

A CERTAIN KIND OF EDUCATION:  
EDUCATION, CULTURE AND SOCIETY IN WEST NEW BRITAIN

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**A CERTAIN KIND OF EDUCATION**

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### Abstract

This work concerns the relationship between education and development along the north coast of West New Britain Province, Papua New Guinea. Using research from three urban-oriented primary schools, I consider the way the hidden curriculum of school life is formed in relation to both social change and cultural continuity in this area of the country.

Historically, formal education in Papua New Guinea has grown from a very uneven and particularistic process led by mission educators to an increasingly centralized and secularized school system under the control of provincial and federal governments. Educational policy has become increasingly tied to hopes for economic development. Many parents and students therefore view formal education as a direct route to employment in the cash economy, despite the fact that certain economic constraints have made the 'connection' between education and wage employment a tenuous one.

Although the vast majority of West New Britains will continue to make their living through subsistence agriculture in village environments, the message of much of the hidden curriculum of classroom instruction is that the children in this province need to learn the forms of social

organization most prevalent in wage economy relationships and the urban environment. The celebration of abstract and academic over practical knowledge, the encouragement of a competitive individualism that creates a world of 'winners' and 'losers', and the formation of authority structures that naturalize social hierarchy emphasize an overall desire for social change.

A much weaker message that emphasizes cultural continuity can also be found in a secondary form of hidden curriculum in the schools. Drawing on various cultural traditions, individual teachers give somewhat ambivalent lessons concerning gender relations, cooperative individualism, and the possibility for the dissolution of formal educational structures. Many of these secondary messages resonate with common themes from the cultural traditions of West New Britain.

In this work, I use the case material from West New Britain to illustrate the importance of using hidden curriculum as a methodological focus in order to bridge micro and macro research traditions to form a more adequate theory of cultural transmission.

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## Prologue

The setting is a crowded grade eight classroom. Forty students are jammed into an area meant to seat thirty; a tired and rather angry teacher is trying to get someone, anyone, interested in what he has to say about a novel that none of the students has ever heard of before. It's a losing battle, made all the more difficult by the fact that many of his students cannot read at anything approaching a grade eight level and even fewer could care less about what he wants to say. His frustration peaks and he looks around the classroom, finally seizing on one of his favourite victims.

Sitting in a corner at the back row, as far away as possible from the teacher and anything that smacks of schooling is a twelve year old boy. A large baseball glove is the only visible object on the top of his desk; no books or notepads intrude here. He likes to think that the teacher will not notice his lack of attention; he is, truthfully, not present in the classroom in any appreciable sense. His body, however, betrays him. Slouched as far down in the seat as possible, staring out the window, he fairly shouts his disinterest to the teacher.

Spying him, the teacher speaks in an overloud voice loaded with more than it's share of sarcasm, "Fife, what are you doing here? There must be a baseball game today!"

"Yes, there is", the boy answers back. He is somewhat surprised by this sudden attention, but he doesn't wish to show it. He has learned that it is not always wise to reveal that you have been caught unaware. So he keeps his answer short and waits for the onslaught. He has been here before.

Predictably, the teacher is only made angrier by this response. He begins berating the boy, voice rising to a whiny pitch.

"I don't know why you come at all, you never do anything. You haven't done a single thing all year. No homework, no papers, nothing! Why do you come?"

"Because I have to."

The teacher knows that the boy has missed most of the school year, simply refusing to come to school when he doesn't want to. He also knows that no one, not the school counsellor, the parents, nor even the school appointed psychiatrist he is forced to see has been able to convince him that going to school is a useful thing to do. What he doesn't know is that the boy shows up at school once or twice a week simply because he has been threatened by the school. If he drops out completely he will be taken to court, labelled unmanageable and sent to a juvenile detention centre. He has given an honest answer to the teacher, or at least as honest an answer as he is capable

of giving in his muddled state.

But this is not the answer the teacher wants (who knows what answer he wants, perhaps he does not know himself). He does know that the one thing the boy seems to care about is baseball. He can always be counted on to show up on the days the school team has a game. Thinking he can use this knowledge to get at the boy, the teacher makes a major error in judgement.

English is the last class of the day and members of the baseball team always have to leave class half an hour early in order to prepare for the game. This half hour is crucial if, as is true this day, the team must travel to another school. Not being let out early means not being able to play.

"You think you are smart don't you? I'll tell you how smart you are. I don't have to let you go to the game you know, I don't have to let you leave."

The boy's response is not quite as anticipated.

"Yes you do"

Suddenly silent, the rest of the students practice not laughing out loud and not catching the teacher's eye. Anything could happen next and it is best to fade into the woodwork while it happens. This particular teacher has been known to throw chalkboard erasers and even the occasional book at students.

Too late, the teacher perceives his mistake. The principal of the school would never let him hold the boy in class. He is the first-string catcher on a school team that is two games away from winning the city championship; the principal is the coach of that team. The teacher's frustration looks for release. Tired of teaching at a school where nobody seems to care, a school where half the kids seem to spend their time beating up the other half and where a number of his colleagues have been kicked out of other districts for (pick one or more) incompetence, alcohol and sex offences, this teacher has had enough. He begins to lose it, first yelling shrilly, then screaming at the top of his lungs at the offending student.

"You little shit. Do you know what's going to happen to you? Do you, do you? You are going to end up as nothing, nothing at all". Perceiving no response in the student, save perhaps a small shrug of disinterest, his frustration breaks.

"Don't you care at all? How can you not care? You are going to end up in some back alley somewhere, you idiot. Don't you care? DON'T YOU CARE?"

### Dedication

The boy, obviously, is myself. This dissertation is partly an answer to this teacher and partly an answer to myself. I would like to dedicate it to confused students

everywhere who are caught up in systems about which they may understand only one thing: "I don't like it here." My only advice is: 'stay with it.' And, if the dislike stays with you, do something about it when and where you can.

It is also dedicated to teachers who refuse to lose it.

For a country to show healthy progress in its development it is necessary to lift its population to a higher level, to train it. In other words, all colonisation if understood correctly, is nothing but a certain kind of education.

Dr. Christian Barth

Writing in a German  
News Magazine that  
specialized in  
Colonial Affairs, 1911.



## Chapter One: Introduction

I find it hard to imagine myself in charge of educational services in Papua New Guinea, a country in which a population of over three million people speak in excess of seven hundred languages. The language of instruction, English, is at best the second and often the third language of the students involved. Geography and climate combine to make transportation difficult enough in the interior regions that expensive air travel may be the only semi-reliable means in and out of an area - making the provision of school supplies to outlying districts a major problem.

This is the educational situation in Papua New Guinea. Roughly sixty percent of the population of children in the 7-12 age group attend community schools. Most of these students have a slim chance of graduating from a provincial high school (grades 7-10) or a national high school (grades 11-12). It is even less likely that they will be one of the lucky few to attend one of the two universities in the country, or one of the nine teacher's colleges.

Problems that stem from relatively high drop-out and kick-out rates and from dissatisfactions felt by even successful school-leavers are experienced on various

levels by different groups of people in the country. Students or ex-students feel them directly, in the form of over-crowded classrooms, in parental and community pressures to 'succeed' that increase as they move up the educational ladder, and in fear of failing to proceed far enough through the system to land one of the increasingly scarce jobs in Papua New Guinea's cash economy. Conversely, those who succeed by community standards often feel justly proud of their accomplishments, sometimes accompanied by the idea that those who have not made it through the system have somehow failed to 'measure up'.

Parents experience educational problems most often at the level of making choices for their children. Which one or two of their half dozen children should they invest in? Who should go to high school and who should stay at home in the village to learn what is needed for successful village life - a place where the vast majority of today's students will end up making their living. These choices always involve decisions about the proper allocation of relatively scarce resources, especially the most elusive resource of all - cash.

Teachers and others directly involved in educational provision experience frustrations most directly in the form of a lack of resource materials, or by being forced to watch a favourite pupil drop out because of an

increasing dissatisfaction with the relevance of education for his or her own life.

Teachers tend to have a wider appreciation of educational problems than many parents. Parents, who often have little or no education themselves if they are part of the 80% of the population who live in the rural areas of the country, are forced to make decisions about a process about which they may know very little. Teachers often know, for example, that supplies have not reached them because someone in the provincial capital has not done his job. Parents, on the other hand, may only see that their child has not done well enough on the grade six examinations to pass on to high school and may demand to know why specific teachers have 'failed to do their jobs.' Locating 'blame' for educational 'failure' is, not surprisingly, dependent on the viewpoint of the participants.

Administrators and those who provide various support services located in the provincial or federal capital often see an even larger picture. They have to balance educational provision and problems such as drop-out rates against government budgets, where education normally accounts for one of the single biggest expenditures. Theirs is a bureaucratic experience.

It should be easy for anthropologists to recognize the different levels of educational experience involved in

Papua New Guinea (an experience common to many developing societies); to understand that the way Papua New Guineans view educational problems and prospects will strongly depend on the width of the view they are able to command. Anthropology, after all, has been debating the required breadth and depth of the research field for some time now. June Nash (1981: 416), for example, has suggested that the evidence of a "...world capitalist system challenges social scientists to view all societies and cultures of the world as integrated in a worldwide division of labor."

Traditionally, anthropologists have been more concerned with small-scale studies of local communities than they have with linking these studies together to form larger pictures. There have of course been notable exceptions. Ecological anthropology, as one example, has often emphasized comparative case studies in an attempt to see common adaptive patterns (e.g. Salzman 1974; Netting 1987). Marxist inspired anthropology (e.g. Wolf 1983) suggests that we need not only the breadth of comparison but the depth of history as well.

However, the bulk of research in Papua New Guinea and in other areas of the world has been done by anthropologists on the level of single case studies or ethnographies. In theory these more limited case studies, following Clifford Geertz's (1973) canon of 'thick description', could build understanding up from the level

of the community to the level of the encompassing state or world. Geertz himself provides us the example of his book The Religions of Java (1960) as one way of doing this. For the most part, though, we seem to have been left with too many studies of local communities and a rather less than satisfactory understanding of the ways these communities are affected by their relations to the larger world.

In the area of education, this kind of anthropological study has often taken the form of small-scale descriptions of schools in particular villages (e.g. for Papua New Guinea: Zelenietz and Grant 1984). These are useful for understanding how micro-scale processes affect education at the village level, but they have also led to complaints by other social researchers such as James Carrier (1984) that anthropologists have been myopic in their insistence in looking at local level processes at the expense of larger issues affecting education.

I agree with Carrier's basic sentiment and have, in this study, set out to understand education in Papua New Guinea's province of West New Britain in a way that does justice to both large and small-scale processes.

In order to bridge the micro and macro levels of research it is necessary to develop a method of analysis that is capable of cutting across important issues that emerge from both of these perspectives. The concept of

hidden curriculum, as I will show in chapter two, is capable of forming that bridge.

Hidden curriculum has been used in both anthropology and sociology as a means of criticizing/explaining the failure of schooling systems to adequately prepare students for life outside of classrooms (e.g. Gearing and Epstein 1982; Young 1979). This concept has been defined in different ways by different authors, but there are some commonalities that are agreed upon by most researchers. In anthropology and what is sometimes called interpretive sociology it is usually used to talk about the way teaching is organized in the classroom/school setting itself. Hidden curriculum here refers to the everyday way in which information is passed from teachers to pupils (Gearing 1979a). The concept is usually opposed to 'manifest curriculum' - the actual, academic information that is being passed along. In anthropology, emphasis has been on the way cultural beliefs can be 'taught' to students through the hidden curriculum of classroom instruction. This may produce conflicts in the classroom: "Conflicts ensue when the school and teachers are charged with responsibility for assimilating or acculturating their pupils to a set of norms for behavior and thought that are different from those learned at home and in the community" (Spindler 1974: 74). This situation certainly exists in Papua New Guinea. We

should not, however, expect a straightforward case of teachers overtly setting forth their 'cultural beliefs' in the classroom. More often, these beliefs will be built into the structure of schooling itself - i.e., in the form of hidden curriculum (Gearing 1979a; 1979b; Gearing and Epstein 1982). An assumption here is that the cultural values teachers bring into the classroom are at odds with at least some of their pupils' and that teachers will organize learning in ways that reflect their values rather than those of the students. Some students may experience feelings of alienation because of this and either perform poorly in the classroom or drop out of such a hostile learning environment altogether. Throughout this work, I will refer to approaches that concentrate on hidden curriculum within the school as micro approaches.

This implies that there are macro approaches to the problem as well. This is the research perspective most often employed in the sociology of education. The issue here is the way schools function as a means for social reproduction. The assumption is that the organization of schooling reflects the values and interests (especially the economic interests) of a society's dominant social class(es) (e.g. Blackledge and Hunt 1985: 135). Analysis often moves beyond the classroom and the school to look at the way education is related to the wider social system. The relationship of schooling to employment, for example,

is a favourite topic (e.g. Willis 1973). Hidden curriculum may be seen at work not only in the classroom but also, as one example, in the way teachers have progressively lost more and more control over curriculum and evaluative procedures (Apple 1980). Macro approaches, then, direct interest towards the ways hidden curriculum helps link schooling to wider social processes.

It seems obvious that micro and macro approaches are not mutually exclusive. Both leave room for a consideration of the way teaching methods reflect larger social and cultural issues, though their practitioners may differ in the ways they link these processes together. Both approaches share a common history, coming as they have out of the disenchantment Western educators experienced with schooling systems in developed countries during the 1960s and 1970s. It seems appropriate, then, to try to put these two approaches back together in an individual study to see if a single, more analytically powerful, perspective can be reached.

#### A Note About Method

Before I proceed to discuss the way this thesis will be organized to bring these two perspectives together in a single study, I would like to interject a note about the manner in which this study was actually conducted and the kinds of evidence which will be used to ground its arguments.



I began research in Papua New Guinea in February of 1986 and left in January, 1987. A total of seven weeks of this time was spent in the country's capital city of Port Moresby, arranging visas, informally interviewing government officials and being interviewed by them, and collecting statistics and reports from national offices.

Originally, I intended to study both elementary and high schools in West New Britain province. By pure chance I arrived on the heels of a sociologist from Britain (Graeme Vulliamy), who had just entered the area to do a study of all four provincial high schools. Because of this, I was redirected by the Educational Research Unit in Papua New Guinea into concentrating on community (elementary) schools and their impact upon their communities. As it turned out, I ended up living in teachers' houses at two high schools in Kimbe and Bialla for all but a few months of the time spent in West New Britain. Because some of my closest friends were teachers from high schools and because of daily, informal contact with students from the schools, I gathered a considerable amount of first hand information about these schools even though I did not formally conduct 'research' in them. The bulk of my more formal research time was spent at three community schools: Kimbe Community School, Bialla Community School and Ewasse Community School. The first two schools are 'town' schools and serve a large and diverse 'urban'

clientele. The last school is a 'village' school, serving seven Nakanai villages in the Ewasse area just outside of the town of Bialla. It is also a mission school, organized by the United Church under government direction (as are all mission schools with the exception of the Seventh Day Adventists). I chose this as the third school because its students were 'villagers' whose families had a long history of participation in the 'urban', cash-based economy. Initially I had intended to extend research into a more isolated 'bush' setting, so that I could compare 'rural' and 'urban' community schools and the ways they were made to fit into their different cultural environments. After reading local reports on 'bush' schools in Port Moresby before entering West New Britain, and talking to people involved in education in Kimbe, it soon became apparent to me that 'bush' schools are often extremely different from each other. There are at least three major factors affecting this: 1) local differences in cultural traditions, 2) when and how extensively local peoples had been influenced by colonial institutions, 3) the extent of each group's participation in the cash economy. I realized how facile it would be to study one 'rural' school and have it stand for the rural educational pattern as a whole. I made a conscious decision, then, to concentrate on Papua New Guineans who were most involved in the newly emerging side of the country; those who were most likely to take

an 'urban' view of things (whether they actually lived in urban centres or nearby villages).

Altogether, I spent a little over two months (in periods of different durations) in the Bialla-Ewasse area. Most of the rest of my time in West New Britain was spent in and around Kimbe town, the capital of this province. Kimbe's history is a short one, the town only recently appearing as a result of an extensive oil palm development project along the central-north coastal area. Bialla is an up-and-coming town on the north coast to the east of Kimbe and the likely site for continuing expansion of the oil palm project. Together, they are the two major centres of 'development' in West New Britain and provide excellent sites for exploring the question of the relationship between education, socio-cultural environment and economic development.

Although statistics are used to show trends in this study, statistical analysis itself is not used. The study was conceived and carried out as a qualitative research effort. Statistics are used as information for qualitative analysis rather than as analysis in itself. Using numbers allows me to express macro trends in economics and employment, without having to resort to endless prose descriptions of trends within each local area of the country or province.

Interviews were conducted with Government

administrators, teachers, parents and students. Although I originally prepared interview schedules in both English and Tok Pisin, all formal and most informal interviews were conducted in English. Tok Pisin is viewed as something of a 'bush' language by urban dwellers (and those who wish to be urban dwellers) and very few people would converse in it with me. The most notable exceptions were some of the parents from surrounding villages, who did not speak English with any great facility. Although I received training in Tok Pisin before I left Canada, I never became unhesitatingly fluent in speech because of the above reasons. As a result, I normally went over tapes of transcripts that included substantial dialogue in Tok Pisin (e.g. recordings of annual Board of Management meetings) with a local person, translating as we transcribed it.

Interviews varied in formality. In the case of teachers, an open-ended interview schedule (see appendix # 1) was used for all 29 interviews (this covered every teacher actually present at all three of the community schools named above). I originally attempted to do the same thing with government officials, but ended up throwing the schedule out as officials' responsibilities were quite varied and defied the type of standardized question and answer format that worked so well with teachers. Students and parents were also informally interviewed. Students found it difficult to deal with a long list of questions

and I soon found it much more productive to have informal discussions in the schoolyard, on the beach and in Kimbe or Bialla town (the beach and the town were also a good place to talk to drop-outs who spent many hours in town 'hanging around'). Parents were also contacted informally in the towns, through mutual friends, and at the various school meetings held throughout the year. This means, of course, that no systematic survey was carried out of parents 'attitudes'. One of the problems of working in the towns as opposed to the villages or hamlets of Papua New Guinea is that the town researcher is working with a fluctuating population of several thousand people in each town area, rather than a few dozen households. Informal methods in the town situation could have led to an 'unrepresentative' sample of parental attitudes. However, a number of formal and informal educational studies (cited in the text) have been done in other parts of the country and these publications indicate similar findings to my own. This gives me more confidence concerning the 'representativeness' of parental interviews conducted while waiting for a meeting to start, or milling around the area in the front street of Kimbe where everyone catches PMV's (a kind of private bus service) to go back to the surrounding villages after a day in Kimbe.

One of the advantages of working in a town setting is the availability of newspapers. Daily and weekly

newspapers were gleaned for a six month period for any articles on the following topics: education, domestic or other forms of individual violence, social disputes (e.g. fighting between groups, 'payback' situations, etc.), gender issues, government policies, government or bureaucratic corruption, development issues. All of these topics are relevant to education in Papua New Guinea. Violence and corruption, for example, are often behind school closings in both rural and urban areas. While immediate decisions regarding educational provision are strongly affected by the government policy of the moment, especially in relation to what is seen as long term plans for development. The intent here was not to gather material for a formal media analysis, but rather to: a) gain a broader understanding of issues that were considered 'newsworthy' and therefore of public concern in the country as a whole, and b) gain a background that would allow me to place the more parochial concerns of West New Britain against these wider issues.

Based on my fieldnotes, I estimate that I spent somewhere between 250 and 300 hours in the classrooms of Kimbe, Bialla and Ewasse community schools, observing and recording the minute details of daily life in the classroom. All grades were observed, but concentration was given to grades two, four, and six in each of the three schools. This was done partially to ensure comparability

across the schools and also because I wished to observe changes and continuities of interaction patterns in different aged students at different levels of schooling. I began each set of classroom observations by simply noting, as completely as possible, what went on in the classrooms. Students very quickly became used to my presence and, I believe, carried on more or less as if I were not there. The word quickly passed that I did not interfere in classroom behaviour, whatever might be occurring. Students quite cheerfully wrestled with each other or stole paper from the teacher's desk when the teacher was not in the room, even though I was sitting and observing only a few feet away. It would be very rare for them to openly engage in this kind of behaviour in the presence of a teacher, school inspector, or other educational official. This doesn't mean that my presence had no effect on the students. In the beginning, they may have attempted to 'test out' my 'neutrality' through these kinds of actions. The consistency of their behaviour, however, leads me to believe that over time they became quite comfortable with my presence and did not alter their behaviour to any major degree.

As the study progressed, I began to develop ideas concerning the ways teacher and pupil interactions were patterned by continually reviewing my classroom notes. Some of these patterns were straightforward and needed no

elaboration; others were more problematic and required more systematic attempts to confirm or deny them. I developed a simple counting schedule, for example, to test the idea that pupils increasingly internalized the teachers 'authority' as they moved from grades one to six. This was confirmed by counting the number of times students, both as individuals and as a group, were disciplined over a given time-frame in grades two, four, and six in all three study schools. The results confirmed my initial impressions, as the need for disciplinary actions greatly decreased in the higher grades.

This kind of qualitative confirmation cannot of course be said to 'test' propositions in a formal sense, but it can nevertheless provide a check on findings from the ethnography of classrooms. It can be used to enrich ethnographic observations and form a basis for more formal methods should other researchers wish to pursue the matter. Several such 'confirmations' were used, the most interesting of which are reported on in the body of the thesis.

Finally, I also attended a number of school meetings. Meetings were held periodically by Boards of Management for each school, by parent-school associations, and by educators (e.g. regional headmasters' meetings). I taped each meeting, as well as taking extensive observational notes on the proceedings. And, as previously



mentioned, meetings between school officials and parents also proved to be a good venue for contacting parents for informal interviews regarding their educational concerns.

Taken as a whole, interviews, extensive classroom observations and school records, government reports and statistics, newspaper articles, and school meetings form the grounding for this study. When the writings of other anthropologists and historians are added to this, the work becomes a study in both the micro and macro concerns of education in Papua New Guinea.

#### Constructing a Thesis

In this thesis, I explore the usefulness of micro and macro perspectives on hidden curriculum in the context of a specific case study in a developing country. I argue that neither of these two approaches alone would be adequate to analyze the school system as it is actually found in the province of West New Britain, Papua New Guinea. Concentration within this larger framework is on primary schools in West New Britain and their relation to other aspects of West New Britain social and economic life. At the end of the study, I will be able to offer a criticism of the concept of hidden curriculum in relation to its use in a developing country rather than in the context of more developed countries in which it originated. The criticism will be 'pragmatic', stemming from the case study material itself rather than based on a particular

theoretical position.

In order to do this kind of study it is necessary to begin by preparing the ground through a review of the literature dealing with the concept of hidden curriculum. This is dealt with in chapter two. In this chapter, the concept is related to larger issues in the anthropology and sociology of education. I show why this concept is useful for concentrating both macro and micro issues into a single analytical point and, therefore, why attempting to apply this concept to a situation very different from the one in which it was developed also helps to explore the usefulness of some of theories embedded in these two perspectives. I should also note here that for the purposes of this thesis, unless otherwise indicated, the term 'education' will be used to refer to the process of 'schooling'. Although theorists (e.g. Gearing 1979a) often differentiate between education as a total socialization process and schooling as a formal process of institutionally based learning, I prefer to follow Papua New Guinean usage of the term which normally reserves the word 'education' for reference to the formal process of schooling.

Chapter three offers a brief social history of Papua New Guinea, focussing on economic issues and including a history of the provision of education in relation to this larger process. In doing this, my goal is to make it possible to understand West New Britain's

situation in relation to both Papua New Guinea and certain world trends. Particular attention is paid to the employment situation and the kinds of lives school-leavers can expect, both now and in the future, upon leaving their schools and re-entering their societies. As I show, parents and teachers attitudes towards this process are strongly affected by what they perceive to be the connection between education and employment in the cash economy.

Chapter four begins the main presentation of case study material from the schools. In this chapter, I outline several themes in the process of social change during the last few decades that have become reflected in the preoccupations of hidden curriculum in the classrooms of West New Britain. These themes include the valuation of abstract over practical knowledge, the emergence of competitive individualism, and the expected relationship between discipline and authority which helps lead to the emergence of a cultural construction of hierarchy as part of the 'natural' social order. These add up to a new kind of expectation regarding the place of Papua New Guineans in the "modern" world -- expectations that bring problems as well as prospects to students, parents, and teachers as they act together to form an educational system in West New Britain.

The workings of hidden curriculum, however, are not

as straightforward as they may appear to be in chapter four. Chapter five points out several areas where 'contradictions' occur in the classrooms of West New Britain. These contradictions show that both teachers and pupils retain "traditional" cultural concerns and attempt to replicate these to some extent in the hidden curriculum of classroom interactions. These concerns centre around the issues of 'proper' gender roles, as well as a kind of rough egalitarianism that is fostered through cultural expectations regarding the importance of the group in relation to the individual and the idea that groups should be organized along personal ties and fluid coalitions rather than formal structures and abstract rules. The forms of classroom interactions foster cooperative as well as competitive individualism and question the 'naturalness' of the social inequalities that the cash economy is beginning to bring to Papua New Guinea.

These two different messages in the hidden curriculum of education in West New Britain are not created equal. In the conclusion to this work, I will show how the message of social change, embedded as it is in the structural form of both formal education and the developing economy, overrides the more idiosyncratic messages of traditional concerns. This is not accomplished, however, without some confusion and cost to students' own understanding regarding their future roles as adults in

Papua New Guinea.

The goal in chapter six is to take the substantive conclusions which emerge out of chapters three, four and five and use them to reconsider the theoretical issues that are presented in the outline of macro and micro perspectives in chapter two. In chapter six, I construct an argument concerning the need for a new, multi-leveled approach for studying education in both developing and developed countries. More particularly, I criticize and offer my own suggestions regarding the search for a theory of cultural transmission (as set forth by Frederick Gearing and explained in chapter two). I will demonstrate that an adequate theory of cultural transmission must include both more historical and greater macro analysis than Gearing allows if it is going to move towards an explanation of what is rapidly becoming a world educational system.

#### On Reflexivity

Marilyn Strathern (1987) has suggested, with some reservations, that we may be moving into a 'postmodern' period in anthropology. In such a period "...we increasingly recognize that ethnographies are genres as much as any other literary forms, that the categories of ethnographic recordings are also socially constructed" (Karp 1986: 132). This means that when we discuss 'method' today we have to discuss not only the methods of field

research but also the way this research is put together to form an anthropological product. This is in keeping with the current vogue for 'reflexive' anthropology. A trend I support, although not without some trepidation. I believe it is useful, for example, to use first person singular (e.g. "I think...") to indicate that, after all, a particular opinion, analysis, interpretation, criticism is coming from me rather than from someone else.

I believe, though, that it is much less useful to continually dwell on the obvious. Yes, this work is a product of interactions between myself, the people I worked with in Papua New Guinea and the cultural background that informs my 'anthropological' opinions. Once I have said this, however, I see no need to say it over and over lest the work lose its proper subject -- the experience of education in West New Britain. To put it another way, overt reflexivity in this thesis will tend to be limited to those occasions when it is necessary in order to clarify the information being presented. To make clear to the reader, for example, how my relationship to a West New Britain man, woman, or child may have influenced the material they presented to me. A good example of this occurs in chapters four and five, where I use extensive quotations from my own ethnographic notes to show the reader something of both how I recorded the 'evidence' of classroom interactions and my interpretations regarding

these exchanges.

This thesis could have been written in any of a number of different voices. In choosing a style of presentation a choice has also been made regarding what should be thought of as adequate evidence, argument and conclusions. An obvious alternative choice, to give one example, would have been to present the study in a more traditional ethnographic format. In this style, one or two chapters would have been dedicated to 'background' material (literature on the topic, history of education in Papua New Guinea, etc.), with the rest of the work coming in the form of detailed descriptions of the educational experience in West New Britain. I chose, instead, to make chapters two and three intricate parts of the substantive argument. They are not 'background' material for an ethnography of West New Britain education, but rather foreground material in the analysis and description of education in Papua New Guinea.

On the opposite side, the choice could have been made to prepare and present a formalized work, one in which mostly quantitative material is utilized to focus on the various structural features that affect education in West New Britain. This is a voice that has often been heard in educational research inside of Papua New Guinea (e.g. Cayago 1979; Apelis 1984; Bray 1984).

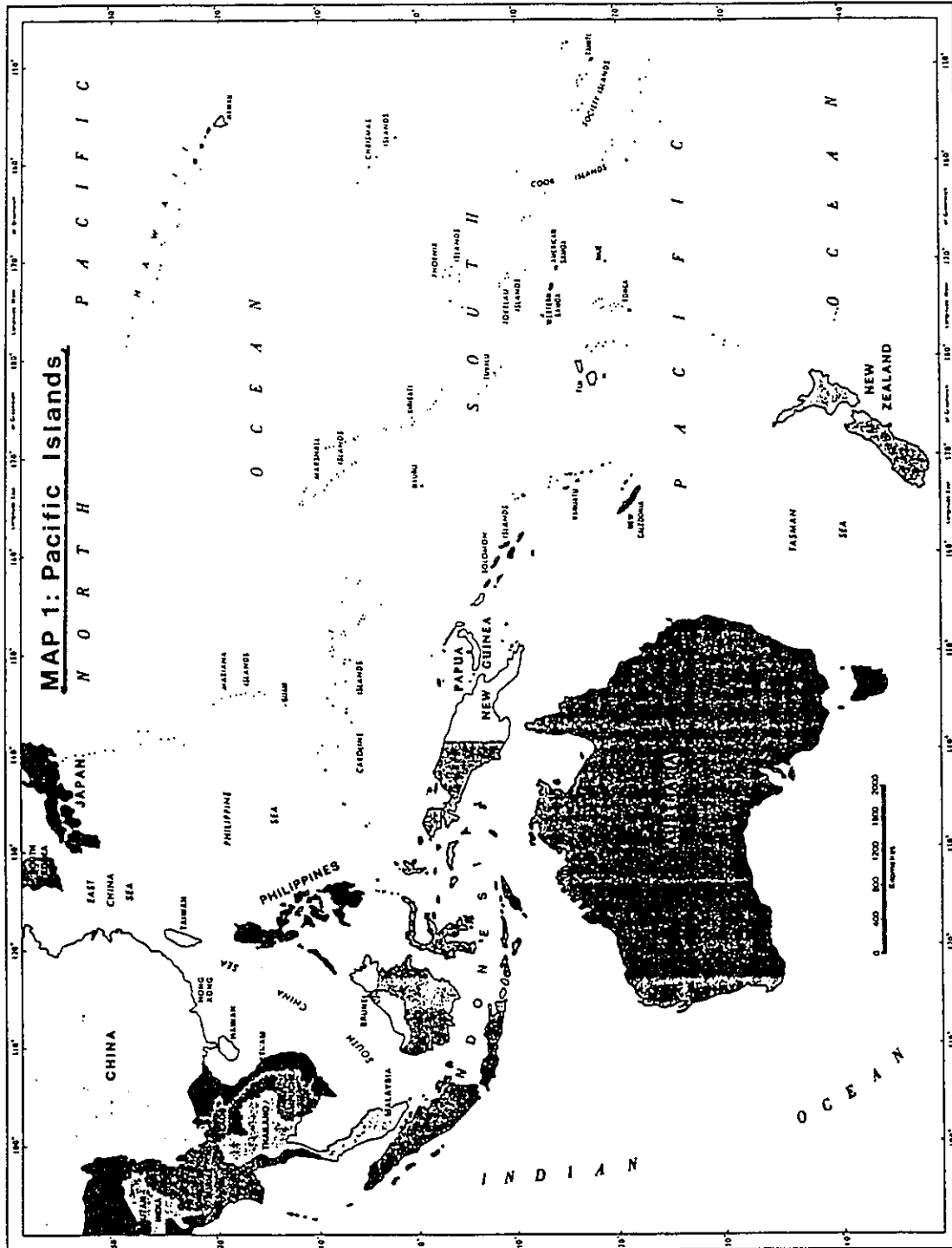
I have chosen, however, to work between these two

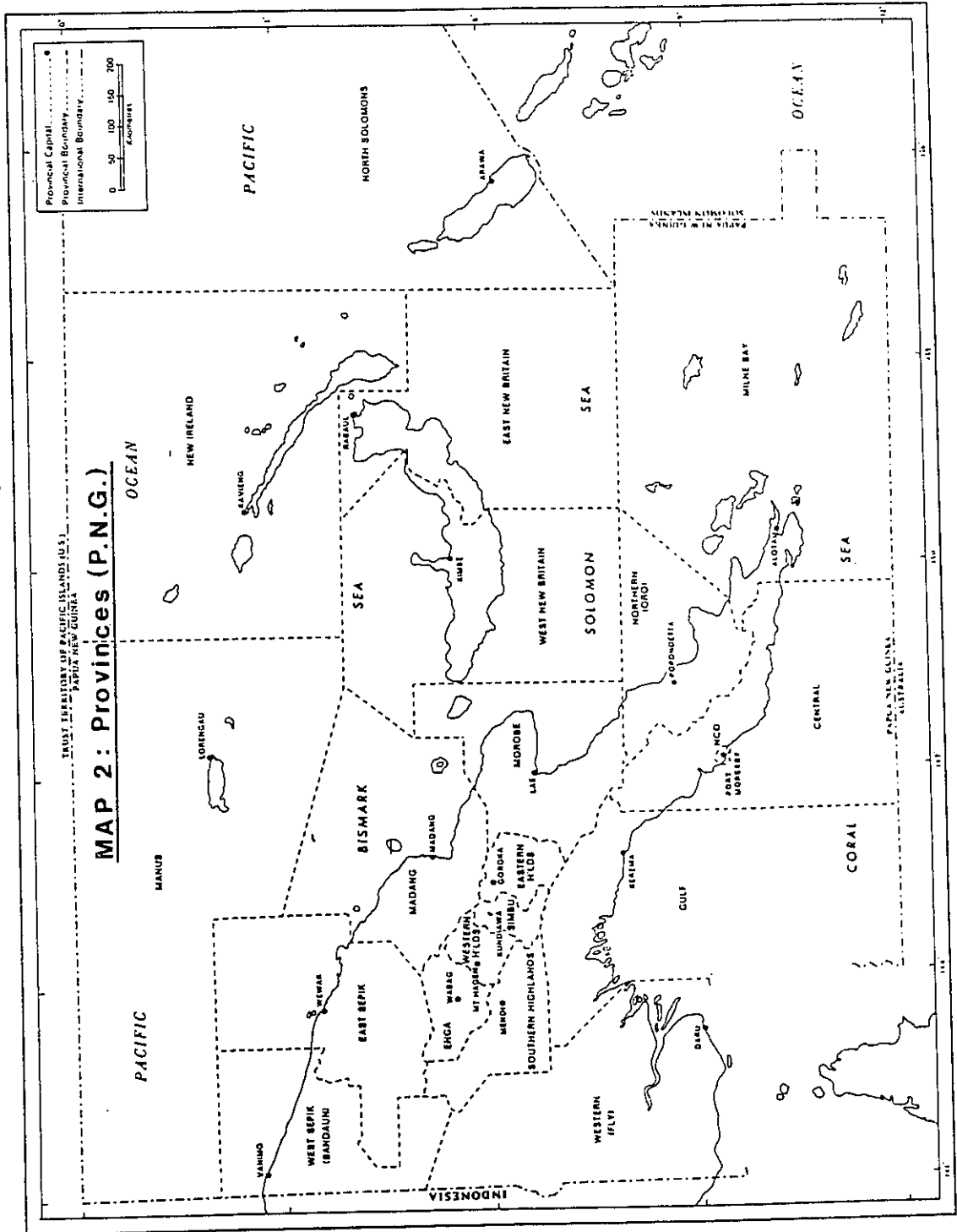
forms, to include what I consider to be very important structural influences over education. These are influences that deserve to be dealt with in a serious manner rather than glossed over as part of the 'background' material. At the same time, I am embedded in the anthropological perspective that suggests that structure influences experience but does not determine it. In my opinion, part of our ethnographic task has always been to describe the ways people make their lives in the face of various kinds of constraints; constraints we have often subsumed under the word culture. Beyond this we have come to recognize that culture is a two-edged sword; it is not just ideology but also serves as building material for creative responses to structural situations (e.g. Sahlins 1981; Strathern 1984).

This work, then, is grounded in the traditional anthropological methods of participant observation, open-ended interviews, and the recording of processual events (see Spradley 1980; Turner 1973). It is qualitative in analysis, though use is also made of important descriptive statistics. It is about the influence of structures but it is also about how people help form and break structural constraints. It is, in a word, grounded in the traditional anthropological location of experience, both that of the ethnographer and those of Papua New Guineans. But it does not follow the traditional form of ethnography - being a

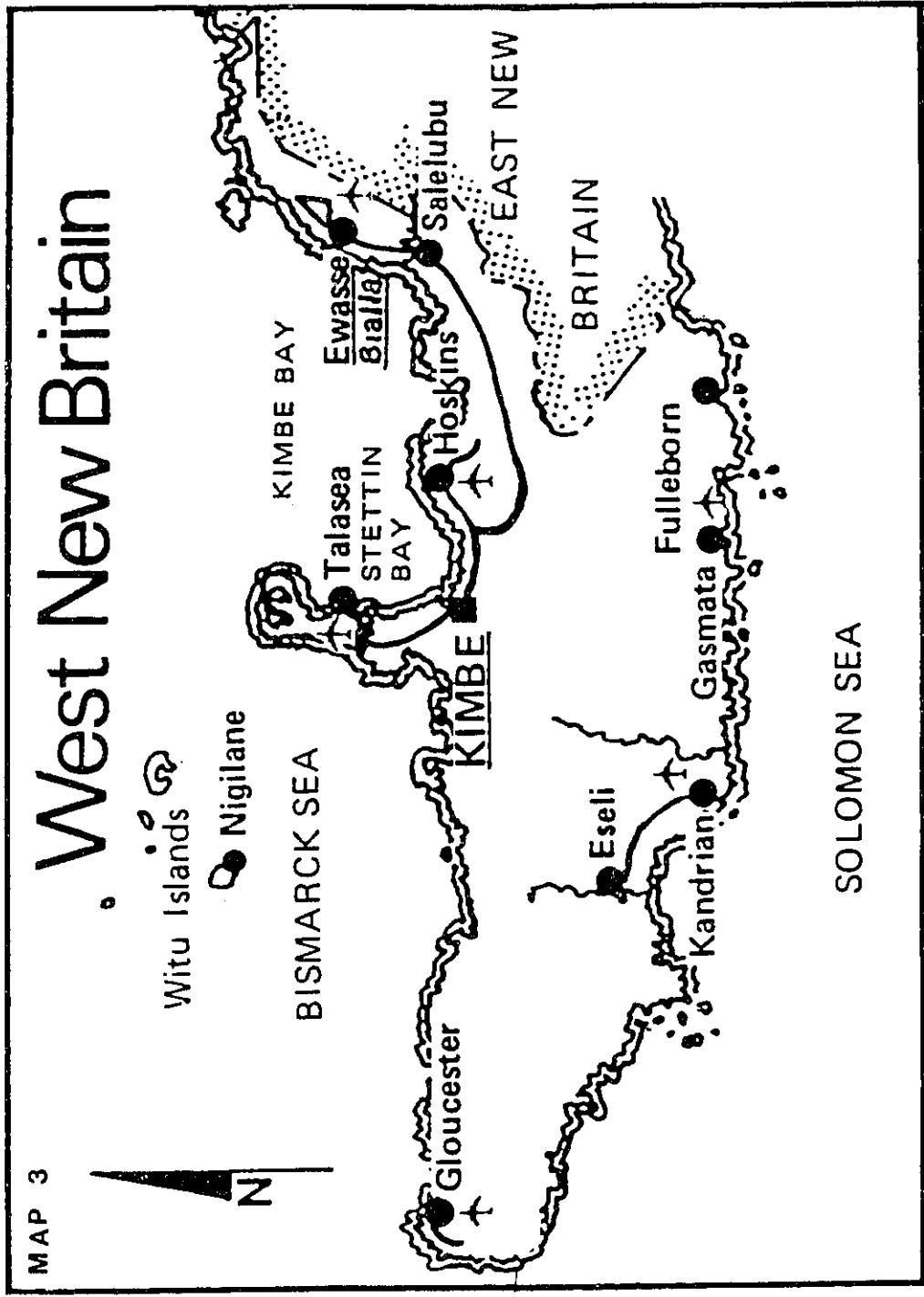


work situated between formal and particularistic modes of research and discourse. As such, it may offend some people who are too deeply embedded in one or the other of these camps to see the value of both. Formalists may find it lacking in precision, while those more phenomenologically minded may feel it sells out to the 'need for numbers in search of legitimacy' game. My response to both these positions is to quote Marcus and Fisher (1986) on the nature of the 'experimental moment' in which we find ourselves. This moment is "...characterized by eclecticism, the play of ideas free of authoritative paradigms, critical and reflexive views of subject matter, openness to diverse influences embracing whatever seems to work in practice, and tolerance of uncertainty about a field's direction and of incompleteness in some of its projects" (Marcus and Fischer 1986: x). This does not mean that anything goes. It does mean that works such as the one presented here are genuine searches for better ways of doing anthropology, perspectives that help us to venture into several different territories at once. As I show in this work, there is much to be gained by incorporating 'non-anthropological' points of view into our 'ethnographic' productions.





Provincial Government



## Chapter Two: Theory and the Search for a Balanced Method

In this chapter I present material from the anthropology and sociology of education in order to move towards a balanced research approach. Rather than dividing researchers along disciplinary lines, I group them under two thematic headings: micro and macro approaches to educational research. While it is true that anthropologists have a strong tendency to work on the micro side of research and sociologists on the macro side, there is some cross-over and the more important issue is whether researchers concentrate on small-scale or large-scale processes.

Because the research presented in the rest of the thesis takes place in a developing country it is also necessary to consider the question of education as it appears in development literature. The primary question is whether formal education 'fuels' economic development or increases underdevelopment. This will be discussed near the end of the chapter and evaluated in terms of its research implications.

Throughout this chapter I suggest that there is a concept capable of bringing micro and macro (including development) perspectives together for the purpose of

research. This is the concept of hidden curriculum - the idea that the way formal schooling is organized (teaching methods, timetables, hierarchical administrative divisions, etc.) is of overriding importance to the learning process. This concept will be used to form a bridge between micro and macro researchers whose methods may seem to be incompatible on the surface, but who actually share a common concern with the hidden curriculum of education.

#### Micro Approaches

##### Cultural Transmission

A key concept in the anthropology of education is the idea of cultural transmission. Researchers in this subfield define education broadly, using the term to refer to both general non-formal methods of enculturation and the more formal device of schooling. Psychological anthropology's concern (e.g. Mead 1975, original 1930) with the means parents use to teach their children to think and behave in culturally prescribed ways is as relevant here as an attempt to construct a symbolically based theory of cultural transmission in schools (e.g. Gearing 1979b).

Charles Harrington (1978: 139) has suggested that: "While many psychological anthropologists would argue over fine points, most would agree that education can only be studied as part of an overall socialization process designed to meet goals specific to the culture examined." The key concepts of psychological anthropology's approach

to education can be found in the terms socialization and enculturation.

This is partly a result of the heritage provided by early culture and personality researchers such as Margaret Mead and others (Mead 1975, original 1930; also see Burnett 1978 for an overview). These researchers were interested in the ways children were socialized into adult roles; the ways they learned to do and believe what they needed to in order to fit into their society.

Later researchers such as Harrington (1978: 83) tend to use the two terms interchangeably. This approach seems reasonable in the light of earlier definitions of the terms. George Kneller (1965:11), for example, states that: "Education...belongs to the general process known as *enculturation*, by which the growing person is initiated into the way of life of his society." While Kerber and Smith say that: "Socialization is the process...by which the social heritage is transmitted from generation to generation. In the broad sense, education, being all those ways in which the human organism learns, is included in socialization" (1972:12).

While this would seem to give a very broad base to earlier studies in psychological anthropology on education, in practice these studies centred on single societies (e.g. Mead 1975, original 1930); on large-scale cross-cultural comparisons of learning processes (e.g.

Harrington 1978: 79); or limited comparisons of psychological dimensions such as the 'need for achievement' (e.g.: a study conducted on three different Nigerian groups that is reported in Munroe and Munroe 1975: 141). All of these kinds of studies look 'inward' toward the society or societies under consideration rather than 'outward' toward larger extra-societal forces to explain the role of schooling in the enculturation/socialization process. By 'extra-societal forces' I refer to conditions such as an emerging world economy, or a society's place within a nation-state. This is why I consider psychological anthropology to be a micro rather than macro approach to education, despite its sometimes cross-cultural perspective.

Another factor in this designation involves the location of these studies. George Spindler (1984), in a recapitulation of views expressed originally during the first major conference on 'Anthropology and Education' in 1954, bemoans the subfield's turn away from a concern with the 'life-cycle.' This is an updated version of the focus on 'personality' prevalent in psychological anthropology until the more recent takeover of this field by cognitive approaches (more will be said about cognitive approaches shortly). In both the old and the new versions, concern is with the way culture is replicated through the organization of ways of perceiving (Harrington 1978: 136), although in



the cognitive approach it is not assumed that this perception is embedded in the individual's 'personality.'

Before moving on to consider other themes in cultural transmission, consideration will be given to methods developed in psychological anthropology, for it is in these methods that the micro/macro location of research can be seen most clearly.

Earlier psychological anthropology was characterized by a concern with formal methods: "...psychological anthropology has emphasized the importance of the systematic observation and recording of data, the use of adaptations of psychological techniques of personality measurement, projective testing, and experimentation design to learn about individuals..." (Harrington 1978: 80). This form of anthropology tended towards 'methodological rigor' (Comitas 1978: 18) and engaged in systematic (usually quantitative) cross-cultural studies using such resources as the Human Relations Area Files or familiar psychological experimental designs adapted for new cultures (Munroe and Munroe 1975: 4-5). Psychological anthropologists located their studies in aggregates of individuals (experimental work) or in aggregates of societies (cross-cultural studies), but not in historically contextualized, socially-layered larger processes. By 'socially-layered', I refer to complex relationships as they actually exist in the contemporary

world between social groups.

Another important theme in 'cultural transmission' is the view that education functions as a conservative force in society. Margaret Mead, for example, writing about education in the Manus islands' says: "As infants in the home, and later within the educational system of the wider society, child-rearing methods expose them thoroughly to the culture of their society, so that they perforce assimilate the values of that society"(Mead 1975, original 1930: ix).

The dean of 'anthropology and education', George Spindler, concludes that "...education is a process of recruitment and maintenance for the cultural system" (Spindler 1974: 77). Whether we look at its larger or more immediate aspects there is agreement here then that education is basically about cultural conservatism.

The study of socialization is more than the study of how *individuals* learn particular ways of life but it is basic to our understanding of how *societies* perpetuate themselves by making particular kinds of humans as opposed to others.

(Harrington 1965: 134)

Since its first task is to perpetuate the achievements of the culture, education is fundamentally conservative.

(Kneller 1965: 14)

The idea that education is 'conservative' is shared by many in anthropology, not just psychological anthropologists. Kneller and Harrington, for example, are not specifically psychological in their approaches.

Education as cultural conservatism, then, is a widespread theme in the anthropology of education.

In the late 1970s there were calls for the development of a more sophisticated theory of cultural transmission; how and why do the people involved in educational processes go about 'making particular kinds of humans as opposed to others'?

Key concepts of enculturation, socialization, formal, informal and non-formal education, deliberate instruction, and the special character of the relationship between teaching and learning, all are ready for and are being subjected to critical examination and the formulation of a genuinely sophisticated theory of cultural transmission.

(Burnett 1978: 72)

The leader of this new formulation is not the 'dean' George Spindler, who, according to Kneller (1965:15) "...maintains that the chief contribution anthropology can make to education is to put together a body of verified empirical knowledge by analyzing different aspects of the educational process in its sociocultural milieu." Leadership is instead provided by Fred O. Gearing (e.g. Gearing 1979a; 1979b; 1984). Gearing organized a major conference in search of 'a reference model for a cultural theory of education and schooling' (Gearing 1979b). He has moved beyond older psychological approaches to incorporate newer cognitive, language-based and interaction approaches with the key idea of hidden curriculum. Before considering Gearing's attempt at formulating a new theory of cultural

transmission I would like to examine other research that he drew upon for his model. We will return to Gearing's formulation near the end of this section on micro approaches to education.

#### The Basis of Cultural Transmission

Anthropological and sociological researchers focussing on the basis of cultural transmission have concentrated on grounding themselves in language and cognition. There are many names for this; some of the more common ones are cognitive anthropology, ethnoscience, ethnomethodology, and ethnosemantics.

These newer approaches, especially those which are cognitively based, hold something in common with the earlier psychological anthropology. Gearing and Tindall (1973:96) have suggested that as far back as Boas and into the newer 'ethno' and cognitive perspectives a large number of studies have been concerned with the ways people sort their world into a system of categories.

There are also differences from the older approach; the newer views do not see the 'psychology of education' as being based in 'personality' but rather in cognitive processes (Burnett 1978: 72). Researchers are no longer interested in defining personality types and how they affect learning, they are interested in finding categorical patterns of thinking that presumably reflect the way cognition occurs. Some have been very literal about the

location of cognition: "Scholars generally agree that culture is in the mind of man. Any ideas are the foundation of culture and just as real as bricks" (Kerber and Smith 1972: 10). Others prefer to locate their work differently: "So if one asks the question about where is the meaning of social concepts—in the world, in the meaner's head, or in interpersonal negotiations—one is compelled to answer that it is the last of these" (Bruner 1982: 835). I have no intention of getting into the 'location of mind' debate here. However, it remains important to remember that while there is some agreement that cultural categorization is a key to the process of cultural transmission, this does not imply that researchers agree about the exact process this key unlocks.

Cognitive researchers share the perspective that: "The point of view of modern anthropologists...has emphasized the cognitive unity of mankind—which means, essentially, that thought processes (such as logic) do not differ from culture to culture" (Harrington 1978: 100–101). This suggests that methods taken from either Piaget influenced cognitive psychology or experimental psychology (Harrington 1978: 108–112), for example, could be used in societies such as Papua New Guinea (e.g. Lancy 1982). As in early psychological anthropology, methods can be formalized and standardized regardless of where studies are being conducted.

One of the most important components of cognitive approaches is a focus on language. Language is where we, as researchers, can see categorizations occurring. As Dorothy Clements (1976: 54) puts it: "An important assumption underlying cognitive anthropology asserts that language is a key element in understanding and anticipating culturally patterned behavior. Cognitive anthropology exploits the relationship between language and cognitive systems in order to explain behavior." But an over-emphasis on language can result in giving an exaggerated importance to the use of words in the learning process. Kerber and Kerber (1972: 21) state, for example, that: "...formal education in Western culture has assumed that learning is nearly 100 percent through words."

