

Copyright is owned by the Author of the thesis. Permission is given for a copy to be downloaded by an individual for the purpose of research and private study only. The thesis may not be reproduced elsewhere without the permission of the Author.

A CASE STUDY OF SYSTEM
CHANGE AND THE INFLUENCE
OF CHANGE AGENTS

A THESIS
PRESENTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS (EDUCATION) AT
MASSEY UNIVERSITY

DONALD ANDREW CHRISTIE.

1974

ABSTRACT

The education system in Papua New Guinea over a three year period, underwent a massive re-organization that was unique in both its scope and the speed with which it was accomplished. The change from a highly centralized, fragmented system of education to a decentralized system that catered for all agencies involved in education, was proposed, legislated and implemented without being motivated by major social crises or revolutionary demands for change.

Studies of change and innovation in education over the past decade, have tended to emphasize quantitative studies with fewer theoretical studies and very few case histories, particularly of developing countries. Much literature on change and innovation is highly technical in language and tends to regard change as an industrial process. There has been a tendency to neglect the historical, political and social framework within which change and innovations operate.

The aim of this study was to provide a case study approach to the conditions and factors that motivated the change process of the innovation. Educational innovation as a complex subject, must be studied at several levels. This study examined the innovation at the level of the individuals involved in changing others and interviewed a sample of the identifiable principal change agents, to analyse the techniques or strategies used to implement the change. The interviews were also designed to provide a storehouse of data for future research.

The data generally demonstrated that the initiative for change in this instance came from within the educational structure rather than from outside which is a significant departure from previous case study findings. The Chief Administrator of the Papua New Guinea education system, emerged as the decisive figure who significantly directed and influenced the change process. External experts were used as legitimizing agents to make the structural innovation acceptable to resisters within Papua New Guinea and to the Australian Government.

Strategies employed by the principal change agents were generally collaborative in style, however, conflict situations were creatively utilized on occasions to reach a change goal. Absence of transactional

influence was observed only rarely.

The implications of the study for further research were discussed. The transcripts of interviews provide an invaluable base for research into future quantitative studies particularly one critical issue identified by all change agents. This centres around the conflict between the Teaching Service Commission, the Department of Education and to a lesser extent the Minister for Education, which, in having its origins in the initial innovation, will affect the ultimate survival of the Papua New Guinea education system in its planned form.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The writer is indebted to those persons without whose assistance the preparation of this thesis would not have been possible. He especially wishes to thank his Supervisor, Professor R.S. Adams whose advice, tolerance and patience have been of considerable assistance. Sincere appreciation is extended to Mr Roger Philpott whose assistance in collation and collection of data was of immeasurable help.

The writer particularly wishes to express his gratitude to the persons who were interviewed in the course of this study and made the organization of this data of so much personal interest.

Special thanks are given to the writer's friends and to the members of his family, for the many and various ways in which they have aided the completion of this study.

| <u>TABLE OF CONTENTS</u> | | | | | | PAGE |
|--------------------------|---|-----|-----|-----|-----|------|
| ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | iv |
| LIST OF FIGURES | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | vii |
| CHAPTER | | | | | | |
| I | INTRODUCTION. | | | | | 1 |
| II | REVIEW OF RECENT RESEARCH FOR THE UNDERSTANDING OF CHANGE IN EDUCATION. | | | | | |
| | Understanding the Basic Concepts. | ... | | | | 6 |
| | General Strategies for Effecting Changes in Human Systems. | ... | ... | ... | | 10 |
| | Specific Strategies for the Diffusion of Innovations in Education. | ... | ... | | | 16 |
| | Change Agent - Characteristics, Normative Goals and Strategies Employed. | ... | ... | | | 23 |
| III | OUTLINE OF METHODOLOGY. | ... | ... | ... | | 31 |
| IV | THE SETTING - SIGNIFICANT STRUCTURAL CHANGES IN THE PAPUA NEW GUINEA EDUCATION SYSTEM SINCE 1967. | ... | ... | ... | ... | 35 |
| V | THE CHANGE AGENTS. | | | | | |
| | Data Collection. | ... | ... | ... | | 55 |
| | Validity and Reliability of Data. | ... | | | | 56 |
| | Development of Hypotheses. | ... | ... | | | 57 |
| VI | ANALYSIS OF DATA. ... | | | | | |
| | Identification of the Principal Change Agents. | | | | | 60 |
| | Utilization of Conflict Conditions. | ... | | | | 68 |
| VII | SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS. | | | | | |
| | Purpose. | ... | ... | ... | ... | 72 |
| | Conclusions. | ... | ... | ... | ... | 73 |
| | Implications and Recommendations for Further Research. | ... | ... | ... | ... | 75 |
| | APPENDIX A. General List of Questions for Interviews. | | | | | 78 |
| | APPENDIX B. Interview transcript Dr C. Beeby. | | | | | 81 |
| | APPENDIX C. Interview transcript Mr F. Daveson. | | | | | 116 |
| | APPENDIX D. Interview transcript Mr N. Fry. ... | | | | | 134 |
| | APPENDIX E. Interview transcript Dr J. Jones. | | | | | 165 |
| | APPENDIX F. Interview transcript Dr K. McKinnon. | | | | | 184 |

| <u>TABLE OF CONTENTS</u> | | <u>PAGE</u> |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------------|-------------|
| APPENDIX G. | Interview transcript Fr P. McVinney. | 199 |
| APPENDIX H. | Interview transcript Mr A. Neuendorf. | 239 |
| APPENDIX I. | Interview transcript Mr S. Nielson. | 262 |
| APPENDIX J. | Interview transcript Mr C. Reseigh. | 279 |
| BIBLIOGRAPHY | | 293 |

LIST OF FIGURES

| Figure | | Page |
|--------|--|------|
| 1 | Administrative Structure. | 46 |
| 2 | Administrative Structure - 1970. | 48 |
| 3 | The Problem Solver Strategic Orientation ... | 59 |
| 4 | The 'Stepping Stone' strategy for Gaining Group Acceptance | 67 |

INTRODUCTION

Major educational reorganization and reforms have in the past, normally tended to follow periods of crisis and overwhelming, often violent, events. For example educational reform in England as instanced by the Education Act of 1944 was directly influenced by World War II. The Kemalist revolution of 1923 in Turkey was followed by attempts to establish in place of the traditional religious voluntary systems, a publicly controlled, secular system of education. The student riots of 1968 in France with student demands for education reform initially at the tertiary level, have had effects at all levels of the education system as well as directing changes towards decentralization.

The complete reorganization of an education system that involves an organizational stance and operational style diametrically opposed to that in operation before change, is worthy of study under any circumstances. When such change on a national scale is proposed, legislated, and implemented within a period of three years, neither accompanied by nor preceded by any crisis or revolutionary demands for change, then the occurrence is unique to the degree that an analysis and description of organizational change is warranted.

Such reorganization has occurred in Papua New Guinea where the appointment of an Advisory Committee on Education in Papua New Guinea was announced in February 1969, the report published in October 1969, and legislated changes progressively phased into the education system until total implementation was achieved in July 1972. The fact that over a period of three years the change from a fragmented, highly centralized, system of education, to a decentralized national system embracing all agencies involved in education was achieved, cuts across established positions and principles that normally induce stability and what might be termed a proneness to inertia, that organizations exhibit over time.

The study of organization change in Papua New Guinea, the search for explanations and the descriptive base upon which explanations depend, is an example of what might be termed the primary motivation of systematic, scientific enquiry. However the basic assumption upon which this study rests, is that a necessary condition for educational planning or for purposeful explanation of change as a result of educational planning, is that one must think systemically as distinct from systematically.

Research from such investigations as carried out by Griffiths, (1963) Immegart, (1969) Miller, (1955) and systems analysts, (Optner 1965, Berrien 1964) have clearly demonstrated that change in one component will affect the functioning of others within systems, either mechanical or social. Thus awareness of these interactive effects and general systems concerns are at once legitimate and real for both the administrator and the teacher. It is a patent truism to assert that people tend to think in terms of systems, but in more logical terms, the rationale for the use of system theory as explanation can be found in an examination of its relevance over many areas. As Immegart (1969. P.165) states,

"Systems notions have proved of value as theoretical constructs, as vehicles for understanding organizational phenomena and as a classification or taxonomic framework". It should be clearly stated at this point that no all encompassing comprehensive and explicit model of systems theory exists. From Von Bertalanffy's conception of general systems theory, operations research, systems analysis movement, and the science of cybernetics, are drawn a number of closely related more or less vigorous, empirically verifiable theories, that in an eclectic sense can be used as bases for explanation.

It is important that a personal value stance should be exposed in order to legitimize what is actually an assumption central to the very core of this study. This is, that in seeing social systems established by man as being representative of one of the higher forms of human achievement, and given also that the social system is a necessary condition for the maintenance of civilization, then the tasks faced by organizations can be viewed sympathetically thus enabling a measure of identification with organizations to be exhibited.

