

8.0 PRIMARY COMMENTARY NOTES

8.1 The present task of NFE is to service those Papua New Guineans who never had access to or who have been pushed out of the formal academic school system. 74% of all Papua New Guineans have never been to school (Anderson, 1981). Two million or two-thirds of the population are illiterate. 42.6% of the 7-12 year olds (1978-81) were not at school. 63.5% of the grade 6 students do not continue to grade 7. Each year 40,000 persons look for jobs for the first time, but only 4,000 new jobs will be available. Of the total population 86.9% lives in the rural and participates in the traditional, largely subsistence, agricultural economy in which the labor provided is mostly female (Flikkema, 1983). The national goals and directive principles of Papua New Guinea clearly give emphasis to development efforts that are:

- (i) human and integral - where there is freedom for all (men and women) from domination and oppression, enabling every individual to have meaningful relationship with others in total human development;
- (ii) equal and participatory - where every individual is given the opportunity to participate in, development process taking place;
- (iii) truly national and self-reliant - where the people are politically and economically independent, and self-reliant;
- (iv) appreciative and supportive of the local enviro-

ment and its natural resources - where it is used for collective benefits and for future use; and

- (v) appreciative of Papua New Guinea ways - where there is full utilization of the existing social, political and economic local networks and/or organizations (see NPEP Plan 1985-1988, 1984:IV).

NFE in PNG, therefore, has an important role to play in implementing programmes that enable all citizens to be part of the development process. All should be given opportunity to become productive members of their society. Because the formal education sector cannot cater for this need, it is only appropriate that nonformal education programmes are needed to provide learning opportunities that enable more people to participate in the overall development of the nation and its people. NFE, here, should not be regarded as the 'means to an end' or the answer to all our educational problems, rather it should be a 'mean in itself'. It should be part of the learning process or the facilitating mechanism for learning skills needed to improve ones own living. But for it to be productive, it needs political and financial support from all segments of society.

8.2 Some of these very dedicated organisations include the various churches, the Lutheran Church's Yangpela Didiman organisation, the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL), World Vision, Hans Siedal Foundation, Canadian United Services Organization (CUSO), Volunteer Service Organization (VSO), US Peace Corp., International Human Assistance Program (IHAP), Bernard Van Leer Foundation, and many other inter-government

rural aid programs funded by the Australian and New Zealand governments.

8.3 Danish and Soviet Examples of Basic Education for Everyone

Denmark

At the end of the Napoleonic Wars Denmark was a new nation state of bog farmers. At that time her leaders made a pivotal decision to provide seven years of basic education to the entire populace. Until the mid 1970's this was Denmark's core educational provision. Danes started school later and stayed a shorter time than in other European systems, but they achieved much. Within two generations the Danes transformed themselves, and today they are one of the best educated, most multilingual and tolerant populations in the world. Teaching is a very prestigious activity in Denmark, and there is a higher proportion of male teachers in the basic education cycle than in most other countries in the world. Danish students are treated with great respect as well.

The key to the accomplishments of this educational system is the folk school. In 1815 most Danes were illiterate. The world was not even certain that Danish was a language. The Danes, thus, wanted an institution which could educate the population quickly, so they invented the folk school, a school mainly for adults which celebrated Danish culture and particularly Danish rural life along with giving basic education instruction. This school operated according to the daily and seasonal rhythms of Danish farm life. Men and women went to school at different times depending on their farm work, and the school was busiest during the long Danish winter when farm work

was least. These schools spread all over Scandinavia, and they continue to this day. (see Gage, 1978, for a contemporary view of folk schools)

The Barai Nonformal Education Association (Oro Province) and the Hauna Village School (East Sepik Province) operate in this tradition (see Appendix VIII: Village/Community Learning Centres).

Nakau and Romaso at ATDI said that any success visible now was the result of team work, networking and integrating (including funding), but the prime factor is the willingness to keep on communicating. What is needed is not just appropriate technology but an appropriate project implementation process as well.

Also, successful learning program projects evolve out of their context or place and build on its resources (see Appendix X: Rural Income Producing Opportunities/Possibilities). Schemes will vary from province to province and from area to area within provinces. Schemes will vary in relationship to language group, ecological base, whether the community is far from town, close to town, in town and on how good rural/urban communication is.

The Soviet Union

The Soviet Union provides a fascinating case in educational development in that it was achieved without economic or technical assistance from abroad and under conditions marked by severe economic and social disruptions and severely limited

resources.

This system (Blumenthal and Benson, 1978) has the following characteristics:

1. The willingness to launch educational programs with minimal resources. The system at all levels has been forced to expand, sometimes very rapidly, while being short of qualified teachers and material resources. Even inadequate education was better than none, and raising the quality of education would come in time.
2. Universal literacy in one's first language, even for a multilingual society, is an important goal and should not be abandoned, since it is a prerequisite for modernization. After the revolution of the Soviet Union's at least 100 native languages some had no writing system, others had a complex script, teachers had to be trained and textbooks written. Nonformal education programs, often improvised and using voluntary local talent, spread literacy to the adult population, while drawing the population into the campaign for modernization and economic development.
3. Efforts to equalize educational facilities throughout the whole country. Regions with poorer educational facilities were favoured in the allocation of resources until national standards had been approximated. This accounts among others

for the substantial educational advances among backward nationalities.

4. Initial emphasis on the expansion of primary education for all at the expense of temporarily restricting secondary and higher education is not only more equitable, but is a better strategy for long-term growth and allows a commitment to full employment by training people for specific occupations at all levels of vocational and technical/professional education.
5. General education is the basis for effective technical-professional training (most often accomplished on the job with large enterprises training beyond their own needs if there is a demand.
6. Neglecting education for women is wasteful and likely to retard economic development. Extra efforts may be needed to overcome prejudices in traditional societies, the very societies where female teachers are needed to teach women.
7. Greater equalization of educational opportunities at the university level can be achieved by a system which not only provides education free of charge, but covers living expenses based on need and academic performance. The selection process should take into consideration both cognitive skills and a demonstrated commitment to nation building.
8. Widespread use of nonformal and informal education

to either supplement or provide an alternative to formal education frequently under the auspices of non-educational enterprises (places of work, the military) can at relatively low cost greatly enhance formal schooling, provide vocational guidance and identify talent.