Jerome Bruner (1982) offers us a more balanced approach. Language is assumed to be a crucial component of education, but language in use (that is, in combination with action) is considered to form the basis of cultural transmission. Language in action, or as part of 'interaction', will be found under a later subheading (Interaction as a Locus of Classroom Behaviour) in this section of the chapter. But first, I will go on to consider where the concept of hidden curriculum enters the material presented up to this point.

#### Mix-ups in Transmission: When Cultures Clash

If education is about cultural transmission then

it is reasonable to assume that this transmission will not always proceed smoothly. Problems in transmission are most likely to occur in situations where representatives of two or more cultures appear in the same classroom. As George Spindler (1974: 74) suggests: "Conflicts ensue when the school and teachers are charged with responsibility for assimilation or acculturating their pupils to a set of norms for behavior and thought that are different from those learned at home and in the community." This may occur, for example, in situations of minority education in North America, or in countries such as Papua New Guinea which are currently being subjected to massive cultural influences from 'outside' sources. It may also be found when teachers come from middle-class backgrounds and their pupils from working-class ones (e.g. Kneller 1965: 119; and Willis 1981).

Language also has an important role to play in this process. Jerome Bruner (1982: 835) states that "...the very medium of exchange in which education is conducted - language - can never be neutral,...it imposes a point of view not only about the world to which it refers but toward the use of mind in respect to this world." However, education is not just a process of spoken language, actions convey messages along with words. What teachers do in the classroom is as important as what they say.

Frederick Gearing (1979: 205) has suggested that

the most important place where we can see a 'clash of cultures' is in the area of 'hidden curriculum'. "The phrase 'hidden curriculum' points to the fact that, in school contexts specifically, side-by-side with the manifest curriculum, a set of ...tacit assumptions is being taught and learned" (Gearing and Epstein 1982:243). "What in fact is happening is that society is reproducing itself - caste system, class system, sex roles, and all - and through actions which in some substantial part the actors themselves are only dimly aware of and actions which they in full awareness, would deplore" (Gearing and Tindall 1973: 103).

Teachers have cultural values; when these values more-or-less coincide with their pupils' values, classroom interactions proceed in a smooth manner. But, when pupils and teachers do not share a common set of values (as often occurs, for example, in the classrooms of Papua New Guinea), the hidden curriculum of this value system can cause a variety of problems. Cultural transmission in these cases is anything but smooth.

It is instructive to look at a case study conducted by Frederick Gearing and Paul Epstein in order to see the way hidden curriculum may be used in actual research. In this study (Gearing and Epstein 1982), the authors were interested in looking at a small remedial reading group (four pupils and one teacher) in a school in upper New York



State. They wanted to find out the way hidden curriculum functioned in a situation in which pupils came from an economically depressed area, while teachers shared relatively affluent middle-class backgrounds. It was assumed that, in some fundamental way, the two groups held different cultural values and that these values would effect interactions in the classroom.

Gearing and Epstein (1982: 244) delineated what they felt to be a cultural value commonly held by the adult members of the 'depressed' community; the value of 'learning to wait.' Pausing before acting, being patient in the face of obvious no-win situations, means that these adults are able to cut their losses beyond what they would otherwise experience in everyday situations.

The authors felt that this value could be seen at work in the micro-scale activities of the remedial reading class. They constructed an activity schedule to track the kinds of interactions occurring between teacher and pupils. Although some pupils were clearly given preferential treatment (the two girls over the two boys), all received two fundamental messages through the pattern of language exchanges that was present: 1) people are unequal; 2) the best way to deal with this is to cut one's losses by waiting for the teacher to define the inequality rather than attempting to override it (Gearing and Epstein 1982: 265). Hidden curriculum, based in this case on the

form of teacher-pupil interaction, spells out to the pupils that their world, like their parents' world, is one of 'learning to wait.'

This example shows that the notion of 'interaction' is crucial to Gearing's model of hidden curriculum. It therefore deserves further elaboration before going on to consider his theory of cultural transmission in greater detail. We will return to Gearing after considering 'interaction' and the ways in which interactions become scrambled.

#### Interaction as a Locus of Classroom Behaviour

Kerber and Smith suggest that: "For Man, the important arena of action is that of a symboling social being responding to other symboling social beings in a social situation" (Kerber and Smith 1972: 9). Anthropologists have long recognized that it is 'symbols in action' that constitute the main micro arena, but it is sociologists who have done the most towards developing this concept in the schooling situation. Under the theoretical heading of 'symbolic interaction' studies, they have attempted to break the small-scale, everyday ways that people act into manageable analytical parts.

Blackledge and Hunt (1985: 238-249) have described this sociological method in some detail. It involves the idea that when an individual enters a situation with another person s/he enters this situation with an already

well-developed notion of her 'self' versus 'the other.' Of course, every 'self' is an 'other' for someone else. Since we tend to act towards others based on our perceptions of the difference between 'us' versus 'them' this situation can lead to a number of confusing results. We know ourselves as full human-beings, but we tend to know others only as stereotyped players of social roles. This is true, for example, in schooling situations and it may be crucial in the interaction pattern that occurs between teachers and pupils. Teachers type pupils (e.g. 'good' pupils versus 'bad' pupils) and often act towards them in ways consistent with this typing, regardless of how pupils perceive themselves in a particular context. Pupils, in turn, type teachers (e.g. 'strict' versus 'friendly'). Given the kinds of misperceptions that can occur in this kind of interaction it is not unusual to observe a struggle for what is usually referred to as 'the definition of the situation'. Whose stereotyped perceptions will be used to define a particular interaction between, for example, pupil and teacher? In situations of uneven power, as in the teacher/pupil interaction, the one with the most social power normally dominates the way things will come to be defined.

Situations such as this, says Gearing(1979a: 5), are crucial for understanding the micro activities of schooling. If we are going to reach this understanding, we

will have to figure out the ways people translate cultural categories into expectations about others social roles (Gearing 1979a:178-179). We also need to understand how these processes can 'go wrong.'

When Interactions Become Scrambled: Hidden Curriculum Revisited

Interactions can be systematically distorted so that one participant is able to continuously dominate and define not only their own actions but the actions of others, regardless of what these others wish to occur. In 1968 Rosenthal and Jacobson conducted a study which "...demonstrated that the beliefs teachers entertain as to the varying levels of ability of their students set in motion transactions such that the students come to perform academically according to those levels" (Gearing and Tindall 1973: 100-101). This became known as the 'pygmalion effect' (similar to the idea of a 'self-fulfilling prophecy') and it helped set in motion a number of studies of the systematic distortion of interaction situations in classrooms. Under the names 'deviancy' and 'labelling', sociologists pursued this point for its relevance to education.

Hargreaves, Hester and Mellor (1975) describe these approaches and their application to research on schooling. Generally, researchers have been interested in finding out: 1) what the informal rules of interaction are

in classrooms, 2) what becomes defined as a 'deviant act', 3) who becomes defined as a deviant person, 4) how do teachers act towards those so labelled, and 5) what happens to the person labelled as deviant over time (Hargreaves, Hester, Mellor 1975:23). By considering these questions, researchers are trying to gain an understanding of how cultural categories are turned into meaningful actions within the schooling context.

To return to the study of Gearing and Epstein (1982), it is during unequal interactions that the workings of hidden curriculum often become most visible. Students continually receive messages from teachers and, in turn, attempt to direct messages towards them regarding what is thought to be worth learning and what is thought to be not worth learning. It has been suggested that "...the critical content of any learning experience is the method or process through which learning occurs" (Postman and Weingartner 1969: 19). It is through the method of instruction that cognitive categories can be turned into hidden curriculum. These transformations can be seen not just in the words but also in the actions of participants involved in any interaction process. According to Postman and Weingartner: "What we have all learned ...is that it is not important that our utterances satisfy the demands of the question (or of reality), but that they satisfy the demands of the classroom environment. Teachers ask.

Students answer" (1969: 22). I view this as an overstatement, but it is reasonable to see the structure of learning as greatly affecting both the learning of formal curriculum and, in itself, teaching pupils a number of things about the world they live in. I believe that pupils are generally taught in the classroom, for example, how to put up with, if not actually get along in, a very unequal world.

#### A Cultural Theory of Education and Schooling?

Inequality, buttressed by the workings of hidden curriculum, is a taken-for-granted reality in Fred Gearing's attempt to work towards a cultural theory of education and schooling.

...the theory is intended to explain how it comes about that some members of certain definable categories of persons predictably will, and all members of other categories of persons predictably will not, come competently to perform some complex task, ...The explanation of how such competencies predictably get distributed would entail the identification of those kinds of constraints that are interactional, and that are not mental and not motor in nature.

(Gearing 1979b: 170)

I agree with Gearing that as anthropologists we are most competent to offer theoretical progress in the social and cultural realms of meaningful action and not in the physiological realms of cerebral or motor functioning. I disagree with him to some extent on the location of the important constraints that inform micro-interaction in

classrooms or other learning situations. In order to explain this disagreement I need to elaborate on some of the components of his cultural theory of education.

I would agree that "...one cannot adequately comprehend any one part of a system of education or schooling in a community unless one comprehends as well something of the variety of the other parts that coexist and may compete" (Gearing 1979b:174). In other words, a researcher must take the larger social context of education into account. We differ, however, in where we would locate this larger social structure. Gearing suggests (ibid.: 177) that it can be located in a good old-fashioned 'structural-functional description.' In such a description, a researcher would have to understand the basic social organization of a community, the kinds of jobs or work people engage in and the kinds of groups they gather into. Gearing defines these 'units' 'behaviourally' (ibid.: 177) and suggests that a researcher can gain an understanding of the social context that informs the more micro educational process by focussing on the interactional behaviours of members of the community.

By relying on this kind of an approach he has fallen into the error of defining contextualizing 'structure' in much too narrow a manner. Societies today are not just defined by the easily observable limits of their communities, they are embedded in much larger socio-

economic systems and these systems must be taken into account - at least to the extent that they impinge strongly on the everyday behaviours that Gearing would like to observe. A researcher can watch laborers planting coffee on a plantation and interview them to get their views regarding what they think they are doing, but without some understanding of where they stand as workers in relation to the larger market conditions of their area and the ways these conditions are affected by outside forces only half an understanding will be achieved concerning why they continue to do what they do. In other words, it is not enough to *observe* members of the community at work, it is also necessary to have some notion of *why* they continue to do that particular work.

Another problem is that Gearing's definition of social context is ahistorical. If we think of structure as a 'snapshot in time', then it seems obvious that it is also necessary to have some knowledge of what went into making this picture the way it is at the moment. We also need to know what kinds of forces might alter this picture in the very near future. This kind of understanding is more adequately reached through an historical view, rather than a functional view, of structural context.

I applaud Gearing's attempt to relate larger outside forces to micro processes of education through the agency of hidden-curriculum. I wish to add to our



knowledge of this process through the current work. Gearing has provided us with some of the building blocks for a new theory of education and schooling. I will return to the question of a 'new' theory of cultural transmission a little later. Before I do this, however, it is necessary to search out what I consider to be the missing components of Gearing's theory. These, I suggest, can be found in the social approaches of a number of macro level researchers on education.

#### Macro Approaches

##### Functionalism

One of the earliest of the macro approaches came from the functionalist perspective of Emile Durkheim. An overriding theme of this perspective was a concern with social order and the role education played in the maintenance of that order. Functionalists often assume that school practices can be explained in terms of their adaptive value for society as a whole (Feinberg and Soltis 1985: 69). The institution of education, despite being described by Durkheim as an "organism" (Durkheim 1977: 6), is normally given no real life of its own outside of the much more important 'social organism.' Durkheim (1977: 9) states, for example, that: "...there is no immutable form of education, ...continual changes (at least when they are normal) connect at any given moment in time with a single fixed and determining reference-point; namely, the

condition of society at the relevant moment."

Kenneth Thompson (1982: 163) says about Durkheim that "...he warned that it was a mistake to ascribe to education a power it lacked; it tended to reproduce society rather than change it." While Blackledge and Hunt (1985: 64) point out that the central issue for Durkheim is the way in which social order is achieved and maintained; education is seen as one of the most efficient means of inculcating the young into the existing social reality.

Later functionalists such as Talcott Parsons add new dimensions (e.g. 'culture', 'personality') to Durkheim's position, but generally agree that education's primary function is to create people who want to play the social roles they have to play in order for social integration to be maintained (e.g. Parsons 1951: 237).

Functionalists do not usually view social reproduction in a negative light. Durkheim, for example, is quite open about using education for the production of a new social morality to replace the older religious morality that seemed, at the turn of the century, to be in decline. "Just as the priest is the interpreter of God, he [the teacher] is the interpreter of the great moral ideas of his time and country" (Durkheim 1961: 155). The teacher's job is to instill, primarily through the agency of discipline, moral authority that will eventually be taken up and internalized by the student (ibid: 144). Discipline "...is

not a simple device for securing superficial peace in the classroom - a device allowing the work to roll on tranquilly. It is the morality of the classroom, just as the discipline of the social body is morality properly speaking" (ibid: 148). Durkheim maintains that school is the best mediator between the morality a child learns at home and the much more complicated civil morality s/he will need to know in order to function properly as an adult (ibid: 149, 230).

This is similar to Parsons (1951: 186-87) when he states that schools help turn family values into occupational values. Parsons, like Durkheim, assumes that this is socially acceptable. Although Parsons, according to Blackledge and Hunt (1985:68), is also aware that education can be used to legitimate social inequality, normally by suggesting that inequalities are a consequence of differential achievements.

Durkheim seems to have no qualms about valuing a moral system that excuses inequalities 'based' on attainments. What is more important, for him, is the fear that 'undisciplined' students will become undisciplined adults. He likens an undisciplined classroom to a "mob" (Durkheim 1961 150-151). He suggests that the 'mob behaviour' of students can be eventually expected to spill over into collective adult behaviour - leading to violence or killing if not brought under

immediate social control. The dangers of social inequality paled beside the dangers of collective 'irrationality'; school is presented as a bulwark against outbreaks of this kind of collective insanity. The value of collective life far outweighs individual rights (Kohlberg 1983: 65). Or, to put it another way, Durkheim feels that the social functions of schools are much more important than their service as real or imagined agencies of social and individual change.

Kenneth Thompson feels that Durkheim has been unfairly painted as a 'conservative' educational theorist, and that his third book on education (The Evolution of Educational Thought) addresses issues of class and ideology (Thompson, 1982: 163-164). It is true that Durkheim takes a 'historical' position in his later work, but it would be a mistake to say that he comes to view education as serving the interests of some social classes over others. His goal is to use history to relativize educational understanding, which can be seen in his statement that : "Instead of confining ourselves to our own particular age, we must on the contrary escape from it in order to escape from ourselves, from our narrow-minded points of view, which are both partial and partisan. And that is precisely why a study of the history of education is so important and worthwhile" (Durkheim 1977: 12). Despite this 'relativism', Durkheim does not change his mind about

educational practices being socially determined (e.g. *ibid*: 9). He does not suggest that we stop thinking of schooling as serving the interests of society as a whole and move instead to a more 'radical' position - viewing education as serving the interests of some segments of society over others. Even Thompson (1982: 161) admits that "He applied his method of structural analysis to show that moral and educational ideas and practices were socially determined." Society, for Durkheim, refers to the total population and not just a limited class or group of people.

There are some elements in functionalist positions that lend themselves to a hidden-curriculum interpretation. Talcott Parsons (1951: 240) states, for example, that the student "...is brought into explicit competition with his classmates, and his standing with respect to the achievement pattern is overtly symbolized in grades, as well as in the other rewards and punishments administered by the teacher, and in her attitudes." While Durkheim (1964: 6) suggests that: "Considering the facts as they are and as they have always been, it becomes immediately evident that all education is a continuous effort to impose on the child ways of seeing, feeling, and acting which he could not have arrived at spontaneously." Unlike the 'critical' theorists, Parsons does not view this 'hidden-curriculum' as unfair in any fundamental way

(Blackledge and Hunt 1985: 73), and Durkheim (1961: 144) states that helping the child to internalize a socially desirable moral authority is to both the child's and society's benefit. There is room here to recognize that hidden curriculum may function at some level in the classroom, but there is little or no concern about how this links up to larger issues of social inequality.

Walter Feinberg and Jonas Soltis point out the difference between the way functionalists and marxists view hidden curriculum. "Functionalists, in their attachment to the idea that schools advance the principle of equal opportunity, tend to assume that curriculum is a fair means of selection into different areas of the workforce. Hence they tend to treat the concept of hidden curriculum as if it were the same for all groups of children. Marxists ...suggest that the hidden curriculum works differently for children from different social classes" (Feinberg and Soltis 1985: 59). I will go on to consider other, more 'critical' macro perspectives shortly. It is important to note, first, that macro perspectives can focus on larger social processes than most micro perspectives, yet continue to miss out on a consideration of ways in which educational systems mediate relations between social groups. The 'structural-functional' perspective Gearing (1979b) asks us to use in linking micro processes to larger social forces is inadequate if we wish to build a theory of education

that explores both social time (history) and social space (contemporary inter-social relations). I now move to a consideration of the reproduction of inequality.

#### The Social Reproduction of Inequality

A sociology of education has recently formed around the key concept of the social reproduction of inequality. Influenced by the work of Max Weber and Karl Marx, "This view ...[holds] that both cultural and political socialization reflect the influence of the structure of society in terms of class relations and differential power over the definition and distribution of knowledge" (Trent, Braddock and Henderson 1985: 307).

Max Weber tied the emerging form of education to what he saw as the increasing bureaucratization of life (e.g. Weber 1948: 240). Examinations and educational certifications were being used to 'qualify' a new European elite, one very different from the old elite based on noble birth. Weber (ibid.: 241) claimed that: "The development of the diploma from universities, and business and engineering colleges, and the universal clamor for the creation of educational certificates in all fields makes for the formation of a privileged stratum in bureaus and in offices ...and, above all, claims to monopolize socially and economically advantageous positions." According to Weber, old forms of privilege were being overthrown and newer claims for status were being 'rationalized'. This

rationalization was in keeping with the coming domination of bureaucratic life. Its purpose was to restrict access to status positions. "When we hear from all sides the demand for an introduction of regular curricula and special examinations, the reason behind it is, of course, not a suddenly awakened 'thirst for education', but the desire for restricting the supply for those [status] positions and their monopolization by the owners of educational certificates" (Weber 1948: 241).

Frank Parkin suggests that Weber's concern with education's role in the bureaucratization of life can best be expressed by Weber's emphasis on 'social closure.' "By social closure he means the process by which various groups attempt to improve their lot by restricting access to rewards and privileges to a limited circle" (Parkin 1982: 100). Weber saw education as a refined instrument that could be used to restrict entry into the 'charmed circles' of bureaucratic power (ibid: 101).

Blackledge and Hunt (1985: 335-336) point out that Weber, unlike Marx, is concerned with micro and macro processes. Weber wants to know how individuals negotiate economic and other socially powerful institutions. At the same time, he seems to view the increasing bureaucratization of political life as an inevitable process. Despite this latter position, there is more room in the position of Weber than Marx for a consideration of



the more subjective aspects of educational experience. Although, as I will show later in this section when dealing with the work of Paul Willis, not all Marxist scholars take this position.

While Weber has influenced the 'reproduction' theme in the sociology of education, it is the work of Marx that has been drawn on most directly and extensively.

Marx himself writes almost nothing about education and he makes no major statements about education's place in the social scheme of things. What he does do is provide the framework for educational research that makes the economy as important as the classroom. Researchers drawing on Marx as a guide tell us that education cannot really be understood outside of the politics of the social reproduction of a class-based society. Michael Young (1971: 28) states that Marx's work serves to "...direct one to examine the relation between the interests of economically dominant groups and the prevailing ideas of education as 'good' or 'worthwhile' in itself." This points to a class-based analysis. "Understanding the dynamics of class relationships is essential, we believe, to an adequate appreciation of the connection between economics and education (Bowles and Gintis 1976: 67).

Scholars informed by Marx's work can be placed along a continuum according to the extent to which they are 'structural' or economically deterministic. Some see the

social 'base' (economic structure) as determining the forms of 'superstructure' (other social institutions, such as education); while others view the relationship as one of 'conditioning' rather than determination (Blackledge and Hunt 1985: 113-114).

Extremists such as Louis Althusser (ibid: 119) leave individual actions out of their theoretical sketches. Others, while willing to admit the importance of individuals, remain cautious about placing too much analytical value on them when trying to understand social reproduction. "The educational system is involved in the reproduction and change of ...class relationships and cannot be understood by simply 'adding up' the effects of schooling on each individual to arrive at a total social impact" (Bowles and Gintis 1976: 67). Whether more or less 'structural' in outlook, it is the relation between social class, education, and the reproduction of the work force that interests all researchers inspired by marxist thought.

Marxist scholars normally view the above relationship within a changing historical framework. Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis (1976), for example, conducted what is often recognized (e.g. Blackledge and Hunt 1985: 134-142) as one of the classic 'marxist' studies on education in the United States through the use of an historically based methodology. One of their findings was that: "The change from an entrepreneurial capitalism to

its model in corporate form, we shall argue, was reflected in educational policy and theory. If the birth of the factory system fueled the nineteenth-century common-school movement which molded mass primary school education, the rise of the corporate economy fostered the twentieth century Progressive Movement which lent modern secondary education its characteristic stamp" (Bowles and Gintis 1976: 63). There is no need to consider the relative merits of their argument here, it is more important to note that historical change is often considered an essential part of educational research for those interested in social reproduction.

Even theorists who take a relatively 'soft' line concerning the structural relationship between economy and education do not grant autonomy to the educational system. Antonio Gramsci's (Blackledge and Hunt 1985: 120) concept of 'hegemony' is relevant here. Dominant social classes 'control' education not just through their economic position but also by controlling the 'meaning' of education. Michael Apple (1979: 5) puts it this way: "...hegemony acts to 'saturate' our very consciousness, so that the educational, economic and social world we see and interact with, and the commonsense interpretations we put on it, becomes the world tout court, the only world." The analytical usage of terms such as hegemony, ideology, and cultural capital are explored in a moment. But it is

important to remember that even researchers such as Michael Apple, who emphasize the 'symbolic' component of economic/educational relations, do not locate this factor in individual but rather in social life. "...While schools may in fact serve the interests of many individuals, and this should not be denied, at the same time, though, empirically they also seem to act as powerful agents in the economic and cultural reproductions of class relations in a stratified society like our own" (Apple 1979: 8).

#### The Legitimation of Social Reproduction

One of the reasons education serves as such a 'powerful agent' of social reproduction that it legitimates and is legitimated by powerful ideas. Paulo Freire (1983), in a manner similar to Weber but moving beyond him into class analysis, suggests that education 'rationalizes' class interests by legitimizing it with the 'myth' of objective knowledge.

This form of legitimation is widely recognized by 'critical' researchers (e.g. Apple 1979: 21; Bourdieu and Passeron 1977: 8). Michael Apple, following Gramsci, suggests that ideology of the dominant social class is rendered 'neutral' through the agency of the school. "It is not merely that our economic order 'creates' categories and structures of feeling which saturate our everyday lives. Added to this must be a group of 'intellectuals' who employ and give legitimacy to the categories, who make the

ideological forms seem neutral" (Apple 1979: 11). These 'neutral' forms can be found by looking for what is considered to be legitimate knowledge "...by specific social groups and classes, in specific institutions, at specific historical moments" (Apple and King 1979: 45). Knowledge tends to be broken down into prepackaged curriculum as if it were a commodity. This allows teachers to quickly assess 'good' from 'bad' pupils. If "...knowledge in all its aspects ...is broken down and commodified, like economic capital it can be accumulated. The mark of a good pupil is the possession and accumulation of vast quantities of skills in the service of technical interests" (Apple 1980: 23). This is what Paulo Freire has called the 'banking' concept of education. "Education ...becomes an act of depositing, in which the students are the depositories and the teacher is the depositor. Instead of communicating, the teacher issues communiques and makes deposits which the students patiently receive, memorize, and repeat. This is the "banking" concept of education, in which the scope of action allowed to the students extends only as far as receiving, filing, and storing the deposits" (Freire 1983: 62). In effect, these theorists are suggesting that student/teacher relationships in classrooms most often reflect the dominated/dominating relationships that exist outside of schooling in a capitalist economic system.

These relationships are most obvious when they have been violated. "In deciding what is to be done about a pupil who does not learn or behave as required, a teacher not only brings her teaching skills and professional insights to bear but also makes judgements of an unavoidably moral and political nature; she adopts, albeit implicitly, an ideological stance which informs her understanding of the problems and justifies her response" (Chessum 1980: 116).

If a student plays the game well s/he will come away with what can be termed 'cultural capital.' Cultural capital can be thought of as a kind of symbolic property that the schools preserve and distribute (Apple 1979: 3). The problem, however, is that some students receive unfair advantages in the recovery of this 'capital.'

Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron have used the label 'symbolic violence' to describe the process of selecting meanings that benefit some students over others in the classroom. They suggest an 'axiom' related to this process: "Every power to exert symbolic violence, i.e. every power which manages to impose meanings and to impose them as legitimate by concealing the power relations which are the basis of its force, adds its own specifically symbolic force to those power relations" (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977: 4). Teaching is always a form of symbolic violence when it takes the form of trying to impose one

system of cultural meaning over another (ibid: 5). This imposition occurs and is made legitimate because it reflects the dominant classes' view of the world; they are the group that controls the formal educational process as a whole (ibid: 28-29). The goal of this form of education is "...its effect of reproduction" (ibid: 33). It is an effective agent of social reproduction not because it forces dominated groups to accept the 'culture' of dominant groups, but rather because it imposes the 'legitimacy' of that culture over all other cultures existing in a pluralist society. Walter Feinberg and Jonas Soltis (1985: 62) sum up Bourdieu and Passeron's position in this way "...they argue that schooling produces certain deep-seated ways of understanding and perceiving that allow subordinate groups to be reproduced and the dominant class to maintain its status without resorting to physical repression or coercion. In other words, what they call 'symbolic violence' substitutes for physical violence. They call the deep-seated ways of perceiving and understanding that develop in this process 'habitus.'"

This 'habitus' is embedded in the language of education. Children who come from dominating classes have a huge advantage over children from dominated classes because their forms of expression match those of the schools. "The importance of linguistic capital, particularly manifest in the first years of schooling when

the understanding and use of language are the major points of leverage for teachers' assessments, never ceases to be felt. Style is always taken into account, implicitly or explicitly, at every level of the educational system and, to a varying extent, in all university careers, even scientific ones" (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977: 73). The 'style' of working-class students marks them out as people to be streamed by teachers into 'practical' rather than 'academic' pursuits (ibid: 116-119). This system of reproduction works only insofar as "...particular cultural meanings are recognized as legitimate to the extent that the power that makes their imposition possible is not fully seen" (Eickelman 1979: 39).

The theme of language as a means of controlling class reproduction is one that is used by non-Marxist scholars as well as Marxist ones. The most notable of these has been Basil Bernstein in his book Class, Codes and Control (1974). In this work, he suggests that working-class and middle-class students have access to different linguistic 'codes'. He labels these 'restricted' and 'elaborated' codes and associates them, respectively, with working-class and middle-class children (Bernstein 1974: 14-15). The elaborated (more abstract) middle-class code is the 'language' of the school. This leaves the user of the restricted (more particularistic) code with a problem. "The working-class child has to translate and thus mediate



middle-class language structure through the logically simpler language structure of his own class to make it personally meaningful. Where he cannot make this translation he fails to understand and is left puzzled" (ibid.: 27). Like Marxist scholars, Bernstein suggests that language differences (and hence life-chance differences) are ultimately socially determined. "The codes themselves are functions of a particular form of social relationship or, more generally, qualities of social structure" (ibid.: 77). The bottom line for Bernstein is that: "If a child is to succeed as he progresses through school it becomes critical for him to possess, or at least be oriented towards, an elaborated code" (ibid.: 133). Bernstein, then, is in basic agreement with Bourdieu and Passeron: some children, by virtue of the linguistic/cultural styles they learn at home, have advantage over children from other social backgrounds in the schooling process.

Perhaps the best criticism of the work of Bernstein or others who would imply that there is a one-to-one fit between linguistic codes and social class is the work of Shirley Brice Heath (1983) in the United States. She studied a set of communities that share an educational system and the different forms of language usage that is deemed as locally appropriate within each community. Both oral and written language is found to exist in quite

different narrative forms in Tracton (a working class Black community), Roadville (working-class White community) and among Townies (middle-class Whites and Blacks). Tracton residents, for example, tend to prefer language codes that shift with the context of use, while the narrative style of Roadville residents is more rule-bound, and Townies display facility with an abstract language that can be used to cross contexts when desired. Brice Heath's study shows that we have to be very careful in assuming that all members of the same social class necessarily share a similar language code. This study also shows that an adequately 'thick' description that begins with and remains focussed on language issues can take at least some of the larger macro issues of structural inequality into account. At the same time, however, it defines some of the limitations of a primarily micro approach for the development of a more balanced theory of cultural transmission. When Brice Heath (1983:344) points out the contexts of language socialization in the three communities in her research, she fails to explicitly deal with the very obvious connection between narrative style and economic opportunity to which her own data alludes. Although early in the book she provides a brief history of the economic situation for each community, there is no attempt to systematically link this to language usage and school success or failure. Probably the best example of this

oversight is the failure to notice the likely connection between language usage and the fact that Tracton residents are really more of an 'unemployed' class than members of a working-class. The chronic unemployment and idiosyncratic 'hustling' that characterizes their economic life seems strongly related to their preference for a flexible, context specific style of narrative. The working-class Roadville residents, as steadily employed industrial workers, seem just as well suited to their narrative style, which emphasizes the use of rule-bound language regardless of the context. This analytical omission suggests that while Brice Heath's work certainly calls Bernstein's too easy language/class assertion into question, it can also be said that Bernstein's more systematic attempt to link micro and macro processes together has something to offer for those who would wish to build on Brice Heath's thoughtful research.

At this point, I wish to stop for a moment and consider what the major themes have been in regard to the ideational aspect of the sociology of education.

Schooling helps legitimize and is in turn legitimized by the social forms in which it is embedded. It legitimizes these forms through the 'myth' of objective knowledge and meritocracy - the idea that individuals are members of social classes because of their own performances (or lack of them) in situations that could lead to social

mobility. Formal education is seen as a means to mobility and the failure to perform well in this social medium is viewed as individual and not social failure.

The existence of schools which objectively help reproduce hierarchies of social class are legitimated through the 'myth' of equal access (opportunity) to certificates for social mobility. The process through which one form of cultural reality is chosen as 'legitimate knowledge' over other forms is hidden and introduced into schools as neutral curriculum.

The end result, according to researchers such as Michael Apple, Paulo Freire, Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron, is the use of schools to promote and mask actually existing oppressor/oppressed relations in societies.

#### Resistance and Culture

Research which concentrates on macro-level concerns is often criticized because "...these macro approaches tell us little about the richness and complexity of human life: they fail to grasp the reality of life in schools and do not help us understand what makes teachers and pupils 'tick'" (Blackledge and Hunt 1985: 233). Such studies, in other words, miss out on the cultural dimensions of school life.

Some 'macro' theorists try to address this concern. This is done by focussing on the processes of student led

resistance to schooling. Henry Giroux (in Blackledge and Hunt 1985: 181) states that "...schools represent contested terrains marked not only by structural and ideological contradictions, but also by collectively informed student resistances." And Michael Apple (1980: 25) suggests that "The formation of ideologies ...is not simply an act of imposition. It is produced by concrete actors and embodied in lived experiences that may resist, alter, or mediate the social messages." The message given by these researchers is that it is time macro researchers stopped viewing students as passive respondents to structural forces and started viewing them as culture bearing and culture creating beings.

Teachers and others in authority positions may of course not see student resistance as legitimate responses. Rosemary Chessum gives an example of this in relation to the situation in six outer-London comprehensive schools: "They [teachers] ultimately implied a denial that resistance to schooling might be rational and legitimate, not because teachers lacked insight into societal and institutional factors which might cause pupil problems but because, in order to carry out their tasks and implement their teaching ideals, it was necessary for them to defend the organisation and their professional role within it against attack" (Chessum 1980: 127).

The most complete attempt by a researcher inspired

by Marx to come to grips with cultural resistance to formal schooling is found in the work of Paul Willis. In his book Learning to Labour: How Working Class Kids Get Working Class Jobs (1981), Willis tries to explain the cultural process through which social reproduction occurs in a working class enclave of a British city. In effect, Willis wants to know how 'the lads' he portrays talked themselves into the same lives as their fathers, even though they understood, to some extent, the subordinate class position this entailed.

According to Willis (1981: 11) "The most basic, obvious and explicit dimension of counter-school culture is entrenched general and personalised opposition to 'authority'." A 'masculine' culture of resistance, which values physical labour over mental labour (ibid.: 53), gives 'the lads' a strong sense of shared values about themselves and their place in the world. This is added to by feeling superior to the 'earoles' - students who conform (listen) to teachers and other authority figures. On the positive side, 'the lads' are able to achieve a 'partial penetration' of the formal educational system. By 'penetration', Willis (ibid.: 119) refers to an understanding of social conditions as they actually exist and one's relations to those conditions. He opposes this to an acceptance of the school's form of legitimation which renders these conditions 'natural.' Because this

penetration is only partial, 'the lads' end up adding to the mystification of existing conditions through their exaggerated culture of masculinity. This culture includes, for example, violence against members of other racial groups and the objectification of women as sexual and care-giving objects. Their culture does not include an awareness that they share experiences of oppression with these two groups. As Paulo Freire (1983: 137) points out: "As the oppressor minority subordinates and dominates the majority, it must divide it and keep it divided in order to remain in power." 'The lads' help their 'oppressors' do their job when they replicate cultural values that denigrate and place in opposition other dominated social groups.

Even the positive side of 'the lads' culture can have negative impacts on their lives. By identifying so strongly with their father's working class value system 'the lads' circumscribe their own futures before they have time to consider alternative lives. As Paul Willis (1981: 120) so elegantly puts it: "...there is a moment - and it only needs to be this for the gates to shut on the future - in working class culture when the manual giving of labour power represents both a freedom, election and transcendence, and a precise insertion into a system of exploitation and oppression for working class people. The former promises the future, the latter shows the present.

It is the future in the present which hammers freedom into inequality in the reality of contemporary capitalism." At the very moment of their triumph, having dropped out of school at the earliest possible opportunity to assume a full place in the factory and male working class culture, 'the lads' accept the place set out for them by those they despise - the upper classes. The brilliance of Paul Willis is to show that disadvantaged students often unwittingly contribute to their own social reproduction into subordinate classes through their often ingenious methods for resistance in the schools they are forced to attend.

This research theme is applicable in a wide variety of social situations. To give only one example, Celia Haig-Brown delineates the inventive resistance of Indian children attending residential schools in British Columbia. Similar to Willis' 'lads', "Even with the controls already described in place, the students found time and space to express themselves and to produce a separate culture of their own within the school. Much of the culture was built around opposition to the severity of the rules and regulations guiding the students' daily lives" (Haig-Brown 1988: 88). This was true even though the children were undergoing rigorous and deliberate attempts to eradicate Native Canadian cultural values and replace them with Catholic religious and European Canadian cultural values. Resistance can be strong even in the face of overt and



conscious domination of one group by another - as in the situation of Indian residential schools.

The attempt by educators to impose their definitions of what is worth learning and how this learning is to proceed is a prime example of hidden curriculum. This is a good time to reconsider the concept of hidden curriculum in the light of the macro-level approaches just presented.

#### Hidden Curriculum as a Macro-level Process

To remind the reader, hidden curriculum can be defined as "...the tacit teaching to students of norms, values, and dispositions that goes on simply by their living in and coping with the institutional expectations and routines of schools day in and day out for a number of years" (Apple 1979: 14). Some researchers believe that the lessons of hidden curriculum are even more crucial than the lessons of manifest curriculum in defining whether students will adjust in 'acceptable ways' to educational messages. To return to Paul Willis' study for a moment, he states that: "This study warns that disaffected working class kids respond not so much to the style of individual teachers and the content of education as to the structure of the school and the dominant teaching paradigm in the context of their overall class, cultural experience and location" (Willis 1981: 188-189).

For researchers who focus on the macro aspects of

education the 'structure of the school' is a direct reflection of education's role in the social reproduction of a class system. As Michael Apple (1979: 8-9) tells us: "Social and economic values ... are already embedded in the design of the institutions we work in, in the 'formal corpus of school knowledge' we preserve in our curricula, in our modes of teaching, and in our principles, standards and forms of evaluation." School systems are never neutral, they always carry social and economic baggage (this is true even if they are transplanted to foreign shores). Bourdieu and Passeron (1977: 33) go further and suggest that "The specific productivity of Pedagogic Work is objectively measured by the degree to which it produces its essential effect of inculcation, i.e. its effect of reproduction."

The reproduction of what? Primarily, the reproduction of the work force - which makes it possible to maintain relations between the classes in their existing subordinate/dominant forms. Bowles and Gintis (1976: 125) feel that the way schools are organized replicates relationships of dominance and subordination in the group's economic system. "Specifically, the social relationships of education - the relationships between administrators and teachers, teachers and students, students and students, and students and their work - replicate the hierarchical division of labor" (ibid: 131).

The outcome of these hidden relations in the school system is the preparation of a new generation of students to take up their expected roles in the work force. For researchers interested in the macro analysis of education's social role "... 'hidden curriculum' helped to explain the indirect ways in which schooling serves to socialize students into the values and norms of modern, industrial society. Such behavior as waiting in line, scheduling activity according to clock time, competing for the teacher's attention, and working independently were each seen as important preparatory elements in learning to work in modern society" (Feinberg and Soltis 1985: 59).

Schools do more than prepare students for life in the work place through a replication of work-like hierarchies in the organization of school life, they also legitimize the reproduction of students into the same economic class as their parents. "Legitimation" here refers to "...the fostering of a generalized consciousness among individuals which prevents the formation of the social bonds and critical understanding whereby existing social conditions might be transformed" (Bowles and Gintis 1976: 104). Again, this occurs largely through the ways in which schooling occurs - though a school's hidden curriculum. "It is through the particular manner in which it [school] performs its technical function of communication that a given school system additionally

fulfills its social functions of conservation and its ideological function of legitimation" (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977: 102). While I agree with James Scott (1985: 322-335) that the idea of 'mystification' or 'false-consciousness' is often an overdetermined one, I would not agree that people experiencing relations of domination always see through - or 'penetrate' - these relations to the extent that he suggests. In the specific case of students caught up in unequal teacher/student relationships I lean towards Paulo Freire's (1983: 57) interpretation that: "A careful analysis of the teacher-student relationship at any level, inside or outside the school, reveals its fundamental narrative character. This relationship involves a narrating Subject (the teacher) and patient, listening objects (the students)." This form of narration, of course, replicates the employer/employee relation that most students experience when they leave school and take up economic life in our society - a dialogue between employer and employee which seldom takes the form of an equal exchange.

It is important to point out that educators themselves seldom view their role as one of 'reproducing' social classes. The question of 'consciousness' is a difficult one, but I think it is fair to follow Paul Willis (1981: 67) in suggesting that "Certainly it would be quite wrong to attribute to them [teachers] any kind of sinister

motive such as miseducating or oppressing working class kids. The teacher is given formal control of his pupils by the state, but he exercises his social control through an educational, not a class, paradigm." That is, teachers as individuals tend to view what they do through educators' eyes rather than through an understanding of the role schooling plays in the social reproduction of a class system. Understanding this brings in the problem of placing individual actors in the macro analysis of education. It should be acknowledged that individuals may act in ways they experience as meaningful in professional or personal terms and yet still be serving the interests of social reproduction. More specifically, macro researchers often suggest that one of the main functions of hidden curriculum is to prepare individuals to take up social, if not necessarily socially desirable, roles. Bowles and Gintis (1976: 95), for example, suggest that personality formation is at the heart of the hierarchical reproduction of education in the classroom, because: "The personality traits and forms of consciousness required of workers are those which facilitates their harmonious integration into the hierarchical order of the [economic] enterprise." This does not seem out of line with Talcott Parson's position (presented earlier) on the relationship between schooling and the production of people who want to play the social roles they have to play anyway. In a macro perspective,

then, individuals are understood to act in ways that are meaningful to themselves - but this meaning is circumscribed by the conditions under which they experience the schooling process and the pressures of educational conditioning. This conditioning greatly favours some forms of personal expression over others. This is somewhat different from micro perspectives, in which individuals are often viewed as negotiating meaning in a more equal fashion (if not necessarily under equal conditions).

I would like to briefly consider the similarities and differences between the ways micro and macro perspectives view the question of hidden curriculum. My aim is to illustrate how the two viewpoints can be connected through the use of this concept before moving on to consider the third and final component of this chapter - the question of education in the context of Less Developed Countries. I also, at this point, suggest what has been learned from macro perspectives that is useful in a reconsideration of Frederick Gearing's proposed theory of cultural transmission (presented earlier in the chapter).

#### Hidden Curriculum and the Location of Research

Micro and macro perspectives do not have to be thought of as absolutely opposed positions - there are many points of crossover and some points of mutual agreement. For example, researchers (e.g. Gearing and Tindall 1973; Bourdieu and Passeron 1977) writing from different

perspectives usually recognize that education plays a 'reproductive' function in society. It is also recognized that individuals, such as teachers, are not normally consciously aware of their social roles in relation to this reproductive process (e.g. Gearing and Tindall 1973; Willis 1981).

Despite these similarities, it is fair to say that researchers who focus on micro or macro aspects of education tend to locate their research and analysis in different points of the continuum of education as a whole social and cultural process.

Micro researchers, for example, are mainly interested in cultural issues and on the actions of individuals in relation to these issues (e.g. Spindler 1974; Gearing and Epstein 1982). Macro researchers, conversely, focus their attention at the level of society as a whole - especially on the asymmetrical relations that exist between different segments, classes and social groupings in that society (e.g. Bowles and Gintis 1976).

At a micro level, 'culture' usually refers to ideational aspects of life; the values people hold and the language they use to reflect these values (e.g. Harrington 1978; Bruner 1982). Individual teachers and pupils act out their cultural values in classroom situations; revealing the process of hidden curriculum (e.g. Gearing and Epstein 1982).

In contrast, at a macro level, hidden curriculum is most visible when the researcher concentrates on schooling's relation to economic processes. The hierarchical nature of schooling relationships and the way this reproduces existing economic relationships, for example, is a favourite vantage point from which to view hidden curriculum (e.g. Bowles and Gintis 1976; Freire 1983).

This means that micro perspectives tend to focus on classrooms and the individuals that occupy them, while macro studies are interested in schools as part of a larger social system. Researchers from both perspectives have been concerned at times with the 'personality' of individuals, although these concerns have taken quite different forms. The preoccupation with personality shown by the culture and personality school (e.g. Mead 1975; Harrington 1978) has been with the formation of culturally appropriate modes of behaviour as an educational goal. Macro researchers (e.g. in very different ways: Parsons 1951; Bowles and Gintis 1976) are more interested in how individuals develop the desire to fit into the social and economic roles required of them - even when these roles may involve considerable social inequality. It is often hard to see at the macro level just how hidden curriculum helps bring social adjustment about because of the macro researchers' general failure to focus on what actually



occurs in the classroom; while the connection between larger cultural values and hidden curriculum in the classroom may be obscured by micro researchers' preoccupation with the minute details of interaction at the expense of adequately grounding where these larger values come from.

Perhaps Paul Willis (1981: 171) puts it best: " In order to have a satisfying explanation we need to see what the *symbolic* power of structural determination is within the mediating realm of the human and cultural. It is from the resources of this level that decisions are made which lead to uncoerced outcomes which have the function of maintaining the structure of society and the status quo. ...macro determinants need to pass through the cultural milieu to reproduce themselves at all."

What, then, can be learned from the way hidden curriculum is used at the macro level that might help complete Frederick Gearings (1979b) general theory of cultural transmission?

Gearing's 'structural-functional' definition of 'larger social processes' is not adequate for the development of a theory of cultural transmission that is centred on education. He fails to take into account the fact that social groups in the immediate area of an educational system do not 'function' in a vacuum. A consideration of the *relations* between groups, classes and

other social units is necessary to more adequately understand the influences that go into the production of hidden curriculum at the micro level. To borrow an old term from Clifford Geertz (1972), the description Gearing wants to give us of the process that goes into forming micro level education is simply not "thick" enough.

I mention earlier in this chapter that Gearing takes a largely ahistorical approach in his understanding of relevant social context. Macro researchers (e.g. in very different ways: Durkheim 1977; Bowles and Gintis 1976; Haig-Brown 1988) forcefully point out that an historical understanding of a developing educational system is crucial for an analysis of why parts of a system function as they do today. These perspectives are reinforced by recognition within anthropology in the 1980s (e.g. Wolf 1984; Ortner 1984; Sahlins 1985; Dening 1988) that history is becoming a required part of an anthropological search for a more adequate understanding of social and cultural processes.

A better theory of cultural transmission and an adequate method of research must include historical processes and contemporary relations between social groups, as well as concerns about the way this translates into and is influenced by small-scale interactions.

Before I show how macro and micro concerns are fused together to form a method for research on education in West New Britain it is necessary to briefly consider

the last important theoretical context of this work - the development context.

#### Development and the Issue of Education

People who are concerned with the issue of education's relationship to social and economic development tend to emphasize what I refer to as either 'prescriptive' or 'critical' positions.

A prescriptive position is one in which a theorist will suggest what 'needs' to be done within an educational system in order to effect the social and economic changes necessary to make an underdeveloped country into a developed one. An underlying assumption is that education can effect change in other parts of the social system and that it is therefore a primary means of development. Modernization theory, which will be discussed shortly, is a prime example of this kind of position.

Critical positions suggest that there is something very damaging about education in developing countries and that these educational systems will only increase already widespread social and economic inequalities among the peoples living there. Those who hold this position do not think that tinkering with education itself has any appreciable effect on other aspects of development. The opposite is normally considered to be true: education reflects economic conditions rather than influences them. Marxist theorists are good examples of people who hold this

research position.

In this section of the chapter I will present theorists who tend to emphasize one or the other of these development positions in order to suggest how the concept of hidden curriculum can be used to take the concerns offered here and link them to issues presented by micro and macro researchers earlier in the chapter. This allows me to criticize and expand on the theory of cultural transmission presented earlier in the chapter.

#### Prescriptive Approaches

Modernization theorists generally agree (Long 1977: 9; Singh 1981: 42-43) that societies and countries can be 'ranked' along a continuum from 'traditional' to 'advanced' to 'modern'. This position creates a basic dichotomy between traditional (undeveloped) and modern (developed) societies. As Norman Long (1977: 9) points out, modernization theory is loaded with neo-evolutionary assumptions. The most basic of these assumptions is that in today's world societies are moving along a straight line from being traditional in orientation to becoming modern. The division of a society or country into traditional/modern (or somewhere in between) is made according to characteristic indicators: mythological/religious forms of knowledge versus scientific/secular ones; systems of production that favour subsistence economies versus ones that are industrial and

commercially expansionist; a social organization that is primarily centred on rural or urban life; and the inculcation of personalities suited to traditional or modern lifeways (e.g. Long 1977: 9-10; Singh 1981: 42).

It is the last 'characteristic' that is of primary concern for the issue of education. School is thought of as the best location for turning out the 'right' kinds of personalities and attitudes leading to the development of a modern country. Norman Long (1977: 59) points out that some of the modernization literature goes so far as to consider the development of 'modern attitudes' as a precondition for social and economic development. Alex Inkeles and David Smith (quoted in Singh 1981: 43), when discussing the way societies were to 'break out of the iron grip of traditionalism' suggested that "...to break out of that iron grip requires, among other things, that people become modern in spirit, that they adopt and incorporate into their personalities the attitudes, values and modes of acting which we have identified with modern man. Without this ingredient neither foreign aid nor domestic revolution can hope successfully to bring an underdeveloped nation into the ranks of those capable of self-sustained growth."

This kind of position is remarkably similar to the functionalism of Talcott Parsons. Parsons spoke of 'basic personality orientations' that needed to include a combination of 'achievement orientation' with a distilled

sense of 'aiming for the top'. These were thought by him to be necessary for life in our modern society.

In keeping with this position, modernization theorists such as Guy Hunter (1969: 240-259) state that the main role of education in developing countries is to 'open up' village societies - to turn them towards the wider world around them. A schoolteacher's task, in this system, to inculcate students with the 'right' social attitudes (e.g. willingness to work hard, question traditional forms of knowledge, and to see that world as something that can be measured and analyzed).

In a similar way Frank Musgrove (1982: 88) suggests that modernization is basically about "...the way primitive people come to resemble ourselves." Musgrove believes that schools can help people from 'other' countries to move along the road that leads to becoming "more civilized" (ibid.: 98). Individuals travel this road, according to Musgrove, by learning to be more 'rational' and less 'traditional' in their thinking. It should be understood that this kind of position is not acceptable to the majority of anthropologists today and would be thought of by many as somewhat 'racist'.

Similar thinking can, however, take a subtler form of suggesting that 'we' (that is, 'modern people') are a complex and active lot; while 'they' ('traditional people') are a simple and rather passive group. In the

words of George Kneller (1965: 70): "A primitive society is remarkably homogeneous; the great majority of its members share similar knowledge and interests and are familiar with the thoughts, attitudes and activities of the entire community. In modern industrial societies - complex, specialized, and highly populated - so much information has accumulated that many people are ignorant of the very existence of certain bodies of knowledge - neurophysiology, for instance, or cybernetics." We, it is to be understood, have 'complex' things such as neurophysiology, while they have only 'simple' (the word that is often used is 'mythological') systems of knowledge.

Broad generalizations of the kind put forth by modernization theorists have seldom been supported by adequate substantive evidence. Many counter examples are available. Space does not permit me to pursue this point, but one small case is presented concerning the complicated belief system of the Lusi speaking Kaliai of West New Britain. These people are often pointed to by outsiders as an example of an extremely 'simple' people. Yet among these 'simple people' there exist cultural beliefs that are complex enough to allow older members of the village to negotiate any one of several available identities - and to change these identities when the occasion demands (Counts and Counts 1985: 141-142). These Lusi-speaking people also recognize that there are several

different ways humans can be said to be 'dead.' Even a declaration of being finally and absolutely dead is not always a guarantee that a person will remain that way. Death, like life, is a socially negotiated state. As Counts and Counts (ibid: 153) suggest: "A simple technology does not imply a simple cosmology." Nor is there any reason to suppose that their understanding of the world is less 'complex' than ours.

There seems no point in piling on dozens of similar case studies just to show the obvious - modernization theory is too simplistic to take account of the vast array of different kinds of societies in underdeveloped countries. I paraphrase the Counts' by suggesting that a simple technology also does not imply, as modernization theorists do, that schools can easily and simply transform the core 'personalities' of these hugely diverse peoples in non-western societies. Nor does it imply that such transformations, even if possible, would necessarily lead to presumably desirable social and economic transformations in a given society in a way that is easily predictable.

