the 1980 census, Morobe had a citizen population of 305,356 persons with a youth population of 89,746 (47,240 males and 42,506 females) 73,915 of whom were out-of-school. Educational levels reflected the wide variation in access to schools that exists throughout the province and the disadvantaged position of women. While 37.5 per cent of male out-of-school youth had completed standard 6, the comparable figure for female youth was 21.8 per cent. At the other end of the scale 62.5 per cent of female out-of-school youth had not completed even one year at school compared with 42.5 per cent of male out-of-school youth. Urban youth had a much higher level of formal education than their rural counterparts and levels for the 12-19 year old groups reflected more recent increases in the provision of educational services. Young people are 29.4 per cent of the total population in the province but are 38 per cent in urban areas, one of the highest proportions in Papua New Guinea. (See chapter 4 and Office of Youth, Women, Religion and Recreation 1983e)

Migration to towns by young people from rural areas and other provinces has been of concern to youth workers and urban planners. Unemployed out-of-school male youth are seen as a particular problem in both urban and rural areas but this is more so for teenage youth than for those in their early twenties.

TABLE 12: MOROBE MALE OUT-OF-SCHOOL YOUTH :
ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES BY AGE

Economic Activities	12-19 years per cent	20-25 years per cent	Total per cent
Economic	44.0	71.0	56.0
Non-economic	28.2	13.7	21.8
Seeking work	6.0	3.9	5.1
Not seeking work	21.8	11.3	17.1
	100.0	100.0	100.0
	N = 20,497	N = 16,230	N = 36,727

Source: National Statistical Office 1983b

It has been claimed that large numbers of male youth who have migrated to Morobe from other provinces are unemployed. While 7,417 or 20.2 per cent of all out-of-school male youth were recorded as outside their province of birth, the great majority were involved in the cash economy. Table 13 shows the differences in economic activities between those born in Morobe and those born elsewhere.

TABLE 13: MOROBE MALE OUT-OF-SCHOOL YOUTH :
ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES BY PLACE OF BIRTH

Economic Activities	Born in Province Per cent	Born Elsewhere Per cent	Total Per cent
Economic	52.3	70.3	56.0
Non-economic	26.2	4.5	21.8
Seeking work	3.9	9.6	5.1
Not seeking work	17.5	15.6	17.1
	100.0	100.0	100.0
	N = 29,310	N = 7,417	N = 36,727

Source: National Statistical Office 1983b

In 1981, the Morobe Provincial Government prepared a statement of its development aims and implementation strategies for the period 1982 to 1986. Entitled 'the Tuam Declaration' (The provincial government meeting at which this document was discussed had taken place on Tuam island in the Siassi sub-district) the provincial plan emphasized that

When embarking on planning and policy-making in relation to economic and social development in the province, it is important that the people should be placed in the centre of those plans and development...

Development of roads, bridges, schools and businesses are there to serve the needs of the people and if these forms of development are not serving the needs of the PNG people and the people of Morobe then we have lost the true meaning of development (Morobe Provinsel Gavman 1981:11).

The underlying commitment to decentralization reflected the same philosophy as the Papua New Guinea Constitutional Committee and favoured meaningful political devolution of powers, rather than merely administrative decentralization of functions with power retained by central authorities. However, the process of decentralization has been a frustrating and difficult task and some national government departments have resisted attempts to shift decision-making away from Port Moresby to the provinces. Major problems have remained regarding the division of national and provincial manpower and recruitment, training, and overall supervision and control of the public service. In a study of decentralization, Bill Standish observed:

The main conceptual hurdle was that of public service control, called the 'problems of two bosses'. Officials foresaw potentially conflicting claims of command for an officer performing both provincial and national functions, and taking direction from both governments (Standish 1983:229).

Provincial and national involvement with youth and community development reflects the same tensions and confusions. The provincial government has emphasized the need to provide assistance to self-help groups in urban and rural areas and looks to the social development staff, and in particular youth and women's activities officers, to carry out these responsibilities. At the same time the National Youth Movement Program has developed a very comprehensive set of guidelines for all aspects of its operation. National staff visit provinces several times a year and quarterly and annual reports are meant to show that guidelines and national directives are being followed.

Implementation of the NYMP in Morobe

By August 1981, fifty youth groups had been registered throughout the province and three CYCs had been appointed. Progress was slow, perhaps because youth groups were already committed to other activities and the value of joining the NYMP was not immediately evident. A year later, only eight of the sixteen CYC positions had been filled and constitutions for the district youth councils had not been drawn up. A NYMP youth officer noted that 'Most of the District Youth Councils are not clear what to do' (Youth on the Move, 1982 2(3):5-6). Training of youth workers was an urgent priority and in October 1982 the NYMP senior training officer conducted a training course for CYCs and youth leaders. The NYMP encouraged existing youth groups to register with district youth councils and so become eligible for assistance through the grants scheme. The following excerpts from group reports illustrate the way in which they have been linked to the NYMP:

The Tami Madema Youth Group in Finschhafen, Morobe Province is effectively running a Culture centre. The group, originally from

Tami Island was formed in 1966 and now has 177 members. The group members always concentrated on cultural activities and were introduced by the CYC Yana Tika to the NYMP in 1981.... the youth group itself purchases materials for the centre with assistance from the National Youth Movement in 1982 of K500.00.

The group intends to use its centre to make and sell carvings to tourists, Morobe Culture Centre, Morobe Women Association and other cultural centres throughout the country With the money earned, the group will help the community to pay school fees, local government council taxes, donations to church organizations and other financial assistance... (Youth on the Move, 1983 3(1):12).

In another report a church youth worker described the activities of youth groups in his area.

Youth groups of the Buang Census Division in Morobe are conscious of working for their own development.... The youth groups have self-funded a good number of projects which include sports ovals, trade store, rice growing and piggery. Mr Kalep said that Community Youth Coordinators and Youth Officers must work closely together with the youth groups at community level.... In Buang there are 18 registered youth groups with 2,000 young people (Youth on the Move, 1983 3(1):12).

Pastor Kalep's call for more contact between youth officers, CYCs and youth groups reflected widespread criticism that communication between rural youth groups and provincial NYMP officers was lacking. These problems continued in the second half of 1983 and were aggravated by heavy floods in the Lae area which delayed visits by youth office staff. Informants and interviewers for the 'Youth in Groups' survey noted that a major problem in the implementation of the NYMP was the lack of follow-up visits and encouragement from youth workers and the lengthy delays in responses to requests for assistance under the grants scheme.

Another continuing source of confusion related to the power sharing between national and provincial government and the ever present dilemma of 'two bosses'. The second NYMP grants scheme report noted these problems when describing the status of the NYMP in Morobe.

Lack of consultation from the Lae Provincial Youth office with the National Youth Coordination Centre has led to confusions over the extent to which the Grants Scheme has been implemented until recently.... The confusion in the Grants Scheme implementation lies with the operation of the two grants schemes whereby the province has its own grants to fund youth projects. This has been

cleared up and funds allocated to the PYC under the Grants Scheme will be accounted for using the Grants Scheme Policy Guidelines (Office of Youth, Women, Religion and Recreation 1983d:9).

The implementation of national guidelines at provincial and district level continues to be a source of confusion and misunderstanding. This was demonstrated at a meeting of the Morobe Provincial Youth Council which I attended in April 1984. Council members were mainly senior church, government and community leaders and, while appreciating the usefulness of government support for small economic projects, they were concerned about divisions between youth groups and community groups. There was some acceptance of the idea that all those who were interested in youth development were part of the NYMP but there continued to be confusion as to whether there should be any separation between youth and women's groups and whether there has been too much attention paid to economic activities and not enough to other aspects youth development.

Other youth workers expressed a feeling that there should be more emphasis on community and voluntary service and that young people were being encouraged to see development only in terms of economic projects. Similar views were expressed in the 'youth in groups' survey and it was noteworthy that out of thirty-six groups who completed the interview schedule, six included community or voluntary service as a major activity. (See Chapter 6.)

Youth in action

Problems have been experienced by provincial registered youth officers in maintaining contact with all youth groups recorded at the Youth Office by mid 1983. Some newly formed groups applied for grants but received no response to their requests so lost interest and stopped functioning. Other established youth groups have come to view their involvement as limited to participation in provincial or district youth meetings and carry on with their own activities as they had done in the past.

One youth group from a rural village close to Lae registered with the Provincial Youth Office but found that competition and conflict between the group and older members of the community made the group unworkable. After the original group collapsed another was established with encouragement from clan leaders who agreed to act as patrons for sports competitions and mediate if problems arose within the group or between the group and other community members. Although help with transport to attend sporting events or provincial youth activities would be welcomed group members stressed that their aim was to be self-reliant. The group is represented on the village governing committee and each week clan leaders, women's and youth group representatives and other village officials meet to discuss future activities or problems. When I visited this village in June 1983 plans were

underway for a fund-raising dance, a sports field had been constructed, and the youth group was involved in a chicken project. The village has a plan to bring water from the hillside to the village and to make other improvements to community life.

This is in no sense a 'success' story as all youth groups have fluctuations in their activities and conflicts between group members over economic projects or other activities may result in a temporary or permanent collapse of a previously successful group. However, it does indicate that there is need for more ongoing dialogue between those actually involved in youth activities and those who are working to develop an effective provincial or national youth movement. It also suggests that youth groups need to be seen as part of overall community development, rather than separate from or even in competition with other activities.

Programs for urban youth

Lae was among the first towns to be included in the Urban Youth Program which commenced operations in 1982. At the time of the 1980 census young people (including those attending schools or other educational institutions) comprised 35.5 per cent of the total population (Office of Youth, Women, Religion and Recreation 1983e). The provincial government and the Lae Interim Authority had expressed concern over the growing number of unemployed youth in urban areas. Figures from the 1980 Census showed that, although two thirds of all urban out-of-school male youth were involved to some degree in the cash economy, 9.7 per cent were looking for work and a further 18.2 per cent (2,082 individuals) were coded in category 10, 'other activities and not looking for work'. The figures for female urban out-of-school youth showed that nearly two thirds were involved in subsistence or household activities but 1,100 (13 per cent) still stated that they were carrying out other activities and not looking for work (see chapter 4).

During 1982 the Urban Youth Program allocated funds for the appointment of four urban youth workers to assist groups with self-employment projects, and an initial grant of K15,000 was approved for the funding of projects through the newly formed Lae Urban Youth Council (Youth on the Move 1982 2(2):9). Urban CYCs and other youth leaders took part in a training course organized with assistance from the In-Country Training Program of the Australian Development Assistance Bureau (Youth on the Move 1983 3(1):9). The Lae Urban Youth Program received an annual grant of K14,000 from the national government and additional significant support was given by the Morobe provincial government and the Lae Interim Authority. While this was a boost to urban youth groups, some confusion was inevitable as youth workers had to follow national and provincial directives and were accountable to both levels of government.

A number of youth groups have been given contracts to cut grass and remove litter from sections of Lae town but ongoing contact and supervision appears to be a major problem. Self-employment projects have reached only a small number of the more than 4,500 urban youth, and additional employment opportunities for urban youth are still a major priority. This problem was highlighted in November 1983 when a demonstration protesting against defence force policy of 'recruiting only a small number of school leavers from each province', led to a number of young men being arrested. The following day, Premier Utula Samana and an estimated crowd of 300 youth protested against the policy and the actions of the police. Further arrests followed and the premier was charged with obstructing police (Post-Courier 17 November 1983:3). While these events were related to national-provincial political differences they also showed the pressures on young people living in urban settlements with limited access to wage employment.

The affect of political power-sharing has been evident in the implementation of both sections of the National Youth Movement Program. In rural areas, district management teams have often carried out tasks which in other provinces have been undertaken by community youth coordinators. In urban areas, financial support from the provincial government has added a new dimension to the national guidelines for the Urban Youth Program.

Morobe, perhaps more than any other province, illustrates the interplay between different approaches to youth development. It shows the strength of church involvement in rural areas and the way in which provincial development strategies need to be taken into account in the implementation of youth development policies.

CHAPTER 9

YOUTH AND DEVELOPMENT IN MANUS SOCIETY

Manus, the smallest in population and the farthest away from Port Moresby of all the provinces, has been described in development terms as the first and the last, depending upon which element in the development equation is measured.

Enrolment in the primary school system is greater than for other provinces and the level of health and other government services is higher than elsewhere. The percentage of the youth population (12-25 years) who have not completed one year of formal school is the lowest in Papua New Guinea (11.4 per cent for males and 18.0 per cent for females, compared to the national average of 49.5 per cent for males and 64.1 per cent for females). Secondary and tertiary educated Manusians are to be found in government and non-government employment throughout the country. Economic development opportunities are, however, more limited in Manus than in many other provinces and it is in this sense that it may be said to be among the least developed provinces in Papua New Guinea.

In the recent past, young people were described by outside observers of Manus societies as being relatively free from family and community responsibilities. Youth, especially for young men, was a time in which age mates could take part in social activities and, as opportunities for wage employment arose, could travel to other places before returning to settle down in their villages. Adult life often involved tensions and conflicts over economic and political matters and it seemed natural that young people would delay their entry into this world of frustration and conflict for as long as possible (Mead 1930, 1956; Schwartz 1957)

Even if young people did have greater problems than these descriptions suggested, it was true that many young men, and some young women, left Manus for other places and returned with new ideas and experiences. Secondary and tertiary educational opportunities added to this movement of young people but today secondary education may be obtained in Manus itself and recent school leavers are finding that employment opportunities are limited. Improved health facilities and higher birth rates mean that there are more young people in the villages. Complaints are frequently made by community leaders about 'rascal groups causing trouble in Lorengau'. Many ask: 'Why doesn't the government do something about these young people? Get them involved in useful activities and they won't cause so much trouble! '

The Manus Provincial Development Plan

In 1980, the Manus provincial government employed a team of consultants to assist in the preparation of an integrated development plan. This exercise was completed in 1982 with the publication of a summary plan and several sectoral development planning reports. The major themes behind the planning of new strategies were:

increased participation of Manusians in the decisions affecting their Province, increased self-reliance in overcoming development problems of the Province and increased self-sufficiency in meeting the needs of the Province.