Any of the above measures can be instituted at relatively low cost, but they require political will and unity of purpose to do so. This is most commonly manifested by making basic education programs an integral part of national development policy and giving them long term financing which provides communication and transportation infrastructure for the programs. This includes a public information campaign at every level of society and within as well as without government. The program must be taken to the people in their communities, and every level of government must understand and be committed to the effort (Giddings, 1985). Ultimately, effective rural/popular education has the characteristics of a mass movement rather than a public service administrative system (see Appendix XX: A Papua New Guinean Multimedia Public Information Campaign on Basic Education and Village Development).

Development

In PNG villagers, want development to enhance rather than to transform village social relationships...money and goods are not valued in themselves but are used and valued as tokens for social relationships and people....for reciprocity and exchange (Dalton, 1984, 46).

Thus, one of the idiosyncratic features of development in PNG will be continued participation in traditional exchanges. This results in two phenomena. The first is inflation in the price of pigs and brides. In Madang 70% of village disposable income was spent on house opening ceremonies, gifts, maturation ceremonies and bride wealth (nearly 30% alone) (Dalton, 1984, 39). In Hauna village in East Sepik Province money flowing into the community through men working in the Shell oil exploration enterprise has inflated brideprice 1500% (from K200 a year ago to K3000 this year)! The "market mechanism" in these traditional exchange areas seems to depend, not on high demand for scarce commodities, but on the volume of wealth there is to be distributed.

The second related idiosyncratic feature of economic development projects in PNG is the use of project capital for traditional exchange purposes. The heads of village households love to initiate projects (Burkins and Krause, 1982). There is status in the initiation of activities. A project is successful according to village priorities if it generates something to distribute. The pattern is, thus, that in a piggery or poultry project all the animals at some point become subject to participation in traditional exchanges. The same thing regularly happens to the inventory of trade stores. End of project/enterprise.

8.4 If you are reading one of the abbreviated versions and would like to obtain a copy of the complete text, write to the Basic Education Association, P.O. Box 4343, Boroko, Papua New Guinea.

8.5 Coping With Modernization

Thus, people need help in coping with the conflicts between traditional and modern ethics.

The noble traditions of the ancestors were part of an ideology that supported a subsistence economy. Papua New Guinea remains primarily an agricultural subsistence economy for which the traditional ethic is more appropriate. However, if the country is committed to a modern-type economy running side-by-side with a traditional economy, people need educating in sorting out the two ethics and knowing when and how to apply them (Giddings, in press).

People, for example, of the Muli Ekerepa clan in Southern Highlands Province want to know how they can better integrate the new mode of doing bisnis into their local life-style without disrupting the social ties within which they function...

We tried the new bisnis, but it failed. No one showed us the way to use these customs well... (Burkins and Krause, 1982, 31).

However, local models are gradually appearing. One man and his business group own numerous trucks and successful tradestores. With the profits from this modern bisnis he was able to kill 150 pigs for a generational pigkill ceremony and distributed pork to clans throughout the area. No traditional big man could hope to rival such a feat. And on a smaller scale

...one man returned to show us the way. We sent (him) to school. He has a government job, and has now set up a large tradestore in Muli. He also bought a lot of food and beer and gave it to everybody when he opened the store. He is using the ways of the Europeans and of the ancestors. I think that maybe he'll come up a big man in the future (Burkins and Krause, 1982, 31).

To transform rural...dwellers into effective... managers or participants in modern enterprises is likely to be a slow process...support [is needed] from an interim, self-liquidating entity for training and establishing links (WB, Feb. 1978, 50).

Rural Papua New Guineans have definite ideas about the responsibility of elders and teachers for the learning process. A Manus elder described it metaphorically as follows:

We must be careful that the steps we build are comfortable for children to climb. Too often adults build steps for themselves forgetting that children will find them too steep for ascendance. Then the children fall behind, bewildered and hurt (Foerstel, 1984, 9).

In mastering the modern world many, especially rural Papua New Guineans, feel they have been required to take too big steps too soon. When Canadian volunteers who were leading a sawmill project in the Southern Highlands informed the community it was getting time for them to leave, the villagers argued vehemently:

We hear your talk. Once the mill is finished, and we have save pinis (complete knowledge) of how to run it, then we will decide that it is time to take over (Burkins and Krause, 1982).

Not only what is learnt, but learning practices themselves, that is, how something is learnt, is an important part of knowledge systems (McLachlan, Pigozzi, and Vandenberg, 1982). Communities and societies have well developed nonformal and informal educational practices, and understanding them is crucial in doing community development work.

Cape (1981) and Burkins and Krause (1982) found that the villagers of Oksapmin, West Sepik Province and of Muli, Ialibu

District, Southern Highlands, like traditional people in many parts of the world, favoured learning by observation and practice, a learning mode favoured also by the Japanese.

The people of Muli...expect to learn by doing a task alongside someone who knows really well how to do it, or by watching an expert at work. In this way, they claim to have learned about modern bisnis procedures and options. 'I knew what to bring to sell at the market. I saw what others brought, so I knew.' 'I used to think about the men who do good bisnis, those men from Hagen who have PMV's. I watched them and learned from them.' 'I looked at the stores in Ialibu, so I knew how to set prices in my stores, and how to make a profit' (32).

One schooled young man told the authors:

When I was small, my father told me that fathers and sons usually stay together and work together. By the time the father dies, the son will know where his land is and what the customs are (32).

And another man answered the researchers' suggestion that Muli men might engage in a cooperative bisnis by again pointing to the need for guidance:

As the child does not begin by chewing sugarcane, but drinks its mother's milk, so must we begin to grow with the aid of a company before striking out on our own... When a company comes, we will learn how to grow coffee, or tea, or sheep or cows. We will learn it, because we will watch how they do it. Some people would work for the company while they build it up and they would learn how to run the company. After that, we would take over and run it ourselves (32-33).