Anthropologists, in the past, have often made the mistake of assuming that the societies they were studying were in some fundamental sense 'simpler' than our own and therefore that we would quite easily be able to understand people living in these societies while they would not be



able to understand us. Writing in 1930, Margaret Mead (1975: iii) stated: "We learned to understand the details of their lives because anthropological training had equipped us to do so - to learn a primitive language rapidly, to take the stream of events which passed before our eyes and structure it in an understandable way. But the experience of the people we were studying was too far from our own for them to understand us or what we were trying to do." There is no doubt that the Manus people Mead was referring to in this quotation had little understanding of what an anthropologist was really about, but we have also found out that Mead's (and others) understanding of these 'simple' people was often just as superficial by Manus standards.

While in Papua New Guinea in 1986/87, I often stayed with a Canadian member of CUSD when I was in the Biälla area of West New Britain conducting research. Peter had a close friend, a Manus islander, who was a fellow high school teacher. This man, John, resisted my Canadian friend's attempts to bring us together to meet. John, it turned out, came from an area on Manus near where Margaret Mead had conducted her fieldwork and, having read her book, he decided that anthropologists were dangerously simplistic people who took great delight in misrepresenting other people's ways of life. He relented only when I conveyed a message to him, via my Canadian friend, that

many anthropologists felt Mead had been far too simplistic in her interpretations and that anthropology had, we hoped, come a long way since then. John and I later became friends and he would quite cheerfully provide me with quotations from Mead's book Growing Up in New Guinea whenever he seemed to feel I was becoming too sure of my interpretations of what life was about in his country. We would both laugh and I would invariably rethink my position - often coming to see it at a later date as a well intentioned but hopelessly naive opinion.

Modernization theorists, unlike most anthropologists, have failed to learn from the people they study and move on from the earlier simplistic days of 'us' versus 'them'. For this reason modernization theory might best be assigned to the academic graveyard. Unfortunately, as Musgrove's 1982 book Education and Anthropology shows, this position is anything but dead and therefore must still be included when we consider the linkages between education and development.

Somewhat more sophisticated, in my opinion, is the Basic Human Needs (BHN) approach to development. More critical than modernization theory, this perspective still remains more of a prescriptive than a fully worked out critical position concerning the relationship between education and development.

There is an agreement among those who embrace this

perspective that all human beings have certain 'basic human needs' (though there is not always agreement about the fine points of what these needs are). The International Labour Office (1977: 32), for example, has suggested that there are two main elements that compose basic needs: "First, they include certain minimum requirements of a family for private consumption: adequate food, shelter and clothing are obviously included, as would be certain household equipment and furniture. Second, they include essential services provided by and for the community at large, such as safe drinking water, sanitation, public transport, and health and educational facilities." This suggests that there is a certain "minimum standard of living" (Crosswell 1981: 4) that should be expected in terms of key goods and services for any group of people. It is recognized, however, that such things as health care and educational services may be difficult to define in 'minimal' terms: "For education and health the concept is more difficult, but might embody years of education (however defined) and consumption of preventative health services - such as examinations and inoculations - as well as curative services when needed" (Crosswell 1981:4).

A second disagreement exists concerning what constitutes the necessary economic conditions to bring about a satisfaction of basic human needs. The International Labour Office (1977: 32-33) states that: "The

fulfillment of physical basic needs targets in the poorer countries of the world certainly cannot be achieved by a redistribution of goods currently produced. Not only must the structure of production change, but the total amount produced must also rise over time. For this reason, it should be stressed that a rapid rate of economic growth is an essential part of a basic human needs strategy." Richard Sandbrook (1982: 2) counters this position by suggesting that: "The problem of mass poverty in the Third World is more fundamentally one of the pattern of economic growth than the rate of growth....Although per capita income in the Third World rose by more than a third in real terms during the First Development Decade, this expansion provided little or no benefit to perhaps a third of the relevant population." One of the major problems is that economic expansion alone does not ensure any kind of equitable distribution of goods and services (and the ability to purchase them) in an underdeveloped country (Crosswell 1981: 23). This has led some people (e.g. Green 1979: 30) to suggest that properly pursuing the goal of meeting basic human needs necessarily leads to a drop in the standard of living for local elites in underdeveloped countries in favour of the much poorer people in these countries. There would no doubt be substantial resistance to this on the part of local elites.

Despite these problems there exists widespread

agreement (e.g. I.L.O. 1977: 32; Green 1979: 29; Crosswell 1981: 3; Sandbrook 1982: 13) that education is, along with health care, one of the two primary services needed to fulfill the goal of a more equitable world order. Michael Crosswell (1981: 5-6) stakes out a common position when he says that much of the talk about minimum levels of 'consumption' is "...more accurately characterized as investment in human capital through better health, education, and nutrition. Such investment may be justifiable on pure efficiency grounds, apart from considerations of equity." This can be summed up in the slogan that posits education as an 'investment in the future.' Education should, according to this position, be looked upon as an investment strategy that ultimately increases labour productivity (Leipziger 1981: 115). Crosswell (ibid: 19) states that: "Comparing the net value of output with costs of investment there is no a priori basis for concluding that expenditures associated with building a factory are more productive than expenditures associated with building a school."

Despite these statements, few have tried to define what a 'minimum' education would look like. Jonathan Silvey (1982: 74-75) suggests: "The ability to read, write and calculate at levels appropriate to a person's future life would generally be agreed to form a minimum core for secular education." While Richard Sandbrook (1982: 22-23)

says: "Access to educational facilities is a basic public service at least as crucial for the poor as their access to health facilities. If the children of the poor cannot gain educational credentials, their chances of social mobility are bleak." Sandbrook seems to be indicating that access to education *beyond* the level of basic numeracy and literacy would be necessary to produce any real change in the position of the poorest populations in less developed countries. The disagreement between Sandbrook and Silvey points to the fact that there is no common 'formula' for calculating what would constitute a basic education for those who live in less developed countries. Silvey's attempt to define 'basic' in terms of 'levels appropriate to a person's future life' causes more problems than it solves. *Who* will decide what a person's future life will be (possibilities include the individuals themselves; families; educational professionals; governments, etc.)

It also seems rather naive to assume that education will only solve problems rather than create them. Silvey (1982: 75) acknowledges this by stating that: "...if education is intended to prepare youngsters for a life with substantially more opportunities and expanded horizons than, say, their parents' generation, it may be that the consequences of rising expectations will be a generation of school leavers with frustrated ambitions, reluctant to accept a social and political structure which denies them

the opportunities they had expected." Focussing on education as if it were a separable social unit, as practitioners of the basic humans needs approach often do, and then assuming that changes in this 'unit' will somehow fuel only desirable changes in other 'social units' such as the economic system (employment) is an unnecessary reification.

A large part of the problem, I believe, stems from valuing prescription over criticism. BHN practitioners are themselves not totally unaware of the 'moral' overtones of their approach:

...the basic-needs approach does constitute more in the way of a utopia than a strategy. It offers a valuable vision of an alternative society and international order through the reorganization of production, distribution, consumption and political institutions. But it does not really connect the 'is' to the 'ought'...

(Sandbrook 1982: 17)

An international economic order cannot tolerate conditions where one out of every four individuals on this earth lacks a vital element of subsistence. ...The basic human needs thrust may well be a test for the viability of the current order.

(Leipziger 1981: 129)

The satisfaction of an absolute level of basic needs... should be placed within a broader framework - namely the fulfillment of basic human rights....

(International Labour Office 1977: 32)

By using words such as 'utopia', 'cannot tolerate' and 'human rights', these practitioners are clearly saying more about what 'ought to be' than 'what is'. Like

modernization theory, this kind of a prescriptive approach lacks the fine-grained analysis that would allow researchers to adequately make up their minds about the effectiveness of some of the 'prescriptions' for turning education into development. Both of these approaches, in my opinion, are too imbalanced - focussing on theoretical concerns at the expense of practical considerations.

A remarkable scholar, Paulo Freire, has attempted over the last several decades to put both of these concerns together to form a balanced approach to understanding education in the Third World. Because Freire is in many ways unique, falling somewhere between 'prescriptive' and 'critical' positions, his work is worth considering in some detail before moving on to look at more purely critical work.

In his classic work, Pedagogy of the Oppressed (1983, original 1970) Freire sets out to tell us not only how to critically understand education in the context of less developed countries but also how he thinks we need to transform these systems to produce 'authentic education.'

Education, Freire suggests, is one of the most important mediums in the relationship between oppressor and oppressed peoples. The 'oppressed' refers to those people in developing countries who are too poor (too economically and politically dominated) to have a real say in the course their lives will take. Oppressors, on the other hand, may



be local or foreign elites who control the local economic system and most of the flow of goods and services (such as education) and therefore control oppressed peoples lives. Oppressor/oppressed relationships are partly played out at the local level in the form of education. 'Oppressive education' rationalizes class interests through the myth of the objectivity of knowledge. Freire suggests that 'true knowledge' involves both action and reflection - which he likes to refer to as 'praxis.' As I mentioned earlier in the chapter, he states that too often education takes the metaphorical form of a 'bank', with oppressive teachers acting as 'depositors'.

Freire believes that education can help break the cycle of oppressor/oppressed relations if we change it from a banking method to a 'problem-posing' method. In the latter method, teachers and students work together to develop problems stemming from their real world situations. They try to 'demythologize' or strip these problems of their naturalized status (e.g. showing economic relationships between oppressor/oppressed as problems to be solved rather than as 'natural' states). Freire is unique in offering a detailed method rather than just a vague prescription about a 'need' for a 'basic' or 'modernized' educational system in less developed countries. Few 'critical' positions, as we will see in a moment, offer a practical solution to the problems of education in

developing situations.

### The Critical Position

Although there are often substantial theoretical differences between the various marxist positions, there are also points of commonality. One commonality is the desire to view development from the perspective of an emerging world economic system. In world-systems theory, for example, Terence Hopkins (1982: 72) tells us that: "If there is one thing which distinguishes a world-system perspective from any other, it is its insistence that the unit of analysis is a *world-* system defined in terms of *economic* processes and links, and not any units defined in terms of juridical, political, cultural, geological, or other criteria." A "world-system" is ... "define[d] quite simply as a unit with a single division of labor and multiple cultural systems" (Wallerstein 1979: 5). Although many Marxists would not agree with June Nash and other world-systems theorists when they insist that the most important unit of analysis can be found by looking at the way the emerging international division of labor is mediated through trade exchanges (e.g. Nash 1981: 395), most would agree that Marx's own theoretical starting point focuses on the 'division of labour' (e.g. Bloch 1985: 22). The problem is in the definition of this term.

Hopkins, for example, states: "We ...use 'division of labor' to designate processes that are constitutive of,

continually reproduce, and regularly alter the relational structures of production" (Hopkins 1982: 45). Others, however, give primacy to the way in which emerging modes of production affect the division of labour (e.g. Long 1977: 93-94). They would point to statements made by Marx that seem to centre all life processes on the productive process. Marx stated, for example, that: "The mode of production of material life determines the general character of the social, political and spiritual processes of life" (Marx 1963: 67). Szymanski sorts these two positions out when he says: "Wallerstein defines capitalism ...as production for exchange, rather than does classical Marxism as the mode of production in which exploitation occurs through wage labour" (Szymanski 1981: 87).

These are not small differences. However, we can certainly say that both sides of this theoretical coin are intimately concerned with the effects an emerging world economy has on the way local people are able to make their living. There is therefore some validity to June Nash's idea that "...a world capitalist system challenges social scientists to view all societies and cultures of the world as integrated in a worldwide division of labor" (Nash 1981: 416). They would also agree, I think, that large-scale social institutions, such as educational systems, must be viewed as part of this larger process (I will return to this in a moment).

With their emphasis on exchange, world-systems theorists suggest that the key economic relationship is that between a 'core' capitalist country or urban centre and the 'peripheral' less developed country or rural area (e.g. Nash 1981: 401; Wallerstein 1983: 30). Put crudely, the rich keep getting richer and the poor keep getting poorer because of very unequal exchange relationships between 'core' and 'peripheral' areas. This suggests that underdevelopment is itself a consequence of this unequal exchange system (e.g. see Szymanski's explanation of the history of this idea, 1981: 69). Marx seems to agree with the importance of exchange for capitalism when he says: "Capital consists not only of means of subsistence, instruments of labour, and raw materials, not only of material products: it consists just as much of exchange values" (Marx 1963: 156).

Those who use a mode of production analysis, on the other hand, prefer to consider how the capitalist mode of production 'penetrates' an area that was previously under a non-capitalist economic system (e.g. Wolf 1982).

Both positions have been criticized for assuming that human actions and historical processes are more 'structurally' or 'systematically' determined than anthropologists, intimately involved in local lives, are usually willing to acknowledge (Ortner 1984: 144).

What this has usually meant in practical terms is

that researchers have spent a great deal of their time doing research on newly emerging emerging class structures in developing countries. There is a tendency, for example, for agriculture in these countries to make up less and less of the gross national product, although a majority of people will continue to earn the bulk of their living in this sector of the economy (Szymanski 1981: 406). What typically occurs is that a small economic elite develops, along with a larger proletariat (to work in the emerging industries, mines, etc.); while a majority become relegated to increasingly marginal subsistence and cash cropping roles. Wallerstein (1983: 27) suggests that it is in these 'semi-proletariat' households that we can see how far the transformation process has progressed.

Critical analysis in any of its forms involves a consideration of history. In its crudest form, this has involved an evolutionary notion of stages. "Karl Marx argued that there have been three historical phases in the relationship between the more advanced capitalist countries and the economically less-developed areas of the world..." (Szymanski 1981: 23). This kind of thinking has led world-systems and other theorists to posit a notion of 'inevitable' historical results (i.e. the idea that the contradictions of capitalism will inevitably result in the 'next' historical stage of revolutionary socialism) (e.g. Wallerstein 1979; 1983).

Marx, however, adamantly insisted that: "History does nothing; it does not 'possess immense riches', it 'does not fight battles'. It is men, real, living men, who do all this, who possess things and fight battles. It is not 'history' which uses men as a means of achieving - as if it were an individual person - its own ends. History is nothing but the activity of men in pursuit of their ends" (Marx 1963: 78). This would seem to negate the notion of any inevitable historical process. Maurice Bloch picks up on this idea while trying to understand the main thrust of Marxist Anthropology: "The argument runs like this: at any particular time people apprehend natural material circumstances through their ideas and therefore act in terms of these ideas, beliefs, and values. Therefore, in history it is not nature and technology that make human society but it is man himself, who in terms of his already existing ideas and values, makes his own history..." (Bloch 1985: 27-28).

History as process would seem to include many of the things that more 'traditional' cultural anthropologists deem important. Although Marxists will often caution against the essentially ahistorical nature of much of this perspective. Immanuel Wallerstein (1979: 3), for example, points out that "... the fundamental error of ahistorical social science (including ahistorical versions of Marxism) is to reify parts of the totality into ...units

and then to compare these reified structures." He is warning here against falsely creating entities such as the "Nakanai" people, or "Papua New Guinea", without ensuring their placement in a larger historical scheme of things (e.g. where did this thing we call "Papua New Guinea" come from).

I consider critical Marxist perspectives on development to have greatly increased our understanding of the importance of history and the formation of social classes. A proper consideration of the role education plays in the development of Papua New Guinea requires the use of both of these analytical tools. What, however, do critical theorists have to say about education in the developing context in general?

As stated earlier, Marx himself never really wrote about education. He does, however, have something specific to say about the transition and transformation of ideas.

In considering the course of history, we detach the ideas of the ruling class from the ruling class itself and attribute to them an independent existence, if we confine ourselves to saying that in a particular age these or those ideas were dominant, without paying attention to the conditions of production and the producers of these ideas, and if we thus ignore the individuals and the world conditions which are the source of the ideas; it is possible to say, for instance that during the time the aristocracy was dominant the concepts honour, loyalty, etc. were dominant; during the dominance of the bourgeoisie the concepts freedom, equality, etc." (Marx 1963: 94)

As we saw in the work of educational Marxists

working in the developed world (presented earlier in the chapter), this suggests that Marxists interested in development will be primarily concerned with the way education 'fits' with economy. The goodness of this fit, moreover, will have to be considered in the light of changing and often volatile historical conditions.

A good example is the way Albert Szymanski analyzed the place of education in the development process in his thoroughly documented book The Logic of Imperialism. He echoes Marx by stating: "Metropolitan values, world view, and attitudes are transmitted to the future leaders of a less-developed country through education..." (Szymanski 1981: 257). This is true whether it occurs through the education of the country's economic elite in foreign universities or whether it involves setting up a total schooling system in-country based on external models (e.g. Papua New Guinea's educational system is based on an Australian model). While Szymanski might agree with 'modernization' theorists that education is basically about the transmission of 'values' and 'attitudes', he would vehemently disagree that the inculcation of 'foreign' values is of any necessary benefit to the host country. He sees this instead as a process that reproduces the hegemony of developed countries over developing ones. Education teaches those who will eventually run the country that the existing world order is a 'good' one and that



their necessary place within that order is to work in cooperation with powerful centres of capitalism for the expansion of capitalism (regardless of what this might do to the livelihoods of many of their fellow citizens).

Education, in this view, becomes ideology - geared towards hiding the nature of an emerging exploitation process in the less developed country (e.g. see Bloch on Marx, 1985: 17). Immanuel Wallerstein put it another way: "Our collective education has taught us that the search for truth is a disinterested virtue when in fact it is a self-interested rationalization. The search for truth, proclaimed as the cornerstone of progress, and therefore of well-being, has been at the very least consonant with the maintenance of a hierarchical, unequal social structure..." (Wallerstein 1983: 82). At their very worst, educators put forth a notion of a neutral universal culture, summarized as 'progress' or 'modernization' (ibid: 83).

Marxist perspectives on development and education, then, are full of examples of research that take into account a larger world framework of economic development as this changes over time (history). This should be coupled with an appreciation of the role education plays in the emergence of social classes, based on differential access to the means of production and/or exchange values. Education is economics. This is education's hidden agenda.

Although Marxists do not write about 'hidden curriculum' in their work on development, this is more a direct result of a concern with macro issues than a dismissal of the idea. I am confident that they would recognize that a hidden agenda (ideology) must be played out at the level of the classroom at some point if it is going to be an effective mask for the 'real' work of development - the exploitation of local peoples by both local and foreign elites.

This brings us to a point where we can return to consider the way the concept of hidden curriculum can be used to bring various macro and micro perspectives together to form a larger, fuller, analytical framework. As part of this discussion, Gearing's proposal for a theory of cultural transmission is reconsidered.

#### Hidden Curriculum and a Balanced Method

Can it be said that the various approaches outlined in this chapter have anything in common? Is there anything that can bring them together, at least to some extent, to help form a more balanced method for educational research?

To begin with, while theorists tend to focus on *either* macro or micro perspectives, few would be so foolish as to declare the other one irrelevant. It is a truism that individuals do not make decisions in a vacuum - we are undeniably social and cultural beings as well as psychological ones. It is also true that not all members

of the same culture, or even the same immediate kinship group, necessarily agree with or abide by 'group' decisions. Ways are often found to circumvent if not overtly defy the collective will.

More balanced approaches, such as the one used in the present work, are needed to bring the kinds of micro and macro perspectives outlined in this chapter together again. The advantage of this is that it will be closer to life as it is experienced by the people involved. It may be convenient (as well as useful) for researchers to cut life up into tiny units for heuristic and explanatory purposes, but these units have to be welded back together if we are going to reach for more satisfactory understandings of such cross-cutting social institutions as education.

Still, it is not easy to bring so many diverse layers of individual/social/cultural life together. The usual way to bring things together in the social sciences is through the use of theory. However, as we have seen in this chapter, there is no single unified theory that can deal with these three levels of analysis and still take into account the special considerations of education in a development context.

Frederick Gearing tries, but fails, to provide a unified theory. But there is still much that can be taken from his work and built on. In order to understand

education we must look at what actually occurs in the classroom and at the way surrounding cultural values impinge on this interaction. There is widespread agreement about the 'conservative' nature of education as it normally occurs, although disagreement exists about whether this functions for the benefit or to the detriment of the students (whether in a developed or developing country). It seems to me to be a waste of effort to think of education as either 'beneficial' or 'detrimental', as if it were something with an innate character and as if it existed outside of other important social institutions (e.g. economics). Rather, we can only really consider education as being 'good' or 'bad' for specific students, in particular social and cultural situations, in certain places and times. Education is *not* an organism and it does not have a 'life of its own' outside of the one humans give to it.

Most researchers taking a more critical perspective would also agree that hidden curriculum is of crucial, perhaps even overriding, importance in viewing education as cultural transmission. If more 'conservative' theorists, such as those who espouse 'modernization' or 'functionalism', generally neglect the concept it is not because they do not understand the power of 'hidden' understandings. Rather, it is because they generally assume that lessons about 'individualism', 'time-

consciousness', and 'hierarchy' (among others) are beneficial in both developed and developing countries. The question of the benefit or harmfulness of what is learned through hidden curriculum is one that can best be answered by the actual evidence of a particular situation. In this work, I use evidence from both West New Britain in particular and Papua New Guinea more generally to answer the question.

The concept of hidden curriculum has the advantage of being recognized by both 'social' and 'cultural' anthropologists as articulating larger social *and* cultural life with the micro learning situation in classrooms. As such, it is a natural building block for a new, more adequate, theory of cultural transmission in the educational context. At the end of this work I return to this issue and offer the direction a new theory will have to take in order to be able to explain education in situations such as Papua New Guinea and not just in the context of developed countries.

We know already, from the work reviewed in this chapter, that Gearing's theory lacks an adequate understanding of the importance of both history and social forms that fall outside more immediate 'functional' definitions. The next chapter will begin the case study component of this work with a consideration of important historical moments in Papua New Guinea and the ways they

have led towards newly emerging social formations in that country. Special attention will be paid to the development of formal education in this context.

### Chapter Three: Patterns in the History of Papua New Guinea

The structural properties of social systems exist only in so far as forms of social conduct are reproduced chronically across time and space. The structuration of institutions can be understood in terms of how it comes about that social activities become 'stretched' across wide spans of time-space.

(Giddens 1986: xxi)

Structure can be conceptualized abstractly as two aspects of rules - normative elements and codes of signification. Resources are also of two kinds: authoritative resources, which derive from the coordination of the activity of human agents, and allocative resources, which stem from control of material products or of aspects of the material world.

(ibid.: xxxi)

To understand the impact that the introduction of a 'western' style educational system has had and continues to have in Papua New Guinea, we need to begin with an understanding of the history in which that system is embedded.

In this chapter, I am mainly concerned with important historical moments in economic and educational development. Following Giddens' suggestion above, we can think of economics as an 'allocative' resource and education as an 'authoritative' resource. My interest here is in describing how it is that these two resources became 'structurally' significant in contemporary Papua New Guinea.

It is beyond the scope of this work to offer a full social history of Papua New Guinea, but it is still necessary to outline some of the crucial trends in the development of a cash economy and the way these trends have effected and been effected by changes in the formal educational system. Outlining the development of the educational system alone would make it seem as though this system existed outside of and was independent from economics. As I intend to show in this chapter, this has never been the case in Papua New Guinea.

I begin with a brief consideration of patterns of prehistoric change in a region that has too often been typified as an 'unchanging land' prior to the coming of Europeans. This introduction offers a glimpse into a pattern of adaptation to new ideas and technology that is elaborated upon in much greater detail in the historical section which follows.

#### Prehistory and Change

Change did not arrive in Papua New Guinea with the Europeans. The earliest known archaeological site on New Guinea is in the highland region, dating back at least 25,000 years. This suggests that humans first arrived in coastal areas (now underwater and unavailable for site discovery) substantially earlier. Swadling (1986: 1) and Kiste (1985: 13) both estimate that human occupation goes back at least 50,000 years for this part of the world.



During the Pleistocene what are now New Guinea and Australia together composed one large land mass, which the geologists have called Sahul (Howe 1984: 4). During the same period, another large mass (Sunda) existed in Southeast Asia. This included most of what is now the island chain of Indonesia. These two large masses were not connected, but were separated by only a narrow strait which also contained islands. It was relatively easy for humans to cross this strait from Southeast Asia and there is evidence of Homo Sapiens skulls dating back 30,000 - 40,000 years in almost all areas of Australia. Successive waves of migrants must have entered Sahul through this land-sea corridor, making their way northward into the New Guinea area. The essential connection between the indigenous people of Australia and New Guinea is attested to by the fact that the vast majority of New Guineans and all Aboriginal Australians speak Non-Austronesian languages (sometimes known as Papuan) (Wurm 1985: 34; Howe 1984: 8). The other major linguistic division, Austronesian speakers, are generally confined to areas along the coastal regions and can be found extensively throughout the eastern islands (such as New Britain). This probably indicates that later groups came directly by sea after New Guinea and Australia had fully separated from each other (approximately 8,000 years ago) because of rising ocean levels. This means that

Europeans simply represent the most recent of a long line of migrants to the area.

Archaeological evidence suggests that a number of early migrant waves came from Southeast Asia, both before and after the period of island separations. Different groups brought their own technology and cultural traditions, adding to the traditions of those that came before them. Austronesian-speaking migrants, for example, arrived by outrigger canoes with sails, bringing technology appropriate for horticulture and the domestication of pigs (Howe 1984: 9). Whether agriculture was first introduced by these people or they merely stimulated trends that were already emerging in this area 5,000 - 6,000 years ago is difficult to assess. Pollen analysis, however, definitely indicates that a reliance on root cropping and pig domestication spread into even remote highland areas during this period, although the people in these areas were unlikely to have had direct contact with the 'new' migrants and their way of life.

A common pattern over the last several thousand years in New Guinea was the rapid spread of new ideas and new technologies, with or without direct contact with those who brought these in from the outside. A more recent example of this involves the introduction of the sweet potato as a staple crop approximately four hundred years ago in highland areas. It is most likely that the Spanish

originally brought the sweet potatoe in from South America to eastern Indonesia, from where it was traded through a series of peoples into eastern New Guinea and eventually into the highlands (Swadling 1986: 45). Because it is tolerant of cold and poor soil conditions and because it has a relatively high yield (compared to other root crops), it rapidly replaced indigenous root crops as a staple in the highland areas. This replacement likely encouraged important social and cultural changes in the region. Large areas of swampland cultivation were certainly abandoned after the sweet potato became widespread (ibid: 31), although how much of this was due to the new cultivation and how much was due to other factors (such as disease and epidemics) is difficult to assess.

Small hamlet and village communities were not nearly as 'isolated' prior to European contact as it is often assumed (e.g. by development workers). Extensive trade networks have existed for 6,000-7,000 years, and perhaps for much longer (Lacey 1985: 8-9). Shells, minerals such as obsidian, pottery, and foodstuffs (among other items of material culture) have been widely circulated in trade-rings in the distant past. Traceable items have shown up as far away as 500-600 kilometers from their place of origin (Items were generally traded over shorter distances by land and over longer distances by water

transportation).

Thomas Harding (1967) provides the example of a large trade network that included the western side of West New Britain province (the Vitiaz straight area). Here, the lives of large numbers of people were affected by trade carried out by relatively few people. Even by defining this trade system in the narrowest terms possible, this system "...included several hundred coastal communities dotted along one thousand miles of coastline (in New Guinea and New Britain), a total population (1964), including the populous interior sections, of nearly a quarter of a million - this whole system was knit together by three groups of seafaring traders who collectively could not have numbered more than about twelve hundred in aboriginal times" (Harding 1967: 14).

Lacey (1985: 8) points out that: "Trade was, like production, an essential part of economic activities. It cannot be separated from economic, religious, or political life." In short, trade was a 'cultural' activity and the many trade systems, large and small, that appeared and disappeared over the last several thousand years must have had major social and cultural effects on the lives of people who never actually saw the original traders. This is not unlike the situation that developed during the times of early and even later European contacts. Martin Zelenietz provides a good example of this. Reporting on

the Kilenge of the Glouster area in West New Britain, he states:

Before they ever had seen a white man, the Kilenge heard from their trade partners in the Siassi Islands about the Lutheran mission. They knew that the Lutherans had the Siassi's destroy their own [ritually important] Nausang masks. In anticipation, the Kilenge burnt or broke most of their own Nuasang masks. The Kilenge acted because they thought the white men had something to do with the explosion of Ritter Island in 1888: today, they explain the eruption as a form of punishment for the attempted murder of Bishop Colomb in the Siassi Islands in the 1840s. From the Siassi people the Kilenge also learned about steel axes, but the Siassi would not trade these axes. Unable to get steel tools from Siassi traders, the Kilenge voyaged to the Sio area on the mainland, where they acquired two axes. Thus, by the time the Germans first contacted them, the Kilenge had already started off, albeit tentatively, on the road of change.

(Zelenietz 1980: 165-166)

This typical pattern of change, one that can be seen in the new horticulture of 5,000 - 6,000 years ago, in the introduction of the sweet potato, and in the ripple effect of missionary activity, is something that has continued into the present time. Large-scale, somewhat predictable change is coupled with severely idiosyncratic responses. Individuals and collectivities select from, modify and/or accept as is introduced technologies, ideas and goods. This is, as the Zelenietz example makes clear, a very active process. Papua New Guineans are not and they have never been passive receivers of introduced change.

The acceptance, rejection, and modification of the

formal educational system has undergone a similar pattern. If this pattern is not always predictable it is certainly recognizable. I will now move on to examine how education interacts as an institution with other important and changing social forms in Papua New Guinea. This will allow us to make sense of individual and collective choices that have been made regarding education's place in that country.

#### Historical Forces and Changed Realities

It is one of the ironies of history that New Guinea was one of the earliest island groups to be sighted by Europeans in the Pacific and one of the last to be brought under colonial control. The historian K. R. Howe (1984: 281) states that: "Some parts of Melanesia, such as areas of the New Guinea coast and some of the Solomon Islands and the New Hebrides, had been amongst the first Pacific Islands ever seen by Western explorers, in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Yet their visits had for the most part been brief and apparently left no lasting effects on island communities."

The Portuguese explorer Jorge de Meneses actually visited the northern coastline of New Guinea in 1527 (ibid: 73), just six years after Magellan (sailing on behalf of Spain) first entered the Pacific. Both Spanish and Portuguese sailors continued to sight and slowly map out the rough outlines of the island in the 16th century. Both countries claimed the large land mass, which the Spanish

Luis Vaez de Torres finally proved to be an island and not a continent by sailing through the southern passage between New Guinea and the north coast of Australia in 1605 (Kiste 1985: 29). However, neither Spain nor Portugal were interested in attempting to colonize this rough and forbidding land with its 'unfriendly' people.

In the early 1600s the Dutch entered the area. Abel Tasman, for example, sighted the tiny Vitu islands off the north coast of New Britain island in 1643 (Blythe 1978: 32). Sponsored by the Dutch United East India Company and in search of profitable trading partners, they proved to be no more interested in establishing long term relationships with the peoples of New Guinea than had the more colonizing-minded Spanish and Portuguese (ibid: 29; Howe 1984: 78).

The British and French, who dominated Pacific exploration in the 1700s, were also uninterested in colonizing the area. They were much more concerned with refining their knowledge of the coastal areas and smaller islands of New Guinea during their "scientific voyages" (Howe 1984: 81). The same Vitu islands spoken of above, for example, were surveyed in some detail by the French Antoine D'Entrecasteaux in 1793 (Blythe 1978: 32).

"By about 1800 the coastal outlines of New Guinea and the larger islands of the Solomons, the New Hebrides,

and New Caledonia were roughly marked on maps - though there were many errors and plenty of gaps. Detailed survey work went on throughout the nineteenth century" (Howe 1984: 281-282).

The Melanesian islands, of which New Guinea was the largest, remained relatively unknown except as outlines on maps at a time when the Polynesian islands and other areas of the Pacific were undergoing significant, European-influenced, social changes. Even in 1849, when the British Captain Erskine was about to leave on a new exploration of the 'western' (i.e. Melanesian) islands, he wrote: "It is a matter of surprise that a period of time which has seen the establishment of our great settlements in Australia and New Zealand, rendering a knowledge of the western groups of that ocean an object of considerable commercial and political importance, has done little to extend our general acquaintance with them, even among our neighbouring colonies" (quoted in Howe 1984: 282).

Melanesian islands such as New Guinea remained a largely unknown 'backwater' to Europeans because, unlike the Polynesian islands, Melanesia was considered to be a very unfriendly place. Melanesians had the reputation among sailors of attacking their ships on sight. Europeans generally considered them to be 'darker' and 'more primitive' than the Polynesian peoples. If Europeans had relatively little impact on the lives of the peoples of New



Guinea until the latter half of the 19th century, the reverse is not true. They entered the European imagination as a kind of black boogeyman; someone to frighten the stay-at-homes with at the end of the voyage. Cook, for example, described the people of the New Hebrides in 1774, as: "...almost black or rather a dark Chocolate Colour, Slenderly made, not tall, have Monkey faces and Woolly hair ...The people of this country are in general the most ugly and ill-proportioned of any I ever saw" (quoted in Howe 1984: 283). Howe (ibid: 283-284) summarizes the European stereotype in the following way: "In general Cook and other explorers painted a picture of the peoples of Melanesia as darker than those of Polynesia, with frizzy hair, and hostile - all characteristics that later made up the popular stereotype of a 'Melanesian'."

This stereotype has had a lasting influence on the Europeans who eventually came to work and live in New Guinea and other Melanesian islands. I frequently heard Australians involved with educational or commercial ventures in Papua New Guinea utter variations on the following theme: 'These people simply cannot be taught [Australian ways]. They're just not ready for it yet.' Underlying this thought is an implicit model of social evolution, which places Melanesians at the bottom of the scale, the one right next to the label 'most primitive'.

This stereotype, as we shall see, has had a long, undistinguished, history among missionaries, planters, prospectors and administrators in Papua New Guinea from the late 1800s until the present. It continues to be there, like an uninvited and unwelcome guest, whenever Australians and Melanesians get together - casting a shadow over the contemporary relations of these two peoples.

#### The Coming of Administration 1884-1945

The large and smaller islands of New Guinea have been divided up into various colonial territories since the 1800s. The western half of the main island (known today as Irian Jaya) came under Dutch colonial rule in 1828 and was incorporated as a part of Indonesia in 1963. This work, however, is concerned solely with the eastern half of New Guinea, the area that later came to form the country of Papua New Guinea, and it is this area that is discussed here.

Various parts of Papua New Guinea have been claimed by a succession of four different colonial powers: Britain, Germany, Japan, and Australia. This history is summarized in table 3.1 below.

Table 3.1: Colonial Administration of Papua New Guinea

<u>NEW GUINEA TERRITORY</u>		<u>PAPUA</u>	
1884-1914	German Protectorate	1884-1906	British New Guinea
1914-1921	Australian Military Rule	1906-	Australian Territory
1921-1942	Australian Mandated Territory		
1942-1945	Japanese Rule (partial)		
1945-	Australian Trust Territory		

PAPUA NEW GUINEA

1942-1945	Australian Military Rule (of areas not under Japanese control)
1945-1949	Papua-New Guinea: Joint Australian Administration of separate territories
1949-1971	Papua and New Guinea: Australian combined Administration
1972	First elected national government
1973	Self Government
1975	Papua New Guinea: Full Independence

After: Delbos, 1985: xv and Easton 1985: 137-168

Britain reluctantly annexed the southern half of the large island of New Guinea in 1884, due to Australia's concern over Germany turning the northern half of the region (including eastern islands such as New Britain) into a protectorate in the same year. Following the first world war, Australia became the main colonial power in the area, officially controlling both Papua and New Guinea until independence was achieved in 1975. This was only briefly

interrupted by Japanese incursions into parts of the country, including the island of New Britain, during the second world war.

#### Moral Education and the Labour of Civilization

Education was understood as a key to colonization in Papua New Guinea from the very beginning. Some individuals saw the two as natural extensions of each other. Dr. Christian Barth, for example, wrote in a German magazine in 1911 about the German colony of New Guinea: "For a country to show healthy progress in its development it is necessary to lift its population to a higher level, to train it. In other words, all colonisation, if understood correctly, is nothing but a certain kind of education" (Barth, in Smith 1987: 30). "Education" was often used as a metaphor for changing the minds and attitudes of indigenous peoples into a mirror of European minds and attitudes. It was assumed that Papua New Guineans needed 'new minds' in order to participate properly in the 'new economy', i.e. the colonial, cash-based economy. Education was certainly not to be limited to something that happened in schools or classrooms. Many thought that it occurred most effectively through the experience of participating in expatriate-directed labour projects. A paper published by the New Guinea Planters Association in 1928 suggested: "The only real education available to the native at present is provided in the

homes of colonists, in the workshops, on the ships, in the Christian missions and most particularly on the plantations and trading concerns of the planting community" (in Smith 1987: 122).

There were two major educational goals from the late 1800s until the end of the second world war: 1) the inculcation of Christian morality, and 2) the inculcation of Western civilization.

Missionaries saw schooling firstly as moral education and only secondly as something that might produce basic numeracy and literacy. The first school appeared in 1873 near what is now Port Moresby. Run by the London Missionary Society, the principal aim was to evangelize and to teach basic literacy to as many people as possible (Hecht 1981 75; Weeks and Guthrie 1984: 33). These were not viewed as separate goals. To a Protestant missionary, morality was achieved through literacy. A potential convert had to be able to read in order to be able to come into direct contact with the Christian God through the bible.

The London Missionary Society (LMS) was soon followed by the Methodists in the Duke of York Islands in 1875; Catholics in the Gazelle Peninsula in 1882; Lutherans in Finschhafen in 1890; and Anglicans in Milne Bay in 1892 (Weeks and Guthrie 1984: 33-34; Delbos 1985: 71). All of

these missions ran schools which shared one basic goal: to promote and produce "Christian character" in the indigenous peoples with whom they worked (Thomas 1976: 4; Hecht 1981: 76). This was a process that was to be started by European missionaries and completed by succeeding generations of indigenous Christians. Education played a major role in the intended project. Susan Hecht (1981: 77) has suggested that between 1906 and 1942 educators in Papua had as one of their principal aims the production of 'semi-literate native catechists' who could then go on to 'educate' other Papuans under the leadership of the European missions. The goal was not to produce 'educated' Papuans for positions as clerks, administrators, or agri-business managers, for such positions were reserved for expatriate workers imported into the country. Education was to be quite limited and aimed primarily at producing a docile, christianized 'native'.

Missionaries were themselves quite overt about the limitations of their educational goals. Friar Limbrock, an important missionary in German New Guinea, recorded the following observations about the mission schools he observed first hand in the late 1800s:

When the bell is sounded the children of the different villages flock to the school.... they come to the mission to learn the prayers, the catechism and be instructed in the faith. There are about sixty children coming to school every morning, some of whom are baptised already.  
(Limbrock in Smith 1987: 8).

When a London Missionary Society group toured the Pacific in 1915-16 they were interviewed and asked the question: "What do you set before yourself as the aim of LMS education?" Their answers showed remarkable uniformity.

Our first idea of secular education is to place the Word of God in the hands of the Papuan and enable him by mental training to grasp its meaning and to use it in personal study.

The aim of LMS education I take to be, first to enable every child to read the Scriptures, to train children in moral and spiritual ways, and to lead them to Christ.

(Abel and Turner in Smith 1987: 13)

While two Methodist sisters reported on their efforts to develop a school for girls in 1907 on the Gazalle Peninsula in East New Britain:

Our principal aim has been to teach the native girls to read. How thankful and glad we shall be when some of our pupils shall be able to read the Gospel! I believe, on this happy occasion, we shall forget all our troubles, all our disappointments.

(In Smith 1987: 19)

The primary aim, then, of mission education was to teach local children basic literacy so that they might learn about the authority of the Christian God. Those who were most successful in taking on the mantle of a 'Christian character' might themselves, in time, go on to become teachers of the Gospel. Included in these first educational efforts was an informal teacher-training

program, whereby particularly talented indigenous pupils could come to teach catechism under the direction of European-led missions.

A secondary, but very important, goal of mission-led education was promoted under the cover term "civilisation". Colonial administrators and missionaries responsible for education genuinely felt that one of their principal aims was to 'civilize' Papua New Guineans through Christian education and Western-style participation in the work-force. This goal was strongly tied to the stereotype, discussed earlier in the chapter, of the "primitive" Melanesian. The 'backward', 'lazy', 'amoral' Papua New Guinean was played off against the 'energetic', 'progressive', Christian colonialist. Chales Abel, an LMS missionary, wrote about mission work in the 1890s:

First, I should tell you that a lazy man - and the Papuan reduced to gardening and fishing would be a very lazy man - can never be a strong man. He can never be a strong Christian. Then again, God requires every man, a Papuan as well as an Englishman, to put his life to the best possible use.

(Abel in Smith 1987: 47)

The 1908/09 Papua Annual Report registers the sharp words of a resident magistrate who was angered by the difficulty of recruiting labour at Kerema station:

Nowhere in Papua, I venture to say, will you find a more lazy, indolent set of male natives than in these villages. With them Laziness is carried to a fine art and their chief and only occupation is dancing.... The Dubus (club houses) are filled with growing young men, who are fed by the



village and spend their days painted and frilled, strutting around the village exhibiting themselves to the admiration of the young females....

(In Lacey 1983: 36)

W. C. Groves, who was the first teacher appointed to what was then a new elementary school at Kokopo, and who was to serve later as Director of Education for the country, wrote a report to the Director of District Services in 1923 in which he outlined what he called 'the native mind':

The love of stories with local colour, the desire for expression through song or hand, the naivete of the native's method of approach and of explanation, his simplicity and lack of subtlety, his desire to advance if stimulated, his moods of depression and mental apathy, his mental limitations in terms of time, his innate love of play, his intense pride and susceptibility to insult, his unerring faith in the master and efforts to please him....

(Groves in Smith 1987: 100)

Although, as these quotations show, there were certainly differences in the attitudes of expatriates, all expressed considerable paternalism towards Papua New Guineans and suggested a basic 'lack' of ability to 'think like an Australian'. Missionaries, planters, administrators, and other members of the expatriate community generally agreed that the best possible way to 'civilize' the 'Melanesian' was to recruit him as labour in expatriate owned enterprises. This was the 'true education', the lesson that could eventually teach Papua New Guineans to be 'just like Australians.' Or as close as

they were thought to be able to come to that lofty ideal.

Notions of the 'native mind' often became ideas about 'primitive mentality'. This phrase was used to negatively stereotype local people who desired to be left alone to continue a life of 'traditional' ways (i.e. a life defined by the Papua New Guinean and for the Papua New Guinean, without reference to the desires of Australians or other expatriates). In 1985, Georges Delbos characterized what he saw as the 'primitive mentality' faced by the missionaries who entered Papua New Guinea one hundred years ago. According to him, these people had:

A primitive mentality, at the stone age level, subject to the constraints of animism and ancestor worship, choked by the yoke of tribal structures and customs. A psychosis of permanent fear, of the stranger, even of the nearest tribe, and especially of the sorcerer and of the avenging spirits haunting certain places.

(Delbos 1985: 3)

As this quotation suggests, the stereotype of the Melanesian, one that began with the first European voyagers to enter the region, remains strong today among religious commentators. Certainly this stereotype has always been a part of missionary efforts in education.

As well as training their elite students to be catechists, missionaries also had an interest in encouraging their students to participate in the paid work force. Basic literacy was handy for more than reading the bible; it enabled at least some labourers to sign their own

names to contracts for indentured labour (or even to act as recruiters and sign others up from one's village or home area). There was some understanding among mission educators that part of their goal included the preparation of Papua New Guineans for service as soldiers, police, and as mine and plantation labourers in commercial enterprises (Lancy 1979: 1; Pomponio and Lancy 1986: 41).

The main demand for labour came from expatriate plantation and mining operations; the former especially prevalent in German and later Australian New Guinea and the latter in Papua. We can see considerable continuity in labour demands from the late 1800s until the second world war. In New Guinea Territory, for example,:

The old German priorities were maintained by the Australians: business first, and all else afterwards. Every aspect of the Australian presence in New Guinea reflected these priorities. The extension of control was guided by the quest for labour and gold, just as in German times the lures had been labour and copra. (Griffin, Nelson and Firth 1979: 54)

Until the second world war, many Papua New Guineans experienced colonialism most directly by signing a work contract that obligated them to work for an expatriate concern for an extended period of years. Rod Lacey (1983: 1) feels that "...labour recruitment in many instances became the cutting edge of an expanding colonial system: the pressures and needs for labourers pushed the colonial frontier further and further afield." From the early 1900s

on, the imposition of head taxes was often used by colonial administrations to force people into the cash economy (Willis 1974: 44; Lacey 1983: 4). The cash needed to pay taxes was often earned by labouring for an expatriate employer. People from coastal areas and some of the small islands experienced labour recruitment from the late 1800s onward (e.g. see Blythe 1978: 32-33 for the Vitus Islands of West New Britain). Recruiters pushed further and further into the interiors as the 1900s progressed and resistance to labour in the older areas increased.

The work Papua New Guineans were called upon to do was generally physically demanding, monotonous and poorly paid. In New Guinea Territory, for example, the administration limited the maximum wage to 10s (shillings) per month until 1933, on the grounds that 'natives' should not be encouraged to "fritter away their money" (Griffin, et.al. 1979: 54). Cheap and obedient labour was needed by the plantation owners and gold miners in the expanding economy of the early 1900s. Thousands of nationals experienced 'development' largely by acting as unskilled or semi-skilled labour during this period. In the New Guinea Territory the number of New Guineans who worked under indentured contracts grew from 17,500 in 1914 to over 41,000 in 1939 (ibid.: 54). This was out of an estimated

population of 600,000 people. In Papua, 20,000 out of an enumerated population of 200,000 were working away from home on contracts in 1939 (Lacey 1983: 1).

This trend in labour recruitment for the benefit of expatriate owned enterprises was not something particular to Papua New Guinea, but rather something that was part of a world-wide pattern of expansion into the tropics from the mid-19th century onward by Western economic interests. The point was to engage "... in the production and extraction of local raw materials and commodities for export to and use in the industrializing economies of Europe and America. What occurred in the foreign enclaves of Papua New Guinea was part of a world-wide movement and in economic terms no different from what happened in Asia, Africa, or the Americas" (Lacey 1983: 48; also see Wolf 1982).

This process, however, had effects that were specific to Papua New Guinea. Some areas of the country were quite differently affected than other areas, differences that have influenced both educational and employment structures in modern Papua New Guinea. Alice Pomponio and David Lancy (1986: 41) have noted that prior to 1950, "Coastal areas of the country had a fairly long history of exposure to schooling, missions, and wage employment. Economic development in rural villages was ignored, however, and in the interior the vast majority of the population experienced none of these changes."

Rod Lacey (1983) has characterized this as "enclave" development. Plantation and mining centres were set up by expatriates for their own profit and convenience; labourers were brought in from the surrounding areas or from more distant regions as they were needed. Areas such as Milne Bay from 1910, and the Gazelle Peninsula in East New Britain from 1920 experienced extensive labour use and recruitment (Lacey 1983: 8, 13). In the early part of the 1900s New Ireland and Milne Bay faced the highest proportion of labour recruitment because of expatriate enterprises; while in the 1930s and 1940s 'newly' opened areas in the Sepik, Morobe, and West New Britain were supplying gold mining operations in the highlands and East New Britain plantations in New Ireland with large numbers of indentured workers (ibid.: 8-14).

Not all workers experienced their work contracts in the same way. Some, for example, worked close to home while others had to travel to and live many kilometers away from home for extended periods of time. In the 1910-1920 period, work contracts were so common in the island of New Ireland that Raymond Firth was able to state: "One seventh of the entire population of New Ireland was working for the expatriates in 1913 .... Work on contract had become an accepted part of New Ireland life for many people of both sexes, based on a tradition which in many villages pre-

dated the Germans" (Firth in Lacey, 1983: 5). In contrast, a large proportion of the over 5,000 labourers from (East and West) New Britain who were working in the Gazelle area in 1933 were many kilometers from their home villages (Lacey 1983: 14). The normal labour pattern for these people was to work for several years, then return to their home areas. This pattern of spending years away from home labouring in an expatriate owned plantation, mine or other commercial enterprise (especially pursued by young men), helped bring cash, new technology, and new ideas into relatively 'undeveloped' areas such as West New Britain. As the cash economy moved into these newer areas, as it did for example with copra production in the Talasea area and palm oil production in the Kimbe-Hoskins-Bialla area of West New Britain, a labour force already existed that had some experience with wage labour. This force could be drawn upon when needed. There was, however, another side to this exposure: rising expectations. Experiences in the cash economy also brought a desire to appropriate the 'good things' (cargo) that Europeans had brought into the country. For the first time Papua New Guineans began to gain access to foreign goods in a substantial way. A Sepik man, from the perspective of an older adult in the 1970s, described his initial reaction to being exposed to European goods when he laboured as a young teenager in Kavieng:

When I came out of the bush I was like a fool. When I saw how the whiteman lived my head went around. I saw their houses. When I became a servant I thought all these things were good. I saw the stores too. I was amazed at the things in them. The knives and clothes and all the different sorts of food. I thought this was good too.

(Misiyaiyai in Lacey 1983: 15)

One of the most important effects of labour recruitment between the 1880s and 1940s was that it introduced Papua New Guineans to a much wider social and cultural world than they had previously known. Hank Nelson (1976: 269) points out that the goldmining industry, for example, caused thousands of nationals to travel far beyond any regions they had experience before. The same can be said for plantation work. Identities became both blurred and more particular. These early beginnings sowed the seeds of a slowly emerging national identity: a sense that there was something out there, far beyond the village, that was nevertheless a part of village life. However, at the same time, it also made people much more aware of local differences.

...young men, through their relations with other ethnic groups, took the opportunity to build stereotype 'tribal' pictures about new groups. The growth of these perceptions about close and distant neighbours, and the dividing of the country into 'tribal' blocs was one of the most permanent legacies of contract labour.

(Lacey 1983: 20)

Christian education played an important role in this identity-building process as well. A vaguely shared



Christianity, especially felt if one belonged to the same denomination with fellow workers from different villages, helped give labourers a sense of inter-group relationships that potentially extended far beyond the local area.

The (self-limited) goals of mission education were strongly tied to the emerging economic and employment picture in the first half of this century in Papua New Guinea. Administrators, missionaries, and expatriate employers did not always agree on education and employment policy for the territories. Colonial administrators from Australia, for example, generally encouraged the development of plantations but they did not want to see nationals become 'work slaves' to Australians or other expatriates. The Administrator Murray was quite adamant when he spoke on the issue in 1920: "If the whole race can hope for nothing better than to be, till the end of time, hewers of wood and drawers of water for European settlers, I do not think they will have much cause to be grateful to the democracy of Australia" (Murray in Griffin, et.al. 1979: 27.