It would also be advantageous to outline the manner in which social systems are perceived. Buckley (1967) distinguishes between the principal features characterizing mechanical, organic and socio-cultural systems and indicates quite clearly the inadequacies of mechanical and organic models to the analysis of socio-cultural systems. For example the movement towards an equilibrium state by mechanical models or towards homeostasis by organismic systems, is compared to the characteristic morphogenic properties of the

phylogenetic, higher psychological and socio-cultural systems by Buckley. At this latter level rather than minimize organizational movement to attain an equilibrium state or to preserve a given fixed structure, they,

....."typically create, elaborate or change structure as a pre-requisite to remaining viable as ongoing systems". (Buckley 1967, P.5).

Thus it is important to remember that a distinguishing feature of man as a social animal, is the sophistication and intricacy of the social systems that are developed in the collaborating, co-operating, compromising and colliding processes that eventuate, as survival and a continued improvement in the quality of life are pursued.

It should be fairly obvious from the value stances already taken, albeit implicitly, that society is seen as being a complex, adaptive system of social and psychological events, interrelated within a communications web, involving continuous decision making under conditions of uncertainty. It is a major assumption then, that complex adaptive systems have distinct characteristics in terms of morphogenic properties and can be examined through investigation of cybernetic principles of control, communications and information processing, positive and negative feedback, self awareness, goal seeking behaviour and so on. Given this, a distinction should be made between a system as a continuous interrelated assembly of parts undergoing boundary maintenance, and the structure or organization that its components may assume at any particular time. Whilst this study is directed in an organizational sense to the structure that characterizes a particular system of education, the central concern is with the fluid nature of the structure elaborating process which can be seen to operate within this complex, adaptive, system of social and psychological events.

Having thus made some introductory comments concerning what are to be seen to be the primary, distinguishing and important characteristics of social systems in relation to an organizational structure such as an education system, further exposition of assumptions and propositions concerning this study should be revealed.

First, is the proposition that in endeavouring to understand human behaviour, one must realize that everyone constructs one's own reality. Every interpretation that a person undertakes is idiosyncratic and thus reality is relative. One has one's own sense perceptions and from these, interprets according to one's prior socialization. Developing from this proposition is the position that one's perception of reality is personally important and that any interpretation attempted, will be influenced accordingly. An assumption basic to this stance then, is that whatever orientation one takes, one has to adopt a conceptual system. Additionally, the adoption of a conceptual system is a question of salience. Returning full circle to the original proposition, whatever one sees as the terms of reference for explanation, are the result of one's prior socialization, the kind of contacts that have been experienced in the past.

It is also appropriate to acknowledge another assumption central to this study. It is assumed that behavioural functions pertaining to particular organizational situations can be regarded as coherent, ordered and rational systems. These systems consist basically of a conceptual posture, the resultant concepts, with procedures for relating these concepts, and the generated propositions.

Thus as soon as one takes any kind of action one is committed to a value position. The most popular applications of systems analysis and research deal with finite models where all elements are specified. There are built in defects in social systems however as stated previously, and one has to offer the alternative with the least number of defects. In other words, while it is possible to subject a social system to analysis so that prediction about certain things such as planned change or innovation effects can be made, at each stage a number of alternatives are offered and the choice of the best possible alternative is the governing action principle. Furthermore, judgement is required to make such decisions. Criteria have to be stated against which judgements can be made. Evaluation under these terms then presupposes a position of values in respect of determination of organizational goals.

Given these propositions which reveals one's personal position, it must be clear that this study is more interested in processes rather

than end effect or consequences - i.e. more concerned with system effect. The education system in Papua New Guinea will be defined fundamentally in terms of system survival. Insofar as individuals within the system are concerned, interest at this level will be confined to a study of the principal change agents and the action of these individuals as seen to explain and define system effect.

The fact that the complete system has changed and not a small part of it upon which one could focus, leads to a complexity of possible strategies. If one has a huge array of alternatives to examine and analyse, then for sanity's sake, it is far better to don perceptual blinkers and probe one or two specific areas of interest. The complexity of educational innovation is apparent in the fact that it must be studied at various levels: at the community level, at the institutional level, at the level of the individuals being changed or changing others, and in the wider environment which permits acceptability of some innovations and resistance where conflict with existing values occurs. The problem of change has to be defined in simpler terms to provide parameters within a specific setting to enable significant or meaningful explanation. As well as redefining the change process in simpler terms it is also convenient to identify change strategies through a system of categorization, as this allows identification of the type of explanation that is being undertaken. For example one could identify change strategies in the manner of Adams (1972) using a pro-active - reactive compatibility typology. Alternatively one could use the Chin and Berne (1969) categorization of the empirical - rational, normative - re-educative and power - coercive approaches to change strategy

It is the intention of this study to initially review relevant research into change and innovation and to examine the characteristics and strategies employed by change agents. The methodological base upon which this study rests will then be developed and the parameters of the study outlined. Generated hypotheses will then be evaluated using collected data.

CHAPTER IIREVIEW OF RECENT RESEARCHFOR THE UNDERSTANDING OF CHANGE IN EDUCATION.Understanding the Basic Concepts

The terms 'change' and 'Innovation' are often used interchangeably, however a distinction can be drawn between the two. Miles (1964,p.14) describes innovation as, " a species of the genus 'change'."

Westley (1969) suggests that "innovation" is a treacherous word, both seductive and misleading. It is seductive because it indicates improvement and progress when in fact it only means something new and different. He feels it is misleading because it shifts the focus of attention from the essence of the educational process - learning - to a concern with the technology of education. 'Change' often simply means something that has happened between some original time and a later time in the school system structure, its processes or its goals and purposes. Thus there should be some distinction between innovations as such and innovations which are definite improvements. Naturally enough, what actually constitutes an improvement in teaching or learning is a vexatious question, more particularly when one has to decide how to measure whether in fact the innovation was the cause of the improvement.

One must further differentiate between a change or an innovation as being something entirely novel or in fact something that is merely new from the viewpoint of the person using it. Schon (1969) claims that an act can only be innovative if it adds to the sum of known inventions. If it doesn't, then it is merely a borrowing or a broader diffusion of the original act.

Miles (1964) further distinguishes between 'change' and 'innovations' by viewing the latter as being more planned and deliberate rather than occurring spontaneously. Huberman (1973, p.6) states that "innovation as a purposeful process brings us into the realm of social technology, the devising of the most effective combination of means to bring about specific ends".

Huberman (1973) points to the implication that innovation is a one shot affair which endeavours to see a given change implemented,

accepted and used. He points out however that deliberate changes of this type take place infrequently as organizations prefer stability, and mechanisms for change from within are rarely present. Again, experiments may be attempted fairly frequently but the attrition rate and discontinuity of such experiments are high. Thus an innovation in terms of a functional definition should be lasting, have a high utilization rate, and should of course resemble its initially planned form. All too often the educational system is prone to change in appearance rather than change in substance.

Watson (1967 pp 106-15) states that most innovations are introduced:
 sporadically rather than continuously;
 by outside pressure, rather than generated from within;
 for reasons of expediency rather than as an expression of conviction or through deliberate planning;
 much later than desirable, superficially rather than at a basic fundamental level;
 piecemeal rather than in a cumulative and integrated design;
 for reasons of self aggrandisement rather than to improve educational performance.

In essence what distinguishes an innovation from change in general, is the element of deliberate intention or planning. Additionally it deals with a more limited number of factors in the change process. Whether an innovation relates to some part of the educational process or to educational objectives it can only be ultimately understood in terms of human behaviour and relationships.

The conservative nature of the education process has led some commentators in recent years to the pessimistic conclusion that education has a tremendous capacity to absorb change and not change at all. But at the same time there is ample evidence to suggest that education systems are increasingly open to the outside pressures for change coming from the society and culture in which it is situated. Thus, while recognizing the existence of pressures for change both within and outside the education system, it is suggested that the nature of this change process is becoming increasingly more deliberate, conscious and intended, at least on the part of one or more agents related to the change attempts. It is this process that has been called 'planned change'. (Bennis, Benne & Chin 1971) If change in education is to be directed at achieving specified goals, it must bring the accumulated knowledge from research and evaluated practice into the service of the

valued change. More specifically, changes in education can be planned if a deliberate strategy is employed to ensure the effective spread of an innovation throughout the system. The alteration of goals, structures or processes in education demands a way of doing or strategy, not for an ultimate, utopian state of 'stability', but to make the essential condition of man, change, more effective.

Strategy is defined by Miles as a means (usually involving a sequence of specified activities) for causing an advocated innovation to become successfully, i.e. durably, installed in an ongoing educational system (Miles 1964). An important element in strategy is to identify and activate the factors supporting change and to identify and control the factors thwarting change. Miller (1967) offers four general and four specific factors that support educational change. The general factors are: the democratic way; equality; material progress, and belief in the importance of education. The specific factors are: the knowledge industry; environmental pressures upon the schools; advances in the behavioural science, and advances in the discipline of education. It is significant that Miller also tries to identify some of the main factors that inhibit change. Some of these are characterized as (i) traditionalism, (ii) laziness, (iii) fear and insecurity, (iv) administrative reticence, (v) bureaucracy, and (vi) community indifference and resistance.