Experienced people, people who have actually done an activity are said to kisim save pinis, to have complete knowledge. Villagers do not claim complete lack of knowledge

but lack of complete knowledge in certain non-indigenous areas (33). They even have a sense of how long it will take them to acquire modern knowledge:

We don't know the new customs and still live like our fathers. Once our children's children are educated, then we will know enough, then we will want to be independent (33).

Thus, the teacher has the responsibility to provide an observable model of the knowledge to be learned and to remain with the learner until he or she has mastered the new knowledge. This learning process takes as long as it takes, the rate of absorption determined by the learner's idiosyncratic dynamics, not by the teacher's.

European Knowledge and Power

The readiness of Papua New Guineans to tolerate/accept/ even court the new, the foreign, the different has both positive and negative aspects. The positive aspect has meant that the country had a relatively benign colonial experience and since independence has been able to hire expatriate staff to meet manpower needs in the modern sector.

The negative aspect has been that there has been little or no "bottom up" development. Almost all initiatives have been "top down", first by the colonial government and then by the post-independence Papua New Guinean elite as advised by expatriate experts. Expatriate experts often assume they "know" when they don't, and the plan/project more often reflects the expert's enlightenment, not the community's

awareness (Cox, 1985). Most often this has involved the urban/modern sector making demands on the rural/traditional sector with the accompanying imposition of values and assumptions foreign to the system being asked to change. Of thirty educational innovations reported on by Weeks (in press) all involve expatriate expertise at some stage, and although fourteen of the innovations originated at the provincial level, sixteen originated and are administered and implemented from the national level. None originated at the village level.

Mission/church activities have suffered from the same dynamics (De'Ath, October 1981):

- 1) They are centralized ventures often initiated and run by expatriates from an urban base (82).
- 2) They feature an indigenous base which has few material resources and a strong expatriate hierarchy which has much in the way of resources, or an indigenous hierarchy leaning heavily on expatriate advisors for doctrinal, administrative, planning and financial advice (78).
- 3) Expatriates now have more specialized roles and are seen much less frequently, but inequalities still exist between blacks and whites, the latter still have big houses, new cars, good food and travel alot (80).
- 4) For years people (such as those in the Trans-Gogoi) have been told they will have to make sacrifices, become self-sufficient or create surpluses for urban based church personnel to use. Initially, these demands took the form of labor contributions for plantations, the erection of village churches, aid posts, schools or pastors' houses (86).

In short

No amount of exhortation, leadership training, appeals for self-help and self-sufficiency will hide the fact that surpluses created by rural areas and aid from outside the country are being disposed of by westerners and urban Papua New Guinea elites. And this is not a temporary phenomenon. It has been occurring at least since before the First World War (86).

De'Ath points out that the people of the Trans-Gogol, for instance, are essentially materialists manipulating dieties through rituals to secure material benefits. Christianity itself is rich in ritual and in material assets and can provide an intellectual base from which to strive for material betterment. De'Ath goes on to point out that both cargo thinking and Christianity fail to analyze adequately how wealth is created and distributed in a society in which there are gross inequalities and double talk (82-83).

The following thoughts of an older Trans-Gogol man about a timber project, religion and wealth highlights "the epistemological contradictions" (83) such men must try to solve:

"If our talk about money gets to the National Parliament they will probably give us more money. The Forests Office is putting us down and cutting our payments and there are others. In 1962 a kiap (names him) went around the Trans-Gogol. He took the names of all the agents or face men. I asked in Madang if these names were kept in Madang or in Port Moresby because I wanted to see how much money each would get. Their answer was unsatisfactory. Only the name of a Forests Officer went to Port Moresby. He got the money and broke it for us but he kept some back. In 1972 the second pay was big but later payments were small. The kiap came to see me at Bible school and I signed three pages. I was then twenty-six years old. This was in 1962. He had to hide the way. There are two meanings to the Bible. The old-style meaning was given

to us by missionaries. It was only the surface meaning they gave us - kaikai bilong as bilong bibal istap yet - the real food or meaning is still there. Because this missionary wanted to show us, he was sent back after fifteen months. The Government and the mission didn't like him. He said that the Europeans couldn't reveal the secrets of their lives. He said his meaning would become clear later. At this time I had doubts about whether the Government or the missions were helping us. The way we have been shown is very hard. The hidden way is better. We want to settle down like true men but we are forced to live like pigs. Before I thought white parents and white schools gave white children their knowledge of how to get wealth. However, now I think the answer lies in the true Bible. When Jesus died and rose again and came back for forty days with the disciples he told them something before he went back to heaven. I think he told Peter. This secret has been passed on to all white men who are now living in the Kingdom. First they get savi or understanding and then they know the pasin or work. The Europeans are at fault because they all refuse to share this knowledge. They know how to nurture body and soul. A good body is like medicine for the soul. Savi or understanding or knowledge comes up in the head. If a man is right thinking all his pasin or work will be all right. I have tried the prayers many times from Christian books but nothing happens to make me like the Europeans."

The pages were to go to Madang, Port Moresby HQ and a tambu place (registry or archives?). He told me I would not wear a rubbish singlet and laplap or loin cloth when the company came to work our ground. He said that we would dress the same as Europeans. The Reverend W. was there and shook his head and smiled when I looked up at him after signing. Perhaps the kiap was telling us the truth but something happened. In 1963 a teacher Mr. T came and gave thirteen of us good understanding about the Bible. He said that we were all children of Papua New Guinea. Before he came from America he thought that our way of life was similar to that of the Americans but he found out that our way was kranki or no good. He said that the Government and missions were treating us like rubbish and our pay, dress and food were inadequate. He wanted to help us but the Government was very strong and wouldn't let him help us learn about how American young people did things. When he

came he was told to follow the European way of doing things and not to change existing ways of doing things. (p. 83-84)

This impression that Europeans are hiding their central secrets is expressed again and again in the literature.

The Europeans block the road and our parents were still in darkness when they bore us. We were unable to find money. The mission originally came and said: if you work for money you won't believe in God. Who will show us the good road on this earth so that we can see it and understand it? Who will come and show us the road? (Morauta, 1974, 49).