Missionaries and expatriate employers, for very different reasons, generally united together to fight any administration schemes to extend education into secondary and tertiary schooling. In 1929, for example, seven young men from the Rabaul area (Gazelle Peninsula) were selected

by the administration to go to Queensland, Australia for advanced education.

They were to become the first properly trained New Guinean teachers in government schools and the administration hoped that more might follow them. But after the Citizen's Association protested, the Administrator dropped the plan. These Australian Citizen's correctly suspected that education was revolutionary; once educated, the New Guinean would no longer be the manageable unit of labour he was.

(Griffin, et.al. 1979: 55)

This attitude of basic opposition to the advanced education of nationals is still present today among some members of the expatriate community in Papua New Guinea. Expatriate plantation managers in the Kimbe area indicated to me, after considerable probing on my part, that they would just as soon see the vast majority of Papua New Guineans receive no schooling at all. On a practical level, they did their best to see that few 'educated' nationals were hired for plantation work. These individuals, it seems, are "much more likely to cause trouble" than non-educated workers, to directly question the directives of their expatriate bosses and to be more aware of wage and other labour laws. They are, in their terms, 'bush lawyers' who know entirely too much about the laws governing labour conditions.

Missionaries, for their part, fiercely resisted expanding schooling beyond the primary level or creating centralized educational standards. One good example of

this was their insistence on conducting schooling in the local vernacular rather than in English, Tok Pisin, or Motu. The British and Australian colonial administrations encouraged the use of English as the language of classroom instruction from the very beginning. Sir William MacGregor, the Lieutenant Governor for British New Guinea, wrote in the 1895-1896 Annual Report about Methodist missions:

The weak point in the teaching of this mission - from an administrative point of view - was that English did not receive so much attention as was desirable....If this is ever to become an English-speaking country, now is the time to encourage the use of that language, and in this the missions could undoubtedly lend very valuable assistance.

...To native young men engaging to work for Europeans some knowledge of English is of such value that it is impossible to think secular education imparted to them without an acquaintance with English is but of little or no advantage.

(MacGregor in Smith 1987: 39-40)

Yet as late as 1952-53, after the two territories had been amalgamated into one administrative unit, only 21,000 out of a total of 126,410 students in mission schools were being taught in English. Resistance to abandoning vernacular education remained strong for many years among mission educators.

One probable reason for this was the fierce competition between the various mission groups for the souls of Papua New Guineans. As long as local schooling was conducted in local languages, those who were most

likely to be able to direct this process would continue to be members of mission groups with a long history of involvement in particular areas. New groups who wished to move into a specific area were faced with a tremendous time lag before they too could provide vernacular education.

Schooling in the vernacular also ensured that local people became literate only in their own language. This meant that the local mission agency had control, through translation, of reading material. The bible and religious tracts were made readily available, but secular material that was deemed by the missions to be 'dangerous' for nationals to read was simply not translated and therefore not available for reading. Missionaries wanted a new Christian character to replace the 'primitive mentality' and they did not want newly literate Papua New Guineans reading material that might 'contaminate' them with secular ideas or with ideas that might prove to be 'too much' for 'local minds.' This of course dovetails very nicely with the notion that Papua New Guineans should not be provided with 'too much' education in the form of secondary or tertiary schooling.

It is useful to remember that the dominant colonial power in the 1880-1945 period, Australia, had itself been a colony of Britain. This fact was partially responsible for the reluctance of successive governments to invest too much

capital in the development of Papua New Guinea; capital that was sorely needed at home in Australia to develop what was still essentially a frontier economy. As an exporter of raw resources to Britain, for example, Australia had little interest in developing Papua New Guinea's capacity as a raw resource export competitor (Good 1986: 23).

During the 1880-1945 period, expatriate - mainly Australian - planters, miners, and retailers (such as Burns Philp) began to gain structural control over an emerging non-traditional economy. Nationals who wished to participate in this economy usually found it necessary to serve expatriate interests as part of a raw labour resource. Colonial administrations created the essential conditions for expatriate control of the cash economy, even as it attempted to pass fairer labour and wage laws. The historian Ian Downs (1980: xviii) suggests that "...toleration for dual development and the impracticality of attempting to create a modern economy on the basis of a Melanesian system allowed expatriates to take control of the economy of the country."

One sign of this control could be seen in the population profile of the earliest Papua New Guinean towns, sites that formed the basis for the largest urban centres today (e.g. Port Moresby, Lae, Rabaul). Nationals were generally excluded from participation in town life prior to

the second world war.

Established by and for colonial agents, they initially were small European outposts with a sprinkling of native servants, who usually lived in surrounding villages or barracks outside municipal boundaries.

The overall impression one gets of pre-war urban areas is that they were not places for natives. A few indigenous people were allowed in them, mainly as servants or manual workers, but they were restricted as much as possible in what was essentially a European social environment.

(Levine and Levine 1979: 15-16)

Towns symbolically recreated the wider structures of economic life in both Papua and New Guinea. A new and very powerful economic force based on wage labour, external trade, and cash as a medium of exchange was becoming established. An increasing number of nationals wanted to participate in this economy, although this did not necessarily imply a desire to abandon traditional ways of living. Unlike the Australians, few Papua New Guineans saw this as an either/or situation. This attitude, in the form of a desire to be a part of the 'modern' and 'traditional' world at one and the same time, has continued into the present time. Before World War II, however, official and private expatriate forces in the forms of administrators, settlers and missionaries combined to limit and control the participation of nationals in the new economy and in the emerging urban centres.

This was just as true for educational

participation. Nationals were expected to be docile, obedient and willing students for their missionary teachers. The twin goals of religious conversion and civilisation through the values of a European-style work-ethic constituted the open curriculum of the Papua New Guinean educational system until the Second World War. By 'open curriculum', I mean goals that were openly and overtly spoken of by mission educators, both as policy and in the classrooms themselves. It was this moral education that formed the backbone of what could be referred to as the 'pedagogic authority' of mission schools (see Bourdieu and Passeron 1977: 12-29). Pedagogic authority refers to authority invested in the position of the teacher and in the school itself; an authority that is meant to invoke unquestioning obedience and acceptance of whatever cultural values are being presented as 'knowledge' in the curriculum. In the mission schools of Papua New Guinea this 'authority' was normally backed up by the threat of corporal punishment. As early as 1877 W. G. Lawe remarked in his Journal about the methods employed in the Port Moresby area school that:

They know the letters perfectly, many of them can read syllables readily and some know the words on their school card, but these last only know them parrot fashion and from their position on their card... but in this school it is not 'Reading Made Easy'. The teacher shouts and storms, scolds and whacks the desk with his stick, until the little mortals are frightened out of their wits. (Lawe in Smith 1987: 18)

Although Lawe was himself rather disapproving of this pedagogic method, violence or the threat of violence formed a normal part of the teaching methods in most mission schools. This trend has also carried over into the later secular and government controlled schools system of the post-World War II period.

Corporal punishment is against official educational policy today and teachers have been disciplined by provincial educational authorities in West New Britain and other provinces for breaking this rule. Nevertheless, I witnessed a number of occasions when teachers used the threat of physical violence to retain control in the classroom. In the 1960s and 1970s open physical punishment for relatively minor infractions of the rules was still common. Peter, a twenty-three year-old friend of mine, recounted to me how he had been punished as a young boy for misbehaving in a mission-run community school in the government educational system in West New Britain.

One time we just climbed this tree....This teacher came across. We were climbing this tree, I don't know, playing. He called us, and told us to put our hands on the edge of the concrete. And then he got a big rock and started (Peter laughs)...Yeah, cracking us!

Me: Really?

Yeah!

Me: For climbing a tree!



Yeah! And that same bloke ... same fellow, he's from Rabaul. One time in class he used the ruler, you know. He told me that, one of my cousins, [he told me] that he used the ruler on the hands, and you know, cut him ... blood coming out.

Me: Yeah, I noticed that teachers like to walk around with rulers even now, they still like to - but they don't hit very often, they threaten with them a lot though. They're not allowed to do it very much anymore, but they still do it though.

A different form of control can be gained through the power of speech. Teachers spoke openly about the 'evilness' of traditional lifeways and the 'goodness' of the European based value system. This missionary belief was often acted upon and children were separated from their parents in order to board them at the school 'for their own good.' Charles Abel, from the London Missionary Society, spoke in the late 1800s about the 'need' to separate children from their parents:

No boy could be brought up in the evil atmosphere of a Papuan village without becoming a heathen like his parents. ...It was therefore one of the first laws we made, that no child should be allowed to join our little community unless he was prepared to remain with us until we considered his education complete; and his education meant much more than reading and arithmetic. ...We put ourselves in the place of Christian parents to them, and just as your father and mother would shield you from mixing with evil companions, so we acted towards our large Papuan family.

(Abel in Smith 1987: 15)

The Lutheran missionary Johann Flierl, writing in the 1920s, expressed similar sentiments:

It is the greatest importance to train the character of the natives. ...They must see the low level on which they are living and must be taught to raise themselves to a state worthy of human beings. But to train and educate the natives will only be possible when and where they have cast aside their pagan ideas ...as long as they cling to the old ideas there is no possibility of elevating them.

(Flierl in Smith 1987: 106)

Again, we see the idea that 'the native' is on a lower evolutionary scale than European missionaries, and must be 'brought along' this scale by destroying the things that make traditional life most worth living - 'pagan ideas' about the way life should be lived. As I will show in the next chapter, this voice has not disappeared from the teacher's repertoire - despite the fact that only indigenous people are allowed to be community school teachers in contemporary Papua New Guinea. There remains a subtle, 'hidden' message in much classroom teaching that the old ways of life are inferior to a newer way that receives its grounding in an emerging urban-based value system.

Europeans were, however, not able to gain control of education without a struggle. Because moral education was so open and overt, many nationals resisted 'education' for their children at the hands of the missionaries. Hank Nelson, for example, describes the situation at a London Missionary Society school in the early 1900s:

...by 1910 there were 191 pupils on the rolls of the two schools...Attendance was irregular, perhaps because the students and their parents saw little use in prolonged studies which gave no advantage except enabling a scholar to say a few words in English and read four gospels of the New Testament translated into a language which foreigners thought was Toaripi.

(Nelson 1976: 233)

Very poor attendance was such a common method of expressing dissatisfaction with the teachings of the missionaries that successive administrations were forced to pass increasingly strict laws to enforce school attendance. This changed to a considerable extent after World War II, when Papua New Guineans began to demand the education that they viewed as the primary road to a job in the cash economy. This transition will be discussed in more detail in the next section of the chapter.

Between 1880 and 1945, the externally controlled moral economy of Papua New Guinea, in the form of a primarily mission-run school system, mirrored the emerging cash economy. Schooling was aimed at producing new Christians with 'good character' and 'good work habits'. Although there was considerable resistance to this in specific villages by particular groups of people, school was becoming established as a structural outgrowth of mission activity in the territories. This structure would form, along with the cash/traditional economy nexus and a parliamentary government/bureaucracy, one of the three pillars of an independent nation.

In combination, the newly emerging structures of education and the cash economy also planted the seeds for new kinds of social and economic inequality. To begin with, schools helped produce a new kind of occupation in the village: the teacher/evangelist. "The teachers and evangelists were a new class within village society, a group that did not tend gardens, fish, hunt or build like other villagers. The idea of a specialized elite - canoe builders, navigators, sorcerers - had existed within the traditional society, but the existence of a class which produced no material goods was novel" (Willis 1974: 58). This exposure likely played a role in the acceptance, by at least some parents, of their children going on to train for other "non-productive" roles: as teachers, government workers, clerks, and so on.

Mission education and the enclave economy also contributed to increasing disparities between different regions of the country. Historically, coastal peoples had significantly earlier and more extensive contact with explorers, expatriate settlers, educators, and other representatives of European derived societies. One example of this is that many of the educated elite in contemporary Papua New Guinea have come from the Gazelle Peninsula in Eastern New Britain, from Milne Bay, and other areas with long histories of colonial involvement (Weeks and Guthrie,

1984: 33; Pomponio and Lancy 1986: 41).

Over time, these historical discrepancies have become naturalized by many nationals and expatriates and are now often thought of as 'abilities'. The Tolai people from the Gazelle Peninsula, for example, have the oldest school system in either territory (Downs 1980: 31). They also supply a disproportionate number of political and business leaders to Papua New Guinea. In a similar way, Manus Islanders (Carrier 1984) manage to turn a long history of educational opportunity into an investment vehicle whereby they 'export' teachers to other parts of the country from their islands. Neither these people nor others generally speak of their use of education for gaining entry into the cash economy as something predicated on their historical and geographical circumstances. Rather, this process becomes naturalized in statements such as: "These Tolais must be the smartest people in the country", or "Students from the Manus Islands are so much smarter than other students, no wonder so many of them get into high school and university."

The other side of this dominating educational position comes in the form of resentment. Returning home from a local dance at night which was attended primarily by high school students I witnessed an outbreak of this resentment. A fight began between a mildly intoxicated Nakanai boy from the local area and a Tolai student. While

they were fighting, the Nakanai boy yelled at the Tolai, loud enough for everyone in the vicinity to hear, "Fucking Tolais, think they're so smart!" Several boys watching the fight offered their verbal agreement and encouraged him to hit the Tolai harder. This too is a naturalized sentiment, a reversal of the ones expressed above and suggesting that Tolai's are an arrogant, dominating people that 'need to be taught a lesson'. Like contract labour, education has helped form both positive and negative stereotypes of 'us' versus 'them' in the country; stereotypes used to 'explain' and rail against increasingly unequal access to education and employment.

#### Towards Independence: 1945-1975

Two major trends emerged in the 1945-1975 period (Weeks and Guthrie 1984: 35-36; Smith 1985: 49). From 1945 to 1960, a policy of educational 'gradualism' prevailed. The main goal during this time was to promote and expand primary education and basic literacy for as many Papua New Guineans as possible. The Australian administration attempted to guard against the emergence of an 'educated elite', whereby a small minority of Papua New Guineans would receive secondary and tertiary education while the vast majority had access to only a few years of primary schooling. As the 1960s progressed, however, this policy was reversed. Emphasis was shifted from primary to

secondary and eventually tertiary education as the means for producing a national elite capable of assuming the governing functions of an independent country. This shift in priorities reflected a changing perception of Papua New Guinea by Australians, the emergence of new employment opportunities for indigenous people, and demands made by Papua New Guinean parents for 'development' through education.

Gradualism: 1945-1960

World War II contributed towards substantial changes in the relationship between expatriates and nationals. During the war, nationals moved in and out of the towns as war labour, experiencing the cash economy and consumer goods on a previously unimagined scale (Levine and Levine 1979: 16). At the height of recruitment, 55,000 Papua New Guineans were officially 'signed on' as labour in the Australian war effort (Griffin, et. al. 1979: 96). This formed the beginning of substantial attitude changes on the part of nationals, new attitudes that were not always gracefully accepted by the expatriate population. Many were slow, for example, to accept Papua New Guineans into town life - a life previously reserved for members of the expatriate community. One sign of this non-acceptance was the fact that nationals were not even included as part of town census figures until 1966 (Levine and Levine 1979: 17). Reluctantly or not, the war changed the *masta-boi*

relationship forever: "Too many Papua New Guineans had known other sorts of relationships and they had seen foreigners in situations where they were clearly not superior; and many of the foreigners arriving after 1945 did not want to support the values of the 1930s" (Griffin, et. al. 1979: 99).

Many Australians felt that they owed a debt of thanks to Papua New Guineans at the close of the war. This led to what came to be known as a 'new deal' for the country. As Australia assumed joint control of both territories under a United Nations charter in 1946, they prepared to pour substantial sums of money into the development of the cash economy. Between 1945-1950, for example, the Australian government supplied the Territory with a direct subsidy of 13 million pounds. This could be compared to the 212,000 pounds they put into the country between 1936-1941 (Griffin, et. al. 1979: 102). Altogether, Australia provided \$ 1,685 million Australian dollars in aid to Papua New Guinea during the period 1945-1975 (Downs 1980: 13). At the time of independence in 1975, aid from Australia accounted for 44% of the total government budget for the country (Weeks and Guthrie 1984: 29).

Of most immediate concern to many Papua New Guineans after the war were the 'compensations' to which



they felt themselves entitled for war damages in their local areas. The Australians pushed through and distributed a compensation package very quickly, but it did not lead to the kind of reputation for generosity many expatriates had expected. "Few Europeans realised that many Papua New Guineans were disappointed with the amount of compensation, that 5 [pounds] for a lost pig and 20 [pounds] for a dead son seemed small after the experience of western military wealth during the war, of riding in army trucks and cars, eating army rations and seeing vast military encampments built within weeks" (Griffin, et. al. 1979: 107). This would prove to be only one of a long line of disappointments for nationals during the next few decades under the 'new deal'. Others soon followed in the areas of education and opportunities for employment in the cash economy.

Although there was considerable popular support for the 'new deal' at home in Australia, expatriates who returned to Papua New Guinea to take up their old plantations and other business interests were not as supportive of it. Many predicted ruin because of changes that were being made concerning indentured labour contracts. To begin with, all existing labour agreements were terminated. New contracts were not to be enforceable under the old regulations; under which government agents acted as enforcers, with the threat of a prison term for

those who 'ran away' before the contract period expired (Downs 1980: 15). The new administrator of the combined Territories (1945-1952), J. K. Murray, was determined to put Papua New Guineans first and expatriates second and to turn nationals into independent export producers. In 1945 an expatriate 'correspondent' for Pacific Islands Monthly summed up what seemed to be the attitudes of many expatriates towards the ideas of the new administration: "In the view of Wardism [Ward was the Australian Minister for External Affairs] it is much more important that Fuzzy-Wuzzy shall be sent singing across the Kunai ridges, than that gold shall be dug out of the Bulolo and the Watut" (Griffin, et. al. 1979: 103).

Despite the personal views of Ward and Murray, expatriates were in no real danger of losing control over the post-war cash economy. The new employment policies may have made it more attractive to work for expatriate employers, but they did nothing to help nationals begin to produce independently for the export market (Downs 1980: 38, 42). A 'dual economy' developed in the country. This process was fueled by the rapid return of expatriate planters, miners and missionaries who desired to continue their pre-war domination of the cash-economy and their relegation of nationals to employed labour and their own subsistence economies. The administration "...tried to

provide each returning planter with a load of stores in one of its trawlers or barges, which would include a jeep or army weapons carrier, a truck, a portable tank shelter, twenty sheets of galvanized roofing iron for drinking water catchment and \$(A) 2,000 worth of consumer goods and copra sacks" (ibid.: 27). The extent of monetary support for returning expatriates, when compared to the 'compensation' offered to Papua New Guineans for war damages, clearly expresses Australia's ongoing commitment to a 'dual economy'.

Kenneth Good (1986: 12) suggests that when Australia encouraged what he calls 'peasant commodity production' immediately after the war, it ensured that economic divisions within the country would deepen with time. Australian interests lay in establishing an economy that would complement rather than compete against their own. This meant concentrating on agricultural commodities such as copra (and later coffee and palm oil), as well as the development of mining and timber resources (Downs 1980: 32, 72). Papua New Guineans were supposed to learn how to build a place for themselves in the new economy by watching and emulating the 'model' provided by their expatriate employers. This idea was widely supported at the time, not only among resident expatriates but also by the U. N. observers who were responsible for supervising Australia's performance as a 'trust' administration. In

the 1950s, "U. N. visiting missions, press observers and, later, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development all supported the importance of European initiatives to develop new crops and natural resources on behalf of developing nations" (Downs 1980: 32). Nothing was said by these sources about the capital that would be needed if individuals or groups of Papua New Guineans wished to follow the Australians' lead into the cash economy as owners rather than employees.

Percy Spender, who replaced Ward as Australian Minister for External Affairs in 1950, was overt about his intentions of having an Australian-dominated economy in Papua New Guinea. He argued that it was in the 'best interests' of Papua New Guineans to encourage more Australian individuals and companies to settle and invest in their country. Private enterprise was to lead the way in developing industries and services, gradually bringing to Papua New Guinea a 'modern' cash-based economy (Griffin, et. al. 1979: 123). Private enterprise, of course, was expected to remain in the hands of Australians - at least for the immediate future.

The dual economy was mirrored by the development of a dual educational system - a system that was brought increasingly under the control of the government in the post-war period.

At the outset of the war there were only six administration schools in the country (which were primarily for expatriate children), with a total enrollment of approximately 500 pupils (Hecht 1981: 79). This could be compared with the 65,000 - 80,000 students who were estimated to be attending mission schools

Papua New Guinea's first Director of Education, W. C. Groves, had to begin from scratch in developing a government school system. Despite the educational endeavours of the missions, 95% of Papua New Guineans remained illiterate after the war.

(Griffin, et. al. 1979: 106)

When Groves took over as director in 1946, he inherited a thirty-five year education plan that had been drawn up by anthropologist Camilla Wedgewood that suggested, among other things, that missions should be totally phased out of the educational process as soon as it proved possible to do so. A first, tentative, step toward that goal came with the Papua New Guinea Administration Act in 1945-46, which stated that education was to be 'controlled and directed by the administration' (Hecht 1981: 80; Meek 1982: 55).

If the pre-war period can be said to have been dominated by moral education, then the post-war period is probably best characterised by a shift towards the provision of a secular education. A report on the universalization of primary education by the Department of Education (1983: 16), suggests that during the late 1940s

the government established a department of education partly in order to 'encourage' missions to move more towards a 'parallel' schooling system. Practical encouragement also came in the form of grants-in-aid. A series of meetings were held in the early 1950s between representatives of the Administration, the government in Australia and missions to try and hammer out ways mission and government schooling priorities could become more coordinated with each other (Hecht 1981: 81). If the carrot in this arrangement consisted of the grants-in-aid for mission-run school systems, the stick came in the form of the government's ability to legislate educational ordinances forcing cooperation. Yet the churches, for their part, had the luxury of knowing that the only educational systems that could be said to exist at the time were their own. The government could legislate rules, but it could not replace the mission schools without decades of effort and huge financial outlays. In 1951 fewer than 3,000 students were in government-run schools, while over 100,000 were enrolled in mission schools (Downs 1980: 50). Clearly, the government had to be careful in proceeding to bring the system under their control.

The 1952 Education Ordinance reflected both Administration and mission interests. The new Administrator for the Territory, Paul Hasluck, was

determined to greatly expand the number of government schools, exert more control over mission school programmes, and encourage English as the primary language of instruction (Downs 1980: 100). The Act therefore established an agreement among the systems to work towards a standardized curriculum and examinations (Hecht 1981: 82; Dept. of Education 1985: 1). In return for their cooperation, the Administration agreed to help the missions financially and with facilities for training teachers.

The latter point was an important one, due to the chronic shortage of properly trained teachers in mission schools. From 1945 - 1950 the Administration had provided training for only thirteen indigenous teachers and continued to rely primarily on pre-war trained teachers who often needed to upgrade their skills to cope with the new situation (Downs 1980: 77). Expatriate teachers dominated the profession well into the 1960s in Papua New Guinea, although increasingly more nationals received training during the 1950s and 1960s.

In the early 1950s most of the Administration's efforts were still being directed towards the educational needs of expatriate children (Griffin, et. al. 1979: 106), leaving the education of Papua New Guineans largely up to the missions. Most of the government schools that existed were located in urban centres, which greatly contributed to the problem.

Members of the expatriate community tended to be considerably more tolerant of government expenditures on 'native health' than education. Certainly, they had every intention of ensuring that education for nationals remained limited to primary schools. When a scheme was launched by the government to send a few gifted students to Australia, a number of expatriates objected: "Some members of the Legislature Council denounced the scheme ...claiming that it was premature and that the returning students would be misfits and radicals; and white residents in 1950 persuaded the Minister to abandon plans to establish a multi-racial high school system in the Territories" (Griffin, et. al. 1979: 126).

Expatriates were still alarmed, as they had been before the war, about what might happen to their supply of unskilled and semi-skilled labour if Papua New Guineans became too 'educated'. In many ways, the general shortage of men willing to work for expatriate concerns was the single biggest problem facing the post-war Administration (Downs 1980: 26). The Administration needed labour to rebuild the bombed-out towns and private interests needed it to rebuild their plantations and other ventures in the country. Ending the indenture system and cancelling all existing contracts had added greatly to the labour shortage problem.



At the same time, Papua New Guineans were becoming much more sophisticated about labour contracts. Tens of thousands gained extensive work experience as part of the war economy and traveled widely within the country. Along the Papuan Coast, for example, "...in 1940 there were some groups ...that rarely saw a man go away to work, by 1945 all fit men had been labourers or soldiers. Many had traveled beyond Papua, and they had seen stranger sights and encountered thousands more foreigners than those men who worked as domestic servants or plantation labourers before the war" (Griffin, et. al. 1979: 93).

As I mention earlier in this chapter, the administration tried to give Papua New Guineans a better economic deal after the war, but "Warnings that a share of natural resources such as minerals, forests and fisheries should be kept for the people were not enough. Geological surveys and surveys of forest resources were taking place preparatory to mineral and timber leases being offered under tender systems designed for expatriate rather than indigenous exploitation" (Downs 1980 43). This virtually guaranteed that nationals would only be able to enter the resource exploitation business as labourers, reserving ownership privileges for the expatriate population and outside business firms.

By 1950, the only important cash economy business with substantial Papua New Guinean involvement (mainly as

smallholders) was the copra industry (Downs 1980: 33). This would soon change. From 1950 onward, the Australian Administration began to encourage widespread participation of nationals as independent producers of agricultural commodities for export (Good 1986: 24-25). Coffee and cocoa, which did not compete with Australian agricultural products, were especially encouraged. In the Gazelle Peninsula, for example, the Tolai increased their cocoa production from a few hundred trees prior to World War II, to almost three million trees by 1960. Coffee production among indigenous growers took rapid hold in the eastern Highlands: with the known acreage of production going from 325 in 1955 to 563 in 1958 and 1,193 in 1959.

During the 1950s, a basic assumption was being made by the administration that all Papua New Guineans wanted to become 'peasant farmers' (Downs 1980: 31). Up until 1952, efforts had been made to develop co-operative production units, but after that time the very unsuccessful 'co-ops' were allowed to die out and all efforts were directed towards encouraging individuals to become independent producers *within* an expatriate-led economy (Griffin, et. al. 1979: 110).

Only a very few Papua New Guineans, however, would be able to follow this route to independent production in the 1950s. Most lacked the capital to make such a venture

work, as well as the basic education that would allow them to learn rudimentary business skills such as accounting with which to run their agricultural enterprises. During this period local 'development' continued to exist mainly in the form of employment for wages (Downs 1980: 31). While employment continued to be limited to relatively few Papua New Guineans and involve primarily unskilled labour hired by expatriate interests. In 1953, only 3.8% of the estimated population of 1,536,273 were engaged in wage employment; 42,897 of these 57,868 workers were general labourers, rather than skilled or semi-skilled workers (Smith 1985: 51).

The administration wanted to expand education as a way of addressing this problem. It was hoped that this could help produce a more skilled workforce. "Hasluck in 1956 wrote that it [primary education] would train indigenous people to become clerks, medical orderlies, nurses, teachers, drivers, carpenters, mechanics, machine operators, and storemen..." (ibid.: 52-53). It was during the primary school expansion of the 1950s that parents began to make a causal connection between education and employment opportunities. When a United Nations mission visited the country in 1950, many of the people they spoke to asked them for more schools and for a single educational system to replace the very unequal variety of church run schools that existed at that time (Downs 1980: 76). Polite

requests soon turned into anger. By the late 1950s "...the system was producing a large number of half educated young people who were not employable in areas of their own choice. These students were resentful when they saw that Europeans were being recruited to fill positions that they could have filled if they had been given the opportunity for a secondary education" (ibid.: 129). What began as a simple desire for a more systematic educational system soon turned into a specific demand to 'train' their children for the newly emerging skilled and semi-skilled employment opportunities in the cash economy. Many parents, especially those who had extensive experience in town employment, wanted their children to receive education in English because of the advantages it gave them in the job market. They were becoming increasingly "...impatient with anything that seemed unconnected with reading, writing, or arithmetic. Beautification of schools and self-sufficiency gardening programs were criticized as being irrelevant by parents who thought their children already knew how to do these things" (ibid.: 100). Urban schools, which were more likely to offer an education in English and focus on secular skills, were the models many Papua New Guinean parents looked to for their children's education. Urban schools, however, were still largely aimed at providing education for expatriate children and a few

privileged indigenous populations, such as the Tolai who lived around Rabaul in East New Britain. Many rural parents also began to desire similar opportunities for their children. An anthropologist writing about parental attitudes on Karkar island in the late 1950s stated that: "Most hoped that the new formal educational system would enable their sons to qualify for administration positions, which they rated highly, while only a minority appeared to realise its value in improving cash crop production and sales at home" (McSwain in Smith 1987: 245). This attitude was to become even more prevalent during the 1960s. The connection that many nationals came to believe existed during this period between education and employment would carry over long after the linkage itself began to dissolve.

The Australian Administration was slow to respond to Papua New Guineans' changing attitudes towards schools. When the Minister of External Affairs, Percy Spender, looked back on the decade 1950-1960 he admitted that he could not point to any 'spectacular achievements', and that in fact they had made little headway towards their goal of universal English literacy and primary education (Griffin, et. al. 1979: 126).

Annual reports for 1952-53 showed that in the Territory as a whole, 4,666 students attended administrative schools, while 126,410 were enrolled in mission schools (Smith 1983: 51). In many rural areas,

until the late 1960s and early 1970s, the church remained the only road to an education. This was true for many areas of West New Britain. Martin Zelenietz (1980: 36), for example, notes that for many years following the war the only way to receive more than rudimentary education was to become a catechist for the church. Although mission schools began to slowly become more secular in their schooling practices in the 1950s, as agreed under the 1952 Education Ordinance, schooling retained a highly moral tone for this decade and for some time to come.

In areas such as the Gazelle Peninsula in East New Britain or the Manus Islands, where schooling had a long history of availability, nationals attempted to make practical use of their new credentials. Manus islanders, for example, took advantage of their educational opportunities to both become teachers themselves and to increase their ability to attain desirable jobs in the bureaucracy or cash economy (Carrier 1984: 24).

As the 1950s progressed, it began to become obvious to the administration that if the goal of rapidly expanding the primary school system was to be achieved it would have to occur through a concomitant expansion rather than contraction of the mission schools. There was considerable doubt at this time that the government would ever be able to extend education through their own efforts alone to more

than 25% of the population (Hecht 1981: 84). Enrollment in 'recognized' administration and mission schools more than doubled between the years 1959-1963 (Smith 1985: 53). And although "For the first time, emphasis was placed on educating indigenes for political and economic reasons rather than the primarily moral and religious training propagated by the missions", the missions continued to supply most of the education that was available (Hecht 1981: 84).

The main educational goal of the administration in the late 1940s and throughout the 1950s was to expand and make available to as many people as possible schooling at the primary level. A policy of 'gradualism' directed both educational and economic development during this time period, in the hopes that the resulting inequalities between peoples who lived in different regions of the Territory with different colonial histories would be kept to a minimum.

This would change radically in the 1960s, when secondary school expansion got underway as a result of U.N. pressure, parental desires, and a need to provide a skilled labour force to eventually take over the administrative functions of an independent country.

#### Elitism and Independence: 1960-1975

In the 1960s, two main avenues for participation in the cash economy developed: 1) independent agricultural

production of export commodities such as copra, coffee and cocoa, and 2) working for expatriate interests on plantations or in the emerging resource extraction enterprises.

Both of these sectors of the cash economy were expanding under a push for 'development', the aim of which was to make Papua New Guinea less dependent on financial aid from Australia (Downs 1980: xix). The ultimate goal was for Papua New Guinea to become an independent country, which was achieved in 1975.

Kenneth Good (1986) and Bryant Allen (1983) have described the economic changes of the 1960s and early 1970s that were part of this drive for independence. Australia wanted to encourage, as much as possible, the production of commodities for export. This production was largely dominated by the 'four C's': copper, coffee, cocoa and coconuts. Timber and other products such as oil palm also became important in the 1970s. Mining, after contracting in importance during the war, was slowly built back up and began to assume a major economic role in the late 1960s (e.g. a giant mine was created in Bougainville). But it was agriculture that continued to form the backbone of both the subsistence and cash economy. A major difference in the 1960s was that for the first time large-scale inequalities based on participation in the cash economy



began to emerge among Papua New Guineans.

A survey in 1973, for example, found that there were 200,000 indigenous coffee growers in the country. Approximately 130,000 of them were located in the Highlands - and they accounted for 83% of total production by indigenous growers (Good 1986: 27). Coffee was the single most important agricultural business for Papua New Guineans. In 1972 indigenous coffee growers accounted for 76.6% of all coffee production in the country; whereas they only accounted for 56.4% of coconut and 28.9% of cocoa production (Good 1986: 27). This meant that people living in specific areas of the highlands participated in a disproportionate amount of indigenous commodity production, resulting in considerable regional inequalities.

Nor was there equality of participation in local areas in which production was highest. Kenneth Good (1986: 26) believes that "By the 1960s, the class nature of the government aid programmes was increasingly evident. Assistance for coffee production in the highlands concentrated on relatively large-scale production by a few villagers, and it aims to produce, as one proponent of the policy later put it, 'a small class of purposeful elite farmers capable of responding to opportunities opened up to them'." Bryant Allan (1983: 222) has also suggested that: "They [big planters] have been described as a developing 'rich peasant class' and their activities such as their

support for individual titles to tribal land, their opposition to any increase in rural minimum wages and their stressing of the importance of export crops over the internal production and marketing of food crops have been interpreted as 'class actions'..."

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, then, a small 'elite' began to develop among some rural populations, based on the independent production of agricultural commodities for the export market. They became owners and employers, with economic agendas quite different from that of the vast majority of Papua New Guineans who experience 'development' either as unskilled employees or as small-holders who kept one foot in the cash economy and the other firmly planted in their own subsistence economy.

It became quite obvious in the 1960s that more and more nationals desired at least a minimal access to the cash economy. In the 1964 elections for the first elected legislature, no real 'national' issues emerged among the electorate. What did become clear among the voters, however, was that they wanted representatives who would be able to persuade the 'government' to provide them with development in the form of roads, aid posts, schools, air strips, and employment (Griffin, et.al 1979: 133). This was true both for those located in or near urban centres and among rural peoples. On the Manus islands, for

example, a number of failed small-scale development projects left many of the Islanders looking towards the government to provide more education as a means towards gaining paid employment (Carrier 1984: 24).

During most of the 1960s there were opportunities for employment, for those who qualified, in the expanding teaching market or as part of the localizing public service (Smith 1987: 231-232; Pomponio and Lancy 1986: 41). The civil service would eventually have to be handed over to Papua New Guineans if independence was to be achieved. This meant that the first few generations of school-leavers from the late 1950s until the late 1960s had tremendous employment opportunities. In 1962, "The visiting [U. N.] mission found that students who should have been going on to secondary school or finishing secondary school and going on to university, were attracted from higher primary standards and post-primary standards to jobs offered by the various departments of the Administration. Departments competed with each other, and private employers competed with the Administration" (Downs 1980: 245).

By the late 1960s and early 1970s, the expanding cash economy could not keep up with school-leavers who wanted employment. "Even an aggressive nationalization program designed to replace expatriate with their Papua New Guinea counterparts failed to accomodate all of the newly schooled manpower. In the private sector, plantations and

mines continued to employ unschooled younger men from the villages on short-term contracts" (Pomponio and Lancy 1986: 42). Private expatriate employers, as well as some of the new Papua New Guinean elite, preferred to hire 'unschooled' labour for jobs that did not require specific skills in literacy or numeracy. They worked for lower wages and were thought to be more obedient to their bosses - traits appreciated as much by Papua New Guinean entrepreneurs as by expatriate ones.

The vast majority of Papua New Guineans in the rural areas continued to participate only sporadically in the cash economy, normally in the form of small-scale commodity production or as occasional contract labourers. This helped to ensure their continual survival as independent economic and cultural units. As David Counts (n.d.: 3) describes for the Kaliai, who live along a relatively undeveloped area of the north coast of West New Britain:

By the mid-1960s, the Kaliai had access to limited amounts of cash through the production of copra, and they were nominally Christian, but the things that gave meaning and texture to their lives had little to do with copra, or Roman Catholicism, or the occasional brief visit of a patrol officer. Meaning and texture and self-respect came from shell money, pigs, and pandanus mats; from the dancing of Aulu masks and the initiation of children, and from birth and death and marriage.

Despite rapid growth in employment and participation

opportunities during the 1960s and beyond, the cash economy had not and would not capture the cultural economy of the rural areas in Papua New Guinea.

Beginning in the 1970s, the potential for 'unemployment' among school-leavers has become greater and greater (Weeks and Guthrie 1984: 40). This has not been a serious problem among groups like the Kaliai who retain a firm hold on an older way of life. But for those who live in and around urban areas or for those who aspire to an 'urban way of life', a lack of jobs proves to be an extreme disappointment. In the late 1960s and early 1970s the administration tried to respond to this disappointment among some Papua New Guineans who lived in the most densely populated areas of the country through resettlement schemes. The oil palm project along the northern coast (Kimbe-Hoskins-Bialla area) of West New Britain is a good example of a resettlement project during this time period. The town of Kimbe developed as part of this scheme in 1971 (Counts n.d.:7; also see Allen 1983: 222-223) to serve as the administrative centre for the project. Settlers were brought in from Unea island, the highlands, and the Gazelle Peninsula to be small-holders in oil palm areas along the north coast.

These projects tend to create problems of their own. Settlers often become committed to living near urban centres, losing their rights for access to land in their

crowded home areas. Many of the children of these settlers have received a relatively large number of years of schooling, but there is little in the way of employment opportunities for them in Kimbe, Hoskins or Biella. Nor are they able to inherit the rights to cultivate land for oil palm or gain access to having their own lease-holds in the area. This creates an increasingly bitter group of young men and women who do not have access to either the 'new' or 'old' ways of making a living - a potentially volatile situation for West New Britain in the years ahead.

Along with children of settlers, a new generation has been born, for the first time, in the urban centres rather than in the villages from which their mothers and fathers came (Allen 1983: 228). Many of the young, urban-born people of this generation are committed to town life in ways that their parents are not - they are beginning to speak of Kimbe, or Lae, or Port Moresby as their 'home' in a way that their parents never have. The potential disappointment of the urban and the urban-oriented peoples of Papua New Guinea is immense. Many of these people, in the 1960s and 1970s, regarded education as a way to solve their employment problems.

This was recognized to some extent by the administration, which began to rely on World Bank Reports advocating an educational system tied more and more to

employment needs and less and less to other considerations (Smith 1985: 61). In the early 1960s, educational policy became aimed towards the development of a secondary school system.

Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, United Nations missions had repeatedly admonished the Australian Administration for the lack of secondary opportunities in the country (Downs 1980: 196). As late as 1962, the Australian government was ignoring delegations from the Territory asking for more secondary schooling and steadfastly pursuing a goal of rapidly expanding the primary school system (ibid.: 129). In 1960, no Papua New Guineans had yet reached the final two years of secondary education in a government school in the Territory, although one or two dozen students were sent each year to attend secondary schools in Australia (Griffin, et. al, 1979: 126).

In 1962-63, however, policy shifted irreversibly toward the rapid expansion of an elitist secondary school system (Thomas 1976: 5; Smith 1988: 54-55). The main goal became to train leaders capable of assuming control of an independent government. A secondary goal was to view education more overtly as an 'investment'; training an educated elite capable of assuming skilled positions in the private economic sector as well as the public sector.

Between 1962 and 1972, Papua New Guinean enrollment

in secondary schools rose from 3,340 to 24,355; setting the stage for the emergence of a new class of urban elite (Smith 1985: 58). This new elitist policy followed the recommendations of United Nations observers, who had repeatedly stated the need for an indigenous elite if independence was to be achieved (e.g. the 1962 mission, in Meek 1982: 59).

During the same period in the early 1960s, the administration attempted to encourage the use of a standardized curriculum by both government and mission schools. Representatives from these groups established the first comprehensive primary school syllabus together in 1962 and exerted pressure on their respective groups to develop a parallel system of education (Dept. of Education 1983: 16). The desire for a standardized curriculum was related to the drive for secondary school expansion; primary schools had to be able to 'feed' students into the secondary system who were capable of handling an Australian-based programme.

Toward this end, the administration continued the push to expand its share of primary schools in the country. In 1958, 91% of the children who were enrolled in primary schools were in mission schools, by 1970 this figure had been reduced to 62% (Weeks and Guthrie 1984: 37). Clearly, missions continued to provide the lion's share of primary



education in the country, but this increasingly took place under the 'guidance' of government policy and curriculum. Mission schools that continued to go their own way had a very difficult time explaining to village parents why their children had almost no access (because of low grades on standardized exams) to the expanding secondary school system.

Mission educators often resented the Administration's pressures to conform to government curriculum under conditions in which the government provided them with little financial aid. In 1966, Reverend David Hand wrote an article in the journal New Guinea responding angrily to government suggestions that they might cut the grants-in-aid to missions:

Whatever the reasons, the facts at present are that the administration is spending about \$11 million a year on education. Only about \$3 million of this goes to the missions for equipment and grants-in-aid ...That anyone could even be contemplating cutting this contribution simply takes one's breath away. The truth is that the authorities are trading on the missions' dedication to their cause, on their ability to raise funds from church people, and to attract the sort of teachers who, when necessary, are prepared to work for practically nothing.

(Hand, in Smith 1987: 250)

During the same year, missions accounted for 129,000 students to the government's 65,000. Mission teachers were paid far less than administration teachers, and it was becoming increasingly difficult to get and keep qualified teachers at the missions (Hecht 1981: 84). Given

these conditions, how could missions be expected to provide a comparable education to the largely urban-based government school system?

Besides inequalities between the largely rural mission school system and the government primary schools (e.g. in success rates for entry into high schools), inequalities also began to show up because of differences between the types of administrative schools that existed. In the late 1960s the administration began desegregating 'A' (Australian) schools which had been designed primarily for expatriate children and 'T' (Territory) schools which were meant for the children of nationals. So many of the wealthier Papua New Guineans began enrolling their children in 'A' schools that the first national Minister of Education, Ebia Olewale, had to forbid new enrollments in 1973. He wrote about his reasons for this action in the Papua New Guinea Gazette:

If the wealthier, better educated and more progressive among us continue to remove our children from our ('T') primary schools, these schools will never fully develop.

...The whole policy of this country is towards equal sharing and equal development. This applies not only between local people and expatriates but within the Papua New Guinean community itself...

(Olewale, in Smith 1987: 272)

The inequality problem, however, only got worse throughout the 1960s and 1970s and it remains a major problem in the country today. "Papua New Guinean parents

or indeed colonial public servants ...could have been only too sharply aware of the explicit and exact relationship between level of education and level of access to the monetary economy. Post-Independence governments, public servants and parents are no less aware of the continuing role of education as a tool to shape the structure of society" (Smith 1985: 63). It was during the 1960s that the perception became firmly entrenched among parents that education was a direct route to the cash economy.

This perception was further fueled by the development of a tertiary school system in the country. As part of the drive for independence, the University of Papua New Guinea began offering degree studies in 1966/67 and the Technical College in Lae was upgraded to University status in 1973 (Meek 1982). U.P.N.G. was created for the express purpose of educating an elite that would be capable of becoming government and business leaders in an independent Papua New Guinea.

This was to be a very different elite than the one being created in the rural areas of the country. Instead of being based on the production of agricultural commodities such as coffee, this 'non-productive' elite would gain power by turning their educational credentials into administrative positions that were vacated by expatriates. In Papua New Guinea in the late 1960s and

early 1970s advanced education became the resource, rather than land, for creating a small group of urban-based 'bureaucratic bourgeoisie' that could be found at the emerging centres of government and commercial activities throughout the country (Good 1986: 27). Structural inequalities began to emerge in ways that had not existed before the 1960s because of the emergence of these rural and urban elite groups, who were responding to new opportunities in the economic and social environment.

The educational changes of the 1960s became enshrined in the passage of the 1970 Education Ordinance (Hecht 1981: 85-86; Dept. of Education 1985: 4-5). A core national curriculum was to be taught by all teachers at all schools. Salaries and working conditions were standardised for all teachers, whether they worked for administration or mission schools and provisions were made for teachers to transfer between schools in the two systems. At the same time that centralized standards were imposed throughout the country, provisions were also made for a decentralization of educational administration. District (later provincial) Education boards were established and given authority for the regional organization of education. Crucial functions such as planning curriculum remained under the national authority.

With the exception of Seventh Day Adventists and individual mission schools (Weeks and Guthrie 1984: 35),

all mission and government schools joined together under this system creating, for the first time, a truly centralized educational system with uniform educational standards (though not necessarily practices).

The ordinance was one response to the growing perception that schooling was beginning to fuel social inequalities in ways that were unacceptable to the vast majority of Papua New Guineans. Standardized practices, however, could not be wished into place overnight over top of what had essentially been dozens of semi-independent school systems.

In the late 1960s, more concrete actions were made to try to ensure a more equitable school system. At that time, a number of people responsible for education began to feel that the existing primary system (set up largely by Australians along an Australian model) would not be capable of meeting the needs of an independent Papua New Guinea (Lancy 1979). Along with 'localizing' the teaching force (which had been heavily weighted with expatriate teachers, see Smith, Carss and Power 1979; Pomponio and Lancy 1986), it was proposed that primary schools themselves needed to be localized by turning them into 'community schools'. Graeme Kemelfield (1976) has described the goals of the community school movement. Prompted by the concern that rural communities were being ignored in the educational

system, community schools were originally conceived of as a hamlet, village, or town 'meeting place' and resource centre. The centre would serve as the focal point for educational gatherings and social events, as well as contain a library and radio listening area. Educational aspects were to involve both children (from the ages of 8-12) and adults. Instruction would occur in both local dialects and Tok Pisin and it would involve training in basic literacy and numeracy - as well as more 'traditional' forms of knowledge. At the age of 13, children would move into 'middle-schools', which would consist of more formally organised programs of education. "...What had been intended was a flexible program of initial education...in which children would gain the elements of literacy and numeracy within the context of their own culture, as well as sharing new knowledge being introduced into the adult life of the community" (Kemelfield 1976: 242).

Five pilot projects were run, followed by a year of meetings and discussions among government officials, educators and community members. A new proposal came out of this, dividing adult and children's education into separate units. Adults and school-leavers were to be serviced primarily through community education centres and children would attend primary-like schools that would have a 'greater community orientation' (Lancy 1979: 1-2). The first few years of education were to be conducted in Tok

Pisin and involve only informal schooling, while the last four years (ages 9-12) would follow a more 'normal' program. This program was to include several days a week spent outside the class room - engaging in community projects and acquiring traditional customs and skills. Smith, Carss and Power (1979:2) observe that actual educational practice generally involved teachers developing a small program of 'cultural activities', which they built around a standard academic curriculum. This was partly a response at the grass roots level to what Lancy (1979:2) noted as parents attitudes towards 'community programs' at that time: "More and more openly, Papua New Guineans decry the community school."

Finally, in 1983, Mark Bray called the community school movement almost a total failure. He noted (Bray 1983) that all that actually changed from the older primary school orientation was: 1) the name - primary schools were now called community schools, 2) some curriculum had become more locally relevant (e.g. texts contained more stories about Papua New Guinean children and less about Australian children), and 3) most schools have parent and teacher associations and boards of management now. Teaching remains organized primarily around 'academic' curriculum - that is, it seldom takes place outside of the classroom setting and only occasionally involves non-professional

teachers. Community schools have remained oriented towards the preparation of students for secondary schooling at the expense of a true 'community' education. This issue will be explored in more detail in the next chapter, which considers the social organization of schooling in contemporary Papua New Guinea and the kinds of social changes we can see in the hidden curriculum of classroom education. Before we move on to consider this, however, it is useful to recapitulate the major trends in education, the economy and employment that have been presented in this chapter.

#### Trends in the History of Papua New Guinea

Between 1880 and 1945, education occurred almost totally under the auspices of locally run and foreign controlled mission agencies. This education was generally limited to a few years of schooling at a rudimentary level - with literacy being encouraged as a route to personal salvation through the translated bible. The main goal of education was moral - to transform Papua New Guineans into individuals of 'good christian character' who would respect God and the expatriate missionaries who represented him.

Expatriate plantation owners and miners were generally well served by this system. Schools helped make at least some individuals more docile and willing to accept the authority of white 'mastas'. There was considerable opposition to the idea of providing more than a few years



of elementary education to Papua New Guineans because of the 'revolutionary' potential of higher education. Nationals who understood the politics of the penetrating Australian economic system and the true need for local labour to make this system work might very well ask for a better deal for themselves and their fellow countrymen and women. Missionaries, for their own reasons, also opposed expansion into post-primary education for any but a carefully selected few who would go on to become catechists and mission teachers themselves.

The Second World War helped change both Papua New Guinean and expatriate attitudes towards education. Many nationals had experienced the consumer goods of the outside world first-hand while serving as carriers and other war labour for Australian and American army units. Australians, for their part, felt they owed a debt of thanks to Papua New Guinea for the part its people played in a war that was largely irrelevant to them.

From 1945-1960, a policy of 'gradualism' was followed by Australian Administrations. Primary schooling was encouraged through expansion of government services and by providing missions with grants-in-aid to offset some of their costs. Most government education at this time, however, continued to benefit only expatriate children and the children of the relatively few nationals who lived in

and around urban centres.

The post-war period was also a time of reestablishing expatriate interests in the cash economy of the country. Again, this sector of the population generally opposed 'too much' education for nationals on the grounds that it would interfere with their ability to secure the largely unskilled workers they needed to rebuild both the private and public sectors of the economy.

In the latter half of the 1960s, increasing pressure from the United Nations and from sections of the local populations made Australian administrations increasingly aware that Papua New Guinean independence was bound to become an important issue in the foreseeable future. Independence would require a skilled, educated 'elite' to take over the running of the government and bureaucracy that Australians would be leaving behind. The development of this elite required the rapid expansion of a secondary and tertiary educational system at the expense of the primary school system, which was still far from its goal of universal education.

For a short while, there were incredible opportunities for new graduates or school-leavers from any of the post-primary levels of schooling. The private sector as well as the government needed a small but important group of workers to implement the many localization plans that were being put in place.

However, by the early 1970s an expanded school system began to create too many educated school-leavers for the rapidly dwindling supply of skilled positions. Demand for unskilled labour remained fairly stable, but students who had spent eight, ten, or more years in schools - often at great expense to themselves and supporting relatives - did not expect to have problems finding the same kinds of opportunities their older brothers (and to a lesser extent sisters) had found upon leaving school. This was a condition that would only become more and more acute as the 1970s became the 1980s and it was a condition that created at least as many problems as prospects for the nationals who were most committed to the cash-based economy and an urban way of life.