Diffusion is the process by which innovations spread to the members of a social system. This particular definition by Rogers (1971 pp 12-13) stresses two things. Firstly, diffusion is regarded as a special type of communication, secondly, he suggests that in diffusion research the focus is on bringing about overt behaviour change (in the person), that is, adoption or rejection of new ideas, rather than just changes in knowledge or attitudes. It is for this reason that Rogers places his definition of innovation in the context of the 'innovator', that is, the first members of the social system to adopt new ideas. Here the discoverer is not involved, the first user becomes the innovator. The strategies of diffusion need to be understood therefore, not only in the context of the individual but also in relation to the education system of which he is a part. Guba summed up the strategies of diffusion in this way,

Strategy is seen as an action plan which indicates what adoption techniques should be used under different circumstances of time and

place. The link between planned change, strategy and the diffusion of innovations is provided by knowledge and theory which guide the general policies underlying the specific action steps expected to be useful in achieving the durable implementation of a particular innovation.

Four general assumptions must be considered as fundamental to any strategy for the diffusion of educational innovations. These assumptions concern (i) the client, who is the object of influence in the strategy, (ii) the nature of the social system in which the client is situated, (iii) the process of diffusion, that is the linkage system of communication within the system and with other systems and, (iv) the characteristics of the innovation. The assumptions that can be made about these four categories represent the research findings from a number of social sciences including education, however, Rogers (1971, p.77) does point out that although the status of diffusion research today is impressive, there are still many shortcomings. In educational research dealing with the diffusion of innovations, a number of recent studies have focused on a variety of factors. e.g. the client (Bassett, 1970), the organization, (Gross, 1971), the diffusion process, (Miles, 1964, Miller, 1967, Rogers, 1971) and the nature of the innovation, (Barnett, 1953, Evans, 1968). Other studies have provided an overall perspective to the interrelationships that exist within a social system in which the diffusion of innovations takes place. These studies will be examined in greater detail in later sections.

Bassett (1970 p.4) sees educational innovations as falling into the following five categories. (i) Educational ideas or practices which are new in that they were not previously known. (ii) Adaptations, extensions, modifications of earlier ideas that currently affect practice, (iii) revivals of former practices, (iv) new situations where elements combine in some new ways, (v) communication of ideas and practices unknown to some. Although educational innovations have been labelled as either 'thing' technologies, e.g. E.T.V., programmed instruction and P.S.S.C. or 'people' technologies, e.g. team teaching, micro-teaching and T-Groups, it is self-evident that any innovation will involve both. Ultimately, it is the attribute of a new product, not as seen by experts, but as perceived by the potential adopters, that really matters.

The need to provide a standard classification scheme for describing the perceived attributes of innovations in universal terms, has led Rogers (1971) to identify the following: (1) relative advantage, (2) compatibility, (3) complexity, (4) trialability and (5) observability. Although these attributes are admittedly significant for the individual in making a decision to adopt an innovation, it should be remembered that education takes place in the context of an organization and in fact, educational innovations are almost never installed on their merits. The investigations by behavioural scientists in a number of fields have pointed out a common problem in the dynamics of change, that is the fact that social institutions rarely include mechanisms for facilitating change. Evans (1968 p.2) suggests that one of the reasons stems from the nature of the institutions themselves. That is, in those institutions whose primary function has been with the perpetuation of society's folkways, beliefs, attitudes and values, there is a traditional resistance to change because their basic *raison d'etre* is conservation and systems maintenance. Strategies for change are therefore seen as being directed not only at the individual adopter, his attitudes and values, but also at the organization or social systems in which he interacts with his environment.

General Strategies for Effecting Changes in Human Systems.

The first consideration of any strategy of innovation diffusion must be a statement of goals or objectives in terms of the desired level of generality or specificity. A useful tri-partite division is provided by Bassett (1970) because it is based on the realities of the Australian educational systems as well as those of the United States and the United Kingdom. Educational objectives, according to Bassett, exist (or are formulated) at three levels: (i) the societal level, (ii) the system, or strategic level, and, (iii) the institutional, or tactical level.

Aims at the societal level are generally expressed in vague, philosophical terms, such as 'equality of educational opportunity', and are therefore an expression of widely held values of that society.

Aims at the system level are generally expressed through legislation (since political action is one of the important ways in which social

aims are made effective in practice), and through the policy statements and actions of administrators e.g. the Director-General of Education.

Aims at the institutional level are expressed in methodological terms, and are inextricably linked with relevant knowledge in such fields as psychology, sociology, logic, and the study of organizations and of the structure of knowledge in the various forms.

A statement of aims at all three levels provides the necessary framework for action plans which will be directed at the respective personnel at these levels - the politicians, the educational administrators, the researcher and the teachers. The overall aim being, to ensure the effective diffusion of educational innovations so as to provide maximum benefit to those of our ultimate concern - the pupils in the schools. The application of new ideas or practices to these objectives is the starting point for the general strategies for effecting change.

Strategies of planned change, according to Benne and Chin (1971), fall into three general types: (1) the empirical-rational , (2) normative-re-educative and, (3) power-coercive. Although these strategies are employed at different levels, as previously indicated, they are not mutually exclusive categories.

The rationale underlying the empirical-rational strategies is based on the assumption that men are guided by reason and that they will utilize some "rational calculus of self interest in determining needed changes of behaviour." (1971 p.35) Strategies here therefore would focus on the application of basic research and the dissemination of knowledge through general education. More specifically strategies of innovation diffusion would focus on the rational sequence of research, development, 'packaging', trial, evaluation before mass dissemination takes place. The development of P.S.S.C., Man, A Course of Study, and similar curriculum innovations are examples of this type of strategy. The pioneer research on innovation diffusion by Mort, suggested the considerable time lag of approximately fifty years between the (rational) recognition of a need and the introduction of the innovation. Knowledge of the various factors associated with the diffusion of innovations, has in recent years assisted in considerably speeding up this process. A variety of empirical-rational strategies have

been employed and focused on such factors as: personnel selection, preservice and in-service training, long-term planning and the establishment of more effective communication systems between the researchers and the classroom practitioners. One practical expression of this strategy in the United States is the growth of 'linkage systems' such as the Research and Development Centres, Regional Training Laboratories or on a smaller, local scale the establishment of Teacher Development units such as TRISEC at Yagoona in Sydney.

There are a number of obvious weaknesses in the empirical-rational strategies. In examining this basic model which Havelock (1971) calls the Research, Development and Diffusion model, a number of basic assumptions must be questioned. One fundamental assumption that seems crucial to the whole issue of innovation diffusion is the rational, but passive role ascribed to the client-generally the teacher. Albert, J. Reiss (1969 p.16-18) (and others) have pointed out that "the hierarchical organization of educational systems serves as an effective barrier to individual teachers within a system who try to initiate or implement innovations." The conflicting roles of bureaucratic functionary and professional educator provide constant conflict; what is needed is a strategy that will allow greater autonomy for professional decision-making which is backed up by the supporting function of the administration. A second major weakness in this group of strategies stems from the veritable flood of research findings, publications, new materials etc. that the professional educator is bombarded with in recent years. A novel, computer-based, clearing house called ERIC has recently provided U.S. teachers with a most useful tool for sifting and disseminating educational information. This aspect is obviously linked to the third major weakness, the time lag between invention and adoption. Research by Carlson and Rogers seems to suggest that one of the keys to linking applied research to classroom practice is more effective communication systems within schools, between schools and Universities and with researchers in the social sciences. Finally, the empirical-rational strategies seem to be heading away from the traditional utopian, philosophical-sociological framework for change. Instead, the rational and pragmatic utopia of B.F. Skinner is emerging.

Normative-re-educative strategies of change rest on some different assumptions about man and his motivation. In general the main emphasis seems to be on man as an active, social person with distinct

attitudes and values, participating in groups for need satisfaction.

A number of important research traditions have contributed to the various normative-re-educative strategies of changing. e.g. John Dewey showed that intelligence is social, rather than narrowly individual, therefore a more humanized and broadened scientific method was seen by him as the key to the invention, development and testing of adequate strategies of changing. The work of Kurt Lewin led him to the conclusion that man must participate in his own re-education through the collaborative interrelationships (now often lacking) between researchers, educators and change agents. In particular he saw action research, as later developed by Stephen Corey, as a group-centred strategy of changing. Freud's contributions were twofold. Firstly, he sought to demonstrate the unconscious and pre-conscious bases of man's actions and secondly, he illustrated the value of therapeutic methods of transactional behaviour between the change agents and the clients as a major tool in their re-education toward expanded self-awareness, self-understanding and self control. A few examples may illustrate the practical outcomes of their research- simulation, micro-teaching, action research, educational consultants, 'T'-Groups, gaming and in particular, the National Training Laboratories first set up by Lewin.

Some of the common elements among variants within this family of change strategies have been identified by Chin and Benne (1971) as follows. (i) All emphasize the client system and his (or its) involvement in working out programs of change and improvement. (ii) System problems are seen not so much as either technical or social but as sociotechnical. (iii) The change agent must learn to intervene mutually and collaboratively along with the client into efforts to define and solve the client's problems. (iv) Nonconscious problems or elements must be brought into consciousness. (v) The methods and concepts of the behavioural sciences are resources which change agents and clients learn to use selectively and relevantly.

Two general strategies emerge in the field of normative re-educative strategies of change. Firstly, there are those strategies concerned with improving the problem-solving capabilities of a system such as new organizational structures, shared decision-making and the model of action research mentioned earlier. Secondly, there are those

strategies which will release and foster growth in the persons who make up the system to be changed. Aspects of these might include the use of temporary systems or adhocracies rather than the traditional bureaucracies, and the use of residential workshops and training institutions to develop leadership and innovation managers who acquire the normative characteristics of the Theory Y model proposed by McGregor (1971).