Education and Magic

Dalton (1984, 43) suggests that education provides an alternative to magic as a source of power, mediating with the modern world instead of with the spirit world. In each case knowledge and information are a source of power which is supposed to manifest itself in material benefit. The present disillusion with formal education has to do with the fact that at the moment formal education's record for enabling the average Papua New Guinean young person to participate in the cash economy is not much better than a cargo cult's.

In addition, school knowledge is often categorized with magical traditional knowledge as private knowledge, knowledge that is owned by someone. Thus, it is important, especially in programs of nonformal education, to make sure that the information that is being conveyed classified as public knowledge, as the kind of knowledge you share (serem save).

9.0 SECONDARY COMMENTARY NOTES

9.1 The need for building learning circles on the structure of existing overlapping groups already operating within a given community is more and more recognised as an emerging pattern around the modern world.

Yoneji Masuda, in his book The Information Society which is a visionary description of the post-industrial world, says that the world will be governed by a participatory democracy made up of multi-centered, multi-layered communities. These communities will not be closed and self-contained, but open:

Each community, while maintaining its independence, will be interlinked to complement other communities. More than that, groups and individuals making up each community will at the same time be participants in other communities...will belong to other social groups, thus being multi-belonging citizens. This is what we mean by multi-polar, multi-layered communities.

9.2 NFE Networking Officer

An NFE Networking Office (NO) is needed at the national level. The main task of the Officer would be to liaise with existing national NFE and/or related extension network and other supporting government and non-government agencies. Some of the representatives from these bodies are already represented in the existing NFE - National Management

Steering Committee (NMSC), namely: Youth, NPO, Health (Nutrition) and ERU/UPNG. Nevertheless it was originally intended to have representatives as well from DPI, Commerce, Women, Missions and NGO's. The current NMSC-NFE used to be responsible for the national management of the Village Development Centre Pilot Project (VDCPP), which was then a sub-committee of the Council for Village Development (DVD). The CVD was phased out because of continued political interference from the national politicians through their involvement in the funding of village projects.

The current NFE-NMSC is based in NDOE (Waigani) under the direct management of that department. The NFE-NO would act as Executive Officer to the NFE-NMSC. Further representation should be made from those national departments and NGO's not already represented. But should a new Commission for Basic Education be created, as proposed, the members of NFE-NMSC would automatically become members of it, with further representation where appropriate.

The Networking Officer will be expected to keep the national NFE network functioning. The following are some of his more specific tasks, to ensure that such a network exists and functions to expectations:

- a. to collect and disseminate relevant NFE information within existing national NFE network;
- b. to provide information link for others (from within the network) to share their problems and ideas for improvements;

- c. to act as Executive Officer for NFE-NMSC or Commission for Basic Education - prepare agenda items for meetings, write minutes of meetings, etc.;
- d. to service the national NFE Resource Data Bank or Library (as proposed); and
- e. to be responsible directly to the head of NFE/Basic Education Section.

9.3 Dialogue With Villagers

As Bernard Narokobi (1983) points out, according to the content of the National Goals and Directive Principles of the Constitution of Papua New Guinea, education in Papua New Guinea should be based on dialogue and is recognized as a key factor in development.

...education should not be a one way dialogue from the wise and knowledgeable to the ignorant. It (should be) a dialogue among equals to advance knowledge.... Development is directed to take place principally through the use of Papua New Guinea forms of social and political organization. It is recognized that within the country there exist social and political institutions - the village, the tribe, the clan, the common affinity group and values and ideas within them that can be used and developed as tools for engineering a better society (95-96).

The Muli Ekerepa of the Southern Highlands Province have

done a rather complete analysis of how they want their community to develop. They want a company (plantation) to come to their community.

...people feel that the sale of sweet potatoes and vegetables to company employees and management is a convenient way of earning an extra cash income, as this requires very little change in their lifestyles. Villagers also like the thought of receiving a regular income without leaving the family and clan land. Whether through employment or food sales to employees, Muli residents would prosper financially without having to risk living among unfriendly populations. If a company were located in Muli, all persons in the village would benefit, even those who neither worked for the company nor sold market goods. With money flowing into the hands of many, the local system of redistribution and sharing ensures that some money would end up in the hands of all. (Burkins and Krause, 1982)

The impression that villagers are somehow "empty vessels" waiting to be filled with "true European knowledge" is a piece of schooled elite snobbism which perhaps mixes up illiteracy with stupidity, forgetting the fine education which can be had under the tutelage of "mother wit".

Over and over again existing documentation shows that villagers are perfectly capable of analyzing their situation and designing alternatives. For instance, the Nakanai people participating in the Hoskins Oil Palm Project in West New Britain (Valentine, 1979) over the years have made repeated attempts to improve their circumstances. Some of their suggestions have been:

- 1) that local development be made a major aim of the whole Hoskins project;
- 2) that business and government recruit and train

villagers for the development work force at all levels;

- 3) that the experience and ideas of the people be taken seriously and acted on whenever possible;
- 4) that the next mill be located in the more deprived part of the area, and
- 5) that local people be allowed a genuine say in how outsiders brought into the area are selected and whether they should be allowed to stay (69-71).

However, these villagers in the late 70's widely shared the belief that government in general either was not interested or was hostile. In fact, the whole development from German, Australian and Japanese rule to self-government has had little effect on practical relations between these villagers and external power centres. Thus,

a leader of more than thirty-five years standing - a prominent veteran of movement activities, one-time candidate for national office... - ... has at last lost hope that his people will receive justice... Meanwhile we cannot fail to recognize that "national development" in this area has meant mainly benefits for those who exercise superior economic power, political strength and social status far from the villages. Indeed, much of this development has been at the expense of those who have the most legitimate or authentic claim to the local land and other resources.

Most Papua New Guinean villagers like the middle aged Oksapmin man described by Friend (1981)...

has seen great changes in his lifetime - from the time of infrequent patrols..., the opening of the government station and the Baptist Mission...to the present stage where it appears that he is ready in his own mind to take over the running of local affairs himself through a local government council. Given the qualities of mature minds and steadiness in efforts towards their own progress, the Oksapmins could use this new system of local government to full advantage.