A set of strategies was recommended which emphasized increasing community awareness; better use of existing facilities, government personnel, and natural resources; more help for groups or areas which had been historically disadvantaged; and the need to build up existing, rather than creating new, development structures (Manus Provincial Government 1982a:xi).

The high level of government spending was noted, as Manus not only ranks first in per capita budget and manpower allocations, but these are at levels which are twice the national average (*ibid.*:28). However, access to and the quality of government services has not been evenly spread throughout the province. Access to education, for example, although the highest in Papua New Guinea is unequal:

The west-coast, part of the north-coast and the upper inland-area have the lowest enrollment figures. However, even within electorates with a high enrollment, there are many isolated villages or small islands which have education difficulties...just under 30% of the villages are 30 minutes or more from a school and 9% are more than 1 hour away (*ibid.*:36).

The plan points to the disparity between highly educated adult Manusians who are working away from home, often outside the province, and the 40 per cent of rural adults who are unable to read and write. At the time when the plan was completed, it was noted that most high school graduates found employment elsewhere. It was concluded that

For the future of the Province the major concern of Manusians should be aimed at the two thirds of the young people who cannot obtain any of the available high school places...this involves some 520 children per year, plus all the children who have gone through the school system over the past decade, plus all adults who have had very limited formal education.

The need for non-formal education involving all extension departments was

stressed as it was felt that this would be the best way to involve all groups in Manus in development initiatives (ibid.:37-38).

The plan outlined ways in which economic development in agriculture, fishing, forestry and small industries, could all be encouraged but it also pointed to social and historical constraints in Manus society. The high standard of living throughout Manus is partially dependent on the cash flow of remittances from employed family members outside the province, and from salaries paid within the province. If opportunities for employment are not so readily available for high school graduates and if more young people return home after leaving school, it will be important to develop additional economic opportunities.

The fragility of the economic base in Manus was demonstrated in February 1984 when the member for Manus Open protested that the proposed closure of Lombrun Defence Force base would cause severe economic problems in the province (Post Courier 1 February 1984).

The failure of government extension workers to provide an effective outreach to assist rural development was noted in both the Agriculture and the Business Development sectoral plans. Economic and other initiatives were described as hampered by lack of communication between communities and extension staff. Sectoral plans outlined ways by which more sustained and frequent contacts could be used to promote development activities. Problems had arisen when ill-advised projects were introduced without real understanding of the ongoing activities in a particular community.

For some villages where people are busy already (men in copra, cocoa or fishing, women in gardening) there is even the danger of a negative social effect. Here ways are needed to raise productivity on existing activities so that it does not get displaced by taking up new ones (Manus Provincial Government 1982b:30).

Many projects (examples given were piggeries and stores) provided only marginal returns but created community tensions and conflicts and so had negative social as well as financial results. The existence of a 'lottery' approach to project proposals was a further constraint as unrealistic proposals were put forward in the hope that a group or individual might be lucky enough to get the grant or loan.

Transport and distance problems are often mentioned as development constraints in Manus and increase the general feeling of 'remoteness'. While it was acknowledged that there were difficulties with unreliable and infrequent transport links, the most important factor was described as organizational and management breakdown (ibid.:55).

In examining ways to improve organizational and management skills at community and provincial level, it was noted that the very concept of a family, clan or group business needs to be understood within the Manus context. Conflicts over land, fishing resources or building materials reflect historical and current political and social forces and need to be understood in terms of traditional leadership and resource allocation. Efficiency may have different meanings as:

For group business, the group does have an identity in terms of the traditional system. It mixes its various social aims, with the result that the business aspect may be sacrificed for other social-traditional aspects (ibid.:41).

Agricultural development must thus be undertaken within these limits imposed by the traditional land ownership values, and this will apply as well to reef ownership and the forestry projects with their landuse follow-up (Manus Provincial Government 1982c:23).

Throughout the various plan documents, changes in attitude were called for from all levels of government to lessen the isolation and 'remoteness' between divisions who, rather than sharing ideas, manpower, and resources seemed to depend mainly on their regional or national headquarters for assistance and direction.

The greater involvement of young men and women was seen as important for both the agricultural and business sectors of the economy.

A segment of the population that is standing out in potential for developing businesses is 'youth' : men and women who have finished school, up to age about 25 or when they have children. This group is most inclined to take a modern approach to business, is most easy for officers to communicate with, is recently educated, is not settled into traditional adult society that raises conflicts, is most inclined to earn money and is less expected to work on village subsistence.

It is important to interest youth in the Manus system of business since they will be the adult population of the future. The current main youth business promotion activity is a national-level grants scheme, which is beginning to have the usual effects of grants and is not related to the approach proposed here. Being basically an educational approach, the most useful additional input would not be grants, but skilled adult educators or animators to help youth gain an understanding of business and act on their own interest in it (Manus Provincial Government 1982b:148-149).

Changes in attitude would need to take place at community and clan level if young people were to be effectively involved. However, hope was expressed that, as leaders in the distant and more recent past had been involved in major socio-political change, these same elements could be used to bring about the type of changes outlined in the proposal for an integrated development plan. Basic to this approach is an appreciation of the complex mix of relationships between young and old, men and women, found in Manus society. This was described as 'an atmosphere of combined cooperation and competition, respect and conflict' (*ibid.*:40).

Young people in Manus : information from the 1980 Census

An analysis of the youth population of Manus shows the widespread tendency for young people to move around, both within Manus and to other provinces (see chapter 4).

At the time of the 1980 Census, the 12-25 year old resident citizen population of Manus totalled 7,853 persons (3,937 males and 3,916 females). Of these 1,427 males and 1,138 females were coded as students (36.2 per cent of all male youth and 29.1 of all female youth). 85 per cent of the youth population were born in the province and 25 per cent were recorded as residing in urban areas. These figures need to be understood within the Manus context, as many 20-25 year olds live in Lorengau during the week but return to their home villages at weekends and on holidays, so their contact with, and influence in, their villages and clan groups may be significant.

TABLE 14: MANUS YOUTH POPULATION: ACTIVITIES BY SEX

ACTIVITY	MALES		FEMALES	
	NUMBERS	%	NUMBERS	%
Economic	933	23.7	580	14.8
Student	1,427	36.2	1,138	29.1
Subsistence	421	10.7	1,355	34.6
Seeking work	196	5.0	113	2.9
Not seeking work	960	24.4	730	18.6
Total	3,937	100.0	3,916	100.0

Total youth population N= 7,853

Source: National Statistical Office 1983b

While education levels in Manus are high in comparison with other provinces, there are small group of young people throughout the province who have not attended formal schools.

TABLE 15: OUT-OF-SCHOOL CITIZEN YOUTH: MANUS PROVINCE
GRADES COMPLETED BY SEX

GRADES COMPLETED	MALES per cent	FEMALES per cent	TOTAL per cent
None	11.4	18.0	14.9
1 - 9	11.0	17.2	14.2
6	51.4	46.2	48.7
7 - 9	14.4	12.7	13.5
10 - 12	11.8	5.9	8.7
Total	100.0 (N= 2,510)	100.0 (N= 2,778)	100.0 (N= 5,288)

Source: National Statistical Office 1983b

In view of the high proportion of young men and women with at least grade 6 education, what are the activities which involve out-of-school Manus youth? Are they working with their families in traditional occupations, gardening, fishing, or occupied in household tasks? Are they involved in economic activities or looking for work? Or, as observers described the youth population of earlier times, are they often doing other things, some of which might be characterized as raun nating?

Age and sex differences are reflected in the 1980 Census data on activities and it is clear that a large proportion of young men and women are carrying out 'other activities'. Of the 5,288 out-of-school youth, 1,690 (32.0 per cent or almost one in three) were in this category. The proportion was much higher for the 12-19 year olds, with 38.0 per cent in this sub-group while the proportion of male 12-19 year olds was 46.2 per cent or almost one in two. Examination of the different activities recorded for selected age groups shows that involvement in the economic and subsistence or household sectors increases with age, with corresponding decreases in 'other activities and not looking for work'. 49.2 per cent of 20-25 year old men were in the economic sector, compared with only 25.1 per cent of 12-19 year olds. For the 30-34 year old group, the percentage of

those involved in the economic sector rose to 57.2 per cent. Corresponding decreases may be observed for 'other activities and not looking for work', with percentages ranging from 46.2 per cent for 12-19 years to 26.4 per cent for the 30-34 year olds. Female involvement in the economic sector increases during the twenties but begins to decline again when women are over 35 years of age. Economic activities involve 23.7 per cent of 20-25 year olds, 20.5 per cent of 30-34 year olds but only 16.6 per cent of 35-39 year olds. Involvement in the subsistence sector is more significant and reflects the major role which women play in gardening and household responsibilities, increasing from 53.0 per cent for the 20-25 year old group to 62.8 per cent for 35-39 year old women.

The Provincial Data System

In addition to the 1980 Census data, the Provincial Data System Rural Community Register provides details of those living away from their villages. The percentage of those recorded as 'away 6 months or more' varies throughout Manus and 18-45 year old males form the largest sub-group of absentees. In the Balopa electorate, 14.2 per cent of all 18-45 year old males were absentees, while the percentage was only 8.9 per cent for Los Negros and 6.3 per cent for the Western Islands. The overall absentee rate for the 18-45 age group was 10.5 per cent for males and 6.7 per cent for females (National Statistical Office 1982c).

The effect of outmigration on rural villages was noted in the Manus Provincial Development Plan. In Balopa electorate, for example, about one third of the potential male work force are away from their villages. In recent years, however, the rate of outmigration may have diminished due to lessened employment opportunities for school leavers, and this may alter the mix of age groups in villages.

The impression of Manus youth which emerges from examination of the 1980 Census data is that this is a province where a large number of young educated men and women are often not fully occupied in the economic or subsistence sectors. However, as they grow older and take on family and community responsibilities, the involvement of men in economic activities and of women in subsistence and household activities increases. The impact of employment opportunities outside their home villages has meant that some young adults are absent from home for long periods but there is still a significant group (particularly 12-19 year old out-of-school youth) who could become more involved in government or non-government sponsored youth activities.

The National Youth Movement Program in Manus

Although the National Movement Program was introduced to Manus in 1980 it was not fully implemented until early 1982 when the Manus Provincial Youth Council began allocating project grants to registered youth groups. CYCs have been appointed, and several training courses have been carried out by national youth office staff. In March 1983 the projects officer for the NYMP visited Manus to encourage the further development of the NYMP network. He commented on the cooperation and support for the NYMP which he had found during his visit (Youth on the Move 1983 3(1):7).

The second report on the implementation of the NYMP grants scheme evaluated the provincial youth program in these terms:

In Manus Province the implementation of the Grants Scheme has been successful ... The data compiled shows that the Provincial Youth Council did not utilise any funds until the beginning of 1982 following establishment of a strengthened Provincial Youth Council. Since then forty(40) projects have been funded at the cost of K14,660.00 of which thirty-five(35) are economic (Self-Employment Training) projects, three (3) are Community service projects and two (2) are cultural projects.

The Manus Provincial Youth Co-ordination Centre has submitted all its Quarterly reports up-to-date.

The National Office of Youth, Women, Religion and Recreation has assisted the Province in 1983 and last year (1982) in setting up the PYC, PYCC and Area Youth Councils to strengthen the Youth Council Network (Office of Youth, Women, Religion and Recreation 1983d:7).

Despite this positive evaluation of the programme a number of youth projects have failed, partly because pressures on the Provincial Youth Council to distribute grants scheme funds led to hasty approval for projects before they had been fully assessed. Internal group mismanagement and external conflicts over access to land and fishing grounds have been major causes of project failures, as well as practical problems such as delays in obtaining equipment.

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

Youth workers face problems in regularly contacting youth groups. Costs of transport are high, particularly for those living on outlying islands and CYCs feel that the K83.33 monthly allowance is insufficient to meet the expenses involved. Political tensions in some areas are reflected in anti-government sentiment and sometimes the CYCs are seen as government, rather than community, representatives, so are unable to make contact with young people.

In addition to NYMP activities, church-sponsored youth groups are established in villages in Manus, and religious activities attract many young people. Sports, traditional dancing, and modern string bands are popular activities. In fact, to an outside observer, Manus youth have always been very busy, not only in group projects but in other activities which involve the whole family or community.

The Manus Council of Women has cosponsored workshops and non-formal educational activities with the Community Development Office and the Provincial Youth Office, and works in cooperation with other extension efforts. The provincial government cultural officer also encourages young men and women to perform traditional dancing on special occasions. They join with older community members in these activities and it is not clear whether they are seen as linked to the NYMP or independent of, and perhaps even in competition with, its network of activities. In 1984 the Youth Office was relocated to new buildings adjacent to other provincial services and this should enable closer links between all youth activities.

Older community members sometimes have mixed feelings about the NYMP as they consider that it is the responsibility of the national and provincial governments to assist the restless groups of young people who are considered to be an increasing problem, particularly in Lorengau. Others feel that the 'rascal groups' from outlying islands are a reflection of rebellion against strict controls at home. Some older men feel that the NYMP is not a good idea as it tries to direct too much assistance to the younger members of a whole clan or village and that community or village schemes would be better.