Whereas the empirical-rational strategies stressed the Research, Development and Diffusion perspective, Havelock (1971) suggests that the normative-re-educative strategies can be conceptualized into a model stressing the Social Interaction perspective. This model places emphasis on the patterns by which innovations diffuse through a social system and is based on a great variety of research findings including Ryan and Gross (1943), Lionberger (1960), E. Rogers (1962, 1970), Mort (1964) and Carlson (1965). Five generalizations about the process of diffusion are usually emphasized: (1) that the individual user or adopter belongs to a network of social relations which largely influence his adoption behaviour; (2) that his place in the network (centrality, peripherality, and isolation) is a good predictor of his rate of acceptance of new ideas; (3) that informal personal contacts (the informal organization) is a vital part of the influence and adoption process; (4) that group membership and reference group identification are major predictors of individual adoption; (5) that the rate of diffusion through a social system follows a predictable S-curve pattern (from slow adoption by early adopters to the 'laggards'.)

A recent study by Hilfiker (1970. p.27) on the innovativeness of school systems illustrates clearly the role of normative re-education strategies in diffusion of education innovations. His general findings conclude with the statement that "... certain interpersonal relationship variables within the context of organizational climate, may be among the most important variables to consider in initiating and maintaining innovations in educational organizations." Some of these variables were: (a) social support provided by the principal as perceived by the professional personnel; (b) the perceived problem-solving adequacy of staff meetings, (c) perceived powerlessness in system faculty and administration council meetings. Other factors such as openness and trust as an expression of interpersonal process norms of the system were found to be significant to different

extents by the personnel. This study indicated, as have many others that there is still a considerable gap in our understanding of the many variables affecting diffusion in sociotechnical systems. However, in recent years considerable attempts have been made, such as the Eight-State Project, 'Designing Education for the Future', (Morphet & Ryan 1967) to bring together the combined research findings in a number of fields of educational endeavour to anticipate trends by designing strategies to meet them in the future.

The third and final group of general strategies for change, power-coercive, have the distinguishing feature of depending upon power, and the ways in which power is generated and applied in processes affecting change. While not denying the existence of power (in the form of knowledge power) in the other two strategies, the power of this group of strategies is primarily derived from political and economic factors, which are mainly outside the educational system itself. It is this concept of power, first identified by Weber, that provides the legal-rational base to bureaucracy, by vesting authority in rules and regulations (backed by sanctions). It is also the power of this collective will that Tonnies describes in his famous dichotomy of Gesellschaft and Gemeinschaft.

Ultimately, it is the decision-making in this sphere that affects every teacher.

In general, power-coercive strategies of changing seek to mass political and economic power behind the change goals which the strategists of change have decided are desirable. Although these strategies are generally identified with centralised systems, it is nevertheless apparent that they can also be found in decentralized systems. Societies differ considerably in the extent to which they use political power to affect change and innovation in education. For example, in the United Kingdom the only real legislative power over the curriculum in schools is that which prescribes the provisions for religious instruction. Yet in the United States in recent years, various Bills passed by Congress and initiated by the President, have resulted in legislation (backed by economic sanctions) to effect desegregation of school systems and for the provision of a wide variety of compensatory educational programmes for the disadvantaged. On the other hand, there are inherent dangers to democracy as well as to educational practice, in the use of power

strategies being accepted as the means for bringing about change. The use of political power often leads to the creation of divisions in society because opposition to change tends to become organized and adopt the same power strategies. This aspect has certainly been illustrated in recent months in N.S.W. in the growing confrontation between the Teachers Federation and the government. What is needed therefore is greater control over the use of power by distributing decision-making to a wider community involving the creation of new structures. Legislation can be used to do just that, as has been shown with the establishment of Area Directors of education in N.S.W.

The basic problem of power-coercive strategies of change lies in the assumption that legislative action will mean that certain innovations will be adopted uniformly by all members of the social system. Legislation does not necessarily mean implementation for it should be quite apparent that political coercive strategies must be backed by both the empirical-rational and normative-re-educative strategies at all levels in the system.

Specific Strategies for the Diffusion of Innovations in Education.

The influence of fashion in education and in educational psychology particularly has meant that in recent years educational innovations have come and gone like the tides. Behaviourism was swept out by the Gestaltists who will no doubt be replaced by the Skinnerians of the future. Instead of seeking the 'grand theory' to explain change, more and more researchers are calling for what Merton has called 'theories of the middle range'. For this reason Young (1965), Rogers (1971) and others are calling for greater understanding of the process of innovation and the nature of adoption and diffusion. By examining several recent studies, it may be possible to collect some empirically-based building blocks that will enable the building however imperfect, of a model that represents the strategies for the diffusion of educational innovations.

A comprehensive study of six educational innovations by Carlson (1965) found that the varying rates of diffusion were only partially accounted for by the five characteristics of innovations viz. relative advantage, compatibility, complexity, trialability and communicability. On the other hand, his research findings pointed to the important role the school superintendent played as an opinion leader for it was his relative status in the social structure that

facilitated the communication of innovation throughout the system. Carlson's findings on the diffusion of modern maths for example, seemed to support the two-step flow model of communication (see Rogers 1971 p.205) whereby ideas flow from the mass media to opinion leaders who in turn actively spread this to the less active population through various networks of interpersonal communication. The study of six-innovations (foreign language, accelerated programmes, modern maths, programmed instruction, team teaching and language labs.) indicated that "adoption performance on one innovation is not necessarily a reliable predictor of adoption performance on another innovation or several others." Carlson (1965 p.53)

The life cycle of educational innovations is not only the history of adoption and diffusion, it is also the story of their demise or rejection through certain unanticipated consequences. This was found by Carlson when he examined the use of programmed instruction and this phenomenon was carefully documented and analysed in a study by Smith and Keith (1971) when they sought to introduce a new 'catalytic role' to the teachers of a school system. This latter study clearly illustrated that significant changes in educational practice require strategies directed at changes in attitude, skills and values of the practitioner in order for the innovation to be successfully adopted and adapted. The lack of a significant network of communicators and agents of change in education has been widely recognized, however, few proposals have been forthcoming that recognize the complexity of the task; many are merely ad-hoc attempts to fill the gaps.

Perhaps the most comprehensive attempt to develop strategies for changing school systems has recently been developed by the Cooperative Project for Educational Development, generally called COPED. (See Watson 1967) This is really a group-centred, change agent approach to educational change that seeks to provide a very comprehensive and detailed analysis for school systems to effectively change structures first, bringing about altered interaction processes as a result and finally changing attitudes. The school, together with an agency such as COPED would be able to invent and install a wide variety of structures-mechanisms for correcting dysfunctional aspects of the school, thereby creating self-renewal. A list of thirteen such 'strategies' is provided and I feel they are sufficiently useful to be listed in full below.

1. Methods for goal clarification. Creating methods for dialogue between researchers, administrators, specialists, teachers, parents and pupils.
2. Goal-movement assessment tools. To assist teachers in assessment.
3. Improved mechanisms for feedback from children.
4. Easy-to-use adult behavioural measures. e.g. measures of role definition.
5. Free space for personal and organizational development. e.g. more flexible scheduling, released time, teacher aides etc.
6. Change-managing units. The idea of an R and D council for a school system.
7. Interagency linking mechanisms. At the international level this could be provided by an agency such as O.E.C.D., but at the school system level smaller bodies, with wide representation could be set up.
8. Personnel development units and programmes. The obvious need for In-service education must be met by collaborative, professional action, e.g. TRISEC.
9. Role-supports for the superintendent. In particular as they relate to Carlson's findings on the Superintendent, e.g. his status, professionalism, cosmopolitaness, etc. as an innovator.
10. Conflict management education. The use of such techniques as simulation and in-basket as developed by the National Training Laboratories for training both the administrators and the trainers of teachers.
11. Inter-role and intergroup confrontation mechanisms. The goal being to overcome the protective myths of teachers that they are bureaucratic functionaries and that they cannot initiate innovations.
12. Environmental scanning roles. That is the need to develop within the system, agencies for collecting and collating information. e.g. ERIC.
13. Board development mechanisms. A strategy that seeks to provide teamwork, shared decision-making and involvement by persons inside and outside the school. (See Watson 1967 pp.26-27)

The model of strategies for diffusion that emerges out of the above points, rests on the primary assumption that innovation is a part of a problem solving process which goes on inside the user. Havelock (1971) calls this the P-S or Problem Solving model. While the central focus is on the user, it does emphasize the sequence

of activities that he engages in: beginning with a need, sensed and articulated by the client, translated into a problem, followed by a meaningful search for information which leads to the selection, adoption or adaptation of the innovation. The role of the outside change agent is collaborative and consultative, that is marginal to the self-initiated and self-applied innovation, for ultimately, it will be the user's commitment that will make the innovation durable. Diffusion is mainly seen as group dynamics in the human relations tradition of Lippitt, et al. (1958), Watson (1967), Jung (1970) and Thelen (1967). In recent years, the impact of outside change agents has grown through the efforts of new research and development organizations. The results have come in a variety of expensively researched and beautifully produced 'packages' such as P.S.S.C., the Nuffield Science course and other innovation bundles in the curriculum field. Unfortunately, in most instances, the decision to adopt these innovations is based on cost-benefit analysis for a whole school system. Innovation diffusion is thus not only intimately linked to the characteristics of the innovation and the nature and characteristics of the adopter, but realistically it is also very much dependent upon the nature of the organization or educational system in which diffusion takes place.