#### Chapter Four: Education as Social Change

In chapter two I note that many theorists argue that hidden curriculum serves as a kind of educational mirror for the social and cultural environment in which it is located. In this chapter, the spotlight is on the way social change becomes reflected in the organization of education and the organization of classroom instruction. Chapter five follows this discussion with a consideration of education as a locus of cultural continuity and the manner in which it becomes expressed in classroom instruction. Taken together, chapters four and five provide an analysis of the relationship of education to Papua New Guinean society at both the macro and micro levels of concern.

Emphasis in this chapter is on town-based education and how it promotes discontinuities with rural, more "traditionally" based ways of life. An urban value system, which is often unwittingly promulgated by teachers in the classroom, celebrates a life that can only be obtained through a strong participation in the cash economy and access to consumer goods associated with town life. The purpose here is not to point a finger or find villains, but rather to understand the educational legacy of colonialism

with respect to the newly emerging forms of social organization occurring in the town areas of Papua New Guinea. It is especially important to consider the pressures that are being put on school children to be both "modern" and "traditional" at the same time and the manner in which these pressures are being created by the expectations of parents, teachers, and the children themselves regarding students' futures as adults in that country.

I begin with a brief sketch of how education has become organized since independence (1975) and the role it is expected to play in relation to economic development. After showing that certain themes of social change emerge from this relationship, I explain the way these themes become expressed in classroom interactions between teachers and pupils in three community schools in West New Britain. These themes form part of the hidden-curriculum of education, which in turn becomes part of a feed-back system that promotes values associated with social change in the wider context of West New Britain and Papua New Guinea.

#### The Social Organization of Education

The organization of education since independence has been described in the publication Growth of Education Since Independence: 1975-1985 (Dept. of Education, 1985). As I outline in the last chapter, the trend from 1873-1975 had been towards the gradual development of a centralized

educational system that amalgamated and standardized the efforts of mission-run school systems with the government system. Teacher-training, job opportunities and curriculum were brought into a federal system in an effort to build a more equitable form of schooling.

With the establishment of provinces in 1977, education had to be reorganized to represent the new realities of a more decentralized political environment. Under the new system, the National Education Department retains control over core curriculum and materials, school inspectors, training and certification of teachers, and it continues to set the crucial national examinations. Provincial education divisions receive responsibility for posting teachers, delivering their salaries, and the care and maintenance of classrooms and equipment. In practice, this usually means that substantial differences exist between the provinces' educational divisions and their ability to deliver schooling to the children of each province. Some provinces, for example, have a much higher number of skilled people to draw upon than others in terms of hiring educational officers. More 'remote' interior provinces often have a difficult time attracting educated bureaucrats and teachers, many of whom come from coastal or small island regions (due to historical circumstances, see chapter three). Potential employees are often less than

enthusiastic about an interior posting that takes them away from their extended family, kin and friends.

Large inequalities exist in enrolment rates as a percentage of school-age children in the provinces, although all provinces have shown improvement over the last few decades. In New Ireland, for example, enrolment increased from 82.3% in 1973 to 92% in 1984; while in the Southern Highlands enrolment went from 33.4% to 51.6% in the same time period (Dept. of Education 1985: 32). Papua New Guinea is still a long way from universal primary enrolment in all but a very few of the provinces.

West New Britain is fourth highest among the nineteen provinces, with an enrolment of 86.7% of school age children in 1984 (ibid.). In the 1980s, this province has become more able to call upon skilled bureaucratic workers from their own region (especially from the 'developing' north coast area of Kimbe-Bialla) and attract people from other 'developing' areas such as the Manus Islands, New Ireland and the Rabaul area of East New Britain. However, as in any province, it has usually been much easier to attract teaching staff to the town areas than to the more remote rural areas (including much of the south and parts of the west coast).

In Papua New Guinea as a whole, education has developed into a complex hierarchy of relationships. Government publications always include numerous flow

charts, depicting the multiple layers and complex connections between the offices and individuals that make up the 'educational system'. The decentralization of provincial governments, complete with their own educational divisions, has not broken up this hierarchy, it has simply added another level to it. It means that each province now has their own system, combining elected government officials with professional educators to create a branching tree of authority that leads from the provincial capital down into each of the schools within the province.

The organization of schools in Papua New Guinea looks something like a pyramid. The base of the pyramid is formed by the country's community schools. In 1984, 71% of eligible children were enrolled in these schools. The next step up, provincial high schools (grades 7-10), contained only 18% of the eligible age-group from the total population. This can be compared to national high schools (grades 11-12), which enrolled only 2% of the potential age-group (Dept. of Education 1985: 9). In 1982, 3.1% of the eligible population were enrolled in tertiary institutions (United Nations 1988: 125). This slight expansion at the top of the pyramid is created because of the 9 teachers' colleges in the country, which accept people with a provincial high school education into their programs. Clearly, education in Papua New Guinea has



become a hierarchy in which only the very few manage to obtain a higher school-leavers diploma or a tertiary education. It is organized primarily for the benefit of these few rather than the many left behind. Things have not changed very much since Mark Bray (1984: 10) painted this rather sad picture for the 1970s: "During the 1970s, of every 100 children who began grade 1, only about 70 finished grade 6, 25 began grade 7, eight completed grade 12, and one gained a university degree. Yet to a significant extent, the education of all those children was influenced by the needs of the one."

In chapter three, I describe an attempt to correct this emphasis through a shift to "community schools", which had as its aim the development of students who would fit back into village life once their schooling was finished. This movement failed to achieve its objectives and the Papua New Guinean educational system remains oriented towards academic achievements rather than practical concerns (e.g. see Smith, et. al. 1979: 117; Munce 1986: 67; Preston 1986: 41). In a recent study on the relationship between community members and teachers in West New Britain, Karen Munce states that: "A variety of studies conducted in the late 1970s revealed that the discontinuity between the school and community continued; that changes were in fact only nominal and that community schools were functioning very similarly to their predecessors - the

primary 'T' schools" (Munce 1986: 23). Orienting curriculum towards abstract knowledge (e.g. the manipulation of language) at the expense of practical knowledge (e.g. agricultural training) is common in the Pacific region. R. M. Thomas and T. N. Postlethwaite suggest that this limitation stems from the "Western" origin of Pacific school systems. "The schools' curricula offers relatively little to people who wish to follow a completely traditional style of life. Only slight attention is accorded original island cultures. The curricula are designed mainly to westernize Pacific peoples" (Thomas and Postlethwaite 1984: 317).

In fact, Papua New Guinean educators have added a great deal of 'local' content to the curriculum over the last 10-15 years. However, both the goals and the methods of teaching have remained primarily oriented towards abstract knowledge for academic ends. The manner in which these abstract goals become expressed in the classroom receives considerable attention in a later section of this chapter.

#### Education and Employment

In 1982 the Prime Minister of the country, Michael Somare, said in a speech to the Port Moresby Chamber of Commerce: "...we remain committed to the view that widespread education is the basis for social and economic

development" (Somare 1983: 163). In chapter three, I show how the perception of a link between education and employment in the cash economy began to gain widespread currency from the mid-1900s onward. For many parents, education has but one function - to permit their sons and (sometimes) daughters to gain paid employment.

There is widespread agreement among researchers that most parents in Papua New Guinea value education solely in terms of its perceived nexus with the cash economy (e.g. McNamara 1976: 69; Conroy 1977: 115; Lancy 1979: 3; Zelenietz 1980: 34-35 Meek 1982: 63; Bray 1984: 11; Carrier 1984: 46-48; Munce 1986: v; Pomponio and Lancy 1986: 42; Preston 1986: 41). This is true in both rural and urban, coastal and inland areas of the country.

As M. Zelenietz and J. Grant have suggested for the rural Kilenge of West New Britain, a great deal of ambiguity can arise around a social institution that becomes important to large numbers of people.

The ambiguities of education in Kilenge arise from the dual nature of education: as process and product .... In some respects they despise the process of schooling and teaching that contributes to, they believe, the rebellion of their children; in other ways they value it as a means by which their children are learning about the external world. Likewise, the products of education-job qualification, skills, or knowledge gained from the process - are judged ambiguously. They may be valued because they can lead to a well-paid job, but they may also be disparaged because they produce little of use to other villagers.

(Zelenietz and Grant 1986: 34)

Urban people in West New Britain have similar feelings about the dual nature of education. A good example of these feelings were expressed to me by a man named Peter, whom I spoke to for two hours one day while we were both trying to catch a ride out of Kimbe to Bialla. Peter is in his early fifties and lives in one of the resettlement areas in the oil palm blocks near the Hoskins town area. The father of six children, he has much to say about the value of education. Two of his children have become school teachers, while the rest dropped out prior to or on completion of their grade six. I asked him if he felt that school was generally a good thing or a bad thing in Papua New Guinea.

Sometimes it is a bad thing. It depends on how far the child goes. Some children, they only go to grade six - then its a bad thing. But if you at least finish grade eight or grade ten, then its a better thing. You have more chance to get a job then. But only grade six and you can't get a job. Maybe picking coconut or unloading ships sometimes, but not a good job.

Peter also felt that many kids become "rascals" after they dropped out from school. "Bel i hat" (They are angry). "They see others around them with jobs and they want one too. But they can't get one. So they steal." He assured me, however, that his sons were not like this. The ones who dropped out of school worked with him on the oil palm block. "They are good men, no trouble."

Many parents repeated this basic theme to me.

Education was only good if it led to paid employment. Otherwise, there was too much of a chance that their children would become spoiled from it. School can turn a child into a bikhet. A bikhet is someone who is no longer willing to listen to his parents or other adults because he thinks that he himself knows better. While those who drop out or leave school with little or no job prospects may become, as Peter suggested above, a raskel. A raskel is (usually) a young man who acts in disregard for both the laws of the country and the traditional restraints of custom. He lies, steals, cheats, hurts and even kills those who prevent him and his friends from gaining the material goods that they desire. Parental fear of the negative consequences of education is widely reported for West New Britain and the country as a whole (e.g. Griffin, et. al. 1979: 201; Valentine and Valentine 1979: 68; Zelenietz 1980: 93; Munce 1986: 52-53; Counts n.d.).

Foremost on the minds of parents are what happens to school leavers. Dianne Goodwillie (1986: 52-53) reported in Pacific Islands Monthly that "...in Papua New Guinea, there is an estimated annual output of 40,000 school leavers but only 4,000 new formal jobs created yearly." This suggests that their chances for gaining paid employment are poor. It should also be remembered that, as in the past, many employers do not want educated Papua New Guineans for labour jobs, fearing that they are more likely

to cause trouble or work with less diligence than young men who received their 'education' working around the village and on previous labour crews.

Educated women have a particularly hard time finding suitable employment other than teaching school. One example is that in 1983, out of a total of 21,600 Papua New Guineans working in manufacturing industries, only 1,473 of them were women (I.L.O. 1988: 519). Poor opportunities for employment are partially reflected by the low percentage of girls versus boys in secondary schools. "PNG has only 31 percent ...female enrolment in secondary schools and these figures do not begin to show the number of girls with little or no primary school education who never reach secondary school" (Goodwillie 1986: 22). Both enrolment and employment are strongly affected by parental attitudes toward male and female social roles. Many parents consider education a waste of time for girls, assuming that they will marry as early as they can and never put this education "to use". Depending on local customs, girls may move into their husband's village after marriage, thereby depriving parents of their "investment" in their child's future. Alternatively, when husbands traditionally move into the wife's village, parents may fear losing the ability to call upon their daughter's labour if she becomes educated and moves to a town to get a

job. In general, parents rely on boys to bring money in from the cash economy and on girls for domestic and subsistence labour, though of course there are numerous individual exceptions to this.

Male or female, school leavers face increasingly bleak prospects. The department of education acknowledges this trend in their report on the first ten years of education since independence:

The high school system was very successful in producing ever increasing numbers of qualified school leavers. However, by about 1980, the numbers became greater than the job openings available. ...The students who left high school at Grade 8 or Grade 10 had gone to school with the expectation of getting a job. Also, their families had encouraged them in the hope that they would find a job. In many cases, the reaction to being unemployed, and in some cases, criticized by their families, has caused these young people to feel bad. Some of them have become criminals, especially in large urban areas.

(Dept. of Education 1985: 45)

An indication that there are more and more of these frustrated youths is suggested by the falling grade 10 placement rate. Placement refers to an offer for further training or employment made to students after they successfully complete grade 10 (provincial high school). The rate dropped from 70% placement in 1978 to 46% in 1984. There will be a continual shortage of tertiary school leavers for many years to come in Papua New Guinea, but over the next few decades the potential exists for massive "unemployment" among secondary school leavers (e.g. Allen

1983: 223; Weeks and Guthrie 1984: 40).

In one way, it seems like a gross overstatement to talk about unemployment in a country in which 4/5 of the population continue to make their living directly in subsistence and cash agriculture (Browne with Scott 1989: 84). With some exceptions, such as the Manus Islands, the Rabaul area of East New Britain, and the Talasea area in West New Britain (among others), most school leavers can and do return to their home villages and easily acquire sufficient land through traditional relationships to grow food for themselves and their families. Papua New Guineans are not "peasants" - they have not been captured by the cash economy and are quite capable of making a living either fully outside of, or in conjunction with, the cash economy. Many nationals have a strong desire to participate in the cash economy, but they are not part of a rural proletariat which depends on their relationship to this economy for their total economic well-being.

However, there are some groups for whom unemployment may become a critical issue in the near future. Two of these groups are the new urban and rural elites I discussed in the last chapter. Although many urban workers continue to think of their natal villages as home and plan to retire to them after they tire of wage employment, there are also those who have come to see the



town they now live in as home and who plan their children's futures with this in mind (e.g. Ryan 1977: 151; Levine and Levine 1979: 86). Given the tiny percentage of people who are able to attend tertiary institutions it is reasonable to expect that many children of the urban elite will leave school with a secondary education or less. The children of families who have purposefully downplayed ties to their natal villages (e.g. in the form of gifts) and who come from heavily populated areas of the country (such as Simbu province, or the Talasea area of West New Britain) are likely to have a difficult time reclaiming usage rights to clan or lineage land. These youths face the very real possibility of being unemployed in the cash economy and unable to reconnect themselves to a traditional economy. Given the rising expectations they have consumed along with their secondary education, the potential for angry and violent action as a form of protest against their social situation is high.

The children of the rural elite are less likely to be caught in this kind of a double-bind situation. Much of the success of rural entrepreneurs depends on their ability to manipulate traditional idioms of exchange and usage rights. The illusion that these elites maintain about "customary relationships" will allow the children of this group who are unable to turn their personal advantages into educational credentials and wage employment to return to

the fold of the subsistence economy (for an example of a rural elite using 'customary illusions' in Vanuatu, see Rodman 1987).

However, there are other factors involved. It is not necessary to be in a position of real unemployment (in the sense of being part of an unemployed proletariat) to feel that you are in that position. Many of the children of the rural elite, as well as the sons and daughters of other Papua New Guineans who have managed to complete eight, ten or more years of schooling, will feel themselves deprived of employment if the only work they are able to obtain is that of traditional agricultural activity.

At the moment there are two main trends that work against sharply defined class divisions in Papua New Guinea. Different modes of production continue to exist side-by-side and 'ethnicity' mitigates against the development of class consciousness (Meek 1982: 55; Good 1986: 28). However, the possibility exists for the emergence of "unemployment" as an issue that will cross-cut lines of ethnicity and modes of production - helping to turn Papua New Guinea into a country of 'haves' and 'have nots', despite the widespread availability of traditional livelihoods. The competition between individuals with secondary education for wage employment has increased sharply over the last decade and, as I show below, this

competition will only become worse in the future. Education is highly likely to become a prime battleground between emerging elites and increasingly self-conscious ethnic groups in their fight for the spoils of employment.

If we look upon the cash economy as a resource for the employment of school leavers, it becomes easy to see that there are severe structural limitations on the potential expansion of this resource in the immediate future. Browne and Scott (1989: 84) note that "...structural obstacles to development include adverse topography that fragments domestic markets, limited domestic savings, a high wage structure, shortage of skilled workers, and uncertainty over land rights." The land issue is especially volatile. They suggest, for example, that employment in the plantation sector has diminished over the last decade primarily because of problems over land ownership.

On the other hand, private tree cropping remains by far the most widespread means for gaining access to the cash economy. "Seventy per cent of all households in Papua New Guinea now grow some tree crops, and smallholders account for 48-75 per cent of national output in coffee, cocoa, copra products and palm oil" (Goodman, Lepani, Morawetz 1985: 5). As I show later in the chapter, very few school leavers from the urban areas of West New Britain perceive themselves as working in either subsistence or

cash cropping as adults. In my opinion, there are two main reasons for this. The first is that many nationals view bringing home a wage packet as a step into the "modern" world. The second reason is that cash cropping yields very uneven results. When world commodity prices are high, substantial sums of cash can be earned from it. But world prices are subject to extreme swings. In 1986, for example, there was considerable unrest among oil palm block holders who were forced to sell at greatly reduced prices to the companies because of a glut of palm oil on the world market.

In the eyes of many, ideal employment is a government job. This is also the most likely source of employment for higher school leavers. Altogether, the public sector forms about one quarter of all formal sector employment in the country (Browne and Scott 1989: 85). This large public service is partly the result of the colonial legacy of bureaucratic government, as well as the expansion of social services such as education and health care during the 1970s.

Unfortunately, it is very difficult to get reliable employment statistics by economic sector for Papua New Guinea (Goodman, Lepani, Morawetz, 1985: 48; Browne and Scott 1989: 85). Despite this, there seems to be a strong consensus that the wage employment situation is stagnant

and will remain so for some time to come.

Unless there is a drastic change in economic policies, in particular those related to wages, the prospects for employment growth are not good. This is especially so if these prospects are compared with the expected increase in the economically active population. Even with changes in policies, the only way the larger part of the increase in Papua New Guinea's labour force will be accommodated is through increasing economic opportunities in the villages.

(Goodman, Lepani, Morawetz 1985: 49)

In an estimated labour force of 1.5 million persons, only about 13% are engaged in formal wage employment (ibid.). This is unlikely to increase to any great extent in the foreseeable future and may actually decrease.

The second largest employment opportunity in the country is found on the plantations. However, even before the decrease in employment over the last decade, employment had been stabilized for the last several decades and has not expanded with the increasing population. In 1950-51 a total of 40,911 people worked in indentured, agreement or casual labour on the plantations, while in 1978 there were 33,070 working as casual, piece-work or agreement labour (Dennis 1980: 242). In 1982, the total number of citizens working on largeholdings equaled 36,467 (National Statistics Office 1982). Despite the difficulty of comparing statistics that have been compiled under different sub-headings at irregular intervals, it seems reasonable to state that the opportunities for wage employment on plantations has hit a plateau and is unlikely

to offer expanded opportunities for early school leavers or anyone else in the near future.

Manufacturing industries also offer little hope for expansion. "Employment in manufacturing in 1983 was only 26,000, which is less than the number of persons entering the Papua New Guinean work force each year. The expansion of manufacturing has been hampered by the small and fragmented domestic market, the shortage of persons with entrepreneurial, managerial and labour skills, the difficulty of acquiring land on which to build a plant, and the high cost of labour relative to productivity" (Goodman, Lepani, Morawetz 1985: 9). This situation remains the same in 1990 and it is unlikely to change in the near future.

Until recently, there were many who thought that raw resource extraction might prove to be the economic future of Papua New Guinea. The giant Bougainville copper mine, the Ok Tedi gold mine, and the newer Placer gold mine in Fogeru were thought to be the wave of the future. Mineral resources account for two thirds of the exports from the country at the present time (Browe and Scott 1989: 84). The potential for government revenue from gold, oil and gas resources has been called "spectacular" (Reinhardt 1986a: 23; 1986b: 27-28).

However, recent troubles at the Bougainville mine have called all this into question and brought into relief

ongoing resentment between local people, provincial and federal levels of government. "At stake are the crucial issues of a conflict between western concepts of land ownership and indigenous land values, the equity between the national government, provincial administrations and the traditional landowners, and a choice between genuine sovereignty over resource development or dependence on foreign control" (Robie 1989: 10).

Forty people have died in a "rebellion" by local landowners over the issue of environmental degradation caused by the dumping of mine tailings at the Panguna (Bougainville) copper mine. Six hundred Defense Force troops (out of a total national force of 3,500) are attempting to restore "order" so that the mine, which has been effectively shut down from May of 1989, can be reopened. "Local" jobs are being lost (2/3 of the workers are actually from areas of the country outside of Bougainville province), with a thousand people laid off and the remaining 2,350 jobs threatened (ibid: 14).

Much more important is the effect the mining violence has had on the rest of the Papua New Guinean economy. Coupled with poor commodity prices, the conflicts over the mine have been disastrous. "In the first two weeks of the new year, the cumulative effects of the landowner uprising on Papua New Guinea's Bougainville island and depressed commodity and log prices impacted on

the nation all at once. To Robert [Governor of the Bank of Papua New Guinea] estimated the resulting recession would last three years" (Senge 1990: 12). National and provincial governments (the primary employers of higher school leavers) are being asked to cut back on expenditures and reduce their public work forces. There is a rumour that the government may be forced to dismiss as many as 20,000 civil servants from its payroll (Dorothy Counts, 1990 personal communication).

Papua New Guinea will lose \$A 300 million per annum in revenue from the mine as long as it remains closed (Standish 1989: 14). Some feel that the government is now paying the price for neglecting agricultural development and that this crisis "... might force the country into reducing its dependence on mining and into developing its neglected agricultural sector" (Robie 1989: 12). However, this would not help reduce the country's growing reliance on world commodity prices, a dependency which is just as vulnerable whether it is based on commodities such as coffee and palm oil rather than gold and copper.

A quite unintended side effect has been emerging from the Bougainville mining crisis as well as other confrontations between local landowners and business interests throughout the country. The way people think about themselves, their consciousness, is beginning to take



on the tones of the politics of ethnicity. In chapter three, I documented the changing consciousness that began to emerge from early 1900's onward as nationals began to move around their own country as indentured plantation labour. I suggested that the beginnings of a heightened sense of consciousness about both local (i.e. ethnic) and pan-local (e.g. Christian, Labour) identities were emerging.

Recent conflicts have added to this process. David Robie (1989: 14) reports in Pacific Islands Monthly that: "The jet-black Bougainvilleans consider themselves apart from the rest of the country's ethnic groups whom they refer to disdainfully as 'redskins'. They resent the jobs that have gone to mainlanders and they resent the high salaries paid to expatriates along with the distortion of the local economy caused by the high proportion of foreigners living on the island, mainly Australians and New Zealanders." This resentment has spilled over into violent actions directed against those who are viewed as "outsiders". Robie (ibid.) describes an act of violence in which "...militants had earlier attacked a PMV bus, discovered a 'redskin' Highlander on board, fired arrows into him and left him for dead."

Bougainvilleans have also been on the receiving end of violence fueled by stereotypes. Defense Force and Police troops often resent the "pampered" civilian

population.

Many Bougainvilleans have been repelled by the violence of the BRA [Bougainville Revolutionary Army], but close observers indicate that all are appalled by the ill-disciplined behaviour of police riot squads, whose operating procedures in the Highlands from before Independence have included the plunder of gardens, the looting and burning of houses and assault on women. They have behaved like tribal fighters. The Defense Force troops used since the State of Emergency declared on 26 June 1989 have been better at community relations, but themselves have sometimes been drunk and molested women, and assaulted an Australian resident. The Parliamentary Committee on the National Emergency in July reported allegations of harassment of villagers, people held at gunpoint, and damage to property as mentioned above."

(Standish 1989: 8)

Papua New Guineans are beginning to see themselves in terms of ethnicity and class distinctions. The feeling of "us" versus "them" now goes far beyond local or regional labels and is becoming extended into a crisis of "haves" and "have nots". It is this kind of thinking that allows the leader of BRA to receive a sympathetic audience when he states:

The national government should consult the people. They are treating us today as the administration did before BCL [Bougainville Copper Limited] came in 1964. They are doing the same things as they did in the colonial days - they are sending in the security forces. But they cannot stop us because we are fighting for our land. We're fighting for future generations of our children. I am fighting for the whole province.

(Francis Ona, quoted in Robie 1989: 18)

A less dramatic, but similarly divisive

consciousness is emerging in other parts of the country. Landowners in Enga province recently forced a realignment of royalties from Placer Pacific's Pangera gold mine. Their share of the royalty has expanded to 20% from 5%, while the provincial government's share has decreased from 95% to 80%. The national government retains the dividend receipts from its share in the mine (Bromby 1989: 14).

There are many parallels to Bougainville in West New Britain, where resentment is often expressed by local peoples against the heavy influx of "outsiders" into the province from other parts of the county. The 1980 census figures show that out of a total population of 89,229, there are 20,445 migrants who came from outside of the province. The most 'developed' of the four provincial districts, Kimbe district, has 19,848 "migrants" as opposed to only 19,608 "indigenous" residents (West New Britain Handbook 1986: 6). The other 597 migrants in the province are to be found in the Biella district (an up-and-coming oil palm center), with no migrants in either Gloucester district (West Coast) or Kandrian district (South Coast). Many of the migrants are from interior Highland areas of the mainland and they are often stereotyped by island people as being from "backward" and "violent" ethnic groups.

As in Bougainville mining, local participation in Palm Oil development in West New Britain has been kept to a

minimum (see Valentine and Valentine 1979). A publication of the West New Britain Government (Estimates of Revenue and Expenditures for the year ending 31st December, 1986) also shows that the province receives no direct revenue from the Palm Oil project. The project is a 50/50 venture between the national government and a foreign owned company (Papua New Guinea Handbook 1985: 82-83). The province has of course benefited indirectly in the form of company-provided roads and other infrastructure. The town of Kimbe itself was built largely as the administrative center of the province because of the oil palm project in the late 1960s.

There is, however, resentment in the province against the "outsiders" who were given 99 year oil palm block leases by the national government. A number of provincial public servants indicated to me that they are frustrated by the increased costs associated with "social problems" arising from the oil palm areas. Settlers, who are themselves from ethnic groups that often dislike one another, sometimes clash violently over women and other issues. Local people, e.g. Nakanai, also clash with "outsiders", whom they may consider to be intruders on their traditional lands.

Because the province receives so little in the way of revenues from the oil palm developments along the north

coast, several prominent government officials told me that the province is looking towards the development of timber resources, for which they receive direct royalty payments, to help them out. In 1985, the province received 900,000 kina (about 1,300,000 Canadian dollars) in timber royalties. This accounted for approximately one tenth of the total provincial revenues for that year (West New Britain Provincial Government 1986: 3-4). They expected to do as well or better in the coming years. There is no doubt that the province has extensive commercial timber resources at their disposal. K. R. Perry (1985: 60) states that "New Britain is the major forest industry area of Papua New Guinea...". West New Britain has huge tracts of known commercial potential along the north, south and parts of the southwest coastal areas which reach deeply into the interior. The north has received the most attention to date, but the province has a strong interest in "developing the south" through forestry. The potential exists for expanded wage opportunities in West New Britain in the timber industry. This possibility is mitigated somewhat by the current low world prices for logs. Most of the employment potential in this sector also lies along the line of general labour opportunities, rather than in employment for higher school leavers, and even this is generally controlled by foreign owned companies.

Provinces such as West New Britain and Bougainville

reflect the national situation in Papua New Guinea. Despite considerable political rhetoric, agricultural development is often given short shrift in comparison with natural resource development. The latter commonly offers the promise of tremendous short-term returns for the government's coffers. Local peoples are perceiving more and more of a gap between their interests in long-term, agriculturally-based subsistence and cash cropping economies and the concerns of government and business with huge short-term gains in natural resource extraction at the expense of long-term environmental degradation and social disruption. These two positions are often characterized as "traditional" versus "modern" attitudes towards development. They could perhaps more adequately be described as long-term versus short-term and rural versus urban attitudes towards development.

#### Themes in the Organization of Social Change

There can be no doubt that employment has emerged as a key concept in Papua New Guinea over the last few decades. More citizens desire wage employment and access to consumer goods than either the cash economy or the urban centers can provide. This demand is likely to increase in the near future, as more and more higher school leavers are produced by the formal educational system to fill what will be relatively fewer and fewer wage jobs.

Despite this situation, educators continue to focus on the pursuit of abstract, academic knowledge at the expense of practical, agricultural experience. This makes very little sense in the face of a continuing reliance of at least 4/5 of Papua New Guineans on traditional agriculture and cash cropping for their livelihoods.

The increasing competition among school leavers for the 30 - 50 percent (my estimate) of available wage employment that is suitable for them promotes a competitive individualism that is out of step with most cultural traditions in Papua New Guinea. Those who fail in this competitive atmosphere face the possible censure of their parents and other kin, who view schooling as an "investment" in all of their futures. Without jobs, there is no way to "pay back" the investment and the school leaver is all too often viewed as a "good for nothing bighead" or "rascal" who is more likely to cause his family and village grief than he is to help them participate in the developing economy. This means that students who are selected by their families to pursue secondary education face tremendous pressure to conform to the requirements of the educational system and to pass out of it with sufficient standing to make them competitive in a job market best characterized as undergoing rapid educational inflation.

### Social Change as Hidden Curriculum

Themes of social change can be found in the hidden curriculum of the organization of education. To a considerable extent, classroom instruction replicates the social changes that are taking place in Papua New Guinea today. The purpose of the rest of this chapter is to show some of the ways these themes of social change are becoming translated into lessons about proper attitudes and behaviour for students, as well as lessons about what is and what is not "real knowledge".

I would like to include a note about method before I begin this section. Throughout the rest of this chapter and in chapter five I will be making use of quotations from fieldnotes that I took while directly observing schools in West New Britain. I have left the incorrect grammatical constructions of both teachers and pupils in order to give an accurate picture the language of interaction in these classrooms. I have, however, changed names and some of the details that are in the original notes in order to protect the privacy of the individuals involved.

### Abstract Knowledge and Modern Life

I have mentioned several times in this chapter that education in Papua New Guinea continues to favour abstract, academic performance in the classroom over practical performance. The hidden curriculum of education in developing countries often creates strong messages about



the value of abstractions over practical experience. An obvious example would be the way schools cut "time" up into units that are meant to coincide with chronological sequences. So many units per day are allowed for reading, so many for mathematics, and so forth. Students soon learn that they will be punished (often being made to stay after school and weed the school garden) if they come to school "late" or try to leave school "early" without permission. Many teachers in the earlier grades begin the day with a reminder about the importance of time.

The teacher begins the morning by asking the class: "What is today?" They respond with a collective "Friday!" She says: "The date. Harder here!" The class loudly shouts out "The fourth." "Alright everybody, let's say it", she says. The class and she call out together: "Today is friday, the fourth of April, 1986. After this is finished she asks: "How many days in a week?" "Seven", they say. "Say them", she commands. "Monday, Tuesday,...." She follows up with "How many months in a year?" "There are twelve months in a year." "Say them." "January, February, ...."

(Grade One, Kimbe C. S.)

This promotes a different understanding of things than the one governed by the ebb and flow of agricultural seasons and ritual events of village life. It is an understanding that will be needed if the student grows up to participate in the cash economy through wage labour, but it is an understanding that has very little utility for the majority of Papua New Guineans who will continue to make their living through other means.

In this section of the chapter I wish to consider three types of abstract knowledge taught by teachers through the medium of hidden curriculum in the classrooms of West New Britain. Each of these forms of knowledge teaches students to behave and think in ways that make sense primarily in terms of the social relations of the cash economy rather than those of the village. The first type of knowledge refers to individual actions, the second to categories of persons, and the third to characterizations of whole ways of life. The repetition of these messages in the classroom helps students to internalize the new moral order of urban values and paid employment.

#### Actions: the Importance of Being Correct

I begin by considering the manner in which students learn "correct actions" in the classroom. Through hidden curriculum, students quickly learn to categorize their own behaviour and the results of this behaviour as either "correct" or "wrong."

A good example of this is the common practice of asking students after every small in-class assignment how many of them had all of the answers correct, one wrong, two wrong, and so forth.

"Alright, put your hands up if you have all correct (about 90% of the class do this). Good, give yourself three big claps." They do so, very loudly. She dismisses them for recess,

making it seem as though this is part of their 'reward'.

(Math, Grade 2, Kimbe C.S.)

Clapping for those who have the correct answers, especially if all the answers on an assignment are correct, is the commonest form of drawing attention to the "rightness" of a performance and the "wrongness" of anything that does not coincide with this ideal. Often, especially in the later grades, a teacher will get the class to help decide on the correctness of an answer.

In a language lesson, the teacher walks around checking the way individual students are constructing "questions and answers" in their notebooks. Sitting down beside one boy, she says: "Everyone listen to this question. Is the dog black? Is that [a] correct question class?" The class replies: "Yes, it is." She reiterates: "Yes. Now listen to this answer", and reads the boy's work out a second time: "Don't look at the dog." Then she asks the class: "Is that correct?" They respond with a loud "NO". "That's right, make sure you look closely and that the answer is done correctly."

(English, Grade 4, Ewasse C. S.)

Rote teaching methods encourage answers such as the one given by the student above. English is normally the second and often the third language of students. Many memorize "correct" responses for question/answer assignments. Every once in a while, when the teacher mixes up the order of the assignment from the way in which she taught it before, some of the students give the answer belonging to a totally different question. Conversations with students in English helped convince me that many children get the "correct"

responses to exercises without really understanding the sentence construction in question. They have simply memorized the correct response from when the teacher first presented the sentences in class. Constant reinforcement suggests to at least some of these students that being "correct" is more important, and certainly better rewarded, than struggling with honest mistakes in an attempt to actually understand the lesson.

Not all teachers reward only correct answers, as this example from a grade three class at Bialla community school shows.

The teacher brings groups of students up to the front, one group at a time, in order to show that they have learned how to complete the sentence: "I went to the market...". They can give responses such as "to buy greens", "to buy greens and mangoes", or "to buy greens and mangoes and coconuts." Having practiced this list, group after group gets it right. Each group gets a clap as it finishes. Finally, the fifth group called upon makes a mistake, mixing up the order of the answer and placing coconut before mango on the list. They still get a clap, "for trying". The bell has rung, but she seems to want to give each group a chance to do it. The seventh and last group also switches the order of the reply. The kids shout "Wrong!", then they all laugh and clap anyway.

(English, Grade 3, Bialla C. S.)

This teacher is unusual in several ways. Very few teachers reward their students for 'trying', almost all of my examples for this behaviour come from this single teacher. Also, this teacher is almost obsessively even-handed in asking boys and girls to ask and answer questions in class.

However, she shares one trait with the vast majority of teachers I observed in West New Britain. She is, as the example suggests, often very literal about language lessons. Having a less than perfect understanding of English herself, she follows the language lesson to the letter, even to the point of considering students who change the order of the answers to be "wrong." Taking lessons from the curriculum guidelines literally is an ongoing problem in the classrooms, leading one School Inspector to remark acidly to me: "I keep telling them it is a guideline, NOT THE BIBLE!"

It is much more common to reward correct answers by clapping and to shame those who are incorrect by having the rest of the class correct their error by shouting out the answer and suggesting, in one form or another, that being wrong somehow shows a deficiency of character.

This teacher often makes personal comments about students who do not have the right answer. For example, he just pointed to a girl and said: "You were playing around yesterday. I often heard your name [called out in the classroom] when I was working up here and you were supposed to be working down there." He glares at her. "That is why you are not correct." After doing the usual "Okay, count up, who got all eight right? Seven, six, etc. He then says: "Those who didn't get all right, make sure you try next time."

(Math, Grade 4, Ewasse C.S.)

Here, a senior teacher is indicating that nothing less than 'all correct' will do. In stating 'make sure you try next time' he indicates that being all correct is more of a

technical problem that can be achieved through effort than something that occurs on and off as part of the process of learning about arithmetic, reading, and other studies. Being correct becomes a goal in itself and gains an importance that can override the overt lesson if the teacher constantly reinforces it, as many of the teachers do.

Once students learn the importance of being correct, this lesson can be extended to many other facets of behaviour. Students also learn that they must act in certain ways at certain times.

"Okay, I want you to get your answers and come to the front. Quickly." She begins counting, speeding up as she goes: "One, two, three, four, five, six-seven-eight-nine-ten! Quickly!"  
(Math, Grade 6, Ewasse C.S.)

As part of their arithmetic lessons, the children are asked to categorize squares and triangles of different sizes (large or small). The teacher begins by asking Robert and Peter to stand up and fetch the blocks. They pile them up in the front of the room. "Somebody to come to the middle and pick up a block, any block." She chooses a girl, who comes up and grabs a block out of the pile. "Okay, face the class. What is the title of your block [square or triangle]? What is the size [big or little]?" The girl answers and the teacher repeats: "Okay, she has a big, blue, triangle block." She then chooses a boy to come up and goes through the same routine with him. He speaks very softly. "Did you all hear", she asks the class. The class shouts out "NO". So she makes the boy repeat the whole thing again, speaking louder. When the kids themselves become too loud, she chastises them: "I told you, any big noise and I'm not going to pick them [students who are making the noise]."

(Math, Grade 2, Bialla C. S.)

Students in the three schools I researched were constantly admonished by teachers to "do it quickly", to "be quiet" or "speak up". This teaches them that certain behaviour or actions go with certain situations. When called upon to perform as an individual in front of the class a student should speak out, though the same student must learn to be quiet when another is being called upon to perform. The call for speed is related to the division of subjects into different time periods. Those who are not finished have to stop their work and proceed to the next lesson with the teacher and the rest of the class. They are not allowed to continue to work on the old lesson until they understand and complete it to their own satisfaction. Students in the class are learning to act both as individuals and as a group in conjunction with the sometimes overt and sometimes subtle clues that come from the teacher. Here the teacher becomes a kind of orchestra conductor, teaching the students not to play too loudly nor too softly and at just the right moments.

There is a great deal of emphasis on correct form in the classroom. I have already noted above that being correct can sometimes be valued above learning the overt lesson. In a similar way, using the correct form can be and often is valued above practical results or the possibility of creating new and different forms. This can

be seen most easily in Writing and Expressive Art lessons. In Writing, for example, producing a readable script is simply not good enough and the goal becomes the production of the correct script.

A grade two class is learning how to write the letter h/H. The teacher writes a small case 'h' on the black-board and instructs the students to "write one "h" in their notebooks. A little later he adds: "Alright, write one full line of small letter h. Those who are not doing it well, do it properly." He moves around the classroom, correcting individual student's efforts as he goes. A little while later he moves on to capital H. After checking some work he says: "This is not right. Some are small, some are fat, I want everyone to have them just like this (pointing to his own capital H's on the blackboard)."

(Writing, Grade 2, Ewasse C. S.)

Students are rewarded individually for "neat" handwriting by being allowed to move on to use pens rather than pencils in their work.

"Alright, take out your excercise books and do those [question and answer responses]. Remember, neat handwriting. Remember, only those people who I told to can use pen, others must use pencil. Simon, your handwriting is like a snake, you must use pencil."

(English, Grade 4, Ewasse C. S.)

Some of the students indicated to me that they felt "left back" because they are not allowed to use a pen in their lessons. Their handwriting is readable, but it is certainly not "neat" by the teachers' standards. Which is to say that it is not "correct" and not to be rewarded, even though it fulfills the function of literate communication.



The idea that form is more important than content or function often becomes most forcefully apparent in Expressive Art lessons. The following scene was played out again and again, with small variations, in the classrooms I observed.

"Okay class, I want you to take a nice white piece of paper, a good clean piece. Not a rough one." The teacher writes 'Drawing using lines' on the front board. "Okay, see if you can look around and find any bottles or things." Each row gets up and each student finds either a bottle or a jar cap. The teacher then puts a big dot in the center of the board and writes down 'Rule-moving anti-clockwise' at the bottom of the board. "Okay, so on your piece of paper you are going to find a starting point. Place your bottle there. The instruction is, you are always moving anti-clockwise [to trace around the bottle]. Everytime your bottle should be on the starting point, moving the bottle 360° around. But there are two rules, always moving anti-clockwise and stick to the starting point." He walks around checking them. "Stick to the starting point, stick to the starting point, but moving anti-clockwise." "If you are finished, try another one." The end result looks something like a flower seen from directly overhead. "Kids with colours [crayons], colour in the various areas. With light colours, it looks quite nice." "Alright, who is confusing? Who still does not know the rules?" Some students put up their hands, and he goes over to help them. As he was walking around before, he told several students that they were wrong, because they had moved the bottle clockwise as they 'drew'. He made them throw these 'drawings' away and begin again. Even though the final results were exactly the same. As students finished, he began putting each up for display in the board beside his illustration. "Okay, sitting where you are, look at your picture on the front wall. Compare it with the others. By looking at it you will find which is the best one, and things like that." It seems obvious from his gestures that the "best one" means the

one most like his illustration on the board.  
(Expressive Arts, Grade 6, Bialla C. S.)

A good example of a variation on this theme occurred in a grade three Expressive Arts class at the Kimbe Community School. Here, students were taken through a step-by-step, one line at a time instruction for "drawing" a stylized tulip. The tulip, which is not indigenous to Papua New Guinea, had a long stem and two leaves. The teacher made a big point out of doing each step "in order"; each element as he did it on the board in front of them. He also noted: "Two leaves, not one leaf and not three leaves. When you are finished, you can colour it. But remember, what colour are leaves?" The class responded that leaves were "GREEN!" "That's right, not purple, not yellow, eh John?" The class laughed loudly at this last reference. They knew that leaves had to be green. Even if John hadn't learned this crucial lesson yet, they understood the importance of being correct.

#### Persons: Good Versus Bad Students

Relatively early in the research, having sat through a few classes and having begun informal conversations with teachers, I quickly got the impression that most teachers have very strong notions about 'good' and 'bad' pupils. I therefore decided to include questions about this dichotomy on an interview schedule I constructed for my work with the teachers (see Appendix # 1). I asked

each teacher: a) "Could you briefly describe what a good pupil is like?", and b)"What about a pupil who is not very good?" The similarity of answers that were given to this two-part question convinces me that most teachers that I spoke with and observed have a habit of slotting students into one or the other of two well-defined categories. The categories, which are presented below, are built-up from the actual responses of twenty-nine teachers to the open-ended interview question above. I have only included "answers" that were mentioned by two or more teachers below. Characteristics are listed in diminishing order of response and the number beside each equals the number of teachers who described 'good' or 'bad' pupils in a particular way. Most teachers offered more than one characterization.

<u>Good Students</u>		<u>Bad Students</u>	
-listens to the teacher/ obedient	(13)	-a bighead/ shows self- pride and disrespect	(19)
-behaves well in the classroom	(12)	-plays up in the class/ disturbs the class	(13)
-concentrates/quiet	(11)	-never listens to the teacher	(9)
-asks a lot of questions/ talks at the right time	(6)	-can be bright	(7)
-is self-reliant/ disciplined	(6)	-doesn't ask a lot of questions/lazy	(6)
-is neat and tidy/ good manners	(6)	-lacks concentration/ is noisy	(5)
-early to school/starts work straight away	(4)	-lacks manners/swears	(4)
-reads a lot/studies at home	(3)	-does not do homework/ lags behind the class	(3)
-also behaves outside of classroom	(2)	-is not independent	(2)
-doesn't hit his friends	(2)	-does not look after books and things/untidy	(2)
-must show love to others	(2)		

The reader should note that the top three requirements for being considered a good student are variations on the same theme: 1) is obedient and listens to the teacher, 2) behaves well in the classroom, and 3) is a quiet person who concentrates well. The first two seem to indicate that for most teachers the main priority is to keep disciplined order in the classroom; while the second and third also indicate a wish for students to internalize this order. Good pupils are quiet, obey the teacher's

authority at all times and do not draw attention to themselves. Or, as teachers themselves put it, a good pupil is:

Quiet when he should be quiet. Does what he's told. Talks when he should talk. I think most children who have been brought up well before they came to school tend to be the best in the class. Those who are not brought up are cheeky, etcetera. A good student should be a well-disciplined child.

(Teacher, Kimbe C. S.)

Quiet, listen to what I am saying. They sit quiet and later do what I say.

(Teacher, Biälla C. S.)

A child who is neat, keeps himself neat and tidy everyday. ...Must respond to the teacher when they're asking questions. Even if he/she doesn't know, they'll try to respond to [the] question - - whether he's right or wrong. Sits quietly and pays attention to the teacher.

(Teacher, Ewasse C. S.)

Not a single teacher suggested to me that a good student might, on occasion, question a teacher or anyone else's authority. Only one teacher felt that a good student should be "bright" (as opposed to seven who mentioned that a bad student can often be bright). And a single teacher mentioned leadership ability as a sign of a good pupil.

More often than not teachers seem to fear that too much ability, too much self-assurance or pride, can easily lead a student into becoming a "bighead". The worst students, according to these teachers, are pupils who are too "full of themselves." They show disrespect for others and cause disruptions in the classroom. Bad students:

Disturb others while one [i.e. the teacher] is doing something. It doesn't mean he's stupid. Even if he's a clever child, if he does those things -- like being too noisy -- he's not a good student. Does not do what the teacher says.

(Teacher, Kimbe C. S.)

They will have disrespect. They will always have this pride -- of thinking they are the most important child.

(Teacher, Bialla C. S.)

I had a bright student last year. His [hand]writing is bad. He wants to be finished first. The work goes to him and he stays the same. If he was a good child he would change.

(Teacher, Bialla C. S.)

From experience, some of them, they're very bright. But some bright ones think they're bosses or something. They're bigheaded children, but they're very bright.

(Teacher, Ewasse C. S.)

In the interviews, teachers often gave specific examples of pupils to illustrate their points.

Like Vincent. That one, he is never quiet. He is staying with wantoks here. And his parents are working in Lae. That's why they never look after him properly.

(Teacher, Bialla C. S.)

I have quite a few who are really cheeky. Like Nathan. Beating other children, swearing.

(Teacher, Kimbe C. S.)

Specific children are also repeatedly singled out and used as examples of 'bad' behaviour in class.

"Alright, you are going to write these sentences out in your book". A boy, George, shouts out the answer to the first problem of the question /answer sequence on the board. "Is that how we answer, George?", asks the teacher sharply. He sits back, chastised, while the teacher moves on to ask a girl who had been waiting patiently

with her hand up to give the first answer to the class.

(English, Grade 2, Bialla C. S.)

Even children who would normally be singled out for praise, are sometimes warned to remain 'good' students and to exhibit 'correct' behaviour in the classroom.

"Alright", the teacher says, "Stand and go to your ability] groups." The students do so. "Alright, remember, if I hear the groups making mistakes and the group leader is not correcting it, group leader -- you're going to be smacked!"

(Math, Grade 4, Ewasse C. S.)

By constantly turning the abstract idea of good versus bad students and correct versus incorrect behaviour into concrete classroom examples, teachers are providing the lesson that both human beings and human behaviour are continually subject to specific moral categories. Teachers use corporal punishment and verbal shaming (considerably more will be said about the subject of discipline in a later section of the chapter) to remind students that failure to live up to these abstractions brings direct and immediate punishment. In community schools, pupils are experiencing their first taste of what life will be like if they pursue a job in the cash economy - where rewards and punishments are handed out according to how well the hired worker becomes the image of a "good worker". If they "behave well", "do their job", and do not become "trouble-makers" they may be rewarded with continual employment and the monetary advantages it brings. If they do not live up

to their employers' image of a good worker, an image that is almost identical to most teachers' idea of a good pupil, they will find themselves fired or not re-hired when workers are needed by the same employer for new projects. More will be said about the parallel between teacher/pupil interaction in the classroom and the boss/worker relationship of the cash economy in a later section of this chapter. At present, I would like to move on to consider the way the abstract categories of "modern" versus "traditional" life become expressed in the classroom.

#### The Desire to be Modern

I asked David what he thought about the value of school generally in Papua New Guinea. He answered that: "I think it is only aimed at town life. It teaches you how to live in a town, that's all."

(High School Teacher, Kimbe High School)

There is a general perception among adults that schools in Papua New Guinea fail to educate students for life in the village. Urban values are emphasized over rural values by teachers who spent most of the formative years of their lives attending the secondary schools and teacher's colleges which are only available in town areas. In this section of the chapter, I want to show some of the ways teachers celebrate an urban, cash economy life at the expense of the life of village people and the subsistence economy. I will also show the extent to which students in grades five and six have internalized these values.



Student expectations regarding their future lives as adults in Papua New Guinea clearly indicate a rejection of rural, village life - a rejection totally out of keeping with the continuing structures of economic relations in that country.

Some teachers are more overt than others about their preference for an urban, cash-based way of life. These preferences are expressed in a number of ways.

The children are being given religious instruction. The class is about Paul going to preach to the Romans, "who had many different types of gods." "What did the Romans do after they were converted?" No one in the class is able to answer this, so he continues "Okay, they took all their books, with magic written down in them, and they burn them. That is what new Christians do, they throw away all the old things from before." "Some people here think they have magic", he adds. "Hands up, those of you who have fathers who think they have magic?" Only a couple of the kids' hands go up. "I know some of your fathers think they have magic. Like fishing magic. Do you believe in this kind of magic? I don't believe in fishing magic. You go out in the water and you catch fish, or you don't. No magic!"

(Religion, Grade 4, Ewasse C. S.)

Mrs. Sara was giving a religion lesson about an early missionary in Papua New Guinea. "And people attacked him, but he kept going. And finally he was eaten by cannibals. A long time ago, we know our ancestors, they ate people sometimes. Yes?" The class responds: "Yes." She goes on: "Some people are [meaning 'were'] afraid of white people. They thought they were Masalais [a kind of spirit]. Because these people, they are primitive, they were still primitive. And today we are happy that each of us belongs to different churches. And that we no longer eat people and are killing each other. Some of us are killing each other, but not many."

(Religion, Grade 4, Kimbe C. S.)

Masalai is a Tok Pisin word that is often used to refer to different kinds of spirit forces throughout the country, each originally having a local name and embedded within traditional belief systems. Belief in these entities continues to be widespread. The last sentence in the quote above and the switching of tenses seems to indicate the teacher's belief that that there are still some "primitive" people living in Papua New Guinea. She equates a belief in Masalais with cannibalism, and seems ambivalent about her own suggestion that this is really 'all in the past'.

In my opinion, there is considerable continuity between the mission of education as a "civilizing agent" (as outlined in chapter 3) and the perception of many teachers today of themselves as agents of the "modern world". Teachers indicated to me many times that part of their job was to clear away the "old superstitions" and teach the students to live in "modern ways". An important part of this task seems to be influenced by a growing awareness of ethnicity in the country. Some groups, such as the Simbu from the highland area of the mainland, are looked upon by many urban West New Britains and other coastal peoples as living examples of a "primitive people". More and more the idea of the primitive is becoming equated by at least some urban people with the idea of traditional

life and traditional beliefs. This comes out in the classroom.