But, for the young men or women who see this as a time of separating themselves from the community and of being more independent, youth projects are a popular idea and one which many groups wish to try for themselves.



Salien youth welcome officials arriving for Manus Provincial Government celebrations, Momote Airport, Manus. August 1983.



Drummers from Salien village. Momote Airport, Manus. August 1983.



Crossing the Lawes River from Bulihan village. This is the only way that produce can be taken up to the highway for transport to Lorengau, Manus. July 1983.



The Provincial Youth Officer and community youth workers, Lorengau, Manus. July 1983.

CHAPTER 10

YOUTH AND DEVELOPMENT IN FIJI

Fiji has a population of 650,000, mainly concentrated on the larger islands of Vitu Levu and Vanua Levu, but with smaller numbers on a further one hundred inhabited islands. The archipelago consists of eight hundred islands scattered over one million square miles of ocean. However, increased migration from outer islands and rural areas to Suva, Nausori and other urban areas means that less than two thirds of the population live in rural areas or small towns and villages.

The estimated population for greater Suva is 150,000. The economy is heavily reliant on sugar as the main export crop, with canned fish, gold, tourism and production of handicrafts contributing to export earnings. There is a small but significant manufacturing industry for local consumption of clothing and other retail goods. The current economic downturn has affected development planning and the revision of government budget priorities and has led to reduction in planned social development expenditure. It has also led to government revision of existing policies and regulations for provision of welfare assistance to individuals and grants to non-government social agencies, including those working with youth.

The situation of youth in Fiji reflects the two-culture society which was inherited from the colonial period. From 1874 to 1970, Fiji had been administered by Great Britain and the policy of importing indentured plantation workers, which was initiated in 1879 and finally ended in 1920, led to the gradual development of a distinctively bipolar society. By 1976, the population comprised 50 per cent Indians, 44 per cent Fijians and small but significant European, Chinese, Tongan and Solomon Islands communities, with the main official languages being English, Fijian and Hindi.

The legislature is a bi-cameral system with a House of Representatives in which there is provision for communal representatives of the Indian and Fijian populations, and a Senate in which there are reserved seats for members of the Great Council of Chiefs. Efforts to create a political and social climate in which the growth of a more integrated society might take place have continued since independence but these have not been without tensions and the 1982 election was marred by racial animosities. Nonetheless, cooperation between middle-level Indian and Fijian administrators and government and non-government youth and community workers reflects the awareness of most sections of the community that living and working together involves understanding and respect for each others' cultures as well as a search for some form of common national identity. (See Ali 1979; Milne 1981; Subramani 1979.)

The Eighth Development Plan 1981-1984 provides an outline of social and economic development. Implementation of many social policies has been delayed due to economic constraints, but the move towards greater decentralization has continued with a stress on national self-reliance, national unity and identity. A major thrust has been to set up mechanisms through which locally-based programmes and services can be provided. The EDP states:

If decentralisation is to have any meaning, planning must have a strong regional dimension. This includes provision of channels of local support for a successful implementation....The region is expected to perform two main functions; first, it must be considered as the optimum level for the integration of social and economic resource planning, and second, it must be seen to be, and accepted as, an effective level of administration (Central Planning Office 1980 vol.2:3).

The emphasis on decentralization has come at a time of increasing unemployment, especially among the growing urban population, and lower incomes in many rural areas due to the drop in export prices. Social development objectives seek to foster self-reliance rather than government support, and reflect a 'basic needs approach'. This is described as

specific policies ... to cater for the basic needs aspects of (a) food and nutrition, (b) housing, water supply, sanitation and energy, (c) transport and (d) education. The various programmes illustrate Government's three multipronged attack on poverty and the problems associated with it (Central Planning Office 1980 vol.1:84).

Provision of general welfare services has still been maintained and involves cash or other grants to destitute individuals or families, child welfare, and care for the aged and physically or mentally handicapped. Subsidies are also given to voluntary groups and associations who provide a wide variety of social services. The community focus in Fiji's development plans has been reflected in government sponsored non-formal education and youth activities. The restructuring of departmental services has linked youth services with education, and health with social welfare, and new policy directives suggest an increase of central control over non-government agencies receiving government subsidies.

Social statistics and the youth population

While more than half the total population are under twenty-five years of age, the proportion has been gradually declining due to lowered fertility rates and changes in marriage ages. In 1970 about 60 per cent of Indian and 20 per cent of Fijian marriages involved women under twenty years of age.

By 1977 the percentages had fallen to 53 per cent and 18 per cent respectively. Acceptance of family planning programmes was greater among the Indian population with 28.6 per cent for Indian women and 15.6 per cent for Fijian women recorded as using family planning methods in 1977 (Bureau of Statistics 1979:4-6).

In general, women have less access to primary level education but there are differences between the two main cultural groups. Literacy has been defined as requiring the completion of at least four years of primary school and

Based on this definition, the literacy rate among adults (those aged 15 years and over) has risen from 72% at the time of the 1966 Census to 79% in 1976. This improvement in the literacy rate has occurred primarily among the Indians, both males and females. Literacy among Fijians continues to be more widespread (ibid.:40).

The 1976 Census showed that 89 percent of Fijian males and 84 per cent of Fijian females were literate, compared with 79 per cent of Indian males and 63 per cent of Indian females, reflecting the lower level of educational access for Indian girls in rural areas.

Unemployment has steadily increased, particularly among the younger school-leaver population and in 1979 it was noted:

Unemployment in Fiji was particularly high among the recent school-leavers aged 15-19 years, especially the females, but tapered off to relatively low proportions among those aged 30 years or over. It was also higher in urban areas (especially Nausori, Suva and Vatukoula) than in rural areas. It appears to be a lack of appropriate job opportunities (and especially jobs for those with no previous employment experience) rather than lack of education, that is one of the causes of unemployment since the level was highest among those with some secondary school education (ibid.:55).

Figures showed that 66 per cent of all unemployed were in rural areas and that 47 per cent of those unemployed were in the 15-19 age group with a further 26 per cent between 20-24 years.

In both Indian and Fijian societies, the importance of the family and the authority of older relatives are widely held values. In Fijian communities extended family households are linked within a chiefly system which is the basis for public decision making and there is a network of obligations and responsibilities in which all members of the society are expected to take part. The chief is the final arbiter and decision maker on all matters affecting members of the village and innovations such as youth or women's projects must be with his knowledge and consent. Community

workers who wish to set up specific programmes for young people must have the ability to negotiate with those in authority as traditional leaders retain a power of veto and can spell failure for activities which which do not have their support. Many young people are impatient with the hierarchical nature of decision making and this has been noted as an additional factor encouraging migration from rural areas to towns.

Traditional authority has, however, been affected by socio-economic change and as one Fijian writer has observed:

Those villagers who are engaged in wage employment comprise the younger age group. Yet they, by reason of their employment in Suva and Nausori, can most easily ignore the communal obligations that are being carried on in the village from day to day (Nayacakalou 1978:129).

As more young people migrate from rural areas to seek work or adventure in towns, family and community influences are harder to maintain, but these are still significant societal forces which must be taken into account by youth and community workers.

Government and non-government youth development activities

Although church sponsored youth associations had been established for many years, it was not until the 1960s that there was any significant growth in the involvement of other non-government organizations. The Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) was established in Fiji in 1962, and a number of local youth clubs and associations were set up, mainly in urban areas. In 1968, the Fiji National Youth Council was formed with an initial task of representing twelve youth organizations and of developing a coordinated approach in youth work activities. A major role of the Council has been to liaise with government on behalf of non-government groups (Waga 1977:37-41).

With the establishment of the Young Men's Christian association (YMCA) in Fiji in 1971, further impetus was given to the training of youth workers and leadership and practical skills courses were provided by the YMCA, the YWCA and the South Pacific Commission. The government assisted in the establishment of a number of youth and community centres, sponsored training courses and gave financial aid to approved youth organizations. Training programmes for rural youth were also established and the YMCA has been particularly active in this field. A large community resource centre and hostel was built by the YWCA in Suva and recreational and skills training facilities are open to male and female participants. The development of locality or ethnic based youth clubs and associations has been widespread throughout Fiji with local clergymen, councillors and village or group leaders taking part in these developments.

Despite all these efforts, the growing number of unemployed out-of-school youth drifting into urban areas created similar concerns in the 1970s to those felt in Papua New Guinea. Writing in the South Pacific Bulletin, one youth work educator described the problems of youth in these terms:

Their frustrations are multiplied by the fact that they expect to find suitable jobs on the basis of the little education that they have managed to get. Their expectations are high; the chances of realising them are very low indeed.

He considered that official clubs did not meet the needs of these youth, as

..those that need the help are still on the outside. Nor for that matter are they looking in. They have already satisfied themselves that most club programmes are essentially irrelevant in terms of their personal needs...those that they can articulate and those they cannot (Higginson 1972:57-58).

The reasons why young people move to towns is also seen as partly due to the almost complete lack of social and recreational facilities. Training to develop agricultural skills among rural youth may be less successful in integrating them back into their own communities. Government assistance for a wide range of rural youth programmes and the more recent establishment of national youth training camps have not solved the problem of how to help those who are alienated from official youth activities, although a number of youth workers have attempted to bridge the gap.

One such initiative by a methodist minister was hampered by suspicions and hostility from the general public. He established a rehabilitation and employment scheme for 15-25 year old youth who had criminal records and limited formal educational attainments. These unemployed had been labelled 'snooker boys' as they were to be found hanging around snooker parlours and on street corners. Access to employment opportunities was difficult and it was not surprising that

Employers were usually suspicious and acceptance of "ex-criminals" was often refused. Police raids were not uncommon, and a suspicious and unsympathetic public nearly ruined the venture. However, the tenacious persistence of Aisake Vula, the eventual cooperation of the boys, the police and other interested bodies have helped to turn some boys away from crime, and have placed some in useful employment (Waga 1977:35).

The YMCA also attempted to work with marginal urban youth by reaching out to the Suva 'shoeshine boys' who operate in Suva, Nadi and Lautoka. Temporary shelter was provided and, with assistance from the government

social welfare department, the YMCA focused on the integration of the boys back into their families and home communities. Once again, many remained outside the scheme but a youth worker involved in the program reported in 1978 that

Of the 97 shoeshine boys who passed through the YMCA between October 1974 and October 1976, 78 returned home, eight went to jail and 11 were sent by the courts to an approved school. Now there are only nine sleeping in the gymnasium.

He cautioned that there was no room for optimism as:

So long as urban development at the expense of rural development remains fashionable and "development" is thought of solely in economic and not in social terms, the problem will get worse (Sami 1978:15).

Government involvement with youth activities has been shared between a number of different ministries. The establishment of a Ministry of Youth, Sport and Rural Development was seen in 1971 as an important step forward in the developmental approach to youth work and away from remedial stop-gap measures. The Ministry of Social Welfare continued, however to have the responsibility for 'picking up the pieces' and looking after young people at odds with the law or whose families were destitute.

More recently, as in Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands and Vanuatu, there have been several changes in the location of social development and welfare functions. In recent years the shift has been to link these activities with major ministries rather than giving them separate status and currently the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport and the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare administer activities which had formerly received more individual recognition. A further trend, possibly hastened by economic and budgetary constraints, has been the move to directly control the policies and staffing arrangements of organizations which receive government subsidies.

In an address to a workshop on 'youth and cooperation' the Minister for Education and Youth warned against what he saw as a tendency for youth organizations to be taken over by older people who did not give the young opportunities to make their own decisions. Noting that cooperation should not mean stagnation as 'We live in a very competitive world, thus people must know how to compete with each other', he went on to say:

Equally from 1984 we will not automatically put on our assistance scheme youth leaders who complete the CYP DIPLOMA because this is not going to serve any purpose in the long run. Putting more people on our payroll is no indication of success or failure...A

new generation of youth is emerging amidst us ..(and) our policies must reflect an ability to cope with their aspirations. Equally, I do not favour giving assistance towards the recurrent budget of youth organisations. My preference is to help with specific projects which have practical and tangible results (Ali 1983).

The directive that subsidies for salaries of youth workers would only be paid to those under 34 years implied that older workers were not appropriate. While this may be true for some urban-based organizations, in Fijian traditional village societies, younger workers often find it difficult to mediate with authority figures in the community. This policy directive, and the stress on competition at a workshop on youth and cooperation, was greeted with dismay by many voluntary youth and community workers who considered that cultural and community differences had been ignored.

Efficiency and greater central control on the one hand, and encouragement of non-government and local community initiative on the other, are hard to balance and fears of the highly bureaucratic structure of government services in Fiji have made some church and voluntary agencies wary of too close a dependence upon government aid.

Government workers are also often seen as being inactive because of fear of central authority or only concerned with showing concrete and visible evidence of their diligence and commitment. As one youth worker observed:

There is a tendency amongst officials in the rural areas to identify with the projects to justify their work amongst people. They initiate projects and then canvass for aid which they pour into the project. There are some instances where the people do virtually nothing because everything has been provided...Once aid is terminated, people are found to lose interest. The type of projects which last are ones which are initiated by the people themselves and to which they have committed their time and resources (Madigi 1981:83).

This writer also observed that young people look to 'resourceful' adults to help bridge the distance between themselves and the older authority figures in village and rural communities. It is this role which many now feel is being questioned by government policy directives which seem to have defined youth workers as being only those who are young themselves and which overlook the continuing strength of traditional decision-making mechanisms in rural communities. The needs of urban and rural youth also reflect the different socio-historical background of the Fijian and the Indian communities and the different processes by which young members of each community seek to obtain approval and recognition.