After his extensive review of adoption and diffusion studies, Rogers proposed a model of the innovation-decision process that identified five critical stages in the adoption process: awareness, interest, trial, evaluation and adoption. (1971) One of its basic assumptions is that during any of the intermediate stages between awareness and use, the individual is free to adopt the innovation. Gross et. al. (1967) suggest quite rightly that this assumption does not apply to major educational organizations in most school situations. The main reason being that success or failure is dependent upon the implementation strategies of organizational innovations, and this is limited by the power-coercive nature of the particular educational administration. The familiar criticisms of bureaucratic rigidity as a barrier to innovation, demand the creation of new organizational structures that allow innovative individuals to operate in a facilitating setting. That is, an organizational climate will be created that rewards originality, initiative and innovativeness. The problem is, how does one go about producing such an organization?

One answer to this constant dilemma lies in the utilization of modern organization theory to long-term educational planning. This viewpoint, adopted by Fremont E. Kast (1970), sees an organization as a complex, open sociotechnical system in interaction with its environment.

Innovation and creativity are key elements in effective long-range planning, because they can provide the strategic variables in creating climate for change within the organization. The dynamic process of change depends largely upon what inputs are drawn from the environment from outside the educational boundary and how they are processed by the various organizational sub-systems in terms of goals and values, technology, structure, psychosocial relationships and administration. Strategies for creating a creative organization have been identified in such terms as: recruiting and encouraging 'idea men'; opening up channels of communication by breaking the isolation of classroom teachers and involving them with 'outside' contacts; assigning non-specialists as well as experts to solving problems; investing in basic research and constant evaluation by providing time and resources; permitting greater freedom and autonomy in making decisions within the individual's competence level; allowing experimentation with new ideas and technology and providing co-ordination and administrative support rather than more controls over the activities of the classroom practitioners. (See Pellegrin 1966) Although these proposals seem hardly original, the fact that they are so seldom implemented in schools suggests that there is a need to develop and plan for a total, systematic change in the present management structures.

Strategies have been seen thus far as an action plan linking theory and practice. It is therefore most important to bring together the knowledge and theory that is available on diffusion research, in order to plan the strategies that can be used most effectively. Although much more research is needed to fill the knowledge gaps about communication and diffusion, it should be recognized that in the meantime other strategies are used. e.g. A very widespread procedure for inducing change is that of providing material resources and finance as both inducement and reward for effecting innovations. Both the government and philanthropic organizations play a change agent role here. Yet, ultimately planning change requires better theory; so as a first step we must identify the significant variables

affecting the diffusion process.

In Chapter I of their book, Rogers and Shoemaker (1971) describe three basic types of innovation-decisions: (1) optional decisions, (2) collective decisions, and (3) authority decisions. Optional and authority decisions represent two extremes on a continuum representing the influence of the social system on the individual's decisions. Thus authority decisions, which are forced upon an individual by someone in a superordinate power position, would be more common in formal (bureaucratic) organizations and therefore represent a dimension of the power-coercive strategy of change. While admitting the paucity of research into diffusion of innovations involving authority innovation-decisions, Rogers goes on to point out that while their rate of adoption is faster, changes brought about by the authoritative approach are more likely to be discontinued.

A number of important implications can be drawn from these generalizations. Firstly, a supportive relationship between the adoption unit (subordinate) leads to more upward communication about the innovation. Thus strategies could focus more on the communication channels within the informal organization-group dynamics or the normative-re-educative strategies. Secondly, the adoption unit's participation in decision-making is highly related to its attitude toward and satisfaction with the authoritative innovation-decision. Hence, organizational change agents and consultants often focus on the creation of new structures, temporary systems, which provide opportunities for participation and shared decision-making in the professional sphere. Finally, the discrepancy between an individual's attitude toward an innovation may not coincide with the overt behaviour demanded by the organization; the result is what Festinger calls 'cognitive dissonance'. In the case of innovations it may lead to unanticipated consequences in the form of dysfunctional modification (as in Carlson's study on programmed instruction which became classroom drills) or it may lead to total rejection. While time means money in business, it does not necessarily follow in education - slower diffusion through participation, may ultimately be more effective than the faster, authoritarian diffusion by Regulation or Decree.

Effective strategies will seek to focus comprehensive attention to all stages of the diffusion process. According to Miles (1964), the

most theoretically powerful strategies are likely to be those designed to produce 'meta-changes', that is second order changes which will lead to further changes. For example in Papua New Guinea, a structural change toward a decentralized education system has led to the creation of informal bodies of parents and educators putting pressure on local boards to re-examine school aims and national goals in the light of local needs. In this way, planned change has led to evaluation and eventually system renewal. Every education system is the product of certain historical, ideological and cultural traditions and innovations by their very nature may set up certain tensions which act as barriers to change. The crucial element that seems to determine success of innovations in organizations is that of linkage between the target system and the larger system. (See Watson 1967 p.59) That is, the creation of linkage structures (between the old and new) that will facilitate more effective communication within systems and between systems, thereby reducing pressures and tensions that inhibit the diffusion process. According to Havelock, the linkage principle is rooted in the internal problem solving process of the user, but the process of searching for and retrieving new outside knowledge relevant to the problem solving cycle is seen in terms of a kind of simulation of the resource system. Havelock's rather vague model suggests that the outside resource person (or system) must be able to recapitulate or simulate that internal process. (1971 p.183) What emerges therefore in the Havelock model is an idea of empathy and understanding that in an organizational context has been described by Etzioni (1969) as 'congruent'. Etzioni sees two elements, the power applied by the organization to lower participants, and the involvement in the organization by lower participants as constituting the compliance relationship of the organization. He suggests that there are three kinds of power: coercive, remunerative and normative and three kinds of involvement: alienative, calculative and moral. Where the involvement of lower participants and the kind of involvement that tends to be generated by the predominant form of organizational power are the same, the relationship is called 'congruent'. Finally, "congruent types of organization are more effective than incongruent types". (1969 p.69)

Change Agent - Characteristics, Normative Goals and Strategies Employed

As the focus of this study is aimed at the value system, power and role of the change agent, the remainder of this section will be devoted to an examination of the characteristics of these result oriented individuals.

In limiting the parameters of this study to an examination of the principal change agents involved, it is not intended to ignore the fact that any analysis of the process of change involves the study of a wide complex range of variables which could be classified as structures, participants and roles or relationships. In this instance it is participant interaction that is the major interest and it is recognized that some events or variables in the empirical world are omitted from the explanation. As Meehan (1968) points out, system explanations are always partial isomorphs and for this reason incomplete explanations cause no particular difficulties.

It is possible to construct a fairly comprehensive table of characteristics of change agents who are also described in various studies as innovative persons. Miles (1964) describes innovative persons as high in intelligence and verbal ability, benevolent, strong, more individualistic and creative, less bound by group norms, enthusiastic persuaders, sometimes rebellious, alienated, more creative and individualistic, extremely idealistic, emotionally stable, and inclined to resentment and perverseness in the face of opposition or disillusionment.

Bennis (1966) whilst seeing them as not being a very homogeneous group, does see them possessing a number of similarities particularly in their assumptions, e.g., their concern with organizational effectiveness, its improvement, development and enhancement; their acceptance of the centrality of work in our culture; their perception of organizational health pivoting on interpersonal or group relationships and the implications this has for changes in technology, structure and tasks; their consuming interest in attitudinal, value and perceptual changes in existing personnel.

Harvey (1967 pp.201-226) describes these persons in a more clinical vein as liberal, non-authoritarian, emancipated, open to new ideas and experiences, self-actualized. As with Bennis he confirms their high task orientation as well as recognising their independence, risk

taking, information seeking, and exploratory behaviour. They are seen to be able to solve problems and evolve solutions by deviating from established social settings without fear of punishment.

Rogers (1965) in a useful global overview sees the innovator or change agent as a person with relatively high social status, young, cosmopolite, able to exercise opinion leadership, drawing on impersonal cosmopolite sources of information, who is often viewed by peers and himself as deviant.

Schon (1967) describes the change agent as a strong willed and energetic person with the capacity to withstand disapproval because of his tendency to set himself against established order.

Change agents play a variety of roles: researchers, trainers, counsellors, teachers and line managers. Generally there is a tendency for them to shift from role to role although some naturally tend to specialize in one particular role.

In many cases, the change agents are not members of the organization (client system) and case studies of change in education generally demonstrate that the initiative for such change comes from outside the educational institution.

Griffiths (1964) distinguishes between changes made in response to insiders and those made in response to external initiatives. He maintains that changes in response to insiders are more concerned with clarification of rules and internal procedures whereas outsider initiated changes are concerned with new rules and procedures and also changes in direction and general purpose. To consolidate this viewpoint he argues that the use of external agents such as consultants or committees of enquiry by administrators, demonstrates their awareness of this condition. It will be clearly demonstrated in this present study that this was not the case in the changes generated in the Papua New Guinea education system.