The experience in North Solomons with the Viles Tok Ples Skuls (Delpit and Kemelfield, 1985) has in fact proven that if only given the opportunity, a people has every desire and capacity to participate in the planning of their future and that such participation enables them to translate the modern world into their reality and incorporate their reality into the modern world. In the case of the Tok Ples Skuls in particular it has allowed them to reassert pride in their distinctive culture, social forms and language as the firm ground on which to meet and accommodate the demands of modernity.

Thus, local meaning and community control of decision-making emerge as primary factors in the formation of a development policy to which the majority of Papua New Guineans will be committed and in which they will be willing to participate. Exercising decision-making power at the local level constitutes a first step in the aggregation of opinion in a diverse society so that final policy more accurately reflects that diversity. This local control would include the administration and distribution of funds (and the necessary training to make this

possible) (see Conneely, 1978:80 re CAIM Bolivian Rice Farmers Cooperatives.)

Such local participation and control helps insure that development will proceed in areas and at a pace consonant with the local capacity to absorb changes (Westphal 1978:42) and assures that when outside experts leave, the development process will not so readily "fall down".

9.4 The purpose of this training is to create a leadership network which promotes self-confidence in communities resulting in control over their own social, economic and political development.

9.5 Due to past unsuccessful attempts to coordinate all NFE and extension related programs, the consultancy is proposing that any future attempts should use existing independent lines of authority, plans and budgets. In short, we are saying that, we are not recommending any form of joint administration involving concerned government and non-government agencies. Past experiences in NFE and extension work have proven unsuccessful in attempting to coordinate all provincial rural extension programs, because different divisions just cannot work together (see for example Dodds and Apelis, 1983; and Weeks, 1980). What has proven to work, and what we are supporting, is that field officers have always tended to work independently according to their own departmental or divisional plans and budgets. It would be unrealistic to expect all divisions to put their resources together under a joint administration as in the case of the Extension Services Support

Unit (ESSU) in Southern Highlands. The study on ESSU by Dodds and Apelis (1983) confirmed the fact that field extension programs cannot be coordinated because officers representing different authorities, working according to different plans, and operating under different budgets just cannot be expected to share their resources or work together.

The establishment of ESSU was in response to the need to have all extension programs and activities in the province under one coordinating network. Because information was thought to be an important factor in development, it was originally intended to regard it as an 'integrated information network'. Several government divisions were amalgamated into what then became ESSU. These were: Welfare- Youth and Women (formerly Community Development); Media Unit (formerly Information); and NFE-Education (formerly Office of NFE). The other more technical divisions expected to work together were: Health (Nutrition), DPI, and Commerce (formerly Business Development).

On a vertical line of administration, the ESSU structure was made to accommodate the 'top-down' information network. This means that decisions are normally made at the top through top level committees such as the Provincial Management Team (PMT), Extension Working Group (EWG) and District Management Team (DMT), and people at the bottom levels of operation are normally expected to carry out the implementation of such decisions. Because it deals with power and authority, direction is given from the top without much consideration about the problems involved in the implementation process. The major weakness in this 'top-down' approach is that it gives little or no support to local initiative and input, which is the

reciprocal of the 'bottom-up' approach we are suggesting.

At the horizontal level, we appreciate a working relationship that shares ideas about different programs, but that such programs be separately administered along independent lines of authority. It is now quite generally accepted that more importance should be placed on the use of existing local networks - horizontally, for needs analysis.

The proposal here is that, where there is a need for some kind of integration, it will be one that shares ideas about different programs, but that such programs be separately administered along independent lines of authority. Such working relationships should be appreciative and supportive of independent plans and budgets (departmental, divisional). We believe that this approach will alliviate the root problems in conflict of roles and duplication of duties by different extensioners. Moreover, any future attempts to support the learning needs of rural committees should be appreciative of local environment. More emphasis should be placed on locally initiated programs, making full utilization of the existing local network and resources. Information flow, therefore, should be direct but flexible, i.e., field requests should go directly to Health or DPI extensioners without having to go through an NFE Committee or the NFE Officer, and assistance should only be given upon request. Lastly, the NFE Officer or NFE Council should never interfere or try to direct the extension programs of other agencies.

9.6 The basic education strategy proposed in this document would enable the Department of Education to support the Youth

Department's productivity training strategy with both training in participative problem identification, project planning, implementation, and evaluation, in accessing resources, and in multilingual literacy/numeracy training. The 90 present vocational and village development centres come nowhere near meeting the educational needs of youth. Only 14% of the youth presently eligible for vocational training receive any.

However, present community schools, vocational and village development centres could facilitate the sponsorship of youth project groups by at least providing the place where such sponsorship could be arranged.

The question of whether nonformal education should move cannot be answered on the basis of a set of abstract principles but on the basis of which organization, Education, Youth, and/or a non-governmental Association has the organizational imagination, the political will and the technical capacity to take on the basic education of the majority of Papua New Guineans.

In addition, most of the staff of the present vocational centres are members of the national Teaching Service within the Department of Education. How being transferred to the Department of Youth would affect their status in the Service is difficult to determine, but because the Department of Youth is politically volatile, it seems unlikely that vocational school staff would give up their Teaching Service status.

There is also the problem of the immaturity of some grade six school leavers. Older youth might be able to benefit from the short term, productivity oriented training courses that

Department of Youth plans call for, but both Brother Leo of St. Joseph's and Brother Taylor of Poini, as well as Nahau Rooney, who has started a water tank business with grade six leavers in Manus, state that grade six leavers need a lot of training in work habits, as well as in the technical aspects of work.

And last, there is the fact that about 40% of grade six leavers remain decoders of the English language and still find it very difficult to comprehend what they read (Croft, personal communication). They, thus, need about two additional years working with CSE Materials to be able to understand the ILO modules unless, of course, the modules were translated into Tok Pisin. The CSE materials are also badly in need of revision.

Although short, practical courses have been found to be effective for experienced entrepreneurs and artisans in developing additional skills (WB, Feb., 1978) SPATF one of the most effective deliverers of short term training for rural adults, in its latest annual report (Kauleini, 1985) questions their traditional short term training courses in terms of long term effects. Thus, in the coming year they will be investigating alternative forms of delivery combined with different kinds of follow-up. The latter, follow-up continues to be a critical element in any kind of training program.