Both government and non-government youth workers share a belief that In the situation of change, there is often a conflict in principle between the old socio-economic pattern and the new. The conflict is solved sometimes by a definite choice one way or the other, sometimes by striking a compromise...(Nayacakalou 1978:139).

Just what form this compromise will take may depend as much on current economic constraints as on social or cultural preferences. Nevertheless, whatever the direction taken it is clear that the situation of youth in Fiji mirrors the socio-economic problems and political tensions facing the two-culture society which Fiji inherited at independence. Youth development must take place within this wider search for ways to accommodate social and cultural differences within overall national development planning.

CHAPTER 11

YOUTH AND DEVELOPMENT IN SOLOMON ISLANDS

Solomon Islands, with a population of approximately 230,000 spread over six major island groups, shares with other small island nations an economic fragility which has been greatly affected by the recent global recession. The economy is based on agriculture, fishing and timber industries with fish, fish products, timber, copra and palm oil as its major exports. Lower prices and difficulties in marketing of many primary products have contributed to the tight financial situation in which the central government's spending has been sharply curtailed. The reduction of government allocations for youth and women's activities and non-formal education means that all recent initiatives in these areas have been taken by churches and other non-government organizations.

In 1978, Solomon Islands became independent from Britain after eighty-five years of colonial administration. As with other South Pacific countries, the government inherited a centralized public service although efforts to begin the process of decentralization of powers to provinces and area councils had been initiated in 1977 when the constitution was being prepared. The role of traditional leaders and the importance of integrating existing cultural values and practices into national planning was emphasized. It was also stressed that there would be a continuing role for churches and non-government social development organizations in development activities.

Since 1978, several national development plans have been prepared by the Central Planning Office. The Solomon Islands National Development Plan 1981-85 set out a number of proposals, including the strengthening of adult and non-formal education and family planning, two areas which it noted had been neglected in the past. However, the change of government in 1981 meant that this plan was not acceptable as an official government document and a brief document entitled Government of Solomon Islands Programme of Action 1981-84 was produced in November 1981. The introductory statement by Prime Minister Solomon Mamaloni stated:

In order to gain the confidence of Solomon Islands people, the Government must prepare and implement policies that will ensure the development of our natural and human resources.

For understandable reasons the former Government's Draft Development Plan will not be tabled for debate in Parliament. This doesn't necessarily mean the Plan is obsolete as it contains useful information which can be used to formulate our new plans. It is Government's view that the finalization of the next long

term National Development Plan(1984-1989) should be regarded as the responsibility of the government which gets into power after the 1984 general elections (Mamaloni 1981:2).

The effect of the severe economic recession meant, however, that expenditure on non-essential social development projects was curtailed. At the same time increased administrative overheads have been inevitable with the establishment of five ministries to look after the needs of eight provinces, requiring support staff in Honiara as well as in the provinces.

It is important to take into account these planning constraints when discussing the situation of youth in Solomon Islands society, the staffing and financial limitations faced by government youth workers, and the development of non-government sponsored youth activities.

Youth in Solomon Islands society

The 1979 Census indicated that there were 50,498 young people between 12-25 years of age. This represented 25.7 per cent of the total enumerated population of 196,823. However, a marked feature of the overall population distribution was the large proportion in the younger age groups. 41.1 per cent of the total population was under 12 years of age; this reflects a sustained birthrate of about 3.4 per cent (one of the highest in the South Pacific) and the improvements which have taken place in maternal and child care. About 42 per cent of all males and 59 per cent of all females had not completed any formal education. Migration to Honiara (and to a lesser extent to the smaller urban centres of Gizo, Auki and Kira Kira) has increased the proportion of male youth in urban areas. This is particularly noteworthy for the island of Malaita, where employment and other economic opportunities are limited and where there is a long history of out-migration of young men seeking work elsewhere.

The draft Solomon Islands National Development Plan 1981-85 noted the serious implications of the anticipated large population growth for islands like Malaita where economic opportunities were already very limited.

The lowest employment percentage is found in Malaita which also has the most outward migration; this suggests that many people have to leave Malaita in order to find cash employment (Central Planning Office 1980:para 2.13).

Inter-island travel is a feature of Solomon Islands society and large groups of young people take part in this circular migration. Migrants establish unofficial settlements in Honiara and longer term residents provide a welcome for newcomers.

In a chapter entitled "Migration and the Life Cycle", Fraser notes that migration to urban centres is more common for men than for women and takes place during adolescence or early adulthood with an average first migration occurring around 18 years of age (Fraser 1981:156-194). He describes the daily life of young men in Honiara as involving social relationships and activities reflecting their freedom from family and community responsibilities. This idea of 'roaming free' is implied in the word liuliu which has been incorporated into Solomon Islands pidgin as a synonym for wanderer. It is frequently used to describe unemployed male youth who gather outside stores, marketplaces and at sports or recreational events (ibid.:306).

Official responses to the growing number of young people have been generally conventional. British-based youth organizations had been introduced to Solomon Islands in the years prior to independence but the numbers of young people involved remain small and are mainly from the more educated section of the community. The following figures were compiled for the 1980-84 draft Solomon Islands National Development Plan:

TABLE 16: YOUTH ORGANISATIONS MEMBERSHIP 1974-1978

Year	Boys Brigade	Girls Brigade	Scouts	Guides	Pathfinders	Total
1974	454	635	1291	532	2700	5612
1975	480	679	1352	640	2952	6103
1976	512	690	1400	665	3102	6369
1977	540	700	1450	740	3200	6630
1978	575	725	1560	800	3313	6973

Source: National Planning Office 1980:208

Most youth activities continue to be sponsored by church or voluntary groups. The Duke of Edinburgh Awards Scheme and the St John's Ambulance Junior Brigade are established in Honiara but only cater for a small number of young people, many still at school and often involved in one or more similar organizations.

In 1975, the government-sponsored National Youth Council was set up with the aim of coordinating the work of existing youth programmes. This did not prove to be an effective way of strengthening existing activities or introducing more relevant and appropriate ways of meeting the needs of out-of-school youth. In 1979 a Ministry of Employment, Youth and Social Development was established, and a white paper on youth development was approved by parliament in 1980. This led to the establishment of a National

Youth Congress which superseded the former National Youth Council. It was hoped that ongoing government support would encourage youth development to take place.

Several attempts have been made in the past to establish a Solomon Islands National Youth Congress, but these failed and proved ineffective largely because of lack of understanding of various functions of such a body and because of lack of support and commitment from Government, and different Youth Organisations. A united approach and support from the Government, Churches and Youth Organisations is being sought to be established and it is hoped that this Body will work more effectively than the Solomon Islands National Youth Council has in the past (Ministry of Employment, Youth and Social Development 1980:2).

The Ministry of Employment, Youth and Social Development was to be the avenue through which funds for youth projects would be allocated and youth officers would work in cooperation with National Youth Congress staff to establish provincial youth councils, area youth committees and village youth associations. Leadership and other training courses for youth leaders would be carried out at the National Youth Training Centre at Arilugo.

In 1983 the Solomon Islands National Youth Congress distributed a paper outlining proposed activities for 1983-1985 in preparation for International Youth Year (IYY) activities in 1985. The paper reiterated the need to establish provincial youth councils in all eight provinces and to set up a National Youth Co-ordinating Committee to plan activities and projects for IYY. Leadership courses, the establishment of youth centres, the renovation of Aruligo National Youth Centre, establishment of a national youth service scheme for the exchange of youth visits and activities, and a youth rally were listed (Solomon Islands National Youth Congress 1983).

Lack of a clear sense of direction, inadequate funds, and limited staff have been put forward as reasons why, despite many good ideas and the conscientious involvement of youth officers, very little seems to have been actually accomplished. It has been largely left to non-government agencies to meet the increasing needs of unemployed or poorly prepared out-of-school urban and rural youth.

Yet, the government's youth officers and community members had taken initiatives in the past and had worked with overseas volunteers to establish one scheme which aimed specifically at meeting the needs of unemployed youth in Honiara.

The Masta Liu Manpower Programme

Masta Liu is a catchy phrase in Solomon Islands Pidgin which means "Mister Wanderer." It is a description often given to young people who come to town, looking for jobs, but end up out of work and having to rely on their relatives or wantoks ('Masta Liu gives boys chance to work and learn new skills', New Nation October 1978:10).

This programme was initiated in 1976 by the Honiara Community Centre, a voluntary organization of concerned Honiara residents, with assistance from the Social Development Division of the then Ministry of Health and Welfare. The aim was to provide occupation and training for out-of-school youth who were wandering around Honiara and who were often seen as troublemakers and delinquents. Many had arrived in Honiara to visit relatives in the various migrant settlements around town and hoped to obtain unskilled employment so that they could remain in Honiara. A maximum of forty teenage youths were involved at any one time, most of whom had completed five to six years of primary education.

In its early years, the project was staffed by an Australian volunteer, a Solomon Islander employed by the Honiara Town Council, and a farm manager. Individuals and organizations around Honiara were encouraged to provide employment opportunities such as gardening, building or painting fences and garbage removal. Commercial firms and the Honiara Town Council itself were a further source of small labour contracts and a car wash service was set up at the Community Centre. Agricultural training was provided at the forty acre Kombito Farm at Mt Austin near Honiara and carpentry and woodwork training was provided at the centre. The participants received a small amount of pocket money and the remainder of the profits from group employment and sale of agricultural or other products went towards funding the scheme. In the early years of its operation financial support was received from the Foundation for the Peoples of the South Pacific and from the Australian and New Zealand governments.

The active involvement of the Honiara Community Centre Management Committee and the energy and enthusiasm of the volunteer project manager helped the scheme to establish itself despite hostility and suspicion from some who felt that it was encouraging young delinquents to stay in town. More serious and thoughtful reservations were expressed by those who felt that the philosophy of self-reliance which was put forward as the basis of the project was not being realized and that the participants did not have a clear idea of what the project stood for and what they might gain from it. This was the period prior to independence when community concern and benevolent paternalism were difficult to separate and Solomon Islanders often felt excluded from decision making.

One youth worker voiced the concern that this project and others like it were merely remedial measures which did not tackle more fundamental questions of development priorities.

Very often also our politicians and our other national leaders tend to forget or totally ignore our Youth when devising their "master-pieces" in national planning...There seems to be very little encouragement and promotion in the awareness of the social disabilities which accompany development. And worse still our young people which should provide a higher proportion of our national manpower resources in this country are not being sufficiently catered for within the plan [the 1975-79 National Development Plan]. I do not intend to criticize the plan as a legitimate guide to our national development, but rather would like to advocate that the plan (often termed the people's plan) should have placed "Youth development" if not as first priority, then on an equal footing as the economically viable projects (Kome 1978:2-3).

Although communication between the participants and the management needed improvement, he concluded that the project was a valuable one which should be continued.

During the entire lifetime of the project there have been difficulties in maintaining a coherent training component, and in overcoming the feeling among participants that they were marginal to a programme which seemed to belong more to the manager and other staff at the centre. There was a lack of sustained contact between project staff and the families or communities from which participants came and the particular problems which they faced. Once activities ended in the afternoon participants disappeared and when they left the project it was not always known whether what they had learned had been of lasting value.

Since its inception this project has encountered a number of serious management and supervisory problems. Training personnel were not replaced after volunteers left and labour department regulations concerning minimum wages led to charges that teenagers were being exploited and that there was less emphasis on training and more on cheap labour. The project was initially seen as one in which participants would take part for only six months but a number have become permanent participants and they, along with the staff, now tend to see the project as their own property.

In September 1983 I visited the centre and Kombito Farm and also met with Honiara Town Council officials who were considering whether the project should be closed down. Many of the questions were the same as those which had worried observers in 1977-78 and showed a genuine concern that young people should be given real, not stop-gap, opportunities for future

employment or help to return to their home villages with better agricultural or small business skills. The Honiara Town Council continued to provide a street cleaning contract for group employment for the Masta Liu project but other training programmes were limited, and effective supervision and management was lacking. A student completing the Commonwealth Youth Diploma had been attached to the Honiara Town Council to prepare an evaluative report of the Masta Liu project and its continuance appeared to hinge on whether the Honiara Town Council's social concerns committee felt that they wished to take over responsibility for the project. If the project were taken over by the council, a review of its operations would take place. It was likely that it would also be renamed to avoid the negative image of aimlessly wandering, potentially delinquent youth which the name 'Masta Liu' conveyed.

Hostility towards unemployed urban youth as potential delinquents is a common problem. Most adult town residents would like something done, but they do not want to get involved themselves. Others feel that they have served on community-based committees long enough and that, in the face of government and community indifference, it might be preferable to let things deteriorate and force the government or the public to take action. How long this will take and whether measures to assist urban youth will be developmental or punitive is hard to predict but many with whom I spoke voiced similar attitudes to the assessment in 1978 that:

The Masta Liu Project is a necessity, and the Government should give indirect assistance through the Honiara Community centre and the general public should also realise the fact that the youths are in a very unfortunate situation which they (the public) have created for them; and thus have a moral obligation to assist in the training of these young people (Kome 1978:8).

Rural development and youth

While the problems of urban youth seem more pressing in Honiara, it is important to emphasize that more than 85 per cent of the Solomon Islands youth population still live in rural areas and there is a great need for effective rural development approaches which will help provide for their better integration into their own communities.

The Central Planning Office had asked the Asian Development Bank Technical Assistance Programme for a study of rural development education and possible improvements and this was completed in June 1979.

The approach used in this proposal has been to modify a little, to multiply and to integrate what is already taking place, not to introduce what is unfamiliar and new (Keen 1979:31).

A number of rural education and training courses were described in this report and these included St Dominic's Community Development Centre at Vanga Point, Western Province; Wanione Bay Rural Resource Centre at Makira and St Martin's Rural Training Centre at Tenaru.