Arguments supporting the viewpoint that significant change can only occur from the impetus generated by an external agent, take as a keystone the view that only a skilled external consultant (outsider) can provide the energy, perspective and detachment that is required to change existing patterns. However it should also be seen that whilst the outside expert can bring in useful insights and

recommendations, the mere fact that he is a transient means that he can leave the system with no particular commitment to ensuring that there is continuing follow through of changes and recommendations. His role in other words is normally quite non-directive.

Advocates for the thesis of internal motivation normally argue that the insider, ... "possesses the intimate knowledge of the client system (and the power to legitimize) that the external change agent lacks. In addition, the internal change agent does not generate the suspicion and mistrust that the outsider often does. His acceptance and credibility are guaranteed it is argued, by his organizational status" (Bennis 1966 p.115)

Havelock (1971) in an American study reported that user initiated and internalized change, was the most durable as opposed to externally imposed change which had a weak motivational basis for the user. Certainly most literature on social change inclines to the view that innovations or change will be more readily accepted where the user is completely involved in the planning and implementation stages. An interesting point also is that a number of reports suggest that innovators, particularly teachers, tend to operate neither alone nor in large groups, but generally in pairs having similar background or status, or perhaps in groups of three.

Change agents conceptualize and state their normative goals with varying degrees of specificity and clarity. There appears to be unmistakable evidence however, that even though they occasionally work toward the same goal under different labels and for different goals under similar labels, their goals do imply a particular vision of man and organization based on a particular set of values. It is natural for each change agent to have in mind a set of unique goals which are dictated by his own experiences, theoretical competencies and the needs of the client system.

Argyris (1962) provides a model which shows the essential conflict between bureaucratic values which dominate modern organizations and humanistic, democratic values of the individual which relate to task competence. The paradigm shows that bureaucratic values tend to stress rational task roles at the expense of humanistic values, so that the neglect of basic human values will tend to reduce task competence. It is difficult for personnel brought up in this

particular value system to display skill in interpersonal relationships requiring sensitivity. This affects the problem solving capacity and effectiveness of the organization.

Bennis (1966, p.118) in pointing out that normative goals of change agents appear to have their basis in Argyris's paradigm, pinpoints the following goals most commonly strived for,

- "1. Improvement in interpersonal competence of managers,
2. A change in values so that human factors and feelings come to be considered legitimate,
3. Development of increased understanding between and within groups in order to reduce tensions,
4. Development of more effective "team management" i.e. The capacity for functional groups to work competently,
5. Development of better methods of "conflict resolution"...
6. Development of organic systems..."

This latter point is most pertinent as it follows on from a proposal by Shepard and Blake (1962) that there is antipathy on the part of the individual against the concept of the organization as a mechanism. This mechanistic concept which has spawned the notion of planned change being the result of social engineering, i.e. the pushing of social buttons to produce change, has also given rise to concepts such as static equilibrium.

Shepard and Blake conceive organic systems as differing from mechanical systems in the following ways -

| Mechanical Systems | Organic System |
|---|---|
| Individual Skills | Relationships between and within groups |
| Authority - obedience relationships | Mutual confidence and Trust |
| Delegated and divided responsibility rigidly adhered to | Interdependence and shared responsibilities |
| Strict Division of Labour hierarchical supervision | Multigroup membership and responsibility |
| Conflict resolution through suppression, arbitration or warfare | Conflict resolution through bargaining or problem solving |

It would seem fair to say that the majority of change agents would accept at face value the goals outlined by Bennis. Differences between these are more clearly seen where different strategies and instruments or programmes are chosen for implementing these normative goals. Techniques of implementation used by change agents can vary from large scale operations such as games, conferences, task forces, demonstrations and personnel assessment programmes, to more intensive group dynamics work derived from counselling and psychotherapy practices.

Earlier in the review of relevant research, strategies of change were examined from the viewpoint of diffusion of innovations through education systems.

To conclude this section with regard to the change agent, a specific examination of strategies used by change agents will be examined as this has complete relevance to the Papua New Guinea case study and to one of the major hypotheses that is proposed.

Bennis (1966, pp.125-129) describes two particular change strategies that are quite different in context. One developed by R.R. Blake utilizes a managerial grid scheme which is based on his analytic framework of managerial styles. Using two dimensions, one, concern for production, the other concern for people, the change programme used by Blake and his colleagues was based on their experience with 15 different factories ranging in size from 500 to 5000 employees. In an attempt to achieve congruency between the two dimensions, factory members are exposed to behavioural science theory and participate in off site team training of the T group variety. Following these experiences, joint problem solving activities take place on site. The next phase involves groups of managers setting goals for the total organization. It was estimated by Blake that the first four phases require two years or longer. Implementation using a change agent to realize the goals established in phase four may require an additional two years. The final phase is aimed at stabilizing the changes brought about in the previous period and this is basically a maintenance phase.

The other study described by Bennis in which he was involved, also stressed fairly heavily, T groups, regular seminars, human development skills, and sensitivity training with joint goal setting facilities and evaluation.

Bennis (1966 p.129) identified some common elements between the two strategies which are quite interesting.

- " (1) The length of time - Blake estimates five years, and the refinery program up to the point of the Scanlon Plan, took two years;
- (2) The variety of programs utilized - research, consulting training, teaching and planning;
- (3) The necessity of co-operation with top management and the parent organization;
- (4) Approaching the organization as a system, rather than as a collection of individuals;
- (5) Phasing the program so that it evolves from individual to group to intergroup to overall organization;
- (6) The intellectual and emotional content of the program."

These planned change strategies together with the exposition of normative goals derived from an organic system, do have a common feature that needs further elaboration. This is, that an essential component of planned change is that there must be a collaborative relationship between the change agent and the client system. There should be a mutuality of influence as in the long run it is this transactional influence that determines the durability and genuineness of the change process.

This particular generalization has been supported from a number of quite divergent vantage points by Erikson (1964) Bauer (1964) McGregor (1960) and Likert (1961).

Warren and Hyman (1966) following a study of community action programmes have linked collaborative strategies used by change agents to a condition of consensus where there is a large measure of agreement by the principal parties on a community issue. Where there is disagreement and little chance of obtaining agreement through persuasion, the change agent is faced with the choice of renouncing his goals or utilizing conflict strategies. This is described as the 'dissensus' condition. Walton (1965) elaborates on this particular theme in showing that misuse of power by a change agent is detrimental to achieving collaboration. However he also argues that it may be impossible to realize effective change in conditions of polarized disagreement and consequently the change

agent may be required to use threats, power or hostility to achieve his goals. In other words the change agent must be prepared to accept and utilize coercive strategies as well as collaborative strategies in the creation of effective change.

The fundamental dilemma of the change agent as identified by Bennis, Benne and Chin (1971) then revolves around the question of whether the change agent should avoid all conflict situations. If he doesn't avoid conflict situations, then should he resolve conflict, using strategies that contradict his value orientation? Walton as shown earlier, maintains that the change agent needs to be self-aware of his own attitudes towards conflict as they will affect the strategies employed.

There are of course, different types of conflict such as, different and incompatible goals for change held by various parties within the same situation. These will reflect ultimate beliefs or values which may be political, religious, or social in origin. A different kind of conflict emanates from the allocation of prized resources whether power, prestige, status, money or material goods. A third kind of conflict stems from a perceived threat to the dignity or identity of various individuals or groups involved in the situation. A person's identity may be threatened for example, when freedom of choice or control over his future is taken out of his control.

Change agents then, require the ability to be able to differentiate between the types of conflict situations in which they find themselves and adjust their strategy for change as a result. For example Blake, Mouton and Sloma (1965) in a study on resolving inter-group conflict between management and union, converted the classic labour - management conflict in a win - lose context, to a problem solving approach by use of a change agent team.

To return to the basic dilemma of the change agent however, if he operates in a situation of dissensus, must he abandon his commitment to a collaborative strategy of changing? Collaboration is not antithetical to every kind of human conflict as was shown in the Blake, Mouton and Sloma (1965) study. As Bennis, Benne and Chin (1971 p.152) point out, "Change agents who expect collaborative ways of working to occur without mutual confrontation, effort, and learning have limited understanding of either collaboration or conflict".

Conflict is not purely the subjective expression of individual psyches but is a group phenomenon. Co-operation and conflict are in fact closely related group processes and should not be regarded as polar opposites. Often conflict between groups actually promotes co-operation within groups. Certainly some degree of conflict within organizations is inevitable and for that matter a certain amount of it may make for organization health in bringing about creative transformations and improvements in efficient functioning of the organization. (Lonsdale 1964)

In view of the preceding remarks then, the elimination of conflict would not seem to be a desirable goal for the change agent. Rather than seeing consensus or collaboration as opposed to conflict they are better viewed as conditions of its creative utilization.

To conclude this section Bennis, Benne and Chin (1971 p.153) have outlined a number of principles which help to understand and handle what was earlier termed the change agents' dilemma.

- " 1. Collaboration is an achievement not a given condition...
2. Conflict is not to be avoided by a change agent.
3. Power is not a bad thing, though much behavioral science literature treats it as such through indifference or ignorance.
4. Social action depends on power just as physical movement depends on energy.
5. The change agent strives to utilize power that is based on and guided by rationality, valid knowledge, and collaboration, and to discount power based on and channeled by fear, irrationality, and coercion".