The teachers sometimes begin class in the morning by asking the students if they've heard any interesting news items in the last few days. This morning a girl got up and gave the news that a Simbu had attacked and killed a boy with an axe at Mosa [an oil palm project area]. The teacher responds by saying: "Yes, this is stupid! Only stupid primitive people do such things, hurt others. Is that good?" The class responds by shouting a very loud "No!"

(News, Grade 4, Ewasse C. S.)

I have seen many similar responses by parents living in and around the towns of West New Britain. While attending a large school meeting one night, the issue of whether or not to raise school fees for the next year came up. One parent, dressed only in a ragged pair of shorts which were in sharp contrast to the 'Sunday best' of most of the other parents, stood up to speak.

He tried to explain to the school board, using only Tok Pisin, that he had a number of children in school and he lived in a village just outside of Kimbe. He did not have a job in the cash economy and it was hard for him to pay for school fees. Some parents objected to his use of Tok Pisin, and shouted out "Use English, use English." He asked that the board consider cutting all school fees because parents like him, who had no job, couldn't afford to pay them. This was greeted with a lot of angry shouting by other parents: "Go back to the village!" "Bush Kanaka!" "How can we have a good school then?" He sat down quickly and looked quite shamed. The chairman who was running the meeting quickly passed onto voting whether or not to keep the fees as they were, or raise them, ignoring the villager's suggestion to abolish them. The majority voted for keeping them as they are for another year.

(Board of Management Annual Meeting, Kimbe C. S.)

Teachers tend to be very aware of urban parents' attitudes on this issue and share a bias which assumes that the urban world is a more sophisticated and modern world than that of the village and therefore a more worthwhile world that has to be 'earned'.

These attitudes are reinforced by some of the overt curriculum taught by teachers in the classroom. One example is that schools use kits in Community Life classes which contain a series of pictures and category headings. Students divide up into their ability groups and attempt to match pictures to categories such as: Town area, Coastal area, Swampy area, Mountain area, etc.

The kids in all of the groups match the picture of a Simbu male to 'Mountain area', even though many Simbu live in highland towns and in the oil palm areas of West New Britain. They match a picture of a car, as well as a picture of a newer style house, to 'Town area'. Even though some villagers who live along the north coast Kimbe to Biälla road area also have cars. The teacher and a group of students argue about where to put a picture of a large ship. Students say the 'Coastal area', but the teacher demands that it be placed under 'Town area'. 'Town' also has all of the factories, large stores, and banks put under it.

(Community Life, Grade 4, Biälla C. S.)

Many of the things students in the town schools learn to associate with the 'good life' of paid jobs, money, and the availability of consumer goods become firmly connected to town life through both the overt and hidden curriculum in the classrooms. To live this life, or aspire

to live it, is to be 'modern'. The desire to be part of the modern world is much in evidence in each classroom that I visited. Magazine pictures, cut out by both teachers and pupils, cover most classroom walls. These are meant both to decorate the walls and illustrate educational themes: from the A B C's to "The Royal Family".

On the back wall each letter of the alphabet is illustrated with a word and a magazine picture. A is for Airplane, B is for Boy, C is for Car ...and so on down to Z is for Zoo. Almost every illustration is "modern" in orientation, with expensive consumer goods seeming to be the favourite.

(Grade 1, Kimbe C. S.)

There is a collage of magazine pictures cut out and pasted together on cardboard hanging at the front of the room to the side of the chalk board. The collage has the title: "The Royal Family" at the top and it includes a picture of Queen Elizabeth standing with Ronald Reagan!

(Grade 4, Biella C. S.)

In these classrooms there is an emphasis, indeed an insistence, that students view themselves as Papua New Guineans living in a modern world rather than primarily as Nakanai, Simbu, Tolai, Sepik, or members of any other 'ethnic' group.

Perhaps the best way to summarize the way many teachers feel about the difference between 'modern town life' and 'traditional rural life' is to offer the words of a senior teacher regarding the subject of Agriculture, which is thought of as a distinctly rural activity.

I wandered over to the gardens to watch a class in Agriculture. A number of boys were sitting by the sports field watching a Police team practice soccer. The teacher, who is normally one of the strictist in the school, did not say anything to the boys and just let them continue to watch. A very few of the girls were actually weeding the pineapple plots, which badly needed it, while the rest of the class were off giggling and playing around on the grounds. As if in response to my unspoken question, Mr. Sara turned to me and said: "This is a town school. I think they are better [garden workers] in a village school. Here, they don't like to work hard outside. They work hard inside," he said, pointing a finger towards the classroom.

(Agriculture, Grade 6, Bialla C. S.)

Clearly both teacher and pupils were in accord regarding the worth of agricultural skills - agriculture is not 'modern' and therefore is not thought to be of much importance to town people.

The extent to which students at Kimbe, Bialla and Ewasse community schools internalize the message of "being modern in a modern world" can easily be seen in their response to an assigned essay topic: "My Future Work".

I asked teachers in grades five and six at each of the three community schools to have their students write a short essay on the theme "My Future Work" as a normal part of a written composition assignment. Students are used to writing these kinds of essays and I requested that teachers give them only the same kinds of instructions that they would normally give during similar exercises. I was purposefully not present in the particular grade 5 or 6 class when the exercise was carried out. The word "work"

was chosen as a more neutral term than the word "job" for the essay title. In Tok Pisin, the word "wok" (work) refers to just about any active endeavour that can lead to a practical result. Findings from the student essays are presented in the tables below, one for each of the schools involved. The findings, which indicate the kinds of work students hope to participate in during their future adult lives, are discussed immediately after the tables are presented. Examples from their written responses are also given as part of this discussion.

Table 4.1: My Future Work: Kimbe Community School

Work	Grade Five			Grade Six		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Mechanic	2	-	2	8	-	8
Teacher	-	11	11	1	4	5
Doctor	1	1	2	3	-	3
Nurse	-	2	2	-	6	6
Air Hostess	-	2	2	-	2	2
Armed Forces	2	-	2	2	-	2
Police	3	2	5	-	-	-
Typist	-	1	1	-	3	3
Clerk	-	3	3	1	1	2
D.P.I. Worker	1	-	1	-	-	-
Carpenter	1	-	-	2	-	2
Pilot	5	-	5	1	-	1
Store Owner	2	-	2	1	-	-
Engineer	-	-	-	1	-	1
Parliment	1	-	1	-	-	-
Astronaut	-	1	1	-	-	-
Radio Announc.	-	-	-	-	1	1
Architect	-	-	-	1	-	1
Rugby Player	-	-	-	2	-	2
Printer	-	-	-	2	-	2
Electrician	-	-	-	2	-	2
Ship Captain	-	-	-	1	-	1
Building Insp.	-	-	-	1	-	1
Village Agric.	4	-	4	2	3	5



Table 4.2: My Future Work: Bialla Community School

<u>Work</u>	<u>Grade Five</u>			<u>Grade Six</u>		
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total</u>
Mechanic	10	-	10	3	-	3
Teacher	-	7	7	-	10	10
Doctor	3	-	3	1	-	1
Nurse	-	3	3	-	1	1
Lawyer	1	-	1	-	-	-
Armed Forces	1	-	1	1	-	1
Police	1	2	3	1	-	1
Typist	-	1	1	-	2	2
Clerk	-	3	3	-	1	1
D.P.I. Worker*	-	1	1	-	-	1
Carpenter	1	-	1	1	-	1
Pilot	1	-	1	1	-	1
Fisheries	1	-	1	-	-	-
Village Agric.	-	1	1	1	-	1
Sister	-	1	1	-	1	1
Priest	-	-	-	1	-	1
Driver	-	-	-	2	-	2
Businessman	-	-	-	1	-	1
Engineer	1	-	1	-	-	-

\* D. P. I. stands for the Department of Primary Industry.

Table 4.3: My Future Work: Ewasse Community School

	<u>Grade Five</u>			<u>Grade Six</u>		
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total</u>
Mechanic	3	-	3	2	-	2
Teacher	3	9	12	-	1	1
Doctor	4	-	4	-	-	-
Nurse	-	4	4	-	3	3
Store Owner	-	1	1	1	-	1
Armed Forces	2	-	2	-	-	-
Police	1	-	1	1	-	1
Typist	-	1	1	-	-	-
Dentist	1	-	1	-	-	-
Engineer	-	-	-	2	-	2
Carpenter	-	-	-	2	-	2
Pilot	-	-	-	2	-	2
Geologist	-	-	-	2	-	2
Boat Captain	-	-	-	1	-	1

There are a number of patterns readily apparent in these tables. Some of them, such as the sexual stereotyping of occupations, will be discussed later in the thesis. What I am most interested in at the moment is the tremendous bias these grade five and six students have towards urban employment in the cash economy. Clearly, the vast majority of these students see themselves as 'modern' Papua New Guineans who will make their living outside of village-based agricultural production. Only eleven out of two hundred and eight pupils said that they wanted to make their future work in village agriculture. Not one of these pupils came from Ewasse community school, the only 'village' school in the study. Some of the occupations, such as teacher or member of the police force, can be practiced (all or in part) in rural areas of the country. However, they are not in any sense 'traditional' rural occupations and they owe their existence primarily to the urban-based cash economy. To become a teacher, for example, requires that a pupil spend long years in both secondary schools and a teacher's college in or near one of the main towns.

What is important is not that grade five and six students in West New Britain have unrealistic expectations regarding their personal futures (it is quite possible that most students at this level of education anywhere in the world hold such unrealistic expectations), but rather that

so few want to participate in the agriculturally based economy that is primarily located in the villages of Papua New Guinea. This totally ignores the fact that seventy to eighty percent of these students will end up doing just that. The structure of the emerging economy and the limited ability of the national and provincial governments to provide for urban growth make it highly unlikely that more than 20% of Papua New Guineans growing up in the 1980s will be able to gain paid employment. Even fewer will be able to live in the relatively affluent consumer environment of the towns.

In the late 1960s, J. D. Conroy (1977) surveyed 819 primary school children who were scheduled to discontinue their education as to their occupational expectations. While 59% of these students were children of village "farmers", only 8.7% of the boys and 2.2% of the girls saw agricultural work as an "ideal" career choice. Conroy's study covered seven different school districts on the mainland and it suggests a remarkable continuity of student expectations during the last few decades. These unrealistic expectations are likely related to both parental expectations and the kind of social unrest described earlier in this chapter.

As important as the numbers reported in the tables is the tone of expectations reported by the grade five and

six students. Reading through the paragraphs provided by the children leaves little doubt in my mind as to whether these students prefer urban or rural life for their futures.

When I finish my grade 6 I join the vocational school and when I grow big I join the Machine [the mechanics school in Port Moresby]. I will know how to fix truck or car, bicycle and I stay on, e.g. one time a man came to see me and I fix his car. Then I finish, they'll give me money and I become rich and stay happily in my home in Moresby.

(Boy, Grade 6, Kimbe C.S.)

My future work I want to be a teacher at Bialla community school. I want to teach all the children, I want to help them to learn the words. I want to be a FUTURE in Bialla. Everyday I want the children to know the the words in the school ground, to respect the teacher.

(Girl, Grade 5, Ewasse C. S.)

In My Future Time:

I will be an Engineer, for overseas ship. Because I want to see other countries. And the salary is very high and the life is good. And I want to pay back. When I am small my parents look after me at school and at home.

(Boy, Grade 5, Bialla C. S.)

Even when students mention the possibility of living in villages, they usually do so only as a very secondary choice - a choice they will make only if they 'fail' to be what they really want to be.

I'm thinking that I will go to my village and carry on my father's bisnis [business] if I drop out of school. My father has a trade store and a pig place. We are very lucky people in the village. But if I am lucky and pass my school I'll become a Government clerk and try overseas. I really try hard in school.

(Boy, Grade 6, Kimbe C. S.)

There are some students who indicate a willingness to work in the rural areas, though they do not necessarily want to be of the rural areas. Examples would include a grade 5 student in Biialla, who wants to train in the fisheries so that he can get a job with the Shell oil company. Or the Ewasse boy who wants to be a Geologist.

Well in my future job I will become a GEOLOGIST because I want to study about rocks and to find minerals like gold, copper and oil in the ground. Because at this moment I heard people become Geologist they get a lot of money in that job that's why I want to become a Geologist and also enjoying myself patrolling in the bush looking for minerals.

(Boy, Grade 6, Ewasse C. S.)

For this boy, and I would argue for increasing numbers of students from the schools in and around town areas, the 'bush' or rural areas are starting to be seen as a 'resource' that town people exploit but do not necessarily desire to live in.

In the traditional societies of Papua New Guinea an individual is born into kinship relations which he or she may then manipulate according to individual ability and ambitions. Ambitions that may only be realized within a relatively small and well-defined social arena. An individual must both compete and cooperate with others - without cooperating to mutual advantage and satisfaction, individual ambitions will never be realized. A desire to be a 'big man' or a 'big woman' will only reach fruition if the individual does not seem to overstep the boundaries of

allowable inequalities (which may differ from group to group - but which always remain group defined). Individuals learn about boundaries and how to manipulate them through practical action, rather than through the manipulation of abstract categories or words alone.

A different kind of moral order emerges from the the schools of the town areas in West New Britain. This moral order favours competitive individualism at the expense of a balance between competition and cooperation between the individual and society. It also favours the idea of correct behaviour, the division of pupils into good and bad students, and the celebration of the modern life of urban values at the expense of the traditional life of rural agriculture. This promotes the development of a person who is fit more for the relations of competitive capitalism than the social matrix of village life; for the life of a worker rather than the life of a horticulturalist/fisherman/hunter.

#### Competitive Individualism: a World of Winners and Losers

Competitive individualism can be seen in classroom behaviour that emphasizes that life is a zero-sum game. In order for someone to win, others must lose. A student can be correct, good, and modern, or incorrect, bad and traditional. A winner or a loser.

Of course, teachers and pupils do not always think

in such black and white terms. As I show in the next chapter, many contradictions can and do exist in the classroom. However, it is important to understand that a dual, winner or loser moral system is a major part of the hidden curriculum of education in West New Britain. Students are constantly being confronted by abstractions that emphasize this point as they participate in normal student-teacher interactions in the classroom. The more years a student spends in the classroom the more time s/he will have to learn the lesson of competitive individualism.

A driving force of competitive individualism is the grade six examinations - in which each individual is judged according to his or her "ability" to continue into secondary schooling. Teachers take this exam very seriously and repeatedly admonish students not to help their friends when taking practice tests in the classroom.

He is going to give the students a mock exam. "So, pretend you are writing an exam now. I'm going to give you the 1985 General Exam Sheet. You write as if you were writing exam, okay?" Students go up by the desk to get the exam, returning to their seats they begin writing them. "Try to work by yourself, eh! You must hide your answers when it's really time to take this test." ...During the exam, one boy asks another boy if he can see his answer sheet (the teacher cannot see this). In fact, he grabs it to take a look at it. But the first boy grabs it back from him. "No", is all he says.

(Grade 6, Ewasse C. S.)

The teacher decides to hold a spelling test. She hands out small pieces of paper. "Write your name on top. Do not touch any book. Check your friends' hands, pockets. They might be holding



something! [Later] ...Finished?" "Yes", they answer. "Alright, put pencils away. Line up in two lines. Check your friends, they might be holding a pencil [used to change answers with while correcting]. ...When the teacher asks who had six correct, she does not believe one boy who puts up his hand. "Because boys are like that, they're always helping the slow ones. But this is something for competing.

(Spelling, Grade 2, Bialla C. S.)

This class has a set of "class rules" posted on the back wall. One of the rules is "Mind your own business." This is directly opposed to "traditional" life, where everyone minds everyone else's business.

(Grade 4, Kimbe C. S.)

As the last quote indicates, this kind of individualism is generalizable and should not be considered to be limited to test or exam situations.

As the students finish the writing assignment, each takes his/hers up to the front for the teacher to check. "Eh, that group of boys there. What are they doing. Girls, why are they spying? Peter! You should be using your own head - shame on you!"

(Writing, Grade 2, Bialla C. S.)

She [the teacher] is doing question and answer, where each student has to put the right answer down on his paper in response to her oral question. "...And make sure you cover your work from your friends." "...Something that I see. Boys think this is a game. They see their friends and help them. I caught a few today. Next time you do it, I'm going to put you in a different place."

(English, Grade 2, Kimbe C. S.)

This kind of lesson suggests that there is something wrong with helping fellow students, because ultimately it is a disadvantage to oneself to do so. Students are in competition with each other for grade seven

placements. Pupils do not pass into secondary school as a group, but rather as individuals competing for limited educational resources. In this way, the grade six examination is a faithful reflection of the developing structure of employment in the cash economy - a prize that goes to the lucky few and not something that will be shared among the group.

A similar idea is presented to students in the classroom through the hidden curriculum of 'property'. By stressing individual responsibility for classroom materials and the notion that specific items 'belong' to particular individuals, teachers essentially assert that these property relations are the natural order of things. This assertion can occur in a number of different ways.

"Okay, come and get your books." The teacher hands booklets out at the front of the room. Each has blue pages, with designs on each page (fish, trees, an axe, etc.). As the children flip through them I can see that some of the designs have been coloured in. Each book has the student's name printed in large letters on top. This clearly "says" that these books are individual property, individual work.

(Pre-Writing, Grade 1, Kimbe C. S.)

Morning Assembly. The headmaster is holding forth. "Good morning children." "Good morning headmaster", they reply. "Okay, just one announcement. Don't forget to come early and don't wait for us to tell you not to go all over the place. A policeman will come and shoot you with a gun." (There is some laughter at this, though he seems serious and does not laugh). "You leave rubbish all over the place! Don't think someone else is responsible for things. And don't take pencils or things." His voice becomes increasingly louder, until he is shouting.

"That's stealing! Or taking betel nut or stuff from the garden. I am looking after that, you must come to me. That's stealing! People come and ask for it, but it's not theirs. You must ask me. So be careful."

(Assembly, Ewasse C. S.)

After the blackboard exercise is over, she tells the class "Okay, come up." She hands out books for reading. Each book has an individual's name on it. The boys, I've noticed, like to move around to different desks. Several of them go back to the "wrong" desks after they return from the front. She sends them back to the "right" desks, the ones they were in originally. "I said before, same desks."

(Reading, Grade 2, Bialla C. S.)

It is a relatively small step from the idea of private property to the understanding that individuals are in competition for resources, whether the resources are material goods or the teacher's attention.

The teacher in this classroom rewards students who finish assignments quickly by letting them go and get a storybook from the shelf to read while they are waiting for the rest of the class to finish. This is clearly popular with the students, and they run to the shelf to grab the 'best' storybooks as soon as they are finished. There are not enough to go around and a few are clearly favourite books, so there is quite a bit of grabbing and mild pushing going on.

(English, Grade 4, Bialla C. S.)

"Okay, I want three people to come up and put three words down in the right place [on the board]. The kids are quite enthusiastic: "Excuse, excuse" [the equivalent of "pick me, pick me"], they call out. One girl shouts out "Whopee!" as she is picked, which makes the teacher smile.

(English, Grade 2, Kimbe C. S.)

I was constantly surprised at the level of volunteerism in the schools of West New Britain.

Students actively seek to be chosen by the teacher to perform as individuals in the classroom. This is true whether it involves putting a math problem on the board, reading aloud from a book, or offering an answer from last night's homework. This suggests that at least some students are learning to function individualistically in pursuit of private goals - whether the goal is access to a cherished book, kind words from a teacher for behaving as a 'good' student should, or passing the grade six examination with a high enough ranking to qualify for entrance to a secondary education. Students are learning that they will often be judged on the basis of individual performance.

Students are not, of course, free to do whatever they like in the classroom. This is not what the lesson of competitive individualism means. Quite the contrary. Individuals are arrayed in a strictly hierarchical arrangement. Competitive individualism teaches that the student must compete for a place in that hierarchy. Individuals may be "free" to compete, but the competition itself leads to a ranking system that is much more rigid than those usually found in traditional Papua New Guinean societies.

#### Authority and Discipline: the Hidden Curriculum of Hierarchy

Fieldnotes on each classroom that I observed are full of examples that I code as "hierarchy", "authority", and "discipline".

Hierarchy refers to the overall effect of organizing education along a system of rank that extends from the Federal Minister of Education down to the grade one student. Along this line of rank are the federal, provincial and local authorities responsible for both school systems and individual schools. At the level that most immediately affects the student, the school itself is arranged into: headmaster, senior teachers, teachers and students. Students are themselves further organized into "ability groups" within the classroom, each group with its own student leader. As previously discussed, there is of course also the more informal ranking of being judged a "good" student, exhibiting "correct" behaviour and a "modern" outlook, or the opposite.

Authority refers to the assumed naturalness of this arrangement. In a particular situation, an individual is given the authority that is "due to" him or her because of the position s/he plays in the organization of schooling rather than to any specific personal ability. This is what Pierre Bourdieu and J. C. Passeron (1977) refer to as "pedagogic authority" - the unquestioned place or role that receives respect due to its position in the educational system.

Discipline is the main method of ensuring that authority and hierarchical arrangements are respected.

Discipline helps inculcate the values of authority and hierarchy until they come to be thought of as natural rather than human creations. Naturalization occurs when students have internalized the ranked system of schooling to such an extent that they cease to question, through words or actions, the correctness of these arrangements. This kind of internalization is seldom total and a pragmatic compliance that limits questioning the system to internal dialogues and gripe sessions outside of the school setting becomes an acceptable norm.

In this section, I give examples of how authority and discipline become expressed in classroom interactions and then go on to discuss the manner in which they combine to form a hierarchical learning situation that is a direct reflection of the work situation students will face if they gain employment in the cash economy.

#### Hierarchy in the Modern World

I pointed out earlier in this chapter that classrooms are full of magazine cutouts depicting the 'modern world'. It is also common to see representations of organizations such as the educational system and various levels of government on classroom walls.

Classroom description. On the front wall there is a large blackboard, with ruled-off sections for "Teacher's Corner", "Notices" and "Policies". There is also a "Duty Roster" printed on cardboard paper taped up on the wall. A similar poster shows the "Supervising Structure" of Kimbe community school (from headmaster down to

junior teacher). Class rules and rules for marking are on paper above the blackboard. ...On the left hand side of the front wall there are the Provincial Governments and the Premier of each province. Beside that, the teacher has put the members of the West New Britain Provincial Government, with cabinet ministers clearly indicated. Beside that, on the left wall, is another chart which outlines the structure of the WNB government.

(Grade 4, Kimbe C. S.)

The above description is not at all unusual. I saw intricately detailed charts outlining the organizational hierarchies of every level of the educational system in several classrooms. Other classes have all of the levels of government, from national to local levels, and the relative rank of office holders in each system.

The overall message is quite simple: contemporary Papua New Guineans live in a country and a world that contains an intricate series of hierarchies.

These hierarchies are memorized as a normal part of "Community Studies". A number of students were amazingly adept at reeling off the intricate authority structure of local government, often including the names of each officeholder and his place of origin.

#### Authority Relations in the Classroom

The lesson of hierarchy is brought most forcefully to students in the form of the everyday authority relations of the classroom. It is at this level that they directly experience the effects of going along with, or fighting against, pedagogic authority.

The most important authority relation in the classroom is of course the one between teachers and students. The fact that the teacher has the right to constantly 'correct' both the pupil's work and behaviour, while the pupil has no similar right with regard to the teacher, constantly reinforces the idea that an order-giving/order-taking hierarchy is part of the natural order of things.

The students are working in what is called the "Pre-Writing Activity Book", put out by the Department of Education, Curriculum Unit, University of Papua New Guinea. The book begins by having the students trace pictures, then colour them in. Eventually, more abstract patterns are traced, moving left to right. And then eventually they move on to tracing out the alphabet. Today, the students are working on a pig. In response to several students, who finish early and ask: "Can we do more?", the teacher says: "No, trace the pig, that's all." As the children are colouring the pigs in, the teacher stops and stands up from looking at a pupil's work and says in a loud voice to the entire class: "Eh, have you ever seen a red pig!" Students laugh, and several call out a loud "NO!"  
(Pre-writing, Grade 1, Kimbe C. S.)

She is teaching the class how to pronounce certain sounds: fun, run, sun, etc. She will say a word out loud, such as "run", and then ask "What sounds the same?" Individual children often call out a correct answer, but she persists in waiting for the person she herself chooses to answer "correctly".

(English, Grade 2, Bialla C. S.)

My notes are full of examples of teachers refusing to accept any initiative for learning if it comes from the pupils themselves. During one particularly memorable Math



class at Ewasse Community School, students were using sticks and stones as counting devices to work out arithmetic problems on the floor. This is part of the normal teaching method for mathematics and it seems to work quite well. One student, however, finished his problems in a very short time, simply writing the answers down on his sheet of paper without working them out with the material provided. The teacher came over and said "Eh, you're not finished. How are you finished?" The student replied "I did it in my head." Instead of praising him for being clever, the teacher became quite upset at this answer. "No, that's not right." He took the paper away from the student and made him work the problems out the "right way", using the sticks and stones on the floor.

A very short time later, while checking to see how other students were doing, the same teacher came across a boy who was making up "extra" problems for himself with the sticks and stones. "Eh, what are you doing. These aren't the problems." The boy explained that he was finished and showed the teacher the neatly arranged sticks and stones that he had compiled for the assigned problems. "I'm finished", was all he said. "No, you're not", replied the teacher, while erasing the assigned problems by scattering them with his foot. "Now you have to do them again, bighead."

Any educator would recognize that some 'authority'

is needed by teachers in the classroom in order to maintain a healthy learning environment. Left to their own devices, most of the children I knew would have completed nothing and learned even less. The problem, I believe, comes when authority becomes an end in itself rather than a means towards the end of education. This occurs when a teacher cuts off all student initiative, assumes that students themselves have nothing to bring to the learning situation, and enforce authority structures for their own sake. A good example of this are the numerous occasions when I witnessed students being polite to a radio, treating it as if it were a teacher. Radio broadcasts are a regular and effective feature of education in Papua New Guinea. But I found it rather disconcerting to watch students stand up in front of a radio to show respect when "answering" a question posed by the radio announcer. It was also quite normal in these classes to "ask" the radio "How are you" at the beginning of the broadcast and to say "Goodbye" to it at the end.

As I pointed out earlier in this chapter, by learning abstract categories of correct versus incorrect behaviour students are learning to respond to certain relational situations irrespective of the actual context of interactions. In this case, the response is to authority. Any authority, even if it comes in the form of a radio,

must be shown the proper respect.

In a similar manner, the authority of the teacher is constantly reinforced whether or not this is necessary for learning in the classroom. One example of this is the practice of forcing students to have all of their work "checked" by the teacher.

As they finish their work, children bring it up for the teacher to check. She initials them, usually without really looking at the work itself.

(Pre-reading, Grade 1, Kimbe C. S.)

It is very common for teachers in these schools to initial or give a check mark to students' work, either while walking around the room or by making students come up to their desk one by one as they finish, and yet not pay any real attention to the work itself. This suggests that this exercise is at least as much about maintaining the authority of the teacher as the locus of knowledge as it is about legitimately keeping track of students progress on specific problems.

Teachers are not the only ones who are given authority in the classroom. On specific occasions particular students are selected by teachers and given the temporary authority to direct their fellow students.

It is common practice in West New Britain, as it is in many parts of the world, to divide elementary students up into "ability groups". In the earlier grades, almost all activities are carried out in these groups, which may

be given colourful names such as: Lion group, Eagle group, etc. In the later grades, groups are often only used for important subjects such as Math and Reading, depending on the inclination of the individual teacher. A few of the teachers in the later grades purposefully mix their "ability groups", putting at least one or two "good students" into each group in order to spur the others along. From my observations, this last tactic seemed to work quite well.

What is most important about these groups from the perspective of hidden curriculum is not their membership, but the fact that they are always divided up into a group leader and general members. Individual students are often group leaders year after year and some take considerable pride in consistently holding this position.

It is also common for teachers to teach group leaders a task and then have them teach it to the rest of the group.

The lesson is about forming sentences using certain types of construction. "Okay, this week we are practicing using don't and doesn't. Who can give me a word we can use to start our sentence for don't?" She accepts various words from the class. "What about doesn't?" Again, the same thing happens. "Yes, alright. Group leaders stand up at the front." Two girls and three boys move up to take their places at the front of the room. "Okay, those people at the front when you are talking, stand still. Speak up." Each group leader takes turns forming sentences using the words for the week. The teacher drills each of them several times.

"Alright, stop. Go to your places (meaning move back into the groups sitting on the floor). Okay, start. Group leaders make sure you listen carefully to what your group says." She goes around, checking and listening as groups practice under the direction of the group leader.

(English, Grade 2, Bialla C. S.)

"Okay, stay in your groups. We are going to do listening. Some of you can go outside. We are going to have two students in each group tell a story. The group leader will select them, maybe one boy and one girl.

(English, Grade 4, Ewasse C. S.)

The most common seating arrangement in classrooms is to have lines of students sitting and facing the teacher who is standing at the front of the room. Each line of students forms an "ability group" and a group leader sits at the head of each, closest to the teacher. Group leaders are usually appointed for the whole year, which means that other students in the groups are not normally given chances to act in a position of authority. This teaches students to accept that major inequalities exist not only between the generationally separated teacher and students but also between students of the same age and level of schooling. This is a tough lesson to learn and there is definitely resentment shown towards group leaders by some of the "bad students", which may come out in the form of verbal abuse and mild shoving when they feel the group leaders are acting too "bossy". What surprises me the most, however, is the extent to which the students accepted the authority of group leaders in the classroom - something that goes

against the grain of 'traditional' interaction patterns of similarly aged children in Papua New Guinea.

I believe that this acceptance is primarily based on an understanding that the authority of group leaders comes directly from the teacher and not from the particular student. This is reinforced by teachers constantly squashing leadership initiatives by "bigheads" or others in the class whom they have not authorized to act as leaders.

The students are selecting story books to read for the next 15 minutes. "Okay, get the books off the wall there. Slowly! Girls first." There is a mad rush to get to the bookshelf. She has to send several boys back to their seats. As the girls begin to finish, the boys rush forward. One boy tries to "take charge", he tries to send boys who come from the farthest row back and tells them they will have to wait their turn. This greatly angers the teacher and she calls the boy a "bighead" and makes all of the boys sit down again without books. She then sends them back to the books, one row at a time. Beginning with the boys from the farthest row and ending with the row the "bighead" sits in.

(Reading, Grade 4, Bialla C. S.)

Group leaders, on the other hand, receive praise and special privileges for their "leadership abilities".

The students are finished practicing word substitution tasks in their groups. "Alright, group leaders stand up." Three boys and three girls stand up and she has each of them do a couple of word substitutions. "Very good. Alright, group leaders go out quietly [to recess]." She drills the class a bit more, making them wait to be chosen and not allowing anyone to call the answers out. Then she lets them go out for recess as well.

(English, Grade 4, Kimbe C. S.)

The same type of behaviour can bring praise or a scolding, depending on whether the initiative for authority comes from the teacher or the pupil.

Anyone familiar with the history of paid labour in Papua New Guinea will realize that the group leader bears a striking resemblance to the "boss boy" on plantation and other labour units. This position, which would be referred to as the foreman today, derives its authority from the owner or director of the plantation, construction project, or other business venture.

In political terms, the group leader also mirrors the old imposed colonial system of appointing a village luluai and/or tultul. These appointed positions derived their authority from the colonial agent and not from the people of the village.

Missions encouraged the colonial political organization and used "boss boys" when they contracted local labour for building or agricultural work. These arrangements were looked upon by missionaries as more "civilized" than the traditional political and labour systems, which normally required the active consent of participating community members.

Whether or not a direct connection exists between this aspect of colonial history and the classrooms of today, it is certainly true that this form of authority in the classroom teaches students that some individuals are

"bosses" and some (that is, most) are "workers". It also teaches them that they cannot expect peer relationships to follow a mutual line of give and take, with leadership positions going to those who are best able to balance off their own desires with the demands of others. Rather, leadership goes to those who please the people in the highest positions of authority; the powerful few of the urban world rather than the demanding many of village life.

#### The Power of Discipline

Teachers do not impose their will easily on a large number of passive students. Many students object to the heavy-handed authority in schools and attempt to resist and assert their own definitions of appropriate classroom behaviour. If this was not true, there would be no need for teachers to define certain students as "bigheads" and punish them and others with cross words or the almost constant threat of a long wooden pointer. The imposition of authority is effective partially because it is backed by the threat of reprisals. This is not something that occurs once in a while in the classroom and is soon forgotten; it is a normal and regular part of classroom interactions.

Some teachers make a threat very obvious and apparent, holding rulers or pointers in their hands while they teach or walk around the class, reaching out every now



and again to tap a miscreant on the top of the head or wave the instrument threateningly in a student's direction.

The Science lesson is over. "Alright, sit up straight in your place." This teacher definitely uses the almost ever present pointer as a threat. She walks around with it constantly and waves it in the air when she's not happy with things. I wonder how many of the kids fantasize about whacking her with it?

(Expressive Arts, Grade 1, Kimbe C. S.)

The teacher is quite short-tempered and impatient today. Walks around with a stick in his hand. "You are very slow!" "That is not how you do it, read this here!" "Move over there! (pointing forcefully with the stick)"

(Reading, Grade 2, Ewasse C. S.)

Discipline is neither random nor is it exactly the same as might be found in, for example, Canadian schools. In the next chapter I show, for instance, how a failure to discipline boys' fighting behaviour is in accord with traditional cultural practices.

One of the patterns of discipline in the West New Britain schools that I observed is that boys will be both physically and verbally disciplined, while girls are generally only subject to verbal correction. The kind of behaviour that is most likely to get either a girl or a boy into trouble is to loudly interrupt the teacher when he or she is talking, or to otherwise loudly interfere with the lesson at hand.

She is giving a small spelling test. "Make sure your name is on the top. Listen carefully, I'm only going to say this once. Don't talk, or the others can't hear it. Also, don't say 'I'm finished.' FINISH-FINISH-FINISH! I don't

want to hear that!"

(Spelling, Grade 2, Bialla C. S.)

"Eh, what are you talking about? You're not saying anything (he makes a threatening gesture with the stick in his hand). You listen to these people answering."

(Health, Grade 2, Ewasse C. S.)

"Alright, [write down] three more words with the correct sound. You understand what you are doing?" The class responds with a "Yes."  
"Alright, get working. And be quiet. If you talk you won't finish quickly. Shut your mouth and do it!"

(English, Grade 2, Kimbe C. S.)

The reader may notice that my examples tend to come from earlier grades. These kinds of disciplinary words and actions do occur in the higher grades as well, but they are less frequent than during the first few years of schooling. Having noticed this pattern in my fieldnotes, I decided to try to verify it with a simple counting schedule.

The results of this schedule are presented as table 4.4 below. Excluding the nuances of bodily actions because of a lack of video equipment, I decided to measure only the more easily available verbal interactions. I therefore defined "disciplinary action" for my purposes as a verbal command, instruction, or response by the teacher that indicated a negative valuation of a student or students' behaviour in the classroom which led to an immediate response by the student or students.

Given the nature of classes in community schools it is not possible to hold observation times across schools or

even classes as exactly equal (subject times and practical teaching do not neatly divide in such a way as to allow this). I therefore divide disciplinary actions by the actual observation times they are recorded within, making them more directly comparable with each other. In all cases, observation hours totalled between seven and eight hours of classroom time.

In the table below, "class" refers to the number of times the class as a whole is disciplined (e.g. "There's too much noise in here!"); while "pupil" refers to the number of times individual students are disciplined (e.g. "John, stop that right now!").

Table 4.4: Disciplinary Action in the Classroom

	<u>Kimbe Community School</u>					
	<u>Grade Two</u>		<u>Grade Four</u>		<u>Grade Six</u>	
	<u>Class</u>	<u>Pupil</u>	<u>Class</u>	<u>Pupil</u>	<u>Class</u>	<u>Pupil</u>
English	39	31	11	10	10	12
Math	12	10	0	9	1	0
General	23	22	5	3	2	5
Total	74	63	16	22	13	17

	<u>Bialla Community School</u>					
	<u>Grade Two</u>		<u>Grade Four</u>		<u>Grade Six</u>	
	<u>Class</u>	<u>Pupil</u>	<u>Class</u>	<u>Pupil</u>	<u>Class</u>	<u>Pupil</u>
English	25	80	20	24	3	1
Math	11	28	3	4	0	2
General	7	32	4	8	1	1
Total	44	140	27	36	4	4

	<u>Ewasse Community School</u>					
	<u>Grade Two</u>		<u>Grade Four</u>		<u>Grade Six</u>	
	<u>Class</u>	<u>Pupil</u>	<u>Class</u>	<u>Pupil</u>	<u>Class</u>	<u>Pupil</u>
English	45	68	9	8	7	5
Math	6	13	0	4	2	3
General	7	8	2	1	1	1
Total	58	89	11	13	10	9

Disciplinary Action per Teaching Hour

	<u>Total/Grade</u>	<u>Observ. Hours</u>	<u>Actions/Hour</u>
<u>Kimbe(grade)</u>			
Two	137	7.6	18.0
Four	38	7.8	4.9
Six	30	7.9	3.8
<u>Bialla(grade)</u>			
Two	183	7.8	23.5
Four	63	7.3	8.6
Six	8	7.3	1.1
<u>Ewasse(grade)</u>			
Two	147	7.9	18.6
Four	24	7.8	3.1
Six	19	7.9	2.4

The table shows quite clearly that the use of verbal discipline drops dramatically in all three schools from grades two to four to six. It also suggests that individual styles of discipline differ between teachers. The grade two teacher at Bialla Community School, for instance, favours disciplining individuals rather than the class as a whole; while the grade two teacher at Kimbe Community School shows a very close balance between class and individual discipline. Regardless of individual preferences among teachers, the overall pattern is a uniform movement toward students' internalizing an understanding of the kinds of behaviours teachers will and will not tolerate in the classroom. At the approximate level of grade three, the vast majority of students learn how to fulfill teachers' expectations regarding student behaviour. Whether these children actually *become* "good" students (as defined by teachers), most at least learn to appear to be either good students or to display behaviour that is passive enough not to elicit overt rebukes from teachers.

My notes indicate that students in grades four, five, and six almost always 1) automatically stand up without prompting when answering a question, 2) defer to the authority of group leaders at the appropriate moments (however they may act towards them outside of these times),

and 3) line up without being told when entering and leaving the classroom. These are all things that students in the first three grades do only with reminders from the teacher, backed by the possibility of disciplinary action.

Internalization takes place not just because of the overt threats in many teacher-student interactions, but also because of a subtle structuring of school life to resemble a quasi-military operation. This structure makes both overt and internalized discipline appear both 'ordinary' and 'normal'. The pseudo-military style of schooling can be traced directly, I believe, to the missionary legacy of education in Papua New Guinea. Contemporary mission schools (and Education Instructors at Mission Teachers' Colleges) also encourage the use of the military model for the organization of schooling.

This model is so subtly embedded in school life that it appears to be invisible to almost all students and teachers with whom I spoke. Students wear uniforms to school, either every day or most days of the week (depending on the individual school). They are generally expected to stand up straight ('to attention') when answering a question and address the teacher as Mr. or Mrs.; while teachers address students by their first name and sit, walk, or move about the classroom in any way they choose. The relative "rank" of students and teachers are both easily apparent and constantly reinforced. In

military terms, teachers are the 'officers', while students are either 'privates' or 'non-commissioned officers' (group leaders) under the direct command of the teachers.

The military analogy is most apparent whenever students need to go through the school grounds to move from class-building to class-building, especially at the beginning and end of school periods. The following is a description of the beginning of a school day at Kimbe Community School. There are similar descriptions in my notes for the beginning of almost every school day at each of the three schools in which I conducted research (plus several others I visited on a more informal basis).

Outside Assembly. The students begin by marching around the flagpole, led by a senior female teacher. She gives orders as they go: "Left, right, left, right, left..., about turn, left, right, left...." The children march by classes and rows. "Alright, by this time there should be no talking. Fall in behind your markers please. "The children bunch up into squares behind previously fixed rows. "No talking, I haven't said you could talk. Okay everybody, mark time. Stop and fold your arms. Bow your head. Alright, let's say your morning prayer." They recite 'The Lord's Prayer' in loud voices. This is followed by a song that I'm not sure about, but seems to be the school song. She gets them marching again in place: "Left, right, left, right ..." This is followed by singing the national anthem, as the flag is slowly raised up the pole by a student. "Good morning children." "Good morning Mrs. Sing", they answer. "Alright, sit down." She introduces the Assistant Headmaster. "Good morning boys and girls", he says. "Good morning Mr. Kata." He announces a school meeting the next day and tells them to make sure that their parents remember it. Then he talks to them about school uniforms. "I'm not

very pleased, some of you at the back have been here almost a year [and you] still don't have uniforms." After the announcements he turns it back over to the senior teacher, who does more marching in place, making them clap their hands in front and then behind their backs as they march. She calls out individual classes to march off to their classroom-buildings. The teachers then drill their classes in the entranceway to their building before they allow them to enter. The teacher I'm observing today makes her class "about face" a number of times, "stand at ease, attention, at ease, attention" and so forth before she lets them march into the classroom by rows.

(Assembly, Kimbe C. S.)

On rainy days and in some schools on every other day morning assembly is held inside rather than outside the classroom. Truncated and individual versions of the normal assembly occur, adhering more or less strictly to the outside pattern depending on the inclinations of individual teachers.

The ritualized and military-like organization of movement continues throughout the day, both inside and outside of the classrooms. Students normally line up and march in and out of the classroom-building for recess, lunch period, or when moving between classes for radio or other specialized subject periods. Movement does not always occur in this way and on occasion a tired teacher may simply say "Okay, go out for recess" and watch a stream of kids fight their way out the door. However, lining-up, marching and other militaristic rituals are so common that students in advanced grades move into their places



automatically and carry out the ritual movements with little or no direction from their teachers.

This kind of behavioural discipline, in addition to verbal corrections and the threat of more forceful discipline, produces a large number of relatively passive students in the classroom. If there is a single generalization I feel safe in making about teacher-student interactions in the town schools of West New Britain, it is that teachers seem to feel threatened by almost any student initiative and act promptly to make sure that everyone in the classroom knows that such actions are "incorrect". Students who fail to conform to the prevailing structures of authority are branded "bigheads" and punished physically, verbally, and academically (e.g. when choices have to be made about which marginal students will be allowed to enter higher grades, "bigheads" are always left behind).

#### Summary: Hidden Curriculum and Social Change

In this chapter, I have outlined three major lessons in the hidden curriculum of the classrooms in West New Britain: 1) abstract knowledge, including abstract categories of behaviour and thought, is more important than practical knowledge, 2) competitive individualism in the classroom and ultimately in life is both normal and desirable, and 3) the world is divided into individuals with authority and individuals who must obey those with

authority and such hierarchical rankings are natural and to be expected in life.

These lessons are very much in keeping with the social changes that are occurring in many parts of Papua New Guinea, as outlined in the beginning of the chapter. There is a new, contemporary and urban world opening up to the privileged few. This is a world in which it is normal to compete as an individual for relatively scarce resources such as high school placements or jobs in the cash economy. To compete successfully, a person must respect the hierarchical arrangements of the cash economy and understand his or her (abstract) role within it.

In short, much of the hidden curriculum of education in the town schools is aimed at the production of a new kind of citizen: a person who values the "modern" over the "traditional" world and knows how to act "correctly" within the confines of hierarchical work arrangements.

When relationships of this sort are promoted by the hidden curriculum of education in countries such as Canada we normally say that they are helping to reproduce the labour force in such a way that it does not pose a threat to existing class structures. This kind of analysis does not work for Papua New Guinea. Education in Papua New Guinea seems to be aimed towards the "reproduction" of

class relationships that do not, for the most part, actually exist yet. Elites are certainly developing within the country and educational credentials are playing an important role in legitimating the existence of these elites. Yet there is no real reason to "reproduce" a large, relatively passive labour force when only a tiny minority of citizens in the country will ever gain direct employment in the cash economy of the country.

This suggests that education in Papua New Guinea is, at the present time, reproducing the political rather than the economic reality of the country. Colonialism and the influence of missionary-style education has partially created a hidden curriculum of schooling that aims to imitate the former colonizing nations' social structures, replicating and legitimizing emerging social inequalities, without giving the vast majority of students a viable role to play in this new world. It promises many students something which exists only for the few, no matter how well they learn their lessons of abstract knowledge, competitive individualism and disciplined authority.

The ill fit between the economic situation of a continuing reliance on rural, agriculturally-based ways of life and an academic model of education are reflected in the ambivalent forms of hidden curriculum that can be found in the classrooms of West New Britain. It is true that students learn to value "modern life", individual

achievements and the acceptance of inequality in these classrooms. However, they also receive conflicting lessons about the value of the group over individual performance, along with messages suggesting that hierarchical structures may break down under pressure and gender inequality may prevail over individual performance.

In the next chapter, I discuss a hidden curriculum in West New Britain schools that reflects the "traditional" concerns of its citizens. Ironically, the Western model of education can be used by Papua New Guinean teachers to create lessons that at least partially contradict competitive individualism and the other lessons of "modern life".

## Chapter Five: Culture and Continuity

In Chapter four, I indicated that the pattern of teacher-pupil interactions and the hidden curriculum it expresses is not always consistent, suggesting that a number of contradictions exist in the classrooms of West New Britain. In the last chapter I showed how the emerging themes of social change become embedded in classroom interactions; in this chapter I wish to examine several ways that these interactions become a venue for the expression of cultural continuity.

The chapter begins with a brief outline of several themes that are common to the majority of "traditional" cultures of Papua New Guinea. The three major themes that I have chosen to consider here are: 1) the question of unequal gender relations and their effect on expectations regarding the behaviour of male and female students, 2) the importance of acting in ways that benefit the group rather than the individual alone, and 3) the idea that organization should involve personal ties and fluid coalitions rather than formal structures and abstract rules. As I show, the latter two themes are linked to widespread cultural beliefs about the importance of reciprocity for the creation and maintenance of a rough

egalitarianism which acknowledges leaders as 'the first among equals' rather than as 'the boss'.

It must be noted that there are many different cultural traditions within the country of Papua New Guinea. There is no question of being able to 'authentically represent' all of these traditions. I have selected the three themes listed above out of the many cultural possibilities for two main reasons: 1) I believe they express widespread cultural values that more and more citizens are beginning to view as representing a 'traditional Papua New Guinean way of life', and 2) they form important patterns in the hidden curriculum of the classrooms of West New Britain.

#### Cultural Continuity: Expressing the Past in the Present Gender Relations

Many anthropologists agree that gender relations are problematic in almost all Papua New Guinean societies, although considerable differences exist in interpreting the question of just how "unequal" relationships are between men and women. Part of the problem in trying to decide whether men and women are equal or unequal in various 'traditional' societies lies in the imprecision inherent in the concept of "inequality". The idea of inequality is similar in its limitations to a concept such as "power".

In order to render power useful as an analytical

category we normally have to attach additional descriptive labels to it: economic power, social power, political power, and so on. Even then it is difficult to define precisely what we mean by the idea, for example, of 'economic power'. Do we mean the power that bosses have over workers because of the way the workplace is organized? Are we referring to the power of those who own the means of production, or the fact that some people in our society are able to purchase many consumer goods while others may own very little?

In a similar way, the notion of unequal gender relations remains ambiguous, even if we were to add the labels of economic inequality, social inequality, or political inequality. This is especially true when we are trying to apply it to societies other than our own.

Rather than spending time trying to rectify what remains a very complex situation, I prefer here to obviate the problem by concentrating on two specific aspects of the issue of unequal gender relations in Papua New Guinea: 1) the idea that men have the 'right' to control women, and 2) the issue of the perceived abilities of women.

By the first issue I am referring to the question of whether or not cultural beliefs generally exist that justify men controlling women in a given society. In a patriarchal culture, for example, cultural values will tend to reflect the idea that is right and proper for men

to control the labour, trade and distribution process as a whole, positions of political leadership, and women's reproductive capacities.

Paula Brown (1988: 123) states that: "Gender descriptions of the highlands in Papua New Guinea are now almost a stereotype of male dominance and sexual antagonism in the popular literature of anthropology." Although this aspect of gender relations has been overplayed, both in reference to the highlands and elsewhere in Papua New Guinea (e.g. the work of Annette Weiner in the Trobriand Islands), there is little doubt that in most Papua New Guinean societies cultural expressions exist that indicate that men have considerable fear and hostility towards women. This may come out in the form of fears regarding the "pollution" of female menstruation (e.g. Lindenbaum 1979: 128; Schieffelin 1976: 123; Counts and Counts 1988: 136); the understanding that men have the "right" to control the exchange of women for marriage arrangements (e.g. Schieffelin 1976: 58; Counts 1985: 51; Blythe 1978: 191; Zelenietz 1980: 99); and the idea that husbands should beat wives who do not live up to their marital obligations (e.g. Counts 1985: 51; Scalleta 1985: 203; Strathern 1981: 677; Zelenietz 1980: 99; Chowning 1985: 77).

An ideology of male dominance can be and often is ameliorated in everyday practice. Dorothy Counts (1985:



53-56), for example, notes that although the Lusi-speaking Kaliai of West New Britain have strong beliefs concerning male dominance, men often encounter problems when they try to exercise their "rights" over women. This may be based on the fact that "...Women and the things they produce are critical to the functioning of the [social] system, and women have economic autonomy" (Counts 1985: 56). Women's participation in horticulture and their importance in trade and ceremonial occasions often gives them a social importance that can be used as a base for resisting male "domination" (e.g. Scaletta 1985: 184; Maschio 1989: 139-140; Zelenietz 1980: 47-48). Paula Brown (1988) and Wayne Warry (1986) have written about the way highland women are beginning to take advantage of specific situations in the developing economic system to create a new independence for themselves and more control over their own social lives (e.g. in marital arrangements, the attainment of formal education, and the lessening of various taboos). Other authors (e.g. Koroma 1977: 210; Levine and Levine 1977: 56-57; Connell and Curtain 1982: 478) have pointed out, however, that unless women have educational credentials or belong to one of the new women's business associations they may be extremely disadvantaged by a move to urban settings. Without their traditional economic roles and in a situation in which men are more reliant on their jobs in the cash economy than they are on women's labour to provide

them with "reputation", women are very vulnerable to men acting out the widespread cultural values associated with the idea of male dominance.

Probably the most important trend in cultural beliefs regarding 'proper' gender behaviour for the purposes of this work involves the widespread idea that girls must be trained from very early ages to accept social and economic responsibilities, while boys may be allowed to accept these responsibilities later in life. One of the few generalizations Ann Chowning (1973: 61) feels comfortable in making about the socialization of children in Papua New Guinean societies is that "...girls are expected to assume adult responsibilities much earlier than boys." Girls learn very early that their lives will be more restricted than the lives of boys. Boys are typically encouraged to be aggressive and to develop personal initiative in at least some areas of behaviour (ibid: 70).