In September 1983, I visited St Martin's Centre and discussed with staff and students the training being undertaken which reflects similar philosophies to those of Yangpela Didiman in Papua New Guinea. St Martin's Rural Training Centre was established in 1977 in response to

...the perceived problems of lack of practical, non-academic, village-oriented training for young Solomon Islanders; the increasing tendency toward urban drift, particularly by young rural males; and the gap between the desire of rural people to use their resources productively and their ability to do so (van der Zant 1982:1).

The centre provides agricultural, carpentry and mechanical courses and a broad range of courses designed to improve community and family living in rural areas. However, a fundamental theme is the need for strong family and community support and involvement. Students who are accepted for the two-year course must have the sponsorship of a parent or guardian who must agree to attend a month-long course at the end of each school year.

It is hoped that through this experience the father will acquire a greater understanding of crops and techniques that may have seemed newfangled and risky before; that he will accept rather than feel threatened by both his son and what he has learned; that he will lend his status, prestige and full support to his son's project ambitions upon return to the village; and that he will gain a greater understanding of his country, its problems and possible solutions.

At the same time it is hoped that the presence of his father at the Olo Course will give the student a chance to share his accomplishments; to realize that his father deserves his respect and that he will need his father's help to succeed; and to understand how his training has affected his image in the eyes of his family and the villagers (ibid.1982:3).

Follow-up visits are made to students and former students but staff feel that more needs to be done to bring the programme to the rural community and that a balance between the efficiency of centralized training and sharing what has been learned with the community must be maintained. An evaluation of the impact on former students was being undertaken by a Solomon Islands youth worker and it was hoped that the insights gained from this evaluation would help in further planning and possible expansion of the

Centre's activities. A major question is whether these students will actually return home and stay in their communities and whether what they have learned will become a resource to be used by others so that youth development will mean overall community development. Assistance for rural development projects is a vexed question as often money seems to be used for individual, rather than community benefit.

One non-government organization which is concerned about this issue is the Solomon Islands Development Trust, which was established in 1982 as a local non-government development agency concerned with the links between youth, development and technology. The SIDT's philosophy is that project aid or educational programmes must be evaluated to see whether they serve the community as a whole. It considers that there has been too much emphasis on isolated projects as if these alone will bring about development and the result has been that many projects have actually proved detrimental to the overall quality of rural life.

Rather than focusing almost exclusively on an individual project proposal like a cattle scheme, or a village water works or a cocoa plantation SIDT will stress the linkage of the proposed project to the village life-systems which will be affected by the proposed project. To insure a proposed project's effects on village life are overwhelmingly positive and only minimally negative, SIDT will submit each and every project to scrutiny. In practical terms this means evaluating how does an individual project affect the quality of village life (Roughan 1982:1; see also Roughan 1983).

During 1983, the SIDT conducted village workshops aimed at making people more conscious of development issues and alternatives and ways in which their own efforts might improve the quality of life in their communities. Mobile teams involved young people who had attended development workshops and were able to demonstrate small scale technology appropriate for village development.

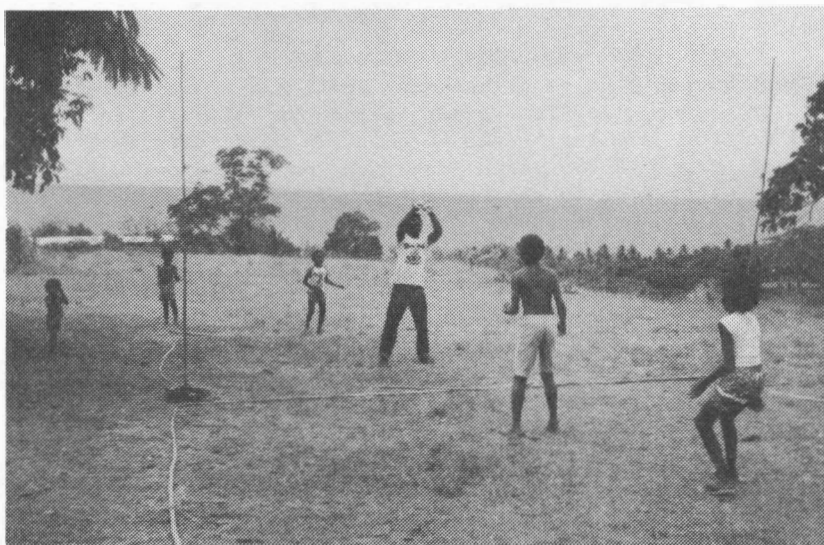
Links have been established between SIDT and a number of other church and non-government development agencies and its strongly ideological commitment to smallscale manageable development efforts is markedly different from the grander national development plans which have been a feature, not only of Solomon Islands, but of most small South Pacific countries.

These contrasts between stop-go government youth development efforts, the remedial and well-meant but not carefully thought out Masta Liu Project, the the broader but perhaps still institutional focus of St Martin's Rural Training Centre and the visionary ideological commitment of the Solomon Islands Development Trust are only partial perspectives on youth in Solomon Islands society.

It remains to be seen if an effective National Youth Congress will emerge and combine the enthusiasm and commitment of non-government agencies with substantial government support in the development of more cohesive youth policies and programmes in the Solomon Islands.



The contractor for the Honiara Community Centre employs out-of-school youth from his village, Honiara, Solomon Islands. September 1983.



It is not necessary to have the right sports equipment to enjoy a ball game. Honiara, Solomon Islands. September 1983.

CHAPTER 12

YOUTH AND DEVELOPMENT IN VANUATU

We want to make it clear at the outset what kind of a society we want to establish, what kind of resources we have and how we can develop them to meet the needs of our goal.

This statement by Father Walter Lini, the prime minister of Vanuatu, is contained in the preface to the First National Development Plan (National Planning Office 1982), in which unity and integration are underlying themes for all policy formulation and programme development. Any discussion of youth in ni-Vanuatu society must take into account the recent historical past as well as present socio-political realities, and the development of a strong ideological framework as the basis for national development planning.

The Republic of Vanuatu comprises an area of 11,880 sq km with an estimated population in 1983 of 125,000 spread over twelve main islands. The majority of ni-Vanuatu are involved in fishing and farming although in recent years the growing tourist industry has opened up other employment opportunities. Agricultural, fish and mineral exports have been the main sources of cash income but a growing tourist industry and the provision of banking facilities have added to income and employment opportunities. The 1979 Census showed that approximately 17.5 per cent of the population, including most Europeans, lived in the two urban centres of Port-Vila and Luganville. Melanesian ni-Vanuatu make up 94 per cent of the total population.

Although 85 per cent of ni-Vanuatu still live in rural areas, the migration of young men from other islands to Port-Vila in search of paid employment reflects similar trends to those in most South Pacific countries. Young people from 12-25 years make up about 30 per cent of the total population and increases in the proportion of the population who are under ten years of age means that this percentage will grow during the next decade. The movement of young men to towns means that some areas are left with a higher proportion of children, women and older men and a depleted male work force. The concern of local leaders that there were not enough rural employment or other opportunities to retain young men in rural areas was reflected in the request by a member of the Council of Chiefs from Tongoa for more government sponsored development in his area (Tam-Tam 27 August 1983).

Until 1980, French and English educational systems provided basic primary. Some secondary education and a process of unification of education services is taking place, although the affects of the dual systems is still strongly felt. The census showed that about 24.5 per cent of male and 32.7

per cent of female ni-Vanuatu had not been to formal school even though primary education has been more widely available than in Papua New Guinea or Solomon Islands. Further educational opportunities which would have prepared ni-Vanuatu to take over administrative and policy positions were not seriously undertaken until the late 1970s.

Vanuatu was subjected to national and international pressures in the period prior to July 1980 when it finally gained independence. It had been governed for seventy-four years by a joint Anglo-French Condominium and in the months immediately prior to independence the elected government faced opposition from a secessionist movement on Tanna and Santo. Immediately after independence a defence pact was signed with Papua New Guinea and soldiers from the Papua New Guinea Defence Force were sent to Vanuatu to help quell a secessionist uprising on the island of Santo. Since independence efforts to promote national unity and to lessen tensions between the French and English speaking groups have been made, but problems resulting from the dual systems of education, health and social services remain.

The position of young people in ni-Vanuatu society reflects the interplay between traditional societal values and social structures, introduced colonial values and styles of life, and the ideological and political influence of Father Walter Lini and the ruling Vanuaaku Pati, which gained a majority in the 1979 elections and was returned to power in the 1983 elections.

Development Planning in the 1980s

Planning since independence has been complicated by the legacy of disunity created by the English, French, and Condominium systems under which the country was previously administered. The First National Development Plan of the Republic of Vanuatu states:

The gaining of Independence was the result of a long struggle by the people of Vanuatu who saw Independence as the only way to achieve their national aspirations and full human potential. The road to Independence was not an easy one and was complicated by the fact that the colonial regime included 3 governments (British, French and Condominium) as well as 3 courts of law (National Planning Office 1982:5).

Education, health and social welfare services have been reviewed and revised to overcome the problems created by the separate development of British and French colonial services. The government sees the need to strengthen local and customary styles of life and cultural values and include traditional leaders in the decision-making process.

An important advisory body to Government is the National Council of Chiefs. It is composed of custom chiefs who are elected by their peers sitting in District Councils of Chiefs. The Council of Chiefs advises on custom and tradition as well as the preservation and promotion of the country's culture and indigenous languages (National Planning Office 1982:5).

The Council of Chiefs had been established during colonial times when it was anticipated that it would have more of a traditional, rather than political role. However, since independence the Council has been a significant force as it links rural communities to government administration and policy-making. Local leaders also play a middleman role which fulfills the need

..to link the political structure of a local community with that of an encapsulating society. These two units may have divergent, perhaps conflicting values and interests and the middleman must strive to embody and express these disparate values (Philibert 1982:25).

In the past, leaders had also gathered around them youthful followers who helped demonstrate their prestige and in return gained access to resources through the leader's patronage or external economic or social networks. Powerful community leaders often sought to maintain a large following of youths 'whose willing support provides a tangible basis of power' (Blackwood 1981:51). How far ni-Vanuatu youth continue to provide this support for traditional leaders may vary in different parts of the country but the role of custom chiefs as crucial in reducing national conflict has been recognized by the government. In May 1983, South Santo local chiefs took part in a peace ceremony in an attempt to end the bitterness remaining from the 1980 rebellion (Tam-Tam 7 May 1983).

At independence there were few trained ni-Vanuatu who could take over planning and implementation of integrated health, education and social services. The move to decentralize some powers and bring decision making closer to the people led to the preparation by the planning office of a Regional Development Profile. In the preface Prime Minister Lini (who is also the minister responsible for planning and development) stated:

The primary aim of this Regional Development Profile is to generate enthusiasm and initiative for development at the local level.... The National Plan states our long-term aim is to achieve economic self-reliance and independence. This is our aim at the household, village, and island level as well as at the national level. The National Plan emphasizes cooperation and self-reliance. The Government, both Central and Local, can only do a limited amount; again, development will take place only in the context of mutual cooperation (National Planning Office 1983).

The small scale nature of many development initiatives has been recognized by the government in the micro-loans administered by the development bank. These provide small loans to villagers, repayable over two years and are aimed at increasing rural economic activities. The bank's policy, as set out in its second annual report is that

Through such micro-loans, the Bank brings into the monetary economy villagers who had previously been living on a subsistence economy. This will enable the bank to select the good borrowers for the purpose of funding bigger projects.

It should be noted that the Government has constituted a special guarantee fund for the Bank so as to relieve it of the risk inherent in such loans (Development Bank of Vanuatu, Second Annual Report, 1981:8).

The pragmatic quality of these arrangements and their developmental focus suggests that this scheme may have a better chance of surviving, in contrast to the Papua New Guinea Development Bank mini-loan scheme which was almost completely abandoned when problems arose in the administration of approval for loan applications and the repayment of loans.

As with other island nations, Vanuatu needs to plan for the increasing proportion of young people in the population, the shift from subsistence agriculture to a more cash-based economy and increased migration to the urban centres of Port-Vila and Luganville. In 1980, the stated objectives of the Department of Social Development, Youth and Sports were to:

- create training opportunities for rural dwellers to learn practical skills,

- promote the establishment of cooperative income-generating projects,

- promote a change in the role of women in ni-Vanuatu society and work towards their full and equal participation in domestic, local and national affairs,

- encourage the involvement of young people in every facet of day-to-day life,

- sustain and strengthen the family as the most important social unit,

- encourage and develop the country's cultural heritage through the practice of traditional arts and crafts, songs and dances,

-ensure an equal opportunity for all to participate in sports and to expand recreational activities appropriately throughout the country,

-establish a service to deal with the increasing number of serious social problems which are being created in towns,

-improve the standard of pre-school education through the establishment of a systematic national training programme for those involved in pre-school education (National Planning Office 1983:246-247).

The proposal to establish a social service to cope with the 'serious social problems' arising in towns was not in tune with government policy which preferred to emphasize youth and community development, non-formal education and women's activities. An underlying principle in the development of social programmes is that less emphasis should be placed upon the use of introduced remedial social welfare models and more on those models which strengthen family and community responsibility. In urban areas representatives of local chiefs or other community authorities are expected to take care of their own but, as noted in the objectives, many problems involve situations where individuals may have been alienated from their own families or communities. The importance of non-government agencies and community involvement has been seen as fundamental in social development planning:

The strategies for the Department are to achieve a co-ordinated effort in establishing projects which will enhance recreational opportunities, expand skill training courses, establish income generating projects, and encourage the full participation of everyone in ni-Vanuatu society (ibid.:247).