CHAPTER TWOOUTLINE OF METHODOLOGY

Havelock (1971) has produced an extremely comprehensive volume on diffusion and utilization of knowledge which covers curriculum change, organizational change, the development and spread of new educational ideas, practices, materials, and new organizational groupings. He reports that only a very small number of items in this area were reported prior to 1954 - less than 50. By 1964 however, some 500 items were being reported annually. Of the 4,000 entries in Havelock's volume the largest proportion was composed of quantitative studies with fewer theoretical studies and very few case studies.

The major portion of Havelock's references originate from American research and there is a near absence of non-American literature on change in education if anthropological literature on social change in primitive societies, is discounted. If literature originating from the European countries is sparse apart from some O.E.C.D. publications, studies originating from developing countries are even more rare.

Huberman (1973 p.4) points to the American orientation and commitment towards elaborate change strategies and model designs which, in tending to neglect the importance of the social, historical and political framework in which innovations operate, reflect a limited cultural range and thus have limitations of application to a developing country. Similarly the massive research and development investment required in setting up elaborate change models may be unacceptable for study and implementation of change in a developing country such as Papua New Guinea. It is fairly obvious that case studies from a number of different countries must be undertaken before it is possible to examine in a more disciplined manner, the process of change in an inter-cultural framework.

A common limitation of much conventional experimental research lies in the starting point of the investigation, that is, of testing or proving a theory as opposed to exploring and describing an unfolding phenomenon (seeking its personal meaning) and by proceeding in accord with methods that have been conceived a priori as opposed to procedures that have been determined by the nature of the phenomenon being investigated.

Thus to disregard or neglect the inner experience of human beings in order to rely exclusively on scientific methods devised for a different kind of subject matter, seems at times incongruous for someone who, on occasions wishes to say something substantive about people.

In psychological research particularly, attention has been drawn to the two contrasting frames of reference inherent in such research - that of the experimenter and that of the behaviour organism. Snygg (1941) notes that different frames of reference are used by each person. The question which arises here is not how the situation appears to the researcher or experimenter, but whether it is perceived identically by each individual concerned. This is tied in with the general proposition outlined in the introduction to this study, which stated that individuals perceive reality differently, as each interpretation depends upon the individual's prior socialisation.

The existential - phenomenological school however, clearly indicate their preference for the client's frame of reference as the vantage point for understanding (Rogers 1959). According to Severin (1973) whenever a phenomenon appears it always appears within a certain horizon or context, and the contextual situation that is given implicitly with the phenomenon is highly important for its understanding.

The implication for research is that investigators should be cautious and aware of problems and shortcomings inherent in studying a phenomenon by abstracting it from the context in which it occurs. Ideally the existential - phenomenological method is a combination of exhaustive observation plus personal experiential meaning. In such a research design it is possible to use the established method of participant observation. (McCall-Simmons 1969). The researcher works in the real life situation as a participant in the role of witness and engages in reciprocal action with the person studied. He also considers the person under study as an informant on his own situation in terms of his own experience and engages in dialogue to gather this person's experiences as reported. Severin (1973p.286) suggests that ... "Such an arrangement could meet some of the objections regarding the unreliability of merely subjective data because it would achieve both public - objective as well as private - subjective recording of an identifiable event."

From a similar perspective, Mann (1973 p.3) has been motivated to write:

"... research activity need not define for the person doing it, an identity or an ideal which resembles the all too clearly drawn image of researcher as scientist. That constraining and alienating definition of who we are, can and should be replaced by a definition which validates our reality as seekers who embrace their not knowing as fellow participants in life, as facilitators of the growth of particular others, it is possible to turn away from the definition of the researcher - scientist without discarding everything that the scientific tradition has created."

In effect these writers are calling attention to the fact that inevitably both researcher and 'person - subject informants' co-constitute the research process, which need not be structured only in 'scientific' terms. Both affect and are affected by it in a significant way.

The basic purpose of this study is to present a case study of the change process in the education system of Papua New Guinea in response to the evident need for such types of studies as indicated in Havelock's encyclopaedic volume (1971).

Normally a case study of change of this nature would best be served by a specific application of the historical approach. Such an approach involves three major processes; the collection of data, criticism of the data and presentation and interpretation of the facts in readable narrative form. Sources appropriate to this approach include printed and hand written documents, personal observation and interviews utilizing systematic oral history that has been tape recorded. Whether the investigation takes either a pure 'descriptive' or 'theoretical' emphasis after this point depends on the value stance taken by the investigator.

Viewed as research, history is an integrated narrative of past events written in the spirit of critical enquiry. As stated in the introduction, this study is interested more in processes rather than end effect or consequences and the writer's consuming interest is in change agents and how and why people are influenced. The study will comprise two sections. First, a factual reporting of significant

changes that have occurred drawn from document and observational sources and second an examination of the strategies employed by the change agents in exerting influence.

In this latter section, the value systems and normative goals of the change agents either stated explicitly or implied from responses during interviews will also be examined where appropriate. The transcripts of interviews actually provide a storehouse of information about the change agents involved, which present the researcher with an overabundance of raw data. In one respect the mere acquisition of this rather unique information provides the basic rationale for this study.

CHAPTER THREETHE SETTING - SIGNIFICANT STRUCTURAL CHANGES IN THE
PAPUA NEW GUINEA EDUCATION SYSTEM SINCE 1967.

Any examination of system change over a period of time indicates that relationships between system elements are probably best understood against an historical background in the first instance.

Christian Missions were responsible for the initial introduction of education into both Papua and New Guinea, which saw by the outbreak of the second world war, six schools with less than five hundred pupils operated by the Administration in New Guinea and no Administration schools at all in Papua. The type of education offered by the missions emphasised those values held to be spiritually and morally necessary and differed widely from mission to mission in terms of quality. Being aimed primarily to enable Papuans and New Guineans to read sufficiently well enough to be able to read the Scriptures, participate more in church activities and improve the conditions of village life. Education was specifically oriented to the immediate village environment with instruction often being carried on in a vernacular language. A limited amount of post primary education was available to prepare people for catechist and teaching vocations as well as some clerical duties.

By 1946 the combined Territory of Papua New Guinea Administration was formed, a Department of Education established, and financial assistance given to approved mission schools in the following year. Naturally enough, the commencement of grant-in-aid payments to mission systems was a prelude to the establishment of certain conditions laid down by central authority, eventually codified by an Education Ordinance.

By 1952 the increased demands made upon education particularly in towns and other key areas, saw a substantial growth of the Administration school system. Large primary schools were established and an effort made to provide a complete primary education followed by secondary schooling for those children considered to be academically superior. Technical education was also extended during this period to cover those trades and skills that could be practised beyond the restricting confines of the village. In mission schools, technical

education was confined primarily to simple village skills. As well, in more recent years there developed a drive for improving the quality of education and the raising of standards in primary schools which in turn had an effect on Teachers' Colleges and teacher training, teaching methods and improved, continuously revised curricula, over a number of subject areas. Some of the voluntary agencies endeavoured to duplicate these trends but found that financial constraints and lack of trained staff, impeded these efforts. Additionally, the transition from the village centred educational philosophy to the increasingly national demand oriented view point proved too difficult for some agencies to adopt. Thus in 1969, the year in which The Advisory Committee on Education in Papua New Guinea was appointed to advise on possible changes in the existing relationships between the Department of Education, voluntary educational agencies and the local Government Councils, the patterns of relationships, particularly between the Administration school system and the voluntary schools, largely reflected the conditions under which they had developed. Statistics for 1969 reveal that at that time voluntary agencies were responsible for providing a primary education for two thirds of the total number of children in primary schools. At the secondary and technical levels however, Administration schools catered for the majority of pupils particularly at the technical school level where only 130 pupils of a total of 1,270 pupils, came from voluntary agencies. Voluntary agencies operated 12 Teachers' Colleges, however three of these catered for fewer than fifty students each. The total enrolment of the twelve colleges was approximately 1,000 students. Against this the Administration operated three Teachers' Colleges with a total of 700 students and a very much greater percentage of higher level courses.

Under the existing Education Ordinance, schools operated by voluntary agencies were required to apply for 'recognition' status or 'exemption'. The Education Ordinance (1952-1963) provided that no person could conduct a school unless it was 'recognised'. In order to achieve recognised status, a school had to satisfy the Director of Education per medium of an inspection report, that the material conditions of buildings and plant were adequate and that a reasonable standard of instruction based on the national curriculum was achieved. It also insisted that all teaching be

conducted in English apart from some periods aimed at literacy in the vernacular of the area. Exemption status was originally intended to exempt certain schools from the provision that no person could conduct a school unless it was recognised, by giving these schools a period of twelve months either to reach the standard required for recognition, or be closed. In practice, the power to close schools of this nature was rarely used and a number of exempt schools continued indefinitely.