9.7 The shortage of funding and poor management of project funds were due to the major problems with past NFE efforts. This was largely because of a lack of easy access to funding and program information. Many field extensioners lack basic

knowledge and proper information about how to deal with the funding aspects and/or needs of their programs. This has resulted, in the past, in external or central management of project funds at Waigani. But where such cases occur, we are faced with a further problem of establishing unappreciated projects with unimplementable programs.

Further examples of this are the externally funded Kaipia Area Comprehensive Community Education Pilot Project (KACCEP) in Malalaua (Gulf) and the Comprehensive Education of Disadvantaged Children Pilot Project (CEDCPP) in Lumi (West Sepik). Both these projects were jointly funded by UNICEF and the Bernard Van Leer Foundation. Both the KACCEP and CEDCPP were concerned with addressing the problem of malnutrition which was closely associated with the mental disability found in school children in these two districts. Although funding was needed to finance these innovations, the problem was not as serious as seen from the outside. But even so, the village people did not participate in the original initiation of the project proposal, So they did not feel part of the exercise right from the beginning. Merely involving centre staff and officers from district and provincial levels is not the answer because they, themselves, are not the village clientele

We are, therefore, suggesting that local initiative and appreciation of local needs and problems be the key to determining the establishment of future village innovations with the intension of using outside funding local people should be thoroughly consulted on how they can usefully involve themselves in rural improvement programs.

Two most important factors are to insure that information is made available to program clientele and to insure that projects are locally initiated.

9.8 The Cultural Antecedents of the Training Design

Rogers, Coletta, Mbindyo (1980) in their review of the implementation of human development projects since World War II state that

the motivational resources, behavioural dispositions, patterns of loyalty and deeply rooted cultural values of a society....can be mobilized and supported through educational efforts to facilitate development.... (297).

Papua New Guinean Cultural Values

Papua New Guinea is a society of multiple networks, a society where the most valued position is at the center of a web of relationships. These relationships involve reciprocal obligations, and these reciprocal social relationships, not political ideological, economic or administrative efficiency factors, are paramount criteria in formulating decisions. The wantok system is one manifestation of this network of reciprocal social obligations. Conflict is preferably handled in terms of reconciliation, of healing communal wounds, of compensation for victims of offenses rather than in terms of punishing the offender. Although there is a range of leadership structures, both ascriptive and achievement oriented (Hau'ofa, 1981, 292), and both matrilineal and patrilineal descent systems, in general status is based not on the acquisition of scarce commodities but on the exchange of

relatively abundant commodities (like pigs and yams) and on keeping relatively rare objects (like kina shells) in circulation. There is an underlying assumption of plenty and an underlying ethic of exchange. Because goods and obligations (and, therefore, status) are always in circulation, leadership is fluid. The most honoured person is not the fight leader, but rather the settler of disputes (Josephides, 1985; Morauta, 1974; Somare, 1974), the person who can handle the intricate, multidimensional calculus of traditional reciprocal exchange obligations with the consummate artistry necessary to keep everything in balance so that those beholden to one do not begrudge one.

Traditional Political Organization

Traditional political organization did not extend much beyond the village, but there were no hard boundaries. In Morauta's (1974) description of local politics in traditional Madang

although villages were politically autonomous, there was considerable uniformity in social and cultural usages throughout... Despite the multiplicity of languages, the men's cult, obligations of kinsmen and the performance of leaders (for example) were relatively constant throughout the area. Although there were no political units which included several villages, there was in some sense an inter-village moral community. Not only did all villagers in the area live their lives in the same institutional framework but relationships between them were governed by recognized rules..... There were also accepted methods for concluding hostilities in time of war.

These norms were not enforced by any formal institutions. They were sanctioned by the threat of sorcery, fear of supernatural forces, warfare and the possibility of loss of trade and safe conduct. Affines and trade friends sometimes mediated in hostilities. There was no institutionalized boundary to this inter-village moral

community; there was no cut-off point beyond which no holds or fewer holds were barred. Villagers probably recognized, as they do today, differences of local custom in more distant areas. But the norms and sanctions which governed inter-village relationships did not operate in a limited community but in a social universe which, to those within it, appeared to fade gradually away into the the distant mountains (p.25-26).

There was no overarching authority and no police.

PNG is not a nation of powerful individuals like chiefs or kings and queens. It is a nation of communities guided but not ruled by wise elders and not autocrats. PNG is a nation of villages and clans in which there remains collective decision making, maximum participation, and open sharing of pain and suffering and common enjoyment of sing sings and feasting (Narokobi, 1983, 105).

Modern Manifestations of Traditional Political Organization

Today villagers tend to treat national and provincial government, not as representative of themselves, but as something separate with which they can enter into reciprocal relations (Burkins and Krause, 1982, 37), just as they can between households or clans.

For example, villagers are criticized because they insist on being paid for public service work. This however does not mean that the desire for wages makes villagers unwilling to work for their own benefit. Villagers will work for free if they can see clear individual return benefits. At one point in Muli (Southern Highlands) the Mendi hospital truck came to buy kaukau for its kitchen. Villagers from all the surrounding communities spontaneously cleared a market area. They stated explicitly their gratitude to the government for providing them

with this opportunity to sell kaukau and that the clearing was being done in return for the service. This example underlines the reciprocal exchange nature of the village-government relationship, as viewed from the village (Burkins and Krause, 1982, 38). Traditionally, these reciprocal relations were very specific agreements where both parties understood precisely what was being exchanged and in what amounts. Thus, the motivating construct for Papua New Guinean government/community relations would seem to be the idea of mutual obligation as part of an exchange relationship.

Clans As Modern Organizations

Recently Ouchi, Evans and Williams (Ratu, 1985) identified the following characteristics of the clan/corporate type of social organization:

- a) loyalty to the clan or corporate body is a primary value of such organizational structures;
- b) such organizations are particularly adept at innovation and flexibility under conditions of uncertainty; and
- c) to be effective such organizations need a well-defined task but freedom to go about accomplishing that task in their own way.