In West New Britain, there seems to be general agreement that parental expectations include the idea that girls should take on heavier work loads and display responsible behaviour regarding family and community obligations considerably earlier than boys (e.g. Zelenietz 1980: 95; Scaletta 1985: 421; Blythe 1978: 191). The implications of this for differential expectations

regarding boys and girls' behaviour in the classrooms of West New Britain will be considered a little later in the chapter.

It is important to note that researchers who have worked in West New Britain display considerable ambiguity in the way they characterize gender relations in societies there. In Vitu, for example, Jennifer Blythe notes that Vitus generally expect a lineage leader to be male, but that a woman may also be chosen as this kind of a leader under certain circumstances (Blythe 1978: 74). However, she also goes on to state that although women have greatly expanded their social roles outside of the village since pacification of the area, men still "...claim that they have the greater role in agricultural production and should therefore have authority over women" (ibid.: 124).

Other situations in West New Britain seem even more contradictory. Zelenietz (1980: 48) tells us that among the Kilenge "...the status of woman as social being differs little from that of a man." A woman can inherit property, speak out at public affairs and share gardening tasks with her husband. However, he also goes on to state in the same work that there is a general expectation for a sexual division of labour, that wives and daughters may be beaten if they fail to live up to their social responsibilities, and that most men (but only a very few women) have spent time away from the village to work in the cash economy.

Among the Kabana, Naomi Scaletta (1985: 92) reports that "Within the framework of Kabana concepts of gender, males and females are not the same, they are decidedly different, but it does not follow from this that gender relations are inherently unequal or characterized by notions of dominance and submission. In discussing gender relations with me, mature Kabana women and men continually emphasized that gender relations are based on parity." Yet, over the next several pages she also tells us that during the early years of marriage wife-beating is not uncommon, by definition only women and not men are capable of being "infertile", and the main social conflicts in villages occur as a result of women's "adultery" (ibid.: 93-102).

On the south coast of West New Britain, Thomas Maschio has recently written that the Rauto have ceremonies to celebrate women's power and influence (1989: 134, 155). "Partly because of women's degree of participation in both economic and ritual life the Rauto ...do not mark status differences between people by using words which refer to gender. Both male and female persons are thought to be able to develop their social and personal identities through both ritual and economic action" (ibid.: 143). However, these same people are said to have a sexual division of labour, show "fear" that women may be injurious

to the proper moral and physical development of boys, and believe that while "the father contributes blood and bone to the child. The mother's contribution to the developing fetus is said to be 'only water'" (ibid: 14, 142, 201).

David and Dorothy Counts (1985; also see Counts 1985) have pointed out the contradictions of gender relations among the Kaliai. Women play a crucial economic role and have their own wealth distribution system, yet there are no cultural categories for women's leadership roles and norms generally stress the ideal of male dominance over most decision-making areas of life. "All statements by consultants - female and male - confirm that the Lusi perceive gender role behaviour to be inseparable from genital sex ...People respond with puzzlement to the suggestion that a woman or man might wish to engage in activities inappropriate to the individual's genital sex" (Counts and Counts 1985: 135).

Overall, it seems fair to say that a widely held belief in Papua New Guinean societies is the idea that there are appropriate male and female roles, regardless of the actual content these roles may have within various societies. There also seems to be something that we could call a male ideology of control - the belief that men have the 'right' to control women's behaviour in at least some areas of life. However, as the West New Britain material clearly shows, there is also a great deal of ambiguity

regarding these beliefs and the ways they become worked out in the practice of everyday life. I believe that at least some of these ambiguities can be explained by differentiating between: 1) an ideology of control, and 2) beliefs concerning the innate abilities of women.

The issue of 'the perceived ability of women' refers to the question of whether or not there are widespread cultural beliefs concerning women's ability to perform economic, social and political functions. Cultural beliefs about the idea that men and women should play different social roles do not necessarily imply a naturalistic ideology of the differentiation of "abilities". I would suggest, on the contrary, that there is considerable evidence that in many Papua New Guinean societies (especially those in West New Britain) sexism has not been naturalized by the assumption of women's inability to perform certain social tasks (as opposed to the inappropriateness of doing so). The focus of this thesis does not permit a full development of the argument here, but I would like to offer a few suggestive examples to illustrate the potential of this line of argument.

Paula Brown, following a suggestion by Marilyn Strathern, would like us to consider the idea that even in the highlands an acceptance of the view that male ideology necessarily equals male dominance and female compliance

"denigrates" Papua New Guinean women (Brown 1988: 125). She states, for example, that: "Simbu women are independent individuals, family producers who value their relationships to kin and affines when exchanges are celebrated. Their independence is in personal and private affairs, not as directors of group exchanges" (ibid: 125). Brown implies that women *choose* to build their lives in more individual ways than men in the highlands. Therefore, men's choices to define themselves more by their relationship to group activities than by individual and family relations does not imply a concomitant differentiation of abilities by gender.

In West New Britain societies, a considerable amount of evidence exists to suggest that women's innate abilities are not in question within the issue of gender relations. Maschio (1989: 143), for example, writes about the Rauto that: "Both male and female persons are thought to be able to develop their social and personal identities through both ritual and economic action. Women are not thought to be greatly limited in their ability to achieve personhood because of their 'nature'."

On the opposite side of the island, Dorothy Counts has characterized the situation in this way: "Lusi women are, in a sense, silent partners. Their participation in and contribution to Kaliai life are critical to the maintenance of society; yet this participation seldom

receives public acknowledgement" (Counts 1985: 60).

Zelenietz has also written about the understanding that women are not thought to be fundamentally different from men in abilities among the Kilenge. A good example occurs in the main subsistence activity, where: "Although the ideology is that men and women have separate garden tasks, husband and wife teams frequently plant and tend gardens together" (1980:49).

And, according to Scaletta (1985: 92): "In discussing gender relations with me, mature Kabana women and men continually emphasized that gender relations are based on parity. They found it ludicrous, indeed hooted with laughter, at the suggestion that females were in any sense second class citizens."

I have already mentioned how, among the Vitus, a knowledgeable and politically active woman may be appointed a lineage leader under certain circumstances, despite 'normal' expectations that such positions will be filled by men (Blythe 1978: 74). This clearly implies that it is the expectations regarding the political control by men of kinship groupings rather than an understanding that women somehow lack certain abilities that fuels gender differences in this society.

There seems to be a problem with this information from West New Britain societies. How can we reconcile it



with the recent report that in Papua New Guinea "...domestic violence is accepted by a majority of both men and women as a normal part of married life" (Toft and Bonnell 1985: 43). This report is based on research in 19 villages in rural areas in each of the 19 provinces of the country. Since a proper random sample seemed an impossible ideal in a country with over 700 languages, the research team decided to select villages to coincide with the following criteria: a) the village samples must display a wide cultural representation (e.g. a fair proportion of both matrilineal and patrilineal type societies), b) national variations in population density should be taken into account, c) villages must be away from town centres, but not 'isolated', and d) villages must be willing to actively participate in the project. Standardized questionnaires were used by adult student researchers (civil service employees undertaking advanced study at the Administrative College), and a total of 1,451 adults were surveyed (ibid.: 2-5). Of these respondents, 736 individuals were men and 715 were women. The authors note that their report does not claim to be based on 'hard and fast statistics', but they also state that 'the students and supervisors are confident that the results ... are basically reliable' (ibid.: 6).

In this study, the researchers found that 66.5% of men and 56.6% of women thought that it was "acceptable" for

a man to hit his wife. And that "The overwhelmingly dominant reason given for a man to hit his wife, as stated by 60.7% of the men and 55.6% of the women is the wife's failure to fulfill obligations" (ibid.: 46).

In contrast, in the Islands region alone (which includes West New Britain), 54.8% of men and 66.9% of women thought that it was wrong for a man to hit his wife (ibid.: 54). This suggests that people in this area of the country are somewhat less accepting of a male ideology of control and/or of the 'right' to enforce that control through the use of violence. On the other hand, against these figures we also have to add that the results show that among the people of this region, 66.9% of men state that they have actually hit their wives (ibid.) - indicating a de facto belief in men's 'right' to control women's behaviour in this region as well.

Through discussions with West New Britain men and women I received the impression that the outbreak of violence and other forms of men's attempts to control women's behaviour is strongly related to a male fear of women's abilities. The vast majority of men I spoke with indicated that they felt women "should not play men's roles", but only a very few suggested that this was based on women's "inability" to do the same kinds of work that men do. If anything, there often seems to me to be an

underlying fear that women might find out that they are more than equal to the task of assuming both men and women's roles within village and/or town life.

Jennifer Blythe confirms that this kind of fear exists among the nearby Vitus, along with the acknowledgement that it is quite possible for women to assume 'men's roles' if the men let their vigilance relax too far.

Men with an adequate amount of land tend to use their wife's land only occasionally. Such men are able to maintain the prestigious male role of provider. A man who uses his wife's land constantly, has a somewhat ignominious position in Vitu society. Vitus describe his wife as "strong" because she is taking the male role.

(Blythe 1978: 128-129)

I suspect that at least some of the domestic violence in Papua New Guinea is attributable to this split between a male ideology that requires a differentiation of gender roles and the underlying cultural understanding among both men and women that this ideology is grounded solely in men's desires to control women's behaviour in certain areas of life and not on the basis of a difference in talents or abilities. A domination based on desire rather than naturalized "abilities" requires physical enforcement. Stated another way, the only ability underlying a male ideology of control in most West New Britain societies is the ability to physically enforce the idea of a male 'right' to control.

The ways in which the cultural themes of male control and female ability become worked out in the classrooms of West New Britain will be dealt with shortly. Before looking at this aspect of gender relations, I would like to consider the second cultural theme of this chapter: the manner in which reciprocity is loosely organized to create and sustain an egalitarian ideal that promotes group relations over individual desires.

#### Reciprocity and the Group

In a similar manner to the previous section regarding gender relations, examples used to illustrate the cultural theme of the creation and maintenance of group relations through reciprocal exchange come from various areas of Papua New Guinea, with a special emphasis on West New Britain material. As in the gender section, we have to be careful that the portrait of group relations and the rough egalitarianism they engender does not become a stereotype that falsely lumps a diversity of cultural beliefs and social relations under uniform categories.

The idea of egalitarianism in Papua New Guinea does not refer to the notion that all individuals are socially and economically equal in every way. There is, for example, a general understanding that "equality" will be tempered by gender and age relations (Levine and Levine 1979: 10). Equality refers, instead, to the general belief that important resources such as land will be held in

common (i.e. 'owned' by kinship groups and parcelled out to individuals according to local ideas concerning land usage rights), and that the fundamental building blocks of social relations are the reciprocal obligations of economic and ritual exchange. The general expectation is that very loosely organized exchange systems, which strongly depend on individual initiative, will lead to acceptable unequal personal reputations, but not to an amassing of personal wealth and power that benefits individuals at the expense of the group.

If we look at specific case material, we find again and again that individuals who build personal reputations as leaders in their communities must feed the material benefits that this position brings back into the group that he (and sometimes she) belongs to. "Equality" refers to the idea that no one should be left too far behind or forge too far ahead of the social group, with the notion of 'too far' being given specific definition within local cultural traditions.

The usual sanction applied to those who insist on overstepping group boundaries in unacceptable ways is the accusation of sorcery. Individuals who push too hard, threatening to break out of the confines of kin and group obligations, run the risk of being branded a sorcerer. This is true for both the "traditional" (e.g. Scaletta

1985: 52; Maschio 1989: 77) and "developing" (e.g. Jorgensen 1981; Lederman 1981: 15-18; Zelenietz 1980: 192) situation. Individuals who try to command rather than lead, or who attempt to turn wealth gained from the developing economy into permanently unequal and individual advantage, are especially vulnerable to sorcery accusations. The tensions regarding individual leadership are so great that sorcery may come to be thought of as a normal adjunct to the leadership role, as it is in different ways among the Kilenge (Zelenietz 1980) and the Rauto (Maschio 1989: 126) of West New Britain.

The ideal is for leaders and other individuals of renown to balance their achieved 'rights' within group decision-making processes off against the combined will of other members in their society. They must do this in such a way as to create the illusion of group consensus. In many societies, there is an ongoing contradiction between the cultural values of individual assertion in search of reputation and the values of equality in the group. Naomi Scaletta (1985: 52) notes that in West New Britain: "The Kabana are individualistic and fiercely egalitarian. They place high sociocultural value on the concept of personal renown, while at the same time maintaining that no individual should raise him or herself above another." Maschio (1989: 76-77) explains that: "In many ways the Rauto define the person as such in terms of specific

criteria of 'proper' self assertion....Ideally, personal power should be asserted in a way which does not harm or offend people and thus tear the moral fabric of society." In a similar way, Jennifer Blythe (1978: 73) notes that among the Vitus a lineage leader is thought of simply as "the first among equals"; while Dorothy Counts (1985: 61) elaborates on the delicate balance of both men and women's leadership among the Kaliai: "...a woman's authority over her son's wife is limited by the same sorts of considerations that limit the power of a bigman over his followers. Both have authority and receive respect in proportion to the responsibility they are prepared to undertake." And among the Nakanai, Valentine and Valentine (1979: 63-65) suggest that: "As far back as memory and records go cooperation, equality and group responsibility have always been basic to Nakanai social life. Competition, inequality and individualism have been encouraged or imposed increasingly since the beginning of Western influence."

The last point should not be taken too far or understood too literally. The other material presented above indicates that the point is not that West New Britain and other Papua New Guinean societies lack a notion of "individualism". It is simply that they value a kind of individualism which balances the search for personal renown

against a continuing responsibility to the group over the Western-style competitive individualism that I described in chapter four. The first style of individualism can be said to feed back into the collective needs of the group; there is a material redistribution of goods and a desire to be thought of as fundamentally equal to, if not exactly the same as, individuals of renown. While the second style, competitive individualism, legitimizes the 'rights' of the chosen few to both dominate the lives of the many and alienate the bulk of a society's material wealth for themselves.

Before we move on to consider the ways the cultural themes I have just presented become incorporated into the classrooms of West New Britain, I would like to remind the reader again that although I believe that these themes generally reflect important cultural preoccupations in many Papua New Guinean traditions they cannot be thought of as a direct representation of these diverse traditions. One clear example from West New Britain should clarify this caveat for the reader.

Martin Zelenietz (1980: 47) writes about the Kilenge who live along the west coast of the island:

There are several modes of ranking within the village. Place of origin is only one way in which the Kilenge rank each other. Unlike many other societies in Papua New Guinea ...there is no ethos of equality in the Kilenge area. Some people occupy superior social positions for a variety of reasons. Whenever it behoves a



person, he will remind others of his superiority, ranking himself above others because he is the eldest, or planted his garden first, or has larger gardens, more pigs, ancestors from a particular village, or whatever.

Yet even within this 'ranked' society, there are very clear limitations on an individual's right for self assertion. "Successful leadership needs aggressiveness and character 'strength', but the leader cannot be too aggressive or too strong. With no sense of equivalence or parity he will offend and alienate his following, who will then withdraw their support" (ibid.: 269). However this may work itself out in real life, it suggests that even in 'exceptional' societies in Papua New Guinea, cultural values exist regarding the need for balancing individual desires with obligations to the group.

With rare exceptions, positions of leadership and the way groups are organized to perform tasks (e.g. preparing for a fight or staging a ceremony) occur along relatively fluid and loosely defined lines. This is a direct reflection of an emphasis on individual achievement that accepts and draws its support from the social whole. Individuals organize events by manipulating relations of kinship, trade and friendship.

This style of organization and the expectation that individual achievement will feed the life of the group rather than simply the life of the individual performer has important implications for the hidden curriculum of

education in the classrooms of West New Britain. Coupled with expectations regarding 'proper' gender roles, the twin cultural themes of 'cooperative individualism' and 'gender differentiation' become expressed in the classroom in not always predictable but nevertheless patterned ways. Together, they form a message about the role of 'tradition' in the contemporary world of Papua New Guinean education.

#### The Hidden Curriculum of Traditional Culture

In the last chapter I showed that teachers often portrayed traditional rural cultures as "primitive" in relation to the contemporary world of "modern" and urban Papua New Guinea. In this chapter, I will show that the message teachers give concerning 'traditional' values can be more complex than the last chapter indicated. This complexity will become clearer as I present examples of how specific cultural themes become expressed in the hidden curriculum of education in the classrooms of West New Britain.

#### Gender in Education

In 1974 Michael Somare, who was to become the first Prime Minister of an independent Papua New Guinea, outlined "eight aims" for prosperity which were to serve as the guidelines for development in that country well into the 1980s. Aim number seven calls for: "A rapid increase in the equal and active participation of women in all forms of

economic and social activity" (Somare 1983: no page number). It is understood among both government and educational workers that a major role will have to be taken by education if women are to achieve full participation in the economic and social life of the country.

The initial enrolment of girls in community school education has improved importantly over the last few decades. From 1972 until 1984, the estimated rates of enrolments for seven year old boys went from 74% to 90%; while for girls these rates rose from 44% to 76% overall (Dept. of Education 1985: 30). These figures indicate that the gap between boys and girls' initial enrolment has been closing to some extent (from a 30% difference in 1972 to a 14% difference in 1984).

It is widely believed, however, that parents are much more likely to leave boys in school as an 'investment' in the family's future and pull girls out of school so that they can retain more control over whom they marry and where they end up 'working' as they get older.

This pattern is certainly confirmed by enrolment rates in the University of Papua New Guinea and the Papua New Guinea University of Technology, which had a combined enrolment of 2,171 full-time male students and only 346 full-time female students in 1984/1985, a male to female ratio of over 6:1 (Papua New Guinea Handbook 1985: 140).

Some of the parents I spoke with in West New Britain indicated that they were following a conscious policy of selecting one or two boys and encouraging them to continue as far as possible in their education, while generally discouraging their girls from going "too far". It seems to me that there is some agreement that four or five years in school are enough for most girls. Any more than this might threaten their learning how to work and live in the village environment. This consideration is especially important in relation to secondary school. In order for students to attend secondary schools they normally have to move to urban areas, areas that are often seen by parents as being "dangerous" to the moral and physical health of girls.

Exceptions to this trend are voiced by a relatively few, usually highly educated, professional and semi-professional parents. They often want to see that all of their children receive as much formal education as they can give them, regardless of whether the individuals involved are boys or girls.

The idea that girls generally receive less encouragement than boys to continue into higher grades is confirmed by a mid-1980s comparison of enrolment by gender in high schools. Girls make up only 35% of total high school enrolments in the country (Smith and Bray 1985:132).

In interviews, teachers indicated to me that parents seemed to be most concerned about the possibility that girls might elope with or become pregnant by boys who were not of the parents choosing and therefore not 'payback' the parents' for the education.

What I think is, their parents -- think of their traditional customs. That they don't want girls to continue in school. Parents say they get married and then they don't payback their school fees. Even though they pass grade six [i.e. high enough to enter grade seven], they take them to stay home [in the village]. Boys continue and girls stay back...They think boys will finish and girls won't. They don't trust their daughters.  
(Teacher, Bialla C. S.)

I can give you the reasons around here. Most parents -- they rely on males only. They go and they train and later on -- they complete the work properly. Say ladies, they don't know the type of course they are doing. Make friendships and spoil their course of study. That one is a fact. Course, sometimes when ladies go to university, we had one in our area, they come back with a child and no father. That is a problem parents don't want. To get a job, they rely on the male.  
(Teacher, Ewasse C. S.)

There is a general indication, then, from both parents and teachers with whom I spoke, that considerable fear exists about the possible loss of control over what we would term daughters' biological and social reproduction. The attitude seems to be: why pay for an education that might help sever the traditional ties that bind daughters to their families? There is everything to lose and nothing to gain from this circumstance.

This does not mean that no support exists for the

education of girls in West New Britain. Besides the parents I noted above, government and education officials whom I interviewed generally indicated strong support for gender equality in education, in terms of opportunities for both female students and teachers. A good example of this support and an indication of the kind of local beliefs that can hinder equal gender opportunities can be found in the records of correspondence between an urban community school and the provincial education office.

In 1980, these records indicate that this school and the office were having an ongoing feud regarding the rights of female teachers to the use of teachers' houses located on the school grounds. On the 14th of May, 1980, the school's board of management wrote a letter to the provincial education board which reads in part:

Subject: Temporary Handover of Educational Institutional House at ....Community School to Provincial Surveyer

...The move is unnecessary neither logical when the school is still facing current housing problems. As it is, ....Community School always faces the same problem year after year, and there's no reason whatsoever if that house is given away.

...But what's new. An entirely different department is going to occupy the house, although his wife is a teacher here, but she isn't the head of the family. It doesn't sound logical, is it?

The Board is very concerned over the frequent absentism of some female teachers for medical grounds of their babies or children... The board appeals to the PEB if the female/male ratio be 50% basis. At this stage there are 9 female teachers and 5 male -- 4 more. That house could be used by one or two male teachers...

...Finally, the Board of Management strongly recommends the house remains in the hands of the school, and should be reserved for teachers alone.

On the 29th of May, 1980, the Provincial Superintendent replied to the school on behalf of the Provincial Education Office. The following are excerpts from that letter:

...I am surprised by the fact that you are forgetting the fact that the Provincial Surveyer is married to one of your Teaching Staff. You are also forgetting the fact that the same member of your staff swapped [teaching positions] with Mr.\_\_\_\_\_.

If Mr. \_\_\_\_\_ was occupying a house at the same institution, the replacement [the female teacher] obviously is entitled to a house and other conditions respectively.

...You have also brought other touchy issues...which may later cause embarrassment to your board.

May I draw attention to the following factors for your information:

1. Female married teachers are human beings. They have equal rights to participate in our government today, thus they must receive equal treatment for equal pay. The content of your letter indicates that you are rejecting all female married teachers.

2. Your board should not judge the performance of the female married teachers at the school. It is not your responsibility to do this....

Later correspondence shows that the rights of female teachers to teachers' housing and the 'problem' of women teachers on temporary or long-term child care leave remained a contentious issue during the 1980s between town schools and the education office. The limited records that I was able to find indicated that this office steadfastly responded to such criticisms by protecting, as far as it was able, the rights of female teachers. This defense was often needed, in both the urban and rural schools of the province.

The biggest problem in rural schools arises when single female teachers are placed in small village schools. These women are often harassed by young male villagers and local Boards of Management make repeated attempts to get them transferred out of their schools. The threat of an unmarried woman who is not under the traditional control of any group in the village seems to cause a tremendous number of problems at these schools. Board of Management minutes are full of references to this issue. Minutes dated October 15, 1982, from a community school in the oil palm bloc area of the province contained the following example of this problem.

Re: Investigation Into the Suspension of Classes  
at ...Community School

... The following information was gathered during the meeting with the members of the board, the teachers and the Catholic Father Priest.



A) Findings of the Causes

There are two main causes which led to the suspension.

1) Break and Enter and Stealing

It was found out that a certain classroom was broken into had a large quantity of San Miguel (empty) bottles. ...The bottles were later sold to a man in a nearby village to obtain money.

2) Obscene Language

Bad swearing words were found on walls and chalkboards on three classrooms. These classrooms belong to respectively: Miss \_\_\_\_\_, Miss \_\_\_\_\_, and Miss \_\_\_\_\_ -- all single female teachers.

The minutes went on to record the suspicion that the second incident may have been caused by some men who seemed interested in the female teachers, having been spotted hanging around their residences at night a few times. However, there was no firm evidence for this and therefore no direct action was taken against these men. They also noted that the board took up a collection of 200 kina, 150 kina of which was given as "compensation" by the community to the teachers who were the target of the obscene language attack. The teachers accepted this money at a public meeting and expressed regret that "innocent people" should have to give up their hard earned money to cover for a few troublemakers. The board also took further actions to "safe-guard" teachers and the school as a whole, which included plans to erect a fence around the whole school. They further recommended that the single female teachers be transferred to other postings the next year.

Provincial Education Board minutes for the same year show that during the first six months of 1982, at least three other rural community schools had to be suspended for varying periods of time because of similar problems. Female teachers whom I interviewed and who had worked in rural postings indicated that harassment by young males, especially of single women who did not 'belong' in the community, is a very common problem.

There is evidence, then, that men in both rural and urban areas often express a resentment that is likely embedded in cultural beliefs regarding the necessity of keeping women's abilities under male control. Female teachers, especially single female teachers, directly challenge a male ethos of superiority. These women are, because of their education and access to jobs in the cash economy, members of the Papua New Guinean 'elite'. This makes it difficult for men, especially rural men who may themselves lack formal educational credentials or access to a wage job, to continue to uphold the local version of the fiction of male domination.

Men, however, are not the only 'oppressors' of women and girls in Papua New Guinea. Both male and female teachers have a tendency to replicate the "traditional" beliefs regarding the 'proper' behaviour of boys versus girls in the classrooms of West New Britain.

I noticed very early in my research that

considerable differences existed among individual teachers in their treatment of male and female students. In an attempt to measure the ways teachers treated male and female students in the classroom, I decided to construct a simple counting schedule to count the number of times male and female students were formally called upon to answer questions posed by the teacher as a normal part of lessons. In each classroom between seven and eight hours of observation were used. Not less than four hours of English lessons, one hour of Math, and two hours of General Studies (including Community Life, Health, and Expressive Arts, but not including Religious Instruction - which mixed grades during classes) are used. Because my interest here centers on the relative percentage of teacher and boy/girl interaction and I make no attempt to compare total interactions, slight differences in observational times should not be a major problem. The basic assumption, of course, is that interaction rates will reflect teachers' beliefs concerning the appropriateness of the participation of boys and girls in the educational system. Teachers who believe education is more important for boys than girls, for example, should call upon boys more often than girls to answer questions in class.

The results of the counting schedule are presented below in Table 5:1.

Table 5.1: Teacher Interaction with Male/Female Students

<u>Kimbe Community School</u>							
	<u>Grade Two (F)</u>		<u>Grade Four (F)</u>		<u>Grade Six (M)</u>		
	(22) <u>Boys</u>	(25) <u>Girls</u>	(25) <u>Boys</u>	(20) <u>Girls</u>	(19) <u>Boys</u>	(11) <u>Girls</u>	
English	61	53	57	54	81	38	
Math	8	6	17	26	42	13	
General	14	12	23	20	52	13	
Totals	84	71	97	100	175	64	

<u>Bialla Community School</u>							
	<u>Grade Two (F)</u>		<u>Grade Four (F)</u>		<u>Grade Six (M)</u>		
	(15) <u>Boys</u>	(11) <u>Girls</u>	(19) <u>Boys</u>	(18) <u>Girls</u>	(14) <u>Boys</u>	(16) <u>Girls</u>	
English	124	67	34	25	104	114	
Math	23	14	11	7	28	17	
General	59	32	44	25	48	61	
Totals	206	113	89	57	180	192	

<u>Ewasse Community School</u>							
	<u>Grade Two (M)</u>		<u>Grade Four (M)</u>		<u>Grade Six (M)</u>		
	(14) <u>Boys</u>	(14) <u>Girls</u>	(16) <u>Boys</u>	(17) <u>Girls</u>	(19) <u>Boys</u>	(7) <u>Girls</u>	
English	177	139	46	35	52	11	
Math	5	4	17	40	40	11	
General	18	18	15	8	18	3	
Totals	200	161	78	52	110	25	

Note: The numbers in brackets over the categories of 'boys' and 'girls' indicate the actual number of boys and girls attending these classes during the period of counting interactions. The number in each column represent the actual number of interactions a given teacher had with male or female students during the period of observation. See the previous page regarding the definition of 'interaction' and the period of interaction. Note that 'M' or 'F' placed next to the Grade indicates a male or female teacher.

Table 5.2: Percentages and Ratios of Student/Teacher Interactions

	<u>A) Male/Female Percentages by Grades/Schools</u>					
	<u>Grade Two</u>		<u>Grade Four</u>		<u>Grade Six</u>	
	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>
Kimbe	53.9%	46.1%	49.2%	50.8%	73.2%	26.8%
Bialla	64.6%	35.4%	61.0%	39.0%	48.4%	51.6%
Ewasse	55.4%	44.6%	60.0%	40.0%	81.5%	18.5%

Note: These percentages represent the relative percentage of times an individual teacher called upon a male or female student to answer questions in class. They are based solely on total interactions recorded (see table 5.1) and are not corrected for the relative numbers of boys or girls in the classroom.

	<u>B) Expected Male/Female Percentages by Grade/School</u>					
	<u>Grade Two</u>		<u>Grade Four</u>		<u>Grade Six</u>	
	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>
Kimbe	46.8%	53.2%	55.6%	44.4%	63.3%	36.7%
Bialla	57.7%	42.3%	51.3%	48.7%	46.7%	53.3%
Ewasse	50.0%	50.0%	48.5%	51.5%	73.1%	26.9%

Note: This represents the expected number of times a teacher would interact with male or female pupils in each classroom to achieve a perfect 1:1 ratio of equitable interaction in relation to the number of boys and girls actually present in each classroom.

	<u>C) Teacher and Male/Female Student Interaction Expressed as a Ratio and Corrected for Actual No. of Boys/Girls</u>					
	<u>Grade Two</u>		<u>Grade Four</u>		<u>Grade Six</u>	
	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>
Kimbe	1.15	: 1	.88	: 1	1.16	: 1
Bialla	1.12	: 1	1.19	: 1	1.04	: 1
Ewasse	1.11	: 1	1.24	: 1	1.11	: 1

Note: Girls are held constant at one. Ratios are calculated by placing the percentage of actual interactions over the percentage of expected interactions for each classroom. A 1:1 ratio would represent an exact equality of actual interactions, corrected for the number of boys and girls in each classroom.

It should be remembered that the counting schedule which produced the above results was not set up to be a 'test' of a hypothesis concerning gender relations in the classroom, but rather to give some descriptive statistics to complement the other qualitative observations that are presented below.

The tables generally support the assertion that some gender bias exists in the classrooms of West New Britain. They indicate that the majority of teachers provide a somewhat more active learning experience for boys than they do for girls. There are, however, some differences worth noting between the interpretations we can draw from the uncorrected versus the corrected results shown in the tables.

Uncorrected results show the actual amount of times a given teacher asks questions of boys or girls in the classroom. We might think of this as the student's raw experience with a teacher's gender expectations. The results in table 5.1 and 5.2A show mixed results. Five teachers (three males and two females) call upon boys to answer questions in all of the lessons combined at least 60% of the time. While four teachers (two males and two females) show only minor differences in the percentage of time they call upon male or female students overall (two, one male and one female, actually have slightly higher percentages for girls over boys). One thing this

table seems to show clearly is that biases are not easily related to the gender of the teacher, with both male and female teachers showing bias in favour of boys and both also showing a more balanced interaction pattern.

In the corrected part of the table (5.2C), the bias toward asking questions of male rather than female students is rather more pronounced. Seven teachers (four males, three females) show a preference for asking questions of boys more often than girls when the results are corrected to take into account differentials between the number of boys and girls actually present in the classroom.

An actual example can help explain the difference between uncorrected and corrected results. The grade six class at Ewasse community school shows (table 5.2A), on an uncorrected basis, that boys are asked questions during lessons 81.5% of the time and girls only 18.5% of the time. Because (as table 5.1 shows) this class was attended by 19 boys and seven girls, we could expect there to be a percentage differential (shown in table 5.2B) of 73.1% for boys and 26.9% for girls in these interactions. Taking this expected difference into account, we still arrive at a statistical difference which can be expressed as a ratio of 1.11:1.0, favouring boys over girls. Expressed in another fashion, it can be said that on a corrected basis this ratio represents the chance or 'risk' a boy or girl

has of being asked a question during lessons. I would like to point out that on an experiential level, this teacher's bias may be much more overwhelming for girls. An uncorrected ratio for this classroom would be in the range of 4:1, favouring boys over girls. It is doubtful whether female students themselves mentally 'correct', as we statistically correct, for the numerical imbalance between boys and girls attending lessons and therefore that they experience this bias more strongly than a corrected ratio of 1.11:1.0 would suggest.

Within the corrected results, we can see that one teacher (female) favours girls over boys and another teacher (male) has an almost perfect ratio of 1.04:1.0. Both the corrected and uncorrected results, then, show that at least some individual teachers make an effort to overcome the cultural preference regarding the relative importance of public performances for boys versus girls.

This confirms material that I gathered in interviews with both male and female teachers concerning the problems of female students. Many indicate that they understand there to be a general belief that girls should remain under the control of their families and that most men could not bring themselves to accept equality of participation for women in either the classroom or the job market, but that they themselves do not have these viewpoints. At least some individual teachers, encouraged



by official support for equal opportunity of participation, seem to be acting on the beliefs expressed in these interviews.

Overall observations of the hidden curriculum of the classroom are often even less equivocal in indicating areas of interaction which show that teachers hold many 'traditional' assumptions regarding appropriate gender behaviour. One of the most telling pieces of evidence concerns the reactions of teachers to the aggressive behaviour of boys in the classroom.

As I mention earlier in the chapter, both boys and adult men in most Papua New Guinean societies are expected to exhibit aggressive, intrusive behaviour at appropriate times. This "manly" behaviour is not only tolerated, it is often specifically encouraged. On the other hand, women and girls are generally expected to show more personal restraint, in keeping with their acceptance of social responsibilities (an acceptance that is expected to occur much earlier in life for girls than for boys).

I have twenty-four separate cases of what I call "boy's aggression" in my classroom fieldnotes. These incidents normally involve one or more boys hitting other students in one form or another (e.g. hitting someone with a ruler or tossing a book at a student and connecting). I do not have a single recorded case of a teacher ever

disciplining this kind of boy's aggressive behaviour. A few examples of this situation and my observations regarding it are provided below.

A boy is bothering a girl just in front of where I'm sitting. The girl says to him: "You stop looking." She turns to the teacher, "Excuse", but the teacher ignores her. She says it louder, "You stop looking. Excuse!" But the teacher still ignores her, as I've found most teachers do when the kids tell on each other like this. "Excuse, he is talking." Still no reaction. Finally, the boy actually chases the girl to the back of the room, gently pushing her around a bit. The girl cries out "Excuse, Matias is fighting!" Nothing happens. They go back to their seats.

(Grade 2, Ewasse C. S.)

One kid just reached over and punched another in the eye. The victim does not run to the teacher. A little later, when the teacher comes around, he sort of points to the boy who hit him. The teacher ignores this and neither of the two boys really seem upset.

(Grade 1, Kimbe C. S.)

One boy is slapping another. He does it several times, on the shoulder and on the head. The teacher is over in the corner and either doesn't notice or pretends not to notice -- as everyone else in the class seems to have. Eventually, the boy doing the slapping walks away. I have never seen boys respond to this kind of treatment by calling out loud for the teacher.

(Grade 4, Bialla C. S.)

Reading lesson. The teacher hands out books to students, there is only enough for one book for each group of two or three. The boys like to move around and change desks, but she sends them back to their original desks. "Okay, ready to read? Okay, you two start." She means for them to read out loud together, but one boy starts reading before the other. The other boy leans over and cracks him on the head with a ruler. I've noticed that teachers never interfere when boys do things like this, unlike the immediate

reaction that this would get in Canada.

(Grade 2, Bialla C. S.)

Not all aggressive behaviour or initiative by boys involves violent actions towards others. I also have half a dozen incidents of boys running out of the classroom door without the teacher seeming to notice, even though everyone else in the classroom was well aware of the action. Examples of non-violent aggression are given below.

It feels hot in the classroom today. A boy gets up and opens the door, without asking permission. There doesn't seem to be any problem with this.

(Grade 5, Ewasse C. S.)

A boy comes along and grabs a book from a group of girls. They yell: "Paul!", but don't do anything else. The teacher does not respond.

(Grade 4, Bialla C. S.)

Two boys sneak along the wall to the front of the class and bolt out of the open door. The teacher doesn't seem to notice.

(Grade 2, Bialla C. S.)

One of the boys at the back of the room gets up and opens the window on his own initiative. That seems to be alright.

(Grade 4, Kimbe C. S.)

Although I have made a specific search for them, my notes do not contain similar aggressive and initiatory behaviour by girls that consistently goes undisciplined.

As I show in the last chapter, boys are subject to the same kind of disciplinary actions as girls if they display aggressive verbal behaviour that intrudes on the teacher's sense of control and authority. For some reason,

teachers do not seem to place boys' physically aggressive actions in the same category of "incorrect" behaviour. This strongly suggests a hidden curriculum which reflects the widespread 'traditional' cultural beliefs regarding the appropriateness of aggressive actions by males. As long as this action is not directed towards the teacher it is tolerated to a degree that would be considered remarkable in the Canadian educational context.

A cultural assumption concerning the appropriateness of certain physical actions by boys and not by girls can be seen further in both the formal and informal sports activities associated with schooling in West New Britain.

Boys tend to prefer and are encouraged by teachers and parents to play physically aggressive games such as rugby and soccer, while girls are expected to prefer games such as volleyball. Even when boys and girls both play games such as volleyball or cricket they are normally expected to display very different types of game behaviour. To begin with, girls are generally expected to play games with girls and boys with boys. Boys' games are considered by most teachers and parents to be more 'serious', generally leading to more equipment and extra coaching being made available to them.

On an informal level, I have seen boys grab a

soccer ball away from girls who were playing with it at recess. The boys stated that the girls were "only playing around", while they "wanted to have a game". The teachers who were on duty at the time (both female) backed up the boys and told the girls to "go play somewhere else, or something." Other examples regarding expectations of gender-specific sporting behaviour are offered below.

Morning Assembly. ...The Headmaster warns them about playing in the wrong areas. "Girls on the school grounds, boys on the soccer field."

(Morning Assembly, Bialla C. S.)

Physical Education. The teacher lines them up in four rows, two rows of boys facing each other and two rows of girls facing each other. They have one volleyball each, to practice hitting up and down the rows, as a small group of boys tries to put up the volleyball net. These boys are having fun, climbing up and down the poles -- but they are not putting the net up very effectively. The teacher doesn't even look at them. One boy yells: "Aww, fuck it!", as he falls down the pole. ...[twenty minutes later, when the net is finally up] "Okay, hold the balls. I want the boys to run all the way over there (points to where the girls have started playing over the net) and the girls to run all the way over here (off to the side). ...She spends almost all of her time instructing the boys at the net and leaves the girls to play quietly by themselves.

(Physical Education, Grade 4, Bialla C. S.)

"Okay, put all your papers away. I want you to stand up and go outside to the field (for Physical Education). The teacher does not come outside and the kids are left to just run around the field. Finally, the boys get a soccer ball out and start a game, while the girls play volleyball.

(Physical Education, Grade 6, Ewasse C. S.)

As the latter example indicates, even when left to their own devices students will normally divide into what

they consider to be appropriate gender behaviour. A little later on, the teacher came out and began coaching the boys playing soccer, leaving the girls to regulate their own play. Teachers, whether they are conscious of it or not, consistently indicate to boys that their sports are important. Girls, on the other hand, receive the message that certain kinds of goal-oriented physical actions are best understood as part of the boys' domain and girls, when they are allowed to participate at all, should expect little in terms of support or active encouragement.

Having outlined two patterns in the hidden curriculum of gender relations in the classroom and shown how the first pattern has significant individual exceptions to it while the second pattern does not, I would like to consider the impact of gender stereotyping on the students themselves. At the immediate level of experience, students are affected by gender stereotyping in two major ways: 1) the experience of general patterns in stereotyping (such as the ones outlined above), and 2) the experience of being a student in a specific classroom that has a teacher who shows continuous gender bias. Having considered the first kind of experience above, I now want to focus on the second major way in which students experience gender expectations.

As I explain in the material regarding teacher/student interactions above, even within a general

pattern of gender bias there can be considerable individual variation among teachers. Although all teachers that I observed ignored or allowed aggressive actions by boys to an extent that would likely not be acceptable in a Canadian classroom, not all extended this expectation for differentiation into other areas of classroom behaviour. There are, however, a large number (based on my notes, I would say a substantial majority) who show consistent gender bias in their treatment of students. I would like to take one teacher as an example and use notes from my observations of a single morning in a grade two class to illustrate the kinds of messages about gender that children in this particular class consistently receive.

I am sitting at the front of the room in the corner, observing from the front of the class for a change. The girls are on one side, boys on the other (no special space between), more or less in rows.

Math. "Alright, I want you to go back to your seats and write these out." Five seconds later: "Who is finished one? Very slow!" He chases two boys out of a 'girls' desk. "Eh, that's for the girls, not for you!" The boys look rather shamefaced.

Reading is finished and he is going to let them go out for recess. "Two lines of boys there, two lines of girls there." "Eh, where are you going (to a girl who is in the wrong line)?" They form four lines, facing the back. "When you move out, you will keep quiet." He marches them out single file, the two lines of boys first, then the two lines of girls.

The teacher writes a sentence on the board. "He has his lunch." "When finished [copying this down], put your books away and move to the

floor. A few minutes later half the class is at the front on the floor, the rest are still working at their desks. The ones on the floor automatically arrange themselves into male/female sides.

He is drilling them on vocabulary. The teacher points to the word group on the board and the class shouts the words out. "Wednesday, always, letters, etc." They chant out sentences, using the various words they have just learned. The boys only, then the girls only. He does this a lot, separating group responses by sex.

Health class. There are two diagrams of teeth on the board. "I have two pictures (magazine cutouts) showing your teeth, pass them around." The kids don't really look at them, just move them from hand to hand to hand. Some boys grab them away from girls. The teacher doesn't intervene.

This example is not unusual, it is very consistent with the majority of classroom notes I have regarding individual teachers and their behaviour towards male and female students. A more extreme example would be the teacher who, when asked if he separated the students into ability groups, volunteered the extra information that not only did he separate his grade six class into two "good" and two "bad" groups, but almost all of the girls were in the "dumb" groups. This teacher likes to sit the "smart" groups near the back and the "dumb" ones at the front, so there is little confusion on the students' part regarding the understanding of "ability" in this classroom.

On the other hand, there are teachers such as Mr. Simon, who teaches the grade six class at Bialla (see Table 5.1). Other than a tendency to march boys and girls in and



out of the classroom in separate lines, he shows remarkably little gender bias in his interactions with students. My initial notes on "teacher's behaviour" for Mr. Simon, confirmed later by a full day of observation, states:

Very uniform behaviour. He walks around behind each set of desks as they engage in their tasks. Stands at the front and directs questions while they do group learning. He seems to be very even in the way he treats male and female students and pupils in different areas of the class. Very rarely raises his voice. Children give responses with very little prompting (e.g. repeat words at exactly the right time).

This teacher arranges his desks in a semi-circle facing the front board, so that there are no clear-cut 'rows' or 'groups'. When I asked him about whether or not he had ability groups, he answered: "Yes, I do. For reading and Community Life. But I don't sit them in groups. I think mixing them helps the not so good students." He also volunteered that he does tend to place the "less good" students nearer to the front, so that he can give them extra attention. Nothing, however, in the way he divides his pupils into groups to pursue specific tasks indicates a belief that girls and boys should receive different treatment or should be expected to show different abilities because of gender.

During interviews, I asked all of the teachers the following question. "Why do you think more male than female students continue on in their education, both in

community schools and beyond them?" As I indicated earlier, teachers generally felt that parents are afraid that their daughters may end up marrying or get involved with someone from 'outside' of their social group and/or they feel they are risking a loss of their daughters' labour and exchange value. Only two teachers gave answers that could in any way be construed as indicating a belief that male and female students have different abilities which lead to different exam results (also see the example of 'ability' bias given above, which was not voiced during the course of an interview). One answered: "Maybe some of them are unable to cope with the subjects", while the other stated: "I think the main thing is, and this is how people think, they [the girls] are not important -- they can't do the job as well as a man." Both of these teachers also offered alternative explanations involving the more familiar idea that parents generally fear a loss of control over their daughters.

Six teachers make a specific point of stating in one form or another that the 'problem' is certainly not due to a lack of ability on the part of female students. For example:

I think parents want the female students to go back to the village for family work. But if they sit the exams, some of the female students can beat male students.

(female teacher)

Now, more parents are educated -- knowing women

can do the man's job.

(male teacher)

I think from experience, it's not that all the boys are more clever than the girls; girls get frightened of the exam.

(female teacher)

The rest of the teachers generally indicate in response to this question that they think girls are pulled out of school or discouraged from attending higher grades because of parental decisions regarding what girls *should* do rather than perceptions regarding what they *could* or desire to do with their own futures.

I think the problem is because they intend to get married quickly. Their brain is not on their study.

(male teacher)

I think most often, their parents are taking them out of school. Leave them at home. Probably because of customs, or they don't want their children going away. Getting married and staying away.

(female teacher)

As for that, some of the parents think that if girls go for further education they won't think of the education, only of getting married. Then they won't look after their parents.... they don't want them to go to further schooling because they look after their parents when they grow old. If there's something wrong with them, they are the one's responsible for them.

(female teacher)

Teachers' perceptions that girls are often given less chance than boys to continue in their education coincides with 'traditional' concerns regarding gender relations in Papua New Guinea. The belief is not that girls (or women) lack the "ability" to successfully complete higher forms of

education, nor even that they cannot do the same kinds of jobs as men after they complete their schooling, but rather that they *should* not do these things. This kind of independence, based on the attainment of educational credentials rather than the manipulation of traditional social relationships, places women at least potentially outside of the usual forms of parental control. Since parents rely on their daughters much more than their sons for labour and direct support as they grow older in the village, they greatly fear their daughters might marry outside of their home areas, "move away" and "forget their parents".

This independence is also a direct challenge to male ideology (which is often accepted to some extent by both parents) that says that life proceeds best when men make most of the major decisions regarding the direction of daughter's lives. Many fathers that I spoke with indicated to me that they were, as teachers suggested, fearful that their daughters would not contain their sexuality at school once they reached the age of thirteen or fourteen. Besides a very real fear of the difficulty of marrying off daughters who have children outside of marriage by "outsiders", this fear seems to also symbolize men's worst anxieties regarding women suddenly discovering that they are quite capable of exploiting their own abilities

and directing their own lives.

We can see, then, that even though teachers do not naturalize their expectations regarding appropriate gender behaviour by referring to a difference between male and female abilities, as a group they still display patterned attitudes that emerge in the form of hidden curriculum in relation to the expected behaviour of male and female students. Individual differences certainly exist and some teachers do show what seems to be a conscious effort to treat male and female students fairly and equally.

While it is hard to prove a direct relationship between performance in the classroom and teacher expectations, it is reasonable to assume that consistently displayed expectations about gender behaviour by teachers in West New Britain teach both boys and girls that it is appropriate to act in some ways and not in others because of sexual identity. The question of its effect on academic performance will have to be left to other researchers who are better qualified than I to construct formal quantitative studies measuring academic performances in relation to the patterns noted above. I would, however, like to offer some evidence that seems to indicate that students have internalized expectations about the appropriateness of differences between the roles males and females should aspire to in their society.

In chapter four, I presented three tables (tables 4.1, 4.2, and 4.3) which listed the outcome by occupation of grade five's and six's responses when asked to write a short assignment on the theme "My Future Work". At this point, I would like to consider what these tables have to tell us about students' perceptions of 'appropriate' gender roles.

Although teachers' values about gender roles may come from 'traditional' cultural themes regarding expected male and female behaviour, it should be apparent from the tables that this does not translate into students having 'traditional' aspirations for their personal futures. In my opinion, this is due to the 'traditional' gender values that are expressed in the hidden curriculum of classroom instruction being overlaid by the stronger message of the value of being 'modern' (as outlined in chapter four). What retains resonance with 'traditional' life is that students, with a few exceptions, clearly divide occupations up into 'appropriate' gender categories. They seem to expect that 'modern' life should follow 'traditional' expectations in the regard.

Twenty-eight boys, for example, see themselves as mechanics in their futures lives. Not a single girl sees herself as pursuing this work role. Boys want to join the armed forces, become pilots, carpenters and other skilled

workers as well as professionals. Girls, on the other hand, tend to see themselves as nurses, air hostesses, typists, and in other 'helping' occupations.

The most popular choice of future occupations for girls is to become a teacher. Forty-two female students hope to become teachers, while only four male students indicate a wish to do so. This seems surprising in the face of women forming a minority of the teaching profession in Papua New Guinea. In 1985, for example, a total of 1,036 males and 692 females were enrolled in the country's teacher's colleges (Dept. of Education 1985: 62). There is a potential explanation for this seeming discrepancy. Despite women being strongly underrepresented in teaching on a national level, it is normal for urban community schools to have a majority of female teachers. In 1986/87, for example, both Kimbe Community School and Bialla Community School had considerably more female than male teachers. With the former having eight women and four men and the latter employing five women and three men, there are almost twice as many female than male teachers. This is not true for the most 'rural' Ewasse Community School, however, which employs five male teachers and only one female. Only one boy in Kimbe and three in Ewasse see teaching as an appropriate occupation for themselves. This strongly suggests that because of the association of 'urban' areas with female teachers, teaching itself is

coming to be seen as a 'helping' job that, in the emerging urban value system, is seen as a more appropriate job for women than it is for men. Although I have no hard evidence to support this assertion, discussions with other anthropologists and with 'rural' people visiting in the towns leads me to believe that the opposite perception may hold true for teaching in the rural areas. Teaching may be seen by students as a more prestigious profession in areas where it is one of the few well-paying jobs in the cash economy and therefore thought of as employment suitable for men rather than women. Researchers who work in rural areas can test this possibility easily enough by using similar "My Future Work" essays in the rural schools of the province.

There are several notable exceptions to the service/caretaker pattern of occupational choice for girls in these three schools. One girl wants to be an astronaut when she gets older. Four others want to join the police force, an occupation that is certainly considered a "job for men" by most Papua New Guineans. Another girl wishes to be a radio announcer, a job that is so new that it may have escaped gender stereotyping for the present time.

Those girls who indicate a desire to pursue what many others would consider to be 'male occupations' are very few in number. This indicates that these are



exceptional choices rather than a general pattern. A good example of this is the profession of medical doctor. While one girl indicates that she wants to become a doctor, twelve boys share this goal as well.

A telling pattern is that although the occasional female student seems willing to cross gender lines when it comes to future work, not a single boy indicated an interest in anything that can be considered a 'female occupation'. Nineteen girls see themselves as future nurses, for example, while not a single boy covets this relatively well-paying and secure job. Eight girls want to be typists, but no boys indicate such a desire. And so on.

The general pattern in the table confirms the understanding among students that males and females *should* generally pursue different work tasks, even when these tasks are translated into a desire for a job in the 'modern' cash economy rather than the more 'traditional' agriculturally based village economy. This resonates with the hidden curriculum of gender relations in the classrooms of West New Britain. Most teachers display some bias in favour of male students, especially when this is related to behaviour that is aggressively active. The way teachers organize classroom groups, interact with male and female pupils, applaud or ignore aggressive behaviour in sports or the classroom, all affect male and female

students' perceptions of what is and is not appropriate gender behaviour. There are, to be sure, significant individual exceptions, both among teachers and among students, regarding expectations of gender roles. The fact that these exceptions seem to 'stand out' or 'go against the grain' indicate that they are not a normal part of the hidden curriculum of classroom instruction. Given the wide variation of both urban and rural cultural environments in Papua New Guinea, it would be worth finding out if these 'exceptions' become the rule in hidden curriculum in any part of the country. If so, or if other researchers find wide variation on the hidden curriculum of gender relations in various parts of the country, comparisons could make valuable information available regarding the kinds of social and cultural environments that promote or retard gender differentiation in the classroom.