Despite these aims, there are still considerable differences in the way social development needs are expressed. For example, the government-sponsored National Council of Women was not initially endorsed by one major women's group as it feared that there would be too much central control, and that the independence of existing church-sponsored women's groups was being undermined.

At the 25th PWMU Annual Conference on Nguna/Pele Session, the Conference agreed to stand and work as PWMU and will not go inside the National Council of Women. Seeing that this body is causing confusion and divisions between our organization, we bring this matter forward to this Assembly for further consideration and clarification from the Government of Vanuatu (Presbyterian Women's Missionary Union 1983:8).

This feeling of wariness that smaller groups may be forced to conform to centralized control reflects the tensions and conflicts that have still to be overcome and the need for continuing consultation with community and church groups. However, socio-economic change also means that new responses must be developed to meet social needs. The emphasis on social welfare needs being met at family and community level, with final authority and responsibility vested in the chief, may be appropriate in rural areas. There are signs that urban-based social welfare needs are not being met. The desire of women to have a greater share in decision making may not be accommodated within traditional structures and urban youth may seek different solutions to their problems, other than those acceptable to their elders.

The call by the Presbyterian women's group for further discussion and consultation may also be a reminder that churches and community groups who were relatively isolated from each other in the colonial past need time to find common agreement and a unified approach to social issues.

Youth in ni-Vanuatu society

The politicization process which was a feature of the late 1970s affected large numbers of young people who joined in marches and demonstrations during the period prior to independence. Many ni-Vanuatu youth are now much more aware of their contribution to the economic and political life of the new nation and they want to share in the benefits of post-independence development. The barriers created by introduced English and French language education systems may be lessened by the shared use of Bislama (ni-Vanuatu pidgin) but the separation continues, and French speaking educational programmes are an ever-present source of tension. A further source of tension is the need to accommodate the aim of integration of young people into their own communities while also providing education and other training for changing economic circumstances. In the words of a government youth officer:

Traditional and cultural education for youth was one of the major roles played by parents and members of village communities in the pre-European era. This education prepared young people for the roles they were expected to play. Some of these roles included initiation ceremonies, hunting, magic rituals, for the boys, and weaving, childcare, gardening, feeding pigs, for the girls.

The effect of introduced foreign values has created a new situation.

Young people of Vanuatu are open to these values. They change quite quickly as a result of the forms of education they currently have. Among these change-agents, the two Colonial education systems have contributed significantly. Children have in fact been "educated

away" from their social structure and traditional way of life, creating a gap which is difficult to bridge. Attempts are being made by introducing youth development programmes. We must look to what has happened in the past here and in other countries...

What is needed now is for the Government to formulate national policies for community and youth development. With such policies, future development programmes in the field of youth and community developments could be wisely and properly co-ordinated (Alatoa 1980:271-277).

The linked emphasis on youth and community development was a strong element in the formation of the Nasonal Komuniti Development Trust, founded by Father Walter Lini and other Vanuaaku Pati members, and which has developed into an organization supporting small-scale locally-based community projects and activities. Grants are made to approved community groups whose activities are considered beneficial to the wider community, loans are provided for families or individuals to start small village-level businesses and training workshops and seminars are conducted. The Trust places special emphasis on working with youth and women's groups.

The need to provide relevant education has led to a number of innovative non-formal and post-primary training schemes, and to scholarships for study overseas. To overcome the major shortfall in technical and senior level manpower about 280 ni-Vanuatu students will be studying overseas during 1984 but only about 60 of these will be in technical fields. In an article entitled 'Small, practical equals beautiful', the Port-Vila correspondent for the Pacific Islands Monthly described the steps being made to provide appropriate training for young men and women. She noted that problems still existed due to separate French language schools and cited the case of the Institut National de Technologie de Vanuatu where expensive elaborate French-financed equipment is in marked contrast to the level of technology to be found outside the institute:

The students, though impeccably taught and capable of excellent work, are poorly equipped to face their actual job situations. Also, the teaching at the school, however effective is only accessible to French speaking students (Ellis 1984:21-22).

She contrasts this with the Marine Training School at Port-Vila, the Malekula centre for short training courses and the Ecole de Saint Michel on Santo where, although French is a medium of instruction, Bislama is used as well and is more flexible and open to changing needs of young people.

Other opportunities for young people are provided by the church and non-government groups working with youth and women's groups, although these still reflect patterns established by European-based organizations

throughout the South Pacific. A major theme is the need to involve youth in the future development of Vanuatu and an emphasis on local level initiatives.

The South Pacific Commission Mobile Training Scheme has conducted a course in Vanuatu for youth workers but, as was also true in Solomon Islands, difficulties in follow-up and implementation of many innovations limited the impact of the course. Problems in staffing and internal difficulties have also hampered the further development of government youth policies but this may be to Vanuatu's advantage as it allows a breathing space for consideration of what is an appropriate framework which encompasses both a community approach, in which youth are not seen as separate from their communities, and ensures that new approaches reflect changes which have taken place since independence.

The Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports, under which youth development activities are now administered, sponsors training workshops for out-of-school youth in a number of centres throughout the country. One such course was described by officials as an attempt to meet the needs of:

..teenage girls who have left their villages or Islands to live in Vila and are now experiencing problems of living in town ('Life skills course for young girls', Tam-Tam 3 March 1983).

In December 1983 a national youth conference was held on Santo to consider the formation of a national organization involving youth and community development:

The Conference will discuss the Constitution of a National Youth and Community development Council and programmes and activities to suit young people and communities (Tam-Tam 26 November 1983).

Vanuatu is also being influenced by international pressures to conform to the pattern established in other countries of separate youth councils and national organizations. At the meeting of South Pacific directors of youth and non-government organisations held in Vanuatu in July 1983, the minister for Education, Youth and Sports, Mr O. Taho, stated in his opening address:

Many people today recognise that young people represent a valuable resource for National Development. In the attempts to mobilise young people into a positive force many Commonwealth countries are doing this through establishing separate Ministries, Divisions and Departments. Innovative programmes have been developed and implemented for the utilisation of the manpower, resources, talents, and tremendous energy that young people have (Tam-Tam 23 July 1983).

The politicization of out-of-school youth which occurred prior to and after independence is also recognized by government as requiring new responses and development strategies so that they will be fully included in the development process. Does this imply that a Vanuatu national youth movement programme is on the horizon? Is Vanuatu, as suggested in the March 1984 issue of the Pacific Islands Monthly, moving to accommodate other influences at work in the South Pacific? Since independence it has been the target of international and bilateral aid with the accompanying pressure to follow development patterns similar to those established in Papua New Guinea and Solomon Islands.

There may be differences in approach between social planners who look to community and small scale intervention as the best way of encouraging an integrated youth programme, and those who support more direct central government intervention.

Yet, despite differences in specific approaches, youth policies and activities in Vanuatu demonstrate a belief that small and practical, if not always beautiful, is more manageable and that youth development is part of, rather than separate from, overall social development planning. It also shows, more clearly than other South Pacific countries, that youth needs and priorities must be seen in relation to the wider society and mirror the social, political and economic realities of the times.

CHAPTER 13

OVERVIEW AND CONCLUSIONS

The overall theme of this study has been that youth cannot be seen in isolation from the rest of society and that the challenges, successes and frustrations which they experience are related to the social, economic and political climate of the times. The development of youth policies and programmes in Papua New Guinea, Fiji, Solomon Islands and Vanuatu share similar features but also reflect the different socio-historical background of each country and the changes which have taken place since independence. The influence of aid agencies involved in youth development means that often young people become a special target for economic assistance and this may distort community needs and hinder their integration into their own communities. An alternate viewpoint is that this focus on young people as a separate group within society, although a source of conflict with their elders, may also make them more receptive to the new ideas and technological changes needed for national development.

Much of the current discussion on the problems of youth has tended to stress the need for wage employment and greater opportunities for access to the cash economy. Empowerment of youth, in political and economic terms, is seen as the best way to solve problems of alienation or deviance. However, society is made up of many groups who have interdependent needs and youth development cannot be isolated from other aspects of community or national development. In 1975, the late Dr Gabriel Gris, speaking as chairman of the Papua New Guinea Development Bank, emphasized the need to maintain a broader perspective on development.

To foster integral development, interpersonal, and intergroup relations are also important in maintaining goodwill, peace and harmony. In short due care has to be given to social and political aspects of endeavour - they are inseparable from the economic aspects! (Gris 1975:5).

A similar recognition of the importance of balancing different needs, and of avoiding an exclusively economic approach to development led to the establishment of the Solomon Islands Development Trust and the Vanuatu Nasonal Komuniti Development Trust, and efforts have been made to relate economic development projects to the improvement of the quality of life for all sections of a community. As non-government agencies, they are important avenues through which youth and community needs can be articulated and small-scale integrated development projects initiated. Attempts at integrated development planning have proved difficult for Papua New Guinea and Fiji as the competing claims of government departments and particular interest groups often mean that allocation of funds depends more on skilful

political lobbying than on the needs of disadvantaged or less articulate groups or geographical regions of the country.

The problems of out-of-school youth, particularly those who are living in urban areas, has been linked to a breakdown in law and order and has led many policy makers and planners to favour some form of national youth service as a way of combating juvenile delinquency and gang activities. Others emphasize the creation of jobs or other economic opportunities and a political commitment to a more equal society as the only long term solutions for out-of-school youth.

The restructuring of government departments and increasing of links with non-government agencies to bring all youth programmes together has also been proposed as a first step in planning a national youth development strategy. If this proposal were to be implemented, a wide variety of government and non-government agencies working with young people would have to be taken into account, but given the varied nature of youth needs and activities any attempt at total administrative integration of youth services seems impracticable.

In addition to those government and non-government agencies working directly with out-of-school youth, education, employment, police and justice departments are involved with different aspects of youth development and other government extension services share in the implementation of non-formal education programmes for out-of-school youth.

A practical example of the varied nature of youth work is the development of agro-economic projects in Papua New Guinea which may, if revisions of selection criteria are approved, permit youth groups from nearby villagers to take up blocks, either independently or as a shared project with community leaders. Such an activity could also involve community and church leaders, agriculture and business development officers, and government or non-government youth workers. In these circumstances the role of local or provincial district extension officers similar to the Southern Highlands model could provide a coordinating and integrating service for the project.

The needs of other groups within the same community must also be taken into account in the development of youth programmes or projects. Women's groups are sometimes considered as separate and unrelated to youth activities but a large number of female youth (especially those from 17-25 years) may wish to participate equally in youth or women's programmes. The links between youth and women's organizations in Manus provide one example of coordination of community activities, and demonstrate that shared programmes and activities can lead to greater cooperation in other aspects of development planning.

Despite the difficulties inherent in any attempts to bring together previously independent government or non-government services, the establishment of national and provincial youth councils in Papua New Guinea, and similar associations in Fiji, Solomon Islands and Vanuatu, has provided an administrative mechanism to bring together all those working with youth. However, moves to set up a separate youth ministry or a more centralized national youth programme have not always proved successful, as competition for staff and other scarce resources often becomes a divisive force which leads to the discarding of weaker groups in favour of a concentration on the perceived priorities of youth. For example, a feeling that the NYMP should be a more dominant and independent force in local and provincial planning led to proposals to shift its central administration into a separate section of the Prime Minister's Department, and away from the Office of Youth, Women, Religion and recreation.

While the introduction of a national youth programme in Papua New Guinea is one attempt at an integrated approach to youth development, it has been difficult to achieve the degree of flexibility required to respond to the varied needs of youth throughout Papua New Guinea. Nonetheless, there are many examples of government and non-government youth workers and community groups reinterpreting NYMP guidelines to meet the particular circumstances of youth in their areas. The ability of local communities to make use of available government resources and their resilience in the face of the numerous changes in policies and extension methods is not a new feature of the relationship between government services and the rural population. Where youth office staff and non-government youth workers are able to work together this often means that government directives are modified to reflect provincial or community priorities.

Planning, research and practice in youth development

During this exploration of the situation of young people in Papua New Guinea and its near South Pacific neighbours, it has been evident that barriers to communication exist between those who plan, those who measure or evaluate, and those (the great majority) who are actually attempting to improve the situation of youth in society. The strongest impression gained from meetings with youth and community leaders and local level youth workers is of patience and tolerance in the face of confusing and often contradictory official directives, or stop-go policies in the funding of youth projects or other activities. At the same time, communities and youth groups vary widely in their ability to make use of available resources and unrealistic expectations that government intervention or international aid will somehow solve youth problems exist side by side with examples of group or community self-help projects.

Youth planners and practitioners are as diverse as youth groups in their ideologies and ways of approaching youth development. Some see their starting point as the gathering of data which will give them the information needed to answer the questions: How many are there? Where are they located? What are they doing? What is their educational background? Where have they come from?

Others see a more historical and cultural approach as fundamental to any real understanding of the problems faced by young people and their communities. They reflect Durkheim's belief that 'the future is not improvised, one can build it only with the material we have from the past' (Durkheim, 1956:145). But new ideas and technological skills have also brought material which was not available in the past and many practical youth workers become impatient with data gatherers and philosophers and would rather concentrate on what can be done immediately to alleviate youth problems.

Youth workers who have gained particular skills tend to see solutions in terms of their own expertise in sports, appropriate technology and village improvement, small business projects, or cultural activities. Church workers may concentrate on religious motivation, discipline and hard work, believing that these will meet youth's need for a sense of purpose and direction. Social planners and academics tend to be more removed from the practical side of youth projects and activities as their recent experience is often gained by observation or through meetings and discussions with those actively engaged in working with youth. This can lead to an emphasis on the administrative or quantitative aspects of youth programmes, and the diversity and inter-relatedness of youth activities with those of the wider society may be overlooked.