Thus, given Papua New Guinea's diversity and the difficulties inherent in attempting to effectively administrate diversity from the top, when no uniform approaches are possible (Wasilewski, 1980), and given the society's enduring clan

organizational structure, it would seem to be preferred that as much responsibility as possible be taken by the smallest unit. When this happens, each working through of an issue, each resolution to a problem and each creation of a solution increases people's self-reliance, heightens their willingness to participate, increases their self-motivation, increases their ability to manage themselves and decreases their dependency. The whole network, thus, becomes more productive, self-managing and responsive to local realities. Solutions must begin in local realities and then be enlarged (Stuart, 1981); those affected by decisions must participate in making them in order to honor them, and care must be taken in heterogeneous societies as to how decisions affect their most vulnerable members (Morauta, 1984, 183).

The Multi-Centered Participatory Democracy

Thus, Papua New Guinea has the potential of being an example of Masuda's "multi-centered participatory democracy", the ideal society for the information age of the 21st century. The training we are proposing will build on traditional clan/corporate structures, enhance participation in each of the society's "centres", improve task definition to the point that innovative energies are released, and provide a network (a social universe) in which these corporate units can interact.

9.9 Successful centres in Papua New Guinea share a set of common characteristics:

- a) They select their students.

- b) They are effectively linked economically politically and socially with their environments.
- c) The course of studies has leadership development components. These centres' major "product" is people.
- d) Their trainees are employed or self-employed at the end of their training.

Selection of Students

Rural centres should draw students from the immediate area or from an ecologically similar area. Agricultural practices effective on one kind of soil at one altitude are often not effective on another kind of soil or at another altitude.

Urban centres have to be increasingly cognizant of the rising number of "city kids" who have no village; they should draw their students from these young people and from young people who have lived in town for some years or who come as sponsored students from rural areas. This will help moderate urban drift.

Selected students

are sponsored by their family, some organization, a youth group, etc.

are interviewed by the board of management of the centre to determine their attitudes, motivation, dedication and commitment to learning

pass an entrance exam (including perhaps US APD tests of basic aptitudes (Giffould, 1985))

are given the opportunity to do two years of CSE/COES
as part of their training

have completed two years of CSE, COES, or of high school
before embarking on specialized/advanced training

The parents of selected students sign a contract to assist their
child upon graduation with land and finance to embark upon
a project (in North Solomons there is a Land Access Scheme
in which the clans lease land to young people until they
marry and acquire their own land).

Economic Links

Effective centres give training which matches the manpower
needs of their catchment area. This means that most centres
should be offering training in:

- 1) farming, gardening, horticulture, animal husbandry,
fishing, and forestry;
- 2) processing and manufacturing the above;
- 3) various non-farm rural enterprises:
 - primary industry services
like repairing coffee pulpers,
 - small scale business industries
like tradestores, and
 - basic trades like carpentry, engine
repair, etc.

However, most centres training priorities are exactly the reverse of the above list. Therefore, as a first priority every centre should do a needs analysis of the manpower requirements for their area. This should become a part of the centre's regular planning process. Appendix X gives a list of possible rural income earning opportunities/possibilities. This could serve as the basis for periodic training needs surveys. Learning how to do such a survey will be part of the centre manager's training course.

Political Links

Since nonformal education is now primarily a provincial responsibility, it is necessary that such educational activity be a provincial priority. Morobe Province provides an excellent example of the political environment of first class training programs, as does Western Highlands. Both provinces have created coordinating structures which make best use of nonformal education's limited resources. (see also Oro, Western, and East Sepik Provinces) In Morobe there is a volunteer vocational training coordinating committee which is a subcommittee of the provincial education board. It consists of a coordinator, managers from area vocational schools (governmental, mission, etc.), a girls' program manager, the provincial nonformal education officer, a representative of Yangpela Didiman (Young Farmers Association), a representative from the Appropriate Technology Development Institute (ATDI), the provincial government planner, and a representative of the Huon Development Authority. Each committee member has a task: e.g., to check with the chamber of commerce regarding private

sector demands, to visit all the extension departments and see what they can offer, to keep the committee informed about what ATDI has developed to be produced in rural areas. In addition, the coordinator of the committee visits all the centres to make suggestions for program development; the committee also organizes the yearly in-service training for centre staff, communicates regularly with the provincial education board and the national education office on various issues, and allocates all funding within the vocational centre subsector. The provincial premier invited centre staff to contribute input to provincial policy on practical education and rural development and committed his government to establishing one centre in each district and to upgrading existing centres after the needs of each district have been met. Morobe also features many innovative institutions to promote entrepreneurship, urban and rural, in the province: e.g.,

the Business Development Centre in Lae which gives technical support to small businesses like electrical repair and T-Shirt printing shops;

the Provincial Government Industry Promotion Workshop which gives financial sponsorship to small industries run by local businessmen;

the Family Farm, a model farm at ATDI, to demonstrate the possibilities of a Morobe smallholder plot which is worked by area youth groups who sell the produce

weekly;

the Subsistence Agriculture Improvement Program
in Lae; and

the Wau Ecology Institute.

These institutions and activities provide models for the organization and implementation of basic education which can be adapted to other settings in Papua New Guinea.

Social Links

Successful centres have excellent relationships with both their students and their surrounding communities. These are relationships characterized by both dedication and continuity. The centres provide assistance of various kinds to the community through developing various trades in the community or by engaging in public works. Through these activities the communities experience the benefit of the kind of training the centre has to offer. The centres and their students become a presence in the community, selling their produce and/or products at the market, having open or community days at the centre, holding evening courses for adults, participating in community events, etc. These kinds of social links are more common with mission related centres where staff are not transferred for promotional reasons but are able to be promoted within a given institution.

Centre Course of Studies

Interesting centre curriculae are those of St. Joseph's

(including the currently being developed girls' curriculum), Maria Kwin's for girls' rural training, Fatima for boys' rural training, that of Popondetta Village Development Centre and the new Rural Economics Curriculum developed in a non-formal education workshop in New Ireland. This latter curriculum includes short and mastery courses in twelve areas: agriculture, carpentry, mechanics, appropriate technology, sewing, craft, bakery, literacy and communication, maths and business management, health and leadership training as well as how to do extension work through developing projects in the village. Gone is the old course for females only called Home Science or Home Economics. The new curriculum can be followed by youth or adults of either sex. These all contribute to the development of a Papua New Guinean practical curriculum with certifiable skill levels.