#### The Hidden Curriculum of Cooperative Individualism

Health Class. "Yesterday, we were talking about some of the things that make people friends. What things?" "A game", says one girl. "Give them food", says another. The teacher continues: "Think about yourself, what makes them like you?" Answers include: "You make a party and invite them", "Give them money", "Play with them." She says: "Yes. If some friends didn't bring food for lunch and you give him some of yours, that's how you get friends. You bring things for them."  
(Health, Grade 2, Bialla C. S.)

As shown in chapter four, teachers are constantly berating students for 'sharing' their answers with each

other. The students, especially boys, often check their work with their friends.

The kids are doing math problems. "Alright, when you finish, I want you to change with a friend." She has to leave the class for a minute to check on some noise outside on the grounds. There is more talking now, moderately loud. They pass papers back and forth. Some of the kids begin checking their answers against each other.

(Math, Grade 4, Ewasse C. S.)

When the teacher asks Matias a question he can't answer, his two friends look through their books to help him find the answer. They find it before he can think of it and tell it to him, which he then gives to the patiently waiting teacher. This seems to be acceptable, since it is done openly.

(Spelling, Grade 4, Bialla C. S.)

Although teachers become quite upset when students do this kind of sharing during an exam or test, they are much less predictable in their responses to it outside of a directly competitive situation. Normally, if one student helps another by shouting an answer across the room, he or she will be disciplined. But if the help occurs quietly and does not involve a direct challenge to the teacher's authority, teachers may ignore it.

I suspect that this is strongly influenced by the ongoing problem of supplies in West New Britain schools. Teaching material especially books (readers, workbooks, etc.) and writing paper, is generally in short supply. Whenever possible teachers seem to prefer to give each student his or her 'own' material, which s/he then puts his/her name on and treats like individual property for the

year. Lack of supplies often makes this impossible and the usual solution is to have students share materials in groups of two or three.

"Okay, I want you to pair up in threes." The teacher hands out storybooks to the kids. "Sit together, let's turn to the story on page one hundred and six. We will all read the story together." (Changes his mind). "I think we will call on people to read the story, I think that's best, huh!" He calls out several names and tells them how far to read. The threesome does their best to read in unison.

(Reading, Grade 4, Ewasse C. S.)

Forced to share materials because of shortages, it is much harder for teachers to enforce individual over group performances. On several occasions that I observed similar to the one above, even though teachers explicitly asked only one of the pair or threesome to read out loud, the other members of the dyad/triad automatically helped if the reader became stuck on a passage. Often, they simply read along with the official reader, sotto voce.

As I note in chapter four, it is very common to work in larger groups (normally 6-8 students) on classroom tasks. These 'ability groups' are used by teachers to divide the whole class up into several units, each with its own student leader. I have stated that this kind of organization reinforces the general lesson of hierarchical relationships learned from the pattern of teacher/student interactions. I still believe this to be true. But I would also like to point out that the 'same' organizational

arrangement can transmit more than one message at a time. A secondary message in the hidden curriculum of organizing classes into groups is that the group is important in its own right.

If teachers spend a lot of time giving out the message of competitive individualism, as chapter four shows they do, then we also need to understand that some of their time is spent giving out a contradictory message about the importance of the group over the individual. I refer to this as the lesson of 'cooperative individualism'.

Through cooperative individualism, students learn that performance and desire must be tempered with the needs of the group. Performance must feed back into the group if it is going to be acceptable to the rest of the group members. At the very least, individual students must not threaten to go so far that they totally outdistance the rest of the class.

Although almost all teachers stress the idea of competitive individualism when it comes to tests, spelling bees, or other directly competitive situations, there is considerable variation in the extent to which a given teacher emphasizes individual or group responses, working alone or in ability groups or as a whole class together. Several teachers that I observed seem to prefer working on the level of the whole class and/or in ability groups much

of the time rather than in the individual interaction patterns that the majority of teachers favoured.

Math. She is teaching them to count, each group uses sticks that they arrange on the floor in front of them. She tries to get them to add two groups of sticks together. "What's the answer?" A few children call out "seven", even though she meant it as a rhetorical question. "Hey, no shouting", she says, "I don't like children who shout -- then the others know the answer too." She walks over to each group and asks them what the answer is. They certainly find out fast that they are 'slow' in comparison to some of the other groups. It is interesting the emphasis she puts here on group work, group answers, etc. But it means that being typed as "dumb" leaves the child little room to change the teacher's mind about them, because they are grouped with other "dumb" partners.

(Math, Grade 1, Kimbe C. S.)

This teacher generally favours, as do a few others, organizing her work by ability groups. Notice, however, that although she emphasizes the importance of group work she does not negate the message of hierarchical inequality. In this case, groups rather than individuals are set up to compete with each other as to how quickly they can solve particular problems. This may teach individuals that they are not more important than the group to which they belong, but it does not teach them that all members of the class are in some essential sense equal to each other.

The message of equality is most likely to come at the level of working with the class as a unit in itself for responding to the teacher's instructions.

"Alright, we are going to correct our math from last day. Okay, take a look at your books. Who

did the first one [in a way] that looks like the one on the blackboard?" Only a few hands go up. "The second one?" More raise their hands this time. He asks for answers from the whole class at the same time and shouts out when a wrong answer is given: "What, who said one?" "Okay, eyes on the blackboard. Zero plus one?" The class shouts "One". "And four?", he asks. Class: "Five!" And so on. "Who got that one?" Almost all hands go up. This teacher seems to work with the class as a whole more than most. The way they chant answers out in unison indicates they do this often.

(Math, Grade 4, Ewasse C. S.)

As in the example above, a few teachers seem to prefer working with the class as a whole more than they do with either smaller groups or individuals. Of course, no teacher uses one method of instruction exclusively. All, for example, use the class as a unit of response at least once in awhile.

Every so often, a stronger lesson is given regarding the importance of collective relations over individual performance. In this form, lessons most directly reflect 'traditional' Papua New Guinean concerns with limiting the performance of an individual and reminding each that their performance depends on their ability to enlist the active support of their fellow human beings. I would like to elaborate a little on this aspect of hidden curriculum at this point, beginning with some examples.

Most of the students are finished writing out and filling in the sentences from the blackboard. "Alright, all finished now?", he asks. The class generally says "Yes." Hands automatically go up, wanting to be called upon: "Excuse, excuse!" But he says: "Alright, let's look at it together."

It turns out that two boys are not finished yet. The teacher says to the rest of the class: "This boy is very slow. This boy too."

(English, Grade 2, Bialla C. S.)

Math. He gets the class to provide the answers most of the time, sometimes asking one person a specific thing: "Eh, Gladys, what is the minus sign?" He really rushes them in their work. "Eh, who is finished? Hands up!" He does not wait for the slower ones to work it out before he charges on. ... "Alright, sitting up straight. Looking at the blackboard. What is the answer for the first one?" The class calls the answer out: "Ninety". The teacher says: "Huh, who called out ninety-two!?"

(Math, Grade 2, Ewasse C. S.)

"Alright, count to a hundred." The class responds "One, two, three ... one hundred!" "Alright, counting in twos?", he asks. "Two, four, six ... one hundred!" "Counting in fives?" A few seconds after they begin he stops them. "Domi, you are rushing." "Begin again" "Five, ten, fifteen, ... one hundred!" "Tens", he commands. Again he stops them just after they begin. "Domi, who said you could go first?" The class laughs, then continues the exercise.

(Math, Grade 1, Kimbe C. S.)

In chapter four, I show that teachers will often chastise a student who tries to charge ahead of the class. The first two examples above show that they will also make use of the performance of the majority to shame those who lag behind. The ideal, when performing as a collective body, is for everyone to move at the same pace. There are no star pupils, nor should anyone be left behind. Both of these ways of disciplining students who are out of step with the group reinforces the authority of the teacher, for it is the teacher who determines who is overperforming or not keeping up in a satisfactory manner. But this same



situation also give a secondary lesson, one that resonates with 'traditional' concerns. Individuals need to be, or at least should appear to be, roughly in step with the rest of the members of their group.

I noted previously that teachers have a name for individuals who continually 'act up' in the classroom. 'Bigheads' are students who are out of step with the rest of the class, constantly calling attention to themselves as individuals rather than as members of a group. This kind of 'competitive individualism' is not accepted by teachers because it is not harnessed to what they consider to be appropriately competitive situations, such as an exam or test. Bigheads initiate behaviour on their own and for their own reasons, directly challenging the authority of teachers in their role as directors of classroom behaviour. Therefore teachers use not only their own direct authority but also the authority of the group to try to shame students who are attempting to stand out too far from the group on their own initiative. This is not only an effective and familiar ploy, it also seems to offer teachers a satisfactory emotional outlet for some of the frustrations of teaching within such a structured system. In interviews and informal sessions, teachers I spoke with often showed the most passion when discussing the issue of 'bigheads'. There seems to be genuine fear that bigheads

might grow up to be 'rascals' -- a much more serious set of behaviours that puts them into direct conflict with the state legal system. Many teachers indicate a desire to turn these often talented individuals into "useful members of the group" -- a desire that has strong overtones of the traditional moral economies of Papua New Guinea.

It is also important, however, to point out that just because the hidden curriculum of group relations in the classroom provides a recognizably 'traditional' pattern of interaction this does not necessarily mean that it is antithetical to the newly emerging moral order of human relations that is outlined in the last chapter. If competitive individualism is necessary to justify the development of social inequalities with the ideology of individual merit, then cooperative individualism can be said to rationalize the division of relations of production in the cash economy in terms of a hierarchy of boss and workers. Celebrating the importance of the group in the classroom may help inculcate the idea that once one is firmly located within a group (e.g. a construction or a plantation gang) it is best to quietly go about one's task. A student/worker should not charge ahead of the group, nor should they lag behind. Although this aspect of capitalist work relations is often overlooked by analysts, collective cooperation among general or skilled labourers is just as important for smooth work operations as the competitive

individualism which legitimizes the hierarchy of those who manage the workers.

There is little doubt that students internalize the message of individual cooperation within the group very early in community schools. My notes are full of examples of pupils moving into appropriate task groups without the direction of the teacher at the beginning of specific situations.

Class is one and a half times as large as normal, as another grade one teacher is on leave because of a sick child at home. Mrs. Nin is not very happy about this. "Okay, hands up, hands down", she gets them into some kind of order. 9:03 A.M., she hands out blue work books. Calling out names as her kids mill around her (the other class sits there, still waiting for their books to come over from the other classroom - they were sent for a while ago). The other class is a little confused, but her class automatically forms into their groups once they have their books.

(Grade 1, Kimbe C. S.)

The regular members of this grade one class already know what is expected of them as individuals with respect to collective organization. They know that their teacher always drills the alphabet collectively and then has them practice printing letters in ability groups. The teacher does not need to intervene in this process, even though they are only a few months into the school year, unless a particular individual in her class forgets the drill. Because of this she is able to concentrate on sorting out the problem of the extra students who are missing books.

There is a pattern of interaction that many teachers use which I did not recognize while I was initially observing in classrooms. As I coded my classroom observations that show behaviour consistent with either 'competitive individualism' or 'cooperative individualism' I began to see a pattern appear again and again in the notes.

This pattern suggests that teachers often have an intuitive understanding of the need to balance messages about the importance of individual performance with lessons about the importance of the group. In this lesson, teachers alternate individual with group performances, one following the other.

She has a very ritualized pattern of teaching. Spelling words today. "Sundays, always, holidays, etc." The teacher asks Rachel to spell "always". The girl stands up, but spells it wrong. "Is she right?", the teacher asks the class. "No!", they respond. She then asks the girls to [collectively] spell always, then the boys. Then she continues to call on individuals to spell specific words. "Everybody, spell the word holidays." Class: "Holidays, H-O-L-I-D-A-Y-S". They follow with this cadence, three times. "Holidays, holidays, holidays!"

(Spelling, Grade 2, Ewasse C. S.)

"Okay, open your exercise book and start. Here is a story -- write the missing words in your exercise book." ...She walks around, checking and helping out. She then has them change books with a friend (for correcting). Asks for some individual answers, but throws most of the questions out to the group.

(English, Grade 4, Bialla C. S.)

The teacher groups the class into a semi-circle,

facing the front chalkboard. "Alright, close your eyes, I want you all to say your times." In unison: "Sixty seconds equals one minute, sixty minutes equals one hour, twenty - four hours equals one day..." All the way up to reciting the number of days each month has. "Alright, keep your eyes closed. I want you to think about how many shapes we learned about." Hands go up. "How many?", she asks one boy. "Five shapes", he answers. They then go on to name each shape: "Triangle, square, oblong, ...". Individual answers, then all together. "Okay, the three colours in our shapes?" ...

(Math, Grade 3, Kimbe C. S.)

The teacher in the last repeats the individual/group answer pattern in very regular intervals, not only for this lesson but as a normal part of her teaching. The teacher from Bialla, however, shows a general preference for group answers, alternating with individual answers only at irregular intervals. While the Ewasse teacher generally prefers to ask questions of individual students. Her example shows how complex the pattern of hidden curriculum can be. Within this one small example, she not only shows that she is willing to soften her preference for individual performance with collective performances on occasion, but also gives a hint of a preference for gender differentiation. This is a very useful reminder that hidden curriculum is a matter of emphasis and degree rather than a clear-cut case of either/or, this or that. My qualitative analysis, based on over two hundred and fifty hours of classroom observation time, convinces me that the majority of teachers in these three schools emphasize the

importance of individual performance first and only then include the secondary message of group performance. This secondary emphasis may be achieved through either separate lessons concerning the importance of the group over the individual and/or by the use of alternating (evenly or unevenly) individual and group interactions in the classroom.

Because this analysis arose inductively through a review of research notes, it was not possible to construct a simple counting schedule (as it was, for example, for gender relations) during the research. Future researchers should be able to follow up on my qualitative findings by constructing these kinds of schedules and/or formal research designs to test the question of whether or not there is, as I propose, a bias towards individual over group performance in 'urban' schools in West New Britain.

One last area is examined here in regard to the production of cultural continuity in the classrooms of West New Britain. I indicate in previous chapters that education in West New Britain is a complex organization that is divided along hierarchical lines reaching from the national capital of Port Moresby down to the smallest individual school. Each school in itself reproduces this more complex set of relations in microcosm. Like all systems, the structure of education in West New Britain is under the threat of entropy - the propensity that systems

have to collapse in upon themselves, to lose their form and become a random set of disparate elements.

Organization Revisited: Loosening the Tie that Binds

Expatriates and even a few nationals reacted with some bewilderment when I indicated to them early in the fieldwork that I was going to focus my research on local community schools. They would inevitably point out that these schools were "dirty", "messy", "poorly run", or simply "disorganized". They often chose to compare them to the high schools (which are of course relatively well-funded institutions for 'elite' students) and the International Primary Schools (very expensive private schools that use Australian teachers and curriculum). I should study these, they would argue, if I really wanted to study "education".

Viewed from the outside, local community schools do often look somewhat disheveled and disorganized. If the school is more than a few years old a number of the classroom buildings are likely to be in poor repair because of a lack of funds for building maintenance. Although pupils are regularly asked to "pick up the garbage" in the school yards, these yards are subject to nothing like the almost obsessive policing of the grounds that high schools and international schools receive. And an orderly line or assembly to Papua New Guinean teachers may not

necessarily pass for 'organization' among their Australian counterparts.

However, as I have shown in the preceding chapters, community schools possess strong structural organizations. Teachers put out tremendous energy to see that they remain as orderly as possible, given the restraints of money and staff shortages that all community schools face. To some extent, Papua New Guinean education workers seem to share the fear of expatriate observers - the idea that without an almost constant vigilance schools may lose their form and devolve into a chaotic jumble of buildings and people rather than classrooms, teachers and pupils. The major difference is that where expatriates tend to see a disorder well on its way to becoming chaos, a more discerning Papua New Guinean eye often sees the tremendous structural order that underlies community school education in West New Britain and throughout the country.

The difference in these two perceptions is likely related to Papua New Guineans' familiarity with more loosely structured organizations. Most traditional political systems follow a line of individual initiative in close cooperation with the group, rising and falling coalitions that manipulate kin and other social relations, and the idea that it is the person rather than the office that generates and maintains legitimate authority.

Although, as I have shown throughout this work,



classroom organization is generally centred around the idea of maintaining order and control, there are times when the more 'traditional' ideas regarding the ebb and flow of organization receive form in the classrooms. This comes out in what I call the hidden curriculum of dissolution.

Crossing Boundaries: The Hidden Curriculum of Dissolution

The signature of the hidden curriculum of dissolution lies in crossing what are normally considered to be important educational boundaries. This is the space in which overt lessons become lost, bells are ignored and teachers fail to enforce the rules of the school.

A primary example of this kind of crossover occurs with school subjects. Subjects are normally divided into an official schedule, which is supposed to be and usually is posted on the wall of each classroom by the teacher. Pupils quickly learn the ordering of subjects and understand which subjects follow which after a few months of classes. Every once in a while, teachers subvert this 'natural order' and substitute one subject for another and/or allow one subject to penetrate the domain of another. Specific examples should clarify the ways this actually occurs in the classroom.

1:05 p.m. This is supposed to be Religious Instruction, but he has decided to use the time for remedial English instruction (possibly

because the grade six exams are coming soon).

(English, Grade 6, Ewasse C. S.)

Science class. He refers to the diagram on the board, which shows them that a butterfly has a life cycle. Talks about the various stages that occur. "Who do you think makes changes occur here?", he asks them. Several students shout out "God!" "Yes, God makes the change here [referring to the life cycle transformations]. Maybe he will change it [the larvae], we don't know." He then moves on to discuss water. "Alright, another cycle is water." He refers to his diagram which shows rain, rivers, seas, sun and evaporation back to cloud..." "So, these are two examples of natural cycles."

(Science, Grade 6, Ewasse C. S.)

Community Studies. She is supposed to be teaching them about early explorers, missionaries, etc. The history of early contact between Europeans and Papua New Guineans. "Dr. Chartness, he loves people. No matter what people do to him. His job is to love people. Even if the people attacked him. His job was to go around to that area and preach God's word."

(Community Studies, Grade 4, kimbe C. S.)

"Okay, this is supposed to be agriculture. But we are going to go out and practice for (Sports) Carnival."

(Agriculture, Grade 4, Bialla C. S.)

It's 2:35 p.m., Math was scheduled at 2:30, but I think she is skipping it. They are making grass bracelets instead. I wonder what they do when the Inspector is here? Follow the schedule probably.

(Math, Grade 2, Bialla C. S.)

In regard to the last example, I asked the teacher if making grass bracelets was part of Expressive Arts. In answering, she explained why she substituted it for the scheduled Math lesson. "Yes, we did it [Expressive Arts] yesterday, but some children were not here. So we did it today."

This answer and the other examples of mixing lessons and schedules reflect more 'traditional' Papua New Guinean attitudes towards learning situations. Children should be taught when they are ready for the lesson. Lessons should flow together, because the real world is not divided up into separate subjects. Religion, for example, is not divided from Science (the natural world) or Community Studies (social relations).

It is important for the reader to remember that this type of message forms no more than a sub-text in the hidden curriculum of classroom instruction in West New Britain. These are the cracks that show that not all teachers have absorbed the idea of a totally hidden moral curriculum (see chapter three for this historical transition), nor have they accepted the rationalistic division of lessons into separate subjects. However, this message can be and usually is overwhelmed by the lessons which I outlined in chapter four regarding the hidden curriculum of order, hierarchy and authority.

A perceptive West New Britain student may see disorderly spaces in the newly constructed world of the school if he or she looks carefully enough. At the least, these sub-texts teach students that even in a relatively ordered world, not everything proceeds according to schedule. This message can be received by the discerning

students in a number of ways. I will give only a few examples below in order to illustrate how the lesson of dissolution may be learned.

One of the first things I noticed in the classrooms is that some teachers are relatively lax about time schedules within the school day, although all teachers strictly enforce the beginning of morning and afternoon classes.

As the kids finish and take them [their assignments] up to the teacher to be initialed, they wander out for recess. Note: Except for the Bell clanging to begin the morning/afternoon, there are no buzzers or bells to carefully mark time off (lessons slop over into other times - but you get the feeling it all evens out and that this gives the teacher more flexibility).

(Writing, Grade 1, Kimbe C. S.)

Of course, this pattern differs from teacher to teacher, with some individuals being much more rigid and others relatively lax about "keeping time".

Considerably more uniform is the widespread practice of almost never taking classroom attendance. Some teachers would check with the class once in awhile to see who had been missing school. A Biialla teacher, for example, would check attendance occasionally by asking the class: "Boys, who has been away this week?" They would give her some names and she would say "thank you" and note them down without further attempts to verify the accuracy of the report. Most teachers seem to rely on their memories when called upon to fill out attendance records.

An extreme example of this occurred when I visited a school in the oil palm blocs (i.e., not one of the three research schools). The headmaster was very cooperative and I wandered around, observing classes as I desired. Near the end of the day, when I re-entered the headmaster's office to talk with him before I left, he asked if I could wait a minute because he and another teacher were trying to complete the yearly attendance records to send in to the main office in Kimbe. The teacher asked the headmaster what he wanted to enter as attendance rates for the year. "What did we put down last year", the headmaster asked him. "Eighty-four percent", replied the assistant. "Okay, put down eighty-seven percent", the headmaster said, without checking the actual attendance records his teachers may have (but probably did not) submit to him.

Less frequent, but still observable, are the decisions that teachers make every once in a while to ignore obvious breaches of the 'rules'. These come in a variety of forms.

One boy has no book. It looks like some of the boys took it away from him. Other boys call out "Peter took it." But he is too shy to say anything when he goes up to the teacher to say that he has no book. She sends him back to the storeroom to check for one (she sent him yesterday and he got one then). "Okay, you others go ahead", she tells the class. He comes back, the storeroom is locked. So she gives him one belonging to a student who is not here today.  
(Reading, Grade 2, Biella C. S.)

School uniforms. Note: a half dozen of the little girls and three boys are not in school uniform. Nothing has been said about this at all. Girls are supposed to be in blue, small-checked dresses; boys in grey shorts and grey shirts.

(Grade 1, Kimbe C. S.)

The kids come back in from Sports ....A lot of the boys take their shirts off to cool down after running around playing soccer. They continue to practice taking grade six exams.

(Math, Grade 6, Ewasse C. S.)

I have seen boys take their shirts off a number of times in class. On a few occasions, girls have taken their shirts off as well. Girls are also constantly adjusting their wrap-around skirts on non-uniform days, opening them up, re-wrapping and tying them in the middle of normal class lessons. Teachers in Canada are not nearly so casual about students uncovering their bodies to this extent in the classroom.

At times, teachers 'break the rules' in order to favour certain forms of hidden curriculum described earlier in the chapter. In the first example I gave above, a teacher ignored the 'theft' of a book, even though her school rules include "No Stealing". Enforcing the rule in this particular case would have contradicted the appropriateness of aggressive behaviour by boys. She opted to uphold this hidden value at the expense of the overt school rule. Situations such as this one teach students that rules may be manipulated if they contradict behaviour that is considered to be of a higher value - a lesson that

makes 'traditional' sense for many of the teachers and students involved.

It should be remembered that these are relatively small cracks in the armour of order and organization in the schools of West New Britain. They may teach students the hidden lesson that order breaks down on occasion, but they hint at, rather than fully threaten, the system with the possibility of entropy. The full threat of dissolution comes in the form of school closures. The Provincial Education Office decides to temporarily or permanently close a number of schools each year. Examples of this circumstance were given earlier in the chapter, with several schools being temporarily closed because of community hostility towards single female teachers. Schools may also be closed because of tainted water supplies, minor epidemics among the students, excessive embezzlement of school funds, and a general "lack of community support". There is the threat, then, that if schools 'break down' too far they may be closed in order to save the structural integrity of the larger system.

Town schools are not nearly as threatened with entropy as are rural schools. Town schools normally have better access to supplies, larger numbers of supportive parents, better chances to obtain experienced teaching staff, and so on. But this does not mean that they never experience the threat of system dissolution. In my notes

on Kimbe Community School, I have a record of what I call "the day school disintegrated". A few excerpts from these notes should give an idea of the underlying threat of dissolution that community schools face in Papua New Guinea.

The teachers are unhappy today. Five of their colleagues are off to in-service training this week and classrooms are swollen by all of the extra students they have left behind. On top of this, the headmaster is off on temporary leave to take care of some personal business. Poor planning, as this leaves slightly more than half the teachers to look after the whole school.

...At [morning] recess it was obvious that no one really wants to be here today. Besides the half-a-dozen missing teachers, there looks to be a few hundred missing students. One teacher said to me: "After exams, the grade six don't want to be here. I told them Monday morning they must still come. But many will stay away."

...[Beginning afternoon classes] I think the "practical health" lesson the teacher announced is just a way to get out of giving the (perhaps unprepared) normal health lesson. She has moved them outside, to go "clean up" the school grounds. It is very muggy outside, clouds closing in to rain sometime before the afternoon is over. Everyone seems sluggish.

...Other classes seem to be doing "clean up" as well. I see grade six boys piling up limbs that have been cut from trees.

... 1:40 p.m. School has just sort of 'disintegrated' somehow. There are a large number of boys playing rugby on the adjacent field. Boys and girls chasing each other around with brooms. A few boys cutting grass on the field. Some children digging around flower gardens, others sitting and talking, giggling and generally having fun.



...Teachers are walking around "supervising" and gossiping with each other. It looks as though classes have been abandoned by over half the school; while you can hear a few classes chanting their lessons in the background.

...Some grade six boys are piling tree limbs up and playing soccer. Until they kicked the ball over the fence. Then some grade six girls run giggling to get the ball on the road and run off with it, despite the boys' invectives. Other small groups of girls are playing that curious game that is a cross between cricket and tag. Another group of about a dozen are sitting around in a circle talking quietly. ...In the background I hear a class chanting the five times table.

...A dozen of the grade two boys have filled bags up with reddish clay and water, using it to mark X's on their faces. They are marching around, playing 'ritual'. Others are playing 'Kung Fu'.

...No teachers interfere. When I ask one if they are still having school this afternoon, she replies "Of course!", then goes back to talking with her fellow teachers under the shade trees. School never resumes its normal course and students and teachers eventually drift off home when they get tired of their talk and their games.

The feeling of lassitude pervading school on this particular day is no doubt added to by the fact that it is a Friday. All week, teachers and pupils struggled with the difficulties of a shortage of teachers and by Friday afternoon they seem to have collectively decided, with a few exceptions, that enough was enough.

#### Summary

The idea of 'school', built as it is on a shared fiction between teachers and pupils regarding the 'reality' of subjects, timetables, behavioural rules, the natural

authority of the teacher, and so on, can be fragile in developing countries that do not have a long and widespread history of formal education. Little cracks in the order of things can sometimes widen enough to engulf the whole school. This may occur only for an afternoon, as in the example above, or it may carry over into temporary or permanent closure - resulting in the loss of formal education opportunities for the local population. Whether or not this happens, students who experience a major or minor dissolution in the system have the opportunity to learn that, as their ancestors seem to have known, keeping groups together to perform tasks is hard and difficult work. Things do not always go smoothly and the group sometimes faces dissolution or temporary crisis. That this should happen in schools in a similar way that it occurs in other areas of 'traditional' Papua New Guinean life is neither very surprising nor unexpected. Schools, despite their built-in structural bias towards the forms of 'modern' life, are also formed out of the 'traditional' concerns of the people they serve.

Some of these concerns, as I have shown in this chapter, become expressed in the hidden curriculum of the classroom. Expectations regarding gender roles and who should exhibit aggressive, initiatory behaviour can and do affect the pattern of relations between pupils and teachers

in the classroom. These interactions, in turn, teach pupils hidden lessons that reflect 'traditional' cultural values of various Papua New Guinean communities.

Lessons about the importance of the group in relation to the individual make sense because of the cultural resonance they have for both teachers and pupils in these West New Britain schools. These messages come from and are reinforced by the cultural environment within which both teachers and pupils live. They are important lessons and they offer students some relief from the messages of social change that I outlined in chapter four.

It must be remembered, however, that the hidden curriculum of gender relations and cooperative individualism have only a secondary strength in the urban classrooms of West New Britain. They depend primarily on the inclinations of individual teachers. The lessons of social change, on the other hand, are constantly reinforced not only by the values of individual teachers but also by the structural organization of schooling itself.

In the next chapter, I offer some conclusions about the way in which these two forms of hidden curriculum interact in Papua New Guinea and the larger implications of this evidence for the development of a theory of cultural transmission.

## Chapter Six: Toward a Theory of Cultural Transmission

As I state in chapter two, a better theory of cultural transmission must include historical processes and contemporary relations between social groups as well as concerns about the way this translates into and is influenced by small-scale interactions. In this chapter, I use the case study material presented in chapters three, four and five to reconsider the theoretical issues raised in chapter two, especially the issue of developing an adequate theory of cultural transmission that was first raised by Frederick Gearing.

In order to do this, I divide the chapter into two main parts: 1) a summary of major conclusions that come out of the substantive case study of education in Papua New Guinea, and 2) a consideration of how these conclusions add to current theoretical debates about education.

### Education in Papua New Guinea

From as far back as the archaeological record goes, Papua New Guineans have shown a consistent pattern of dealing with the continuous waves of migrants from various parts of the world that have come to their land. The general pattern is large scale, somewhat predictable social change coupled with severely idiosyncratic

responses. Individuals and groups select from and modify incoming technologies, ideas and goods to suit their particular needs and desires. As this thesis shows, education is no exception to this pattern.

Beginning in 1884, Papua New Guinea became a colonial possession of various European powers, culminating in Australian control over the whole of the country from 1945 until independence was achieved in 1975. One of the legacies of this colonial period is the formal education system, which has in many respects been a reflection of colonial policies regarding the 'economic development' of that country.

There are two important trends in the development of a formal educational system from 1884-1975: 1) the moral lessons of education went from being part of the overt curriculum to becoming embedded in the hidden curriculum of instruction, and 2) social inequalities that were emerging in different parts of the country began to be legitimized through the idea of a 'civilized' meritocracy of labour based on educational credentials, justifying the emergence of a national elite in the name of independence.

When missionaries first introduced formal education into Papua New Guinea they were not concerned about hiding the moral goal of education. This goal was to produce 'good Christians' who were 'capable of understanding the

word of God'. Mission teachers and educators spoke openly of 'evil' influences in the 'primitive' life of traditional Papua New Guineans. For the most part, up until the time of the Second World War, education was missionization.

From the 1950s onward, increasing attempts were made to secularize the predominantly missionary educational systems and increase direct government participation and control of them. This reached its height in 1970, with the passing of an Education Ordinance which effectively combined the mission and government systems into one large unit under government control.

It was during the 1950 to 1975 period that the moral lessons of education became less overt and increasingly embedded in the hidden curriculum of school organization and classroom instruction. In a 'secular' system it became much less acceptable to promote the stereotype of a morally 'primitive' Papua New Guinean who needed the guidance of the Christian God to become 'civilized'. The new stereotype became a division between 'primitive' and 'modern' ways of thinking. 'Modern' thinking came to represent the newly emerging urban values that were closely tied to the development of a cash and market-based economy. Whereas 'primitive' thinking became associated with traditional rural life in the villages. Although these stereotypes were developed largely through the influence of expatriate-led education, they remain a

part of national-led community school education today. National teachers have been trained for the most part in expatriate-dominated missionary teachers' colleges and many have unwittingly internalized values regarding the relative worth of 'modern' and 'traditional' ways of life.

The years 1884-1975 also set the stage for the emergence of social inequalities that have only increased over time. During the earliest period of colonialism, a major division existed between white expatriates and black nationals, with most expatriates taking every advantage of their superior status as members of the colonial power. A good example of this was the fact that the towns of Papua New Guinea were largely reserved for the enjoyment of expatriates well into the 1960s. One of the results of this practice was the identification of town life with privilege, an identification that has remained even though the urban areas have long since ceased to be the exclusive domains of expatriate populations and have become instead the home of a new national elite (with the larger centres such as Port Moresby becoming increasingly surrounded by poor urban squatters who also aspire to a taste of the 'good life').

Over the colonial period the creation of different kinds of inequalities were fueled by several processes. One of these processes was the uneven development of the

largely mission-run schools. Some areas, such as the Rabaul area of East New Britain or the Manus Islands, had earlier and more extensive schooling systems in place long before other regions of the country. This led to vast differences in the distribution of education credentials, which in turn severely limited some regions and populations in Papua New Guinea during the extensive hiring of nationals in the 1960s and 1970s to replace expatriate government and other workers in preparation for independence. It is largely the nationals who were hired during this period who have become members of the new urban elite, an elite based primarily on the educational credentials which give a small minority access to government and other wage jobs associated with the urban environment. This in turn has created major differences between urban and rural populations regarding access to higher educational credentials, the most desirable jobs in the cash economy, and the kinds of consumer goods that can only be found in the urban centres.

A trend which facilitated inequalities among rural populations was the development and expansion of largely unskilled labour in expatriate-owned plantations and mining concerns. The early recruitment of labour in Papua New Guinea and the traveling that this entailed helped lead to the beginnings of both national consciousness and a heightened awareness of ethnic



identities. The latter has become an increasingly important factor in the major social unrest that has plagued the country during the 1980s.

The encouragement of petty commodity production since the 1960s in the rural areas for both the internal and export markets has led to the creation of a small rural elite of 'rich peasants'. These individuals are particularly adept at manipulating both traditional and newly created 'rights' for using local land and local labour for the production of commodities such as coffee and cocoa for the export market.

Both the urban and rural elite wish to see their newly acquired gains passed on to their children. One of the best ways to do this is to ensure that these children receive the best education that their relative wealth can make available to them.

Since the 1950s, however, more and more Papua New Guinean parents have come to believe that a direct relationship exists between education and employment. It was partly because of the demand from parents in the 1960s, as well as pressure from the United Nations on Australia to prepare Papua New Guinea for independence, that led to the rapid expansion of secondary and tertiary education within the country.

This expansion has in turn fueled a rapid

'educational inflation', creating within the last two decades continually rising expectations on the part of both government and private employers for much higher education credentials than they demanded for similar jobs only a decade or two ago. Because of the role education plays in legitimizing economic conditions that allow only a small minority to hold jobs in the cash economy and because of the limits of the structural growth of this economy, schooling is rapidly becoming a battleground between rural and urban elites. The children of these elites must in turn compete with the children of non-elite rural people, who also want their children to have access to the 'modern' world of urban life and cash employment.

The increasingly competitive social environment that has developed rapidly in urban areas since independence and the emerging valuation of 'modern' over 'traditional' lifeways among many people in these areas has its direct counterpart in the hidden curriculum of education during the last two decades.

The limited availability of jobs in the cash economy which could absorb school-leavers, along with strict grade six examinations that determine who will and who will not attend secondary schools, have fostered lessons in 'competitive individualism' in the classrooms of West New Britain. In the three 'urban' schools I studied, the hidden curriculum of competitive individualism helps to

both create and legitimize a world of 'winners and losers' that reflects the emerging social world of the urban environment.

A division of students into winners and losers is itself legitimized by the illusion that students are receiving objective, neutral academic knowledge in the classrooms and the idea that the 'best' students will perform well on tests measuring this knowledge and the 'poor' students will fail these tests.

The decision to continue to utilize an 'academic' over a 'practical' overt curriculum is itself, of course, a political decision. There is nothing objective or neutral about this. Even less 'objective' are the abstract lessons students learn in the classroom through the hidden curriculum about 'modern' versus 'traditional' life, 'good' versus 'bad' students, and 'correct' versus 'incorrect' behaviour.

These lessons in the moral abstractions of the urban world teach the students that their behaviour is continually judged by someone with higher authority who may, if he or she desires, punish them for their 'transgressions'.

These 'rules' or, as I prefer to think of them, moral values are enforced and made sense of by a strict hierarchy in the classroom. Teachers use both verbal and

physical discipline to ensure that their authority will be respected and accepted by students as part of the natural order of things. This new moral order is a direct reflection of the new economic order emerging outside of classroom doors in the cash economy. In the cash economy, work relations are governed by the division of boss and worker, just as in the classroom the relations of education are governed by the dyad of teacher and pupil. Both form a hierarchy which, after a while, often comes to be seen as normal and natural to those participating in it. This is especially true if they have long-term experience in both systems of relations.

There is a terrible irony in all of this. The educational reproduction of the new moral order of the cash economy and urban life does not mirror the social life of Papua New Guinea as a whole. Education in these West New Britain schools is busy reproducing a form of economic relationship that does not and probably will not exist for the eighty percent or so of Papua New Guineans who will continue to live and work in the world of the village. This suggests that education is primarily aimed toward reproducing the political world of contemporary urban/rural relations and the economic foundation it rests upon, rather than the relations found in Papua New Guinean society as a whole.

Support for this interpretation is found in the

observable contradictions in the hidden curriculum of classroom instruction. Even in 'urban' schools, not all hidden curriculum is directed towards the reproduction of 'social change'.

Two major lessons emerge in classrooms in West New Britain that can be said to resonate at least equally well with 'traditional' concerns as 'modern' ones. These are the lessons of appropriate gender relations and cooperative individualism. It should be understood that traditional concerns cannot necessarily be said to have *caused* these forms of hidden curriculum in the classrooms. After all, Canadian or Australian classrooms may also have a hidden curriculum of gender differentiation and group cooperation. Traditional values should rather be understood as strongly influencing the way these two concerns are given specific form in schooling in West New Britain. It is the cultural context which determines the meaning these forms have for teachers and pupils in Papua New Guinea. This interpretation of meaning supports an argument that the two sets of hidden curricula are different in Papua New Guinea than they would be in Canada, Australia, or other developed countries.

Although there is widespread belief in Papua New Guinea (including West New Britain) that men have the 'right' to exercise control over at least some areas of

women's behaviour, this does not necessarily imply a naturalized belief that women are somehow less able than men to enact various work and learning roles. If anything, many men with whom I spoke indicate an uneasiness about women's abilities 'getting out of hand', leading to exaggerated verbal and physical attempts to enforce what many recognize to be a rather arbitrary male ideology of control.

Education officials demonstrate consistent support for both female students and teachers in West New Britain. Despite this, many lessons emerge in the hidden curriculum of classroom instruction about the need for 'appropriate' male and female behaviour. There is an overall pattern of interaction which favours a 'traditional' concern with enforcing differences between gender roles. Within this pattern, however, there are considerable individual differences among teachers regarding the extent to which this message is reinforced. Some teachers make a conscious effort not to give this message to their students at all, though these teachers are very much in the minority at the present time.

Even more mixed results are visible in the hidden curriculum of 'cooperative individualism'. Cooperative individualism refers to lessons that teach the need for individual performances to feed back into the group. This lesson teaches that the group is important in

its own right. Individuals who try to charge too far ahead or lag too far behind group performances risk being censured for their troubles.

Although most teachers prefer to use individual teacher/pupil interactions as the main unit for teaching, all make use of the class as a whole or ability groups of six to eight students during some of their lessons. A few teachers seem to prefer working primarily with either fully collective or group responses much of the time, but again these are exceptions in the three schools in which I conducted research.

As I note in chapter five, the hidden curriculum of cooperative individualism should not be thought of as necessarily at odds with the lesson of competitive individualism. Although only the former has real resonance with 'traditional' values in Papua New Guinea, both can be used as lessons for life in the cash economy. Cooperative individualism teaches students that they must cooperate and work together with the other members of the group and this is just as important a lesson for work groups in the cash economy as it is for social groups in the village. Competitive individualism, on the other hand, provides the rationale for organizing work groups into hierarchies of bosses and workers, a permanent structural arrangement which would not be acceptable in village life.

Taken together, the hidden curriculums of social change and traditional values are an attempt to balance new concerns with old ones in the classrooms of West New Britain. But the balance that is achieved is a very unequal one. The messages of competitive individualism and hierarchical authority are consistently reinforced not just through the patterned interactions of most teachers in the classroom but also through the structural arrangement of formal education itself. Historically, the trend has been for individual schools to become embedded in an increasingly complex structural arrangement that is subsumed under the authority of provincial and national education offices. Everything within this system finds a place along a complicated ranking network and it is this network that becomes replicated in the teacher/pupil hierarchy of individual classrooms.

The lessons of cooperative individualism and gender relations, on the other hand, receive their form primarily through the preferences of individual teachers. The lessons of appropriate gender relations are quite patterned, though even they are contradicted to some extent by individual compliance with the official policy of gender equality. It is the lesson of cooperative individualism, however, which becomes strongly overshadowed by the lesson of legitimate hierarchy and competitive individualism. As long as the hidden curriculum of the importance of the



group balances rather than threatens the lessons of hierarchy and individual competition, individual teachers find the space they need to give the lesson form. This lesson, idiosyncratically delivered and variably patterned, can be tolerated as long as it does not directly challenge the basic structure of schooling in West New Britain. This severely limits the extent to which individual teachers are able to deliver a message of cooperation over individual competition, suggesting that the latter is never in danger of being overwhelmed as long as the form of education remains as it is today.

#### Theoretical Questions: Answers from Papua New Guinea

In chapter two, I outlined a number of theoretical issues from the perspectives of both micro and macro research on education. I will now consider some of the most important issues that arise from this literature in relation to the findings of this specific case study in Papua New Guinea. In order to do this, I divide this section into three topics: 1) the limits of micro analysis in research on education, 2) the limits of macro analysis in research on education, and 3) lessons for a unified theory of cultural transmission.

#### The Limits of Micro Analysis

Micro perspectives often seem to assume that the social and cultural background for education is either

unchanging or changes only slowly, at least for purposes of analysis. This may not be true for some developing countries, such as Papua New Guinea, where only an understanding of the macro patterns of history give an adequate answer to the question of how much attention one should pay to change in analysis. Formal education in the developing situation must be viewed as part of the legacy of colonialism and therefore cannot be viewed the same as in developed countries, where it often has a better 'fit' with the rest of culture and society. In the case of this study, for example, only an analysis that includes the historical dimension of education and employment properly explains the development of the erroneous perception on the part of many parents that education has a direct relationship with a job in the cash economy. Without an understanding of the changing macro structures of cash employment in that country a false picture could have easily emerged concerning the 'timelessness' of parents' perceptions.

This study shows quite clearly that education is not necessarily culturally conservative. It does not just 'replicate' the cultural values of a dominant group and thereby create conflicts with members of 'other' cultural groups through the hidden curriculum of classroom instruction. In the classrooms of West New Britain, pupils and teachers cooperate in the creation of both a

hidden curriculum of social change and one of traditional concerns. In a country with so many different cultures, it is impossible to suggest that one 'dominant culture' is guiding education and that the others are in conflict with it. Rather than 'conserving' culture, education in West New Britain is creating culture. More accurately, it is helping to create two new cultures. One is the emerging culture of urban values and the cash economy; the other holds the beginnings of a hybrid 'traditional' cultural of opposition which contains the possibility for individuals to experience emotional resonance with the 'old ways' that they do not wish to leave behind.

Cultural messages created through a rather loose and idiosyncratically defined pattern of hidden curriculum can be viewed as a kind of 'resistance' to the dominating message of social change that is so prevalent in urban schools in West New Britain. This 'resistance' would not make sense without a larger understanding of the contemporary shape of social relations that have been developing in the country over the last century. We also need this larger context to see why the culture of resistance is not able to effectively block the message of social change, which is more structurally embedded in the organization of education in Papua New Guinea.

The theoretical question, then, of whether

education can be viewed as inherently beneficial or harmful to students in either a developed or developing society does not make much sense. The historical pattern of social change in Papua New Guinea shows that formal education cannot be understood only in terms of micro-conflicts between local groups but must include an overall analysis of contemporary relations that are developing between what may emerge as genuine social classes in the country. The children of urban and rural elites can now be seen as competing with the young of the less privileged as to whether a nation of 'haves' and 'have nots' will become structurally embedded in Papua New Guinea during the next few decades. A strict focus on micro concerns would largely leave this developing situation unexplored as an educational issue.

Perhaps most of all, an excessively micro perspective in analysis could ignore the irony of a formal educational system which fails to integrate with the social relations of eighty percent of the country. A researcher who focused too intently on the findings of only the three urban schools under study could easily fail to recognize a crucial pattern of education in Papua New Guinea, overemphasizing the 'fit' of education with the emerging cash economy without acknowledging the split between urban and rural peoples that this fit symbolizes.

### The Limits of Macro Analysis

Macro analysis would be able to outline many of the patterns of education in Papua New Guinea that have been presented in this thesis, but it would fail to capture the richness of human diversity in this situation and miss some of the most important findings of the study.

The general model that suggests education functions for reasons of 'social reproduction' does not explain how it is that in Papua New Guinea an educational system has developed to 'reproduce' a society that does not really exist in the country as a whole. Without an understanding of the historical and cultural contexts of colonialism and development in this specific case, an excessively macro analysis could miss the point that education creates and does not just reproduce the unequal social system it is becoming embedded within in Papua New Guinea.

Most macro perspectives would also fail to explain why the hidden curriculum of education contains contradictory messages in the province of West New Britain. Too narrowly focusing on the reproduction of social relations would likely lead a researcher to ignore the hidden curriculum of 'traditional' concerns, which are observable in the micro-study of interactions in the classrooms of urban schools in West New Britain.

The biggest danger of macro analysis, I believe, stems from the way its practitioners usually ignore the

role of actual human agency in establishing and changing educational systems in various social and cultural contexts.

In the case of West New Britain, this could easily lead to misrepresenting the actions of teachers as uniformly endorsing a hidden curriculum of social change. As my data shows, not only are there differences in the emphasis given by individual teachers to the hidden curriculum of social change but largely idiosyncratic decisions also help create a secondary but experientially important hidden curriculum of 'tradition'.

It is true that, as many macro analysts would predict, the overall pattern of hidden curriculum reflects the dominant social relations of the urban environment in which they are located. However, without carefully considering the micro-interactions between teachers and students in actual classrooms it is unlikely that a researcher would spot the importance of the performance of individual teachers in determining exactly how 'dominant' the message of social change is. The effect on individual students of the chance matchings of students with teachers over years of schooling has, to my knowledge, never been rigorously explored. Educators and researchers often hear anecdotes from older students and adults about the effects individual teachers have had on their education and career

choices, but systematic attempts to define the importance of individual variations in overall patterns of hidden curriculum are yet to be made. The differences between teachers in the classrooms of West New Britain suggest that although we should expect that hidden curriculum has patterned results on students, we should not necessarily expect that all or even most students receive and interpret the various messages equally over time and space. A great deal of research remains to be done on this question, research that will require micro as well as macro perspectives to inform and contextualize the visible patterns of interactions in actual classrooms.

#### Lessons for a Unified Theory of Cultural Transmission

I state in chapter two that Frederick Gearing misses two major components in his attempt to develop an overall theory of cultural transmission in education. These are 1) the historical context within which specific educational systems develop, and 2) the large-scale contemporary social relations between various groups in an area or country that may or may not be visible within the immediate community surrounding the study school(s).

The case study presented here confirms this judgement regarding the loss of information that would have occurred by limiting analysis to language, micro-interactions and the 'functionally' defined context of the community of immediate contact. These latter concerns do

form an important base for the analysis of cultural transmission. This is true whether we define 'culture' more narrowly as I have in this study or widen it to include concerns that I have largely termed 'social' within this work. The definition that Gearing offers, however, is not enough. There is little room within it for an understanding that hidden curriculum is dynamic and changes over both time and space. The historical context in which my research is embedded and the observation of two major forms of hidden curriculum in the classrooms of West New Britain strongly suggest that the relative balance between the two messages may differ greatly in different periods of history and in different locations in both West New Britain and Papua New Guinea.

This opens up new vistas for research in that country. I suggest, for example, that the amount and extent to which a given region or area has undergone 'development' will be reflected in the proportion of hidden curriculum devoted to the themes of social change or 'tradition'. In this sense, education may be used as a kind of barometer of social change. I would expect, for example, researchers to find that more isolated rural schools will have significantly greater proportions of their hidden curriculum focusing on 'traditional' concerns than the 'urban' schools I studied. The pattern, however,



may be much more complex than this. Given the diversity of local cultural traditions in the rural areas of the country, the hidden curriculum of 'tradition' may offer messages that do not exist in the classrooms of the three schools I studied in West New Britain.

It is at this level of analysis that Gearing's emphasis on language and micro-interactions are most valuable, for it is in these interactions and not in macro assumptions about such interactions that actual differences in hidden curricula will be found. Gearing gives researchers the room to find differences in both teacher and student performances. But we must go beyond his model to include historical and larger social relations in order to give researchers the room to understand how these differences relate to widespread changes in developing societies. This will expand Gearing's model to one that can be used more effectively for research in both developed and developing societies.

In summary, Frederick Gearing has provided us with a theory of cultural transmission that relies on minutely detailed research concerning the communication of cultural and social messages at the most immediate levels of analysis. The lessons of the specific case study of schooling in West New Britain allows us to see that expanding the context of analysis to include both history and large-scale social formations is crucial for the

development of a more adequate theory of cultural transmission. This will allow researchers who wish to develop the theory further to compensate for the largely 'Western' context in which it originated. An action that seems both prudent and necessary if we are going to understand education in our increasingly interconnected world.

## APPENDIX A

STANDARD INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

NAME:

EDUCATION:

HOME VILLAGE:

JOB TITLE:

MARRIED/CHILDREN:

Goals for Education:

1. What do you think is the main purpose of community school education?

Problems:

2. What do you think is the biggest problem with community school education right now?
3. Many children leave community school before finishing grade six, why do you think this happens?
4. Why do you think more male than female students continue on in their education, both in community schools and beyond them?
5. Many children who finish community school do not go on to high school. What chance do these children have for getting the kind of jobs they would like, or for living in the places where they would like to live?

Participation:

6. Who do you think should be most responsible for looking after the community schools, the government or the members of the community?
7. Do you think that community members, especially parents, should help decide what curriculum their children are taught in community schools? Why/why not?
8. Is it important that parents pay school fees for their children? Why/why not?

9. Which courses do you think are most important in school.? e.g. Science, Community Life, etc.
10. Could you briefly describe what a good pupil is like? What about a pupil who is not very good?
11. Could you briefly describe what a good teacher is like? What about a teacher who is not very good?
12. Suppose your children have to make one of two choices. They can stay in their home village and live a more traditional kind of life or they can go live in a town a long way from their home village in order to get a job in the cash economy. Which of these two choices would you want them to make? Why?

Extra Comments

Record comments that were made during the interview that are useful or interesting, but do not fit under any of the question headings above.

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