Given these different perspectives and ideological or practical preferences is there any hope of an integrated approach to youth development?

The report of the committee set up by the Papua New Guinea government to review law and order recommended that government programmes should complement and assist those run by non-government agencies and be flexible in their dealings with youth groups set up by villages, clans, or linguistic groups (Post-Courier 4 June 1984:12). This recommendation is relevant for policy-makers and planners in their dealings with other departments, non-government initiatives and grassroots movements. If increased community awareness and participation in youth development is to be achieved, barriers between planners and practitioners must first be overcome and this may be easier for Solomon Islands, Vanuatu and provinces in Papua New Guinea, than for larger centralized bureaucracies in Port Moresby or Suva.

Different aspects of youth development

The response by government and non-government planners and youth workers to the situation of youth in Papua New Guinea and other South Pacific countries reflects a number of different emphases. These need not be, but unfortunately often are, in conflict or competition as they focus on separate, though related, aspects of youth in society.

A focus on economic opportunities and greater access to the cash economy is a major emphasis of the National Youth Movement Program in Papua New Guinea and a number of government training and employment generating programmes in the South Pacific. Vocational training, government funded group employment, or grants for small agricultural or business projects aim at widening opportunities for young people to be self-supporting, either in wage employment or other cash-generating activities. Where young people have not received the type of education which would prepare them for wage employment, additional emphasis is placed on non-formal education, and vocational or technical training. For those who have not had access to formal schooling, basic literacy and numeracy programmes are seen as one way by which they can gain the knowledge and skills needed for entry into the cash economy.

Another approach concentrates on providing acceptable activities for unemployed out-of-school youth by organizing sports, community service, religious fellowship and links between different groups within the society. Activities may include non-formal education and other programmes to meet the needs of young people during the transitional stage from childhood to adult status. Church-sponsored associations and organizations such as the YWCA, YMCA, Boys Brigade or St John's Ambulance provide opportunities for young people to occupy themselves, learn new skills and be involved in group or community activities. While these organizations have often been criticized as middle-class or only for those with access to the cash economy, they have also developed programmes to meet the needs of unemployed or marginally employed youth. The YMCA's project to help shoeshine boys in Suva is one example of the contribution which can be made by non-government organizations. However, despite what has been achieved, there is still a need to review and revise the aims and priorities of many non-government organizations so that there will be a greater focus on unemployed out-of-school youth.

School leaver centres, established in the 1970s in Port Moresby, attempted to combine both approaches so that young people could be prepared for further vocational training or employment and at the same time provided with activities during the transitional period. The Masta Liu Manpower Programme in Honiara and the 'snooker boys club' in Fiji had similar aims. While providing some training and employment opportunities, a major objective was to prevent unemployed youth who were already at risk from

coming into conflict with the law.

Many rural youth training programmes aim to provide a preparation for young people which will not just encourage them to return to their home villages but enable new ideas and skills to be introduced to rural communities. St Martin's Rural Training Centre in Solomon Islands stresses the significance of community involvement by insisting that older members of the family share in the learning experience. In this way education may have an integrating effect rather than creating barriers between those who have gained new skills and those who have not.

But for some young people alienation from their families or society makes it difficult or impossible for them to become part of any organized youth group or association. Youth welfare services for those in conflict with the law are essential if young people are not to be left to the adult criminal justice system. This aspect of youth development is often separated from economic or educational approaches and seen by social planners as the responsibility of justice or general social welfare departments. In Papua New Guinea, the Eastern Highlands Rehabilitation Committee, the Justice Department's probation service based in Lae, voluntary and government Children's Court workers and the superintendents of juvenile detention centres are all engaged in this vital if often unrewarding task of rehabilitation of young people in conflict with the law. Links between these services and economic development or education and activity oriented agencies is important if there is to be a comprehensive approach to youth development.

Finally, the participation of urban and rural communities in youth development has often been overlooked, even by those who refer to programmes as community based. Participation calls for more than endorsement of already determined projects or activities. It requires time and patience and the ability to negotiate between different interest groups or individuals with competing claims and it may mean more sharing of economic development opportunities so that the old as well as the young will benefit from the proposed activity.

It is impracticable to expect that integration and cooperation will be achieved in all these areas but there is a lesson to be learned from the study of youth in society. Policy-makers and planners, those who fund youth programmes and those who work with young people, all need to be more aware of the effects of official intervention on community or non-government initiatives.

There is no single solution to the problems facing young people in Papua New Guinea or other South Pacific countries. However, the very diversity of approach and perspective throughout the region gives a richness and variety to youth and community development activities. The presence of

a number of different government and non-government agencies means that total reliance is not placed upon one approach and failures or difficulties in one area need not seriously affect all other youth programmes or services. The importance of maintaining diversity has been noted in relation to the ability of an ecosystem to cope with internal or external disturbance. As Clarke observes: 'If diversity is lacking, the results of the disturbance will reverberate throughout the whole system' (1973:283). It is essential that, in the search for solutions to pressing problems of youth unemployment and dissatisfaction, this diversity is maintained.

The current focus on youth as a group in society with special needs, and the interest generated by preparations for International Youth Year in 1985, calls for greater understanding by national governments and external aid agencies of the diversity of youth and community problems, and the resources and ongoing activities which already exist in each country. Policy-makers and planners, those who work with young people and those who fund youth activities, will need to be more aware of the long term implications of intervention.

In the longer term, youth development must provide for the transition of young people to adult status in their societies, not only as possible future leaders, but also as members of their families, clans and communities so that they can share their wisdom and experience with the youth of tomorrow.

APPENDIX 1

Youth in Groups Survey: Letter of Introduction

Department of Anthropology and Sociology
University of Papua New Guinea
P.O. Box 320
UNIVERSITY P.O.

Dear

RE: YOUTH IN GROUPS PROJECT

I am writing to ask for your assistance in carrying out a study of young people throughout Papua New Guinea. As you will see from the attached papers, I am co-ordinating the gathering of information about the reasons why young people form or join distinct and identifiable groups and the special needs that are met by these groups.

Some groups are sponsored by Provincial Youth Councils, others by Churches. Others are less formal and are sponsored or initiated by community members, including young people themselves. We hope to learn about all of these groups so that as complete a picture as possible will be obtained. The results from our study should be of value to government and non-government policy makers and planners and should help us to understand the needs of young people in different parts of the country and the types of programs and projects already being undertaken.

As this is a large undertaking, we are seeking assistance from those working with young people to provide us with information about different types of youth groups.

Would it be possible for your youth workers or other personnel to assist by gathering information regarding youth groups?

As we hope to make this study as complete as possible, any suggestions or additional information would be greatly appreciated. In the meantime, I would be glad of your advice as to whether we could receive some assistance in gathering information on this important topic.

Your sincerely,

Maev O'Collins.

APPENDIX 2

Survey of 'youth in groups': research outline

YOUTH IN GROUPS: A STUDY OF YOUTH IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA WITH COMPARATIVE REFERENCE TO SOLOMON ISLANDS, FIJI, AND VANUATU

This brief outline is to explain the research program which will involve myself as co-ordinator and several research assistants and colleagues from April 1983 to June 1984.

Objectives of study:

Over the past ten years, young people in Papua New Guinea and other South Pacific countries have become more and more visible within the urban and rural communities in which they live. Their relationship with other young people and with their own and outside communities ranges from acceptance and approval to fear, rejection, and hostility. Many move around in groups which do not have the cohesive structure of an identifiable youth group (whether an approved youth group or a gang). Others join existing formal groups sponsored by churches, non-government organizations, community associations or government agencies. The very diversity of style, activities and sponsorship makes it difficult to generalise about youth in groups, although many commentators are able to offer views about particular youth groups.

During 1983/84, while on research leave from the University of Papua New Guinea, I hope to draw together information from a number of different sources to form a series of profiles of the ways in which youth join together in groups. This study will consist of contributions from colleagues who are working directly with youth, either in a voluntary capacity or as part of their day to day work; from members of youth groups and those who have helped to establish youth groups; and from observers who have watched the development of policies and programs for youth or have actively assisted in these developments. Many studies have had a particular focus on the problems of unemployment, of out of school or out of work youth. While realising that these aspects are dominant themes, the focus in this study will be on the groups themselves.

Information Sources:

A. A Survey of youth groups in Papua New Guinea using a pre-tested and revised Information Guide. The aim will be to gather comparable information regarding formal youth groups which are sponsored by various agencies and community organizations, including those which are registered under the National Youth Movement Program, and those which are less formal in

structure and have no official sponsorship. It is hoped that sufficient comparable information will be obtained to provide a broad profile of different types of youth groups in both urban and rural areas of Papua New Guinea.

B. A series of in-depth studies of youth groups will be obtained in Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, Fiji and Vanuatu. These will look at how some longstanding groups were formed and how they changed over time, as well as those groups which have come into existence in recent years and are meeting particular needs.

C. A survey of the development of official interest in youth groups since the early 1970s and how government and non-government policies and programs have developed in Papua New Guinea and its South Pacific neighbours. This will involve use of written sources, policy papers and interviews with government and non-government field workers to obtain as complete a coverage as possible.

Study schedule

After the Information Guide has been pre-tested during April, the revised Information Guide will be used to obtain comparable information about youth groups in urban and rural areas throughout Papua New Guinea and will hopefully be completed by September, 1983. The data obtained will be analysed and the study completed in early 1984.

It is hoped that the results of the study will give an overview of young people in groups, the reasons they come together, the needs which are met and those which remain unfulfilled, and the degree to which youth in groups are integrated into, or are isolated from, the communities in which they live. It may also provide useful insights into the way in which particular programs or projects are meeting the economic and social needs of youth.

Finally, it should be noted that this research is a cooperative effort which involves community members, other academic staff and students. We hope to make use of information from all available sources and by talking with government and non-government colleagues understand more about youth in Papua New Guinea and in return share what we have learned.

A preliminary work in progress seminar will be given in August and the final results will be published in 1984.

Maev O'Collins
Department of Anthropology and Sociology
University of Papua New Guinea
27/4/83

APPENDIX 3

YOUTH IN GROUPS: INFORMATION GUIDE

The purpose of the guide is to obtain comparable information about groups which have been formed by young people in rural and urban areas throughout Papua New Guinea. Some information may not have been anticipated in the series of categories listed. It is important that as complete details as possible are obtained as additional information may help us to explore other aspects of the whole topic.

A. Details of informant:

1. Name:
2. Position in relation to group: sponsor, youth worker, president, group member etc.
3. Sex:
4. Age:
5. Education:
6. Current employment or other status: policeman, extension officer with DPI, church leader, etc.

B. Details of group:

1. Name of group (if names have been changed try to obtain all names used by an ongoing group)
2. Location of group (exact location as well as name of village/hamlet/geographic area etc.)
3. Date of formation of group (If it started under one sponsorship and now has changed, try to obtain all significant dates or approximate years etc.)
4. Does the group have a formal constitution? YES/NO
5. Size of group: Active Membership SEX: Male/Female

6. Ethnic/Religious Membership of group. Give details.
7. Sponsorship (if more than one please indicate)
 - (a) Church - give details
 - (b) National Youth Movement Program/ Provincial Youth Council (give details)
 - (c) Community leaders
 - (d) Out of School Youth
 - (e) Educated/employed community members
 - (f) Other
8. Reasons why group was formed. (May give more than one)
 - (a) Church/spiritual interests
 - (b) Sporting interests
 - (c) Economic benefits-project/financial interests
 - (d) Concern by leadership or group sponsors
 - (e) Community Service
 - (f) To get help and support from peers
 - (g) To follow the example of other youth groups
 - (h) To get some excitement and challenge
 - (i) To get material benefits outside the formal social structure
 - (j) Other
9. Main reasons why group was formed
10. Other objectives (as stated or observed)
11. Activities which have been and are being carried out by the group. List all projects (Community service should indicate what kind of services etc.) Work groups, religious activities, sports, education etc.
12. Problems experienced by the group (as seen by group members)
13. Problems experienced by the group (as seen by officials or other outsiders)
14. Links between this group and other groups (Formal NYMP Registration, Co-operation or conflicts with other groups etc.)
15. Significant events which have affected the group. Successful/unsuccessful projects, conflicts with the law, internal conflicts etc.

16. Financing of group. Membership fees, grants, donations, work or business activities. Give details.

17. Present status of group. Growing, not very active etc.

18. Other information

General impression of group gained by interviewer

APPENDIX 4

The Southern Highlands Rural Integrated Rural Development Project:

Summary of Objectives

A. Agricultural Field Trials, Studies, Extension and Monitoring Unit (AFTSEMU)

The overall objectives of this unit were:

- (i) to improve the data base and the ongoing data collection and presentation systems of the Province.
- (ii) to improve the subsistence agricultural system in respect of its capacity to satisfy the nutritional needs of the people.
- (iii) to identify better cash crop husbandry methods and introduce new crops for diversification.
- (iv) to upgrade the field extension workforce in both communication skills and technical understanding of the problems facing rural communities.

B. Media Unit

The objectives of this unit were:

- (i) to increase the usage of communication media by field extension services.
- (ii) to increase the effectiveness of media in getting messages across.

C. Health Training

The objectives of this component were:

- (i) to provide an increased pool of health staff, especially nurses and nurse aides, more quickly to work in their own provinces.
- (ii) to increase the quantity and quality of in-service training in respect of health workers and thus:
- (iii) to increase the skills, morale, and motivation of these workers.

In broad terms the objective is to increase rural welfare by improving the health status of the people.