As the curriculum develops emphasis should be placed on

leadership development (see Tietze,

Yangpela Didiman Bilong Niugini

Buk Bilong Lida; St. Joseph's 1963-1983)

Christian Leadership Training Centre materials, and works by Bernard Narokobi about Melanesian style leadership);

centre governance (see St. Joseph's rules), including

the use of youth as class council members and councilors to help young people become decision-makers about their future roles;

civics, including how the government works (take them to meet members of the rural administrative and

political structure);

project/rural enterprise development and self-employment (including how to fill out project submission forms);

management/accounting;

how to access extension services (DPI, health, etc.)
(take students to visit these departments, etc.);

written English (so English directions can be read even though class discussion may be in Tok Pisin or Tok Ples);

option to complete COES 9 & 10, especially if the student is going on to the instructor level;

everything they need to know about their life, people, identify, what belongs to them, maybe a course in Papua New Guinean autobiography, the possibilities of village life, and/or a Melanesian Institute-based-course on, for instance, Melanesian Marriage; and

singing, music, art and sports.

As Trommelen stated (personal communication), the expectation that centres should be entirely self-sufficient is totally unreasonable, not that production should not be a part of the training, but we are producing people, not products.

Alumnae Employability or Self-Employment

The most effective centres follow-up their alumnae and help them find employment or create self-employment. They create an atmosphere where graduates feel free to come back for advice, an open door policy. Centre staff actually help "parent" students into adult life and work. St. Joseph graduates have institutionalized this "parenting" process in JOB (Appendix XXIII), a worker owned company run by alumnae on Melanesian principles to give graduates a start in business. One reason the graduates of these centres can find employment or are capable of self-employment is that these centres have standards, that is an explicit, well thought out course of study with certified skill levels, whether the student is being trained to be a master radio repairman or a master smallholder. What is engendered is a sense of pride and craftsmanship (see, again Appendix XXIII). This means that standards are maintained. No false hopes are given, especially in training someone in a skill in which there are no jobs or certifying them when they are really not at a professional skill level.

The most effective kind of follow-up consists of

financial services specializing in small loans like
the Foundation for the People of the South
Pacific's Small Business Development
Program (Nast, 1985)

and

extension services for entrepreneurs in management,
bookkeeping/accounting and marketing.

The preceding sketch of what effective centres look like in Papua New Guinea suggest the following structural changes in the practical education system:

New practical teacher training design for both specialized skill and village development centres along the lines suggested by Brother Leo Trommelen and Julian Say

The use of DED, CUSO, Peace Corps, VSO etc. volunteers to do some of this counterpart training as well as master national teachers, but that volunteers be chosen to fill student needs. Currently programs are often designed around expat abilities rather than the training needs of the students; also volunteers should be used as counterpart trainers, not just as extra centre manpower

That expat contracts be discontinued if the conduct of counterpart training is not in evidence

Promotion of teachers within the same centre (whether the teacher is working in their home area or is originally from another area) - what is important is continuity over time with the community, that the staff of the centre develop themselves as a team, that each teacher develop his/her own course and that the teachers be real leaders and models for their students

That teachers be promoted and centres be evaluated according to the following criteria:

- 1) the program the centre offers is

accepted by the community;

- 2) the managers and instructors are accepted by the community;
- 3) the community has benefitted by the centres being there;
- 4) the trainees are admired examples of the kind of training the centre gives.

Thus, community recommendation and good results become the basis of promotion and centre evaluation ratings.

That monitoring and formative evaluation be carried out regularly, possibly as part of regular inspection visits, although a self-monitoring process should be developed whereby the centre checks itself re

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|--------------------------------------|---|
| 1) number of students enrolled | } difficulties in these areas always indicate difficulty with the program |
| 2) absenteeism, drop-outs | |
| 3) vandalism | |
| 4) core syllabi | |
| 5) taught to what skill level | |
| 6) access of graduates to employment | |

- to self-employment (including in agriculture)
- to formal apprenticeships
- to higher technical training (in special cases).

This could be part of a participative evaluation project. System wide analysis could be done either by the

Evaluation Unit in the national department, by ERU, UPNG and/or at the provincial level. If ERU took on this task, it should be used to train university students in educational evaluation.

That the national/central inspectorate concentrate its focus on questions of

- 1) neglect of duty
- 2) misappropriation of funds

Having promotion depend on community opinion and one's reputation within the community should do much to remedy these two particular difficulties.

That participative bodies be set up within the practical education system at every level as part of the overall basic education complex. These bodies would handle all planning, materials development, and evaluation and allocate funds within their sector (see 4.10 Centre Manager and 4.11 Centre staff Training).

9.10 With improved subsistence methods a sustained yield agro-eco-system with a production surplus on occasion (Goodland, 1982, 28) might be created so that women would have more time to pursue education. This would also give them the opportunity to engage in other modern sector activities such as catering to tourists. Women's organizations on Manus run the guest houses for government workers in each village and for the odd tourist. This nurturing of women's education and economic opportunities can be done most effectively

through women's organisations and in cooperation with the Division of Women in the Department of Home Affairs. Both the organizations and the Division will have access to the Resource Bank and information on agency programmes and services available to Women through appointing group representative to take advantage of the proposed NFE services.

Since each village can have as many information people as there are groups in the village, women will be able to send their own representatives to the information workshops themselves. Care will have to be taken to schedule these workshops as times convenient for women. If problems in women's participation should emerge, consultations with village women should be held to ascertain what the difficulties are, and steps should be taken to overcome the problems.

It is also important that women's learning not become an isolated, anemic part of the overall basic education movement. As was said at the Nairobi women's meeting this year, "If it is not appropriate for women, it is not appropriate". If women are enabled to have access to education, then every mother automatically becomes a teacher. The multiplier effect of women's education is, thus, enormous. It gives the entire population access to basic education.