D. Data Collection and Epidemiology

The objectives were:

- (i) to add to the knowledge of disease and health patterns in the province and develop appropriate interventions where necessary.
- (ii) to establish a provincial system of demographic data collection which will monitor important daily life events.
- (iii) to identify suitable valid indicators which can be monitored by special surveys to evaluate the effect of direct health inputs and development programmes on the health, nutrition, and social welfare of target populations within the province.
- (iv) to co-ordinate data collection, processing, analysis, and presentation with the AFTSEMU component.

E. Health Sub-Centres

The objectives were to establish three health sub-centres in the Kagua area as a model for the decentralisation of health services and so:

Improve accessibility and therefore utilisation of health services in the Kagua area.

F. Non-formal education.

The objectives were to appoint and train seven adult education officers, one per district, and to provide a variety of out-of-school educational opportunities for the 90 per cent of the population over seven years of age who were not in school:

- (i) to increase the number of people benefitting from non-formal literacy and numeracy training.
- (ii) to increase the number of short courses for adults leading to implementation of more village-level programmes in nutrition, improved subsistence, improved domestic technology, and small business development.
- (iii) to increase the involvement of formal institutions in community oriented activities.
- (iv) In a broader sense, the component will aim to increase the skills and technology of the community at large in order to improve the quality of village life.

G. Formal Education

[Generally limited access to secondary education in the province and the particular problem of the small number of girls entering secondary schools was seen as a further development constraint.]

The objectives of this component were:

- (i) to expand the secondary enrolment in order to move towards equalization with the rest of the country.
- (ii) to increase the participation of girls.
- (iii) to provide a pool of trained personnel to work in their own province.

H. Cash-crop development

[The late development of cash-cropping in the Southern Highlands meant that it was disadvantaged, not only in agricultural production, but also in transport, processing and marketing infrastructure.]

The objectives of this component were:

- (i) to provide revenue for provincial government, local government councils and some business groups as shareholders in the commercial development.
- (ii) to provide wage employment opportunities for people in the vicinity of commercial development.
- (iii) to increase the number of smallholders and clan groups in the cash cropping sector of the economy.
- (iv) to create a processing and marketing infrastructure to service all types of products.
- (v) to diversify the provincial economy away from coffee.
- (vi) to consolidate the Southern Highlands Management Authority as a management resource for future provincial government business enterprises.
- (vii) to achieve these objectives with the least possible disruption to the social well-being of the people and to carefully monitor the effects on health, nutrition, and subsistence agriculture.

I. Electrification

[This project was an infrastructural component which consisted of the construction of a power line 60 kilometres from Mount Hagen to service the tea and coffee factories. There was no further plan to become involved in rural electrification.]

J. Roads.

[Although the Southern Highlands had already received substantial funding for major road construction, the continuing reliance on air transport and the lack of feeder roads were seen as major development constraints.]

The objectives of this component were:

- (i) to provide all-weather access to a main population centre in the west of the province and thereby reduce the cost of goods and services and encourage economic activity.
- (ii) to support the tea component of the project.
- (iii) to improve access to health and education centres and facilitate visits by extension staff to those areas serviced by minor feeder roads.

K. Project Management.

[The inter-relationship between project, national and provincial government staff, and the definition of areas of responsibility, were recognised as potential problem areas.]

The overall project management objectives were:

- (i) to achieve full co-ordination between all government departments to implement the various components.
- (ii) to provide an accounting and reporting service on the project for provincial government, national government and the International Development Association.

(Source: Wallis and Walter 1980:11-14]

APPENDIX 5

1978 Ranking of Provinces

Composite Ranking	Provinces	Health	Education	Roads	Cash Crops	Govt	Total
1	Southern Highlands	2	1	11	4	2	20
2	West Sepik	1	6	4	5	5	21
3	Enga	5	3	7	11	1	27
4	Gulf	8	9	2	3	11	33
5	East Sepik	3	8	10	10	7	38
6	Madang	10	10	5	9	8	42
7	Eastern Highlands	7	2	16	14	3	42
8	Western	12	7	3	2	9	43
9	Simbu	4	5	14	17	4	44
10	Milne Bay	13	14	1	7	12	47
11	Western Highlands	5	4	15	16	6	47
12	Northern	11	12	6	8	13	50
13	Morobe	9	11	13	12	10	55
14	Central	16	16	12	1	18	63
15	West New Britain	14	13	9	15	14	65
16	Manus	15	17	8	6	17	66
17	New Ireland	18	18	18	13	15	82
18	North Solomons	17	15	19	19	16	86
19	East New Britain	19	19	17	18	19	92

Note : Lowest number = worst off

Source: National Planning Office 1978

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INDEX

- Ahi Association 83-4
- Asian Development Bank Technical Assistance Programme 117
- Australian Development Assistance Bureau 13, 41, 90, 115
- Australian National University 39
- Awasa, Tom 35

- Barnett, Len 40
- Bazinet, Jean-Michel 17
- Butibam Progress Association 83

- Catholic Church 41, 55
- Chan government 17
- Chatterton, Percy 16
- Child Welfare Council 14
- Children's Court 41
- China, Republic of 39
- Christian declaration on youth and development 39, 80
- Commonwealth Youth Diploma 39
- Commonwealth Youth Programme 10-12
- Commonwealth Youth Study Fellowship Work Programme 39
- Community Youth Coordinators (CYCs) 34, 37-9, 44, 51-2, 68, 70, 87-8, 90-1, 99-100
- Council of Social Service of Papua 14

- Development fellowship scheme 44

- East New Britain 26
- Eastern Highlands 27, 30-1, 49; Provincial Coordination Centre 35; Rehabilitation Committee 42, 136
- Enga 4-5, 26-7, 70; Youth Movement Program 37
- Evangelical Church 55

- Extension Services Support Unit (ESSU) 50, 66-71; survey 72-3

- Fiji 12, 103-9, 131, 133-4; chiefly system 103, 105; economy 103; education 105; Eighth Development Plan 104; government 103; language 103; Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport 12, 108; Ministry of Health and Social Welfare 108; Ministry of Youth, Sport and Rural Development 108; National Youth Council 106; population 103; race relations 103; unemployment 105; women 104
- Foundation for the peoples of the South Pacific 115
- France 13

- Goroka 42, 50
- Great Britain 13, 103, 111, 113
- Gris, Gabriel 131

- Honiara Community Centre 115-7
- Honiara Town Council 115-7

- India 12
- Initiation 2, 4-5
- Institut National de Technologie de Vanuatu 128
- Iwoksime, Wesani 18

- Juvenile crime 15, 17, 41-2, 70, 132, 136

- Koroba Youth and Women's Council 69

- Lae 84, 90; Interim Authority 84, 90, Urban Youth Council 90

Law Reform Commission 15
 Lini, Walter 122-4, 128
 Lutheran Agricultural Training College 81
 Lutheran Church 15, 51, 55, 61, 81-2
 Lutheran Economic Service 81

 Makasol movement 52
 Mamaloni, Solomon 111
 Manus 26-31, 49-51, 55-6, 62, 92-100, 132; Data System 98; Development Plan 93-5, 98; economy 92, 94; education 92-3, 97; Youth Council 99; Youth Office 100
 Marriage 1-2, 104
 Masta Liu Manpower Programme 11, 115-7, 119, 135
 Melanesian Council of Churches 81
 Melanesian Institute 81
 Mendi 70, 74
 Methodist Church 12
 Migration 4-5, 30, 64, 85, 92, 98, 106-7, 112, 115
 Milne Bay 38
 Ministers of Religion Workshop on Youth and Development 39
 Mobile Training Scheme for Youth and Community Workers 12
 Morobe 49-51, 55-6, 61-2, 80-91; District Development Association 83; District Youth Councils 87; Planning Office 51; Provincial government 86; Provincial Youth Council 50, 89; Youth Office 51, 88-9
 Motu Koita Assembly 40

 Nasonal Komuniti Development Trust 128, 131
 National Capital District 27, 35, 38, 40, 49-50; Youth Council 40-1, 50
 National Council of Chiefs 124
 National Council of Women 126
 National Workshop of Managers of the NYMP 36-7

 National Youth Coordination Centre 36-7, 88
 National Youth Council 18, 38-9, 43, 45, 133; 1978 workshop 15
 National Youth Leaders Training Workshop 39
 National Youth Movement 17, 80
 National Youth Movement Corporation 43-4
 National Youth Movement Program (NYMP) 7, 10, 12, 14, 18-9, 34-40, 43-6, 55-6, 61-3, 69-71, 74-5, 80-2, 84, 87-9, 91, 99-100, 133, 135; Coordinators Assistance Scheme 37; Grants Scheme 36, 70-1, 88, 99; Provincial Youth Managers 37
 National Youth Service 15-16
 National Youth Week 38, 70, 74
 New Guinea Islands Regional Youth Conference 45, 50
 New Ireland 26, 49
 New Zealand government 13, 40, 115
 North Solomons 26

Pacific Islands Monthly 16
 Paliau movement 52
 Papua New Guinea, Constitutional Committee 87; Defence Force 123; Dept of Education 40; Dept of Family and Community Services 18, 19, 34, 41; Dept of Justice 41-2, 136; Dept of Labour 16-17; Dept of Native Affairs 10; Dept of Provincial Affairs 41; Office of Home Affairs 15-18; Office of Village Development 16, 68; Office of Youth, Women, Religion and Recreation 34-5, 38-40, 43-4, 99, 133; National Youth Policy 80; Population Census 1980 7, 20, 21, 26-31, 64, 85, 96-8; Prime Minister's Department 43-4, 133
 Papuan National Alliance 17-18
 Pentecostal Church 55
 Pitenamu Society 82-3
 Poetry 4

Port Moresby 11, 14, 17, 40-1;
 Community Development Group 15;
 School Leavers Association 15
 Presbyterian Women's Missionary
 Union 126-7
 Provincial Data System Rural
 Community Register 98
 Provincial Managers' Workshop 43
 Provincial Youth Coordination
 Centres 34-6
 Provincial Youth Councils 34-6, 38,
 42, 56, 63, 133
 Provincial Youth Weeks 38

 Regional Seminar on Youth in the
 South Pacific 11
 Renaud, Andre 17
 Review Committee on Law and Order 42

 Salvation Army 41
 Samana, Utula 84, 91
 Self-reliance scheme 39
 Seventh Day Adventist Church 55
 Simbu 5, 27
 Snooker boys club 107, 135
 Solomon Islands 4-6, 11, 111-8, 131,
 133-4; 1979 census 112; Central
 Planning Office 111, 117; economy
 111-2; Ministry of Employment,
 Youth and Social Development
 113-4; National Youth Congress
 114, 120; National Youth Council
 113-4; Development Trust 119,
 131; National Development Plan
 111-3; National Youth Training
 Centre 114; Programme of Action
 1981-84 111
 Somare, Michael 2
 South Pacific Commission 10-12, 106;
 Mobile training scheme 129
 Southern Highlands 49-50, 55-6, 62,
 64-6, 69-70, 72-7, 132; Adult
 Education Office 67; Community
 Development Office 67-8; Youth
 Council 69-71; Youth Office 71
 Southern Highlands Rural Development
 Project (SHRDP) 49, 66, 68, 71

 St Martin's Rural Training Centre
 118-9, 136
 Sub-regional Study Group 10
 Suva 'shoeshine boys' 11, 107-8, 135

 Tuam declaration 86

 United Church 55
 United Nations 10; Development
 Programme 65; Economic Commission
 for Asia and the Pacific 11;
 International Youth Year 1985 38,
 114, 137; Interregional adviser
 on youth policies 17
 University of Papua New Guinea 49-50
 Urban Areas Activities Scheme 16-18
 39, 69
 Urban Community Coordinators 40
 Urban Youth Program 40-2, 90-1

 Vanuaaku Pati 123, 128
 Vanuatu 122-131, 133-4; 1979 Census
 122; Dept of Social Development,
 Youth and Sports 125; economy
 122; education 122, 128; First
 National Plan 122-4; language
 127-8; Ministry of Education,
 Youth and Sports 129; National
 Youth Conference 129; Regional
 Development Profile 124;
 secessionist movement 123

 Weeks, Sheldon 15
Welfare Quarterly 10, 14
 West New Britain 27, 30, 38
 Western Highlands 38, 81
 Western Samoa 11
 Women 1, 3, 22-5, 28-33, 46, 52, 69,
 71, 85, 98, 100, 104-5, 125-7, 132
 World Bank 65

 Yangpela Didiman 15, 74, 81, 118
 Young Christians Association 15
 Young Men's Christian Association
 (YMCA) 11, 39, 106-8, 135
 Young Women's Christian Association
 (YWCA) 106, 135

Youth, definition of 10; sub-groups
20-4, 31
Youth Consultative Committee 14
Youth Court Services Act 15, 17
Youth Exchange Scheme 39
Youth in Groups Survey 49-56, 61-2,
72-3, 88-9
Youth on the Move 18, 34-5, 37
Youth workers, international links
39; training 11-12, 37-9, 87, 90,
106, 114, 129

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This study of youth in society examines the colonial and post-colonial influences on youth policies and programmes in Papua New Guinea and neighbouring South Pacific nations. Maev O'Collins argues that youth development planners need to understand the sociocultural background of urban and rural communities as well as the current economic and political pressures in the wider society, if youth programmes are to be effectively integrated into overall development planning.

After undergraduate studies in Australia, Maev O'Collins completed a Doctorate of Social Welfare at Columbia University, New York and since 1972 has taught in the Social Work Programme at the University of Papua New Guinea. She was appointed Professor of the Department of Anthropology and Sociology in 1979 and has written articles and seminar papers on youth and community development, family welfare, probation, and extension services.

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