Additionally the Department of Education regulated certification of Teachers' College graduates from all Colleges and the registration of all teachers in voluntary agency schools. Financial assistance through grant-in-aid payments was initially based on the number of children in regular attendance at church schools, but this was changed in 1957 to the number of qualified teachers in each school. According to the qualifications and years of service of each teacher, the grant-in-aid payment ranged from \$300 per annum to \$1,200 per annum. These payments were paid as a global sum to the agency concerned apart from a service increment specifically earmarked for teachers, and was not a salary payment to teachers. Actual salary payments to teachers by missions varied from agency to agency. Assistance to voluntary agencies was also given in respect of classroom materials which were distributed on the same basis as that used for Administration schools. Additional assistance was also provided for new buildings at secondary and technical schools and Teachers' Colleges.

Although a national system of education was in existence in 1969 in that all schools followed the same courses of study, prepared for the same examinations and were inspected and assessed by the same inspectors, and that all recognised schools received government support and overlapping and competition between schools in any one area was for the most part avoided, the system still provided very uneven chances. The quality of schools ranged from the highest possible, to schools that were completely unsatisfactory. A large number of voluntary agency schools did not progress past Standard 2 or 3. There was an exceedingly high 'drop-out' rate from children entering the voluntary agency school as opposed to those in Administration schools. A large proportion of children repeated classes, which allied to the problems already stated, added to a

serious wastage of public resources.

The Advisory Committee in fact pointed out that while good and bad schools occurred in both Administration and Mission controlled systems, it did appear that,

..."voluntary agency schools taken as a whole, have more than their equal share of incomplete schools, drop-outs and repeaters." (para.2.29 p.15)

It is in no way intended in this study to be critical of the efforts of voluntary agency schools prior to 1969, solely for the purpose of comparison against schools operated by the Administration. System change however is being examined and the setting and base factors for change must be dealt with in some detail at least to understand why subsequent system development took the shape that it did. It is obvious too that if poor quality education and subsequent comparison between systems made in an evaluative sense are held to be dysfunctional to the education system as a whole, then change could be held to be inevitable.

A number of factors combined to bring the voluntary agencies to the position where a serious, cumulative, breakdown in the provision of educational services appeared imminent in 1969. The majority of Missions and churches tended to overreach themselves in providing education or establishing new schools in the desire to spread their faith, having neither sufficient money, trained teachers nor supervisors to provide back up support at the level of efficiency required. The Missions' expansionist policies occurred over a period of time when Administration schools were being consolidated with very few new schools being established. Unfortunately also, a number of Mission schools tended to be sited in isolated locations thus making communication and supervision extremely difficult.

The village centred concept of education held by Churches and Missions, contributed to a policy of short term schooling with instruction in the vernacular or pidgin-english, which provided the type of literacy amenable to continued practice in church or catechist classes after leaving school. In attempting to carry this policy over into short term schools to Standards 2, 3, or 4, using English language instruction, the Missions ignored the fact that children were being taught in a foreign language by teachers to

whom the language was also foreign and school leavers could not obtain the same literacy practice as was possible using a vernacular. In more recent years, voluntary agencies commenced to replace the village centred view of education with a national centred one through pursuit of a consolidation process to adapt their own developmental programmes to Papua New Guinea needs. Whilst the transition to a national system pattern is discernible at the executive level of voluntary agency organizations, at the teacher and village level, the change in perspective has generally met with confused suspicion and opposition.

It is fair to say that whatever historical factors were responsible for voluntary agencies possessing the majority of poor schools and inadequately trained teachers, the main obstacles to immediate improvement as perceived in 1969 were the low salaries offered. (See Report: para. 2.40 (e), p.17). Against this background of complex relationships between separate voluntary educational agencies, the Administration and Local Government Councils, there existed as well the prejudices, suspicions and vested interests of all groups concerned. Teachers, as a series of groups, also had their special interests which tended to coincide or not coincide with those of their employers and an attempt to weld all teachers into a single service had to consider these interests. In actuality the Advisory Committee was faced with the task of negotiating, compromising and reconciling various views and attitudes which would eventually outline the boundaries of common agreement. It would be pertinent at this stage to consider the Terms of Reference for the Committee before analysing the major recommendations made by them. (Report, 1969, p.vii)

- " 1. To advise the Minister on any changes the Committee considers desirable,
 - a) In the present relationships between the Department of Education, the voluntary educational agencies and the Local Government Councils including
 - i. the means of co-ordinating the educational activities of all three agencies with particular respect to the establishment, financing, control and supervision of schools and attendance at schools.
 - ii. the amount, means of payment and conditions of support from public funds of the salaries of teachers at Mission schools.

- iii. the organization of the Teaching Service (including advice on the desirability of a single teaching service to provide staff for all schools, the conditions of such a service including the machinery for appointment of teachers and head teachers to Mission schools and whether any such service should be separate from the Public Service)
 - b) In order to provide a larger measure of participation at the local level in planning the extent and location of primary education offered and in financing the construction of school buildings and teachers' houses.
 - c) In the Administrative arrangements that would be involved if recommendations for change made by the Committee were accepted, including a timetable for the introduction of the changes and the conditions of exemption of such voluntary educational agencies as may not wish to participate.
2. The Committee should make its recommendations having regard to:
- a) the Government's announced five year programme for economic development of Papua New Guinea;
 - b) the need to achieve the educational targets stated in that programme;
 - c) the financial and physical resources likely to be available under the economic development programme and from Mission and other sources;
 - d) the Government's objective of fostering greater national unity;
 - e) the giving of full opportunity to Missions to provide for the needs of all who desire a religious education."

In addition to these terms of reference, it is important to state the objectives of change that were worked out by the Committee in conjunction with the Department of Education, the heads of Churches and Missions involved in education in Papua New Guinea and the Education Advisory Board. These were,

- "Higher standards of education (1.03)
- ... A truly professional body of teachers (1.04)
- ... A more effective use of the limited resources available for education in the Territory (1.05)

- ... A system of financing and controlling education that will be workable not only now but after self government is achieved (1.06)
 - ... A system of education which will strengthen the sense of national unity in Papua New Guinea (1.07)
 - ... A system of education which, subject to the rights of parents to choose as far as possible the type of school their children will attend, will safeguard the identity of schools conducted by all voluntary agencies approved for that purpose." (1.08)
- (Report, 1969. pp.3,4)

The fit between these stated objectives, the Committee recommendations and subsequent legislation is extremely close and emphasises the consultative approach to suggested change that was evident during this period. It should be pointed out that the Committee comprising Mr J. Weeden, Dr. C. Beeby and Mr G. Gris, were all outsiders in terms of the Papua New Guinea Education system and thus came to their task without any stated preconceived schemes for the reorganization of the education system. What is clearly evident however is that recommended changes as itemised in the Report in 1969 were anticipated in similar terms by the report of the Conference on Educational Development in July, 1967 and a later paper prepared by the Department of Education in March 1968, entitled Educational Organization and Management in Papua New Guinea. The 1967 conference was attended by 27 Church delegates, 10 Government representatives with 4 District Inspectors, and the Education Advisory Board. Some of the points arising from this conference were as follows (p.26, 30)

- "Several delegates stressed the need for the Churches to be accepted as full partners in Education. Children do not usually have the alternative of Church or Government schooling. They have to go to the only school available...
- ... Many delegates considered that control through national planning of the expansion of educational facilities was in fact inevitable and that in the circumstances the only just distribution of resources would be on a basis leading to equality of treatment even if there were intermediate stages...

- ... Delegates stressed that they could not retain present teachers and hence maintain present schools without help ...
- ... The major concern was the problem of indigenous teachers in Church systems who feel that because they receive less pay than their government employed counterparts, they are being regarded as second class citizens ...
- ... Three points were seen to be of special concern, the obvious progress of constitutional development towards a ministerial form of government, the need for non-government educationists to have a greater say in policy making, and the problem of increasing local involvement in education through decentralized control of schools ...
- ... It was desirable to consider all schools at all times as part of a unified system and thus to consider on a broad front, the problems involved in transfer of schools to the local level."

The 1968 paper on Educational Organization and Management prepared by the Department of Education, outlined a number of developments thought desirable in order to meet the needs expressed by the Conference on Educational Development. These included parity of salary for all teachers to be paid directly to them by Central Government; devolution of control of primary education to a local authority group; Central Government financial assistance in building schools and Teachers' Colleges by Churches or Local Authorities; overall planning at the national level by representative groups to ensure national needs would be met and overall efficiency maintained.

Some significant pointers emerge from the views expressed in this departmental paper. Parity of salary for example would necessitate parity of conditions of service and this could be achieved primarily through placing responsibility for overall planning and placement of teachers according to District needs under the direct control of a representative District Education Board. A development along these lines alone would represent a radical departure from the organizational structure in existence in 1968 which was firmly based on the Australian centralized pattern. This and similar developments would hopefully lead to a

..."more equitable distribution of schools, an improvement in the professional standing of teachers, a greater participation in

and responsibility for the planning, organization and control of education at the District and Local Government Councils and at the same time allow for a healthy diversity of approach within the system which would encourage initiative in the development of curriculum and teaching techniques. The local community would be able to have the kind of school it wants and to have some say in its affairs." (Department of Education, 1968 p.36)

This paper also surveyed different national systems and pointed to a list of assumptions used by Morphet, Johns and Reller (1959) to distinguish between what they termed traditional authoritarian principles. Where traditional authoritarian assumptions are employed in an education system Reller and Morphet (1962) outline a number of conditions that could be expected to exist in such a system. i.e.

- i. Decisions will be made at the top and "passed down".
- ii. Education will be uniform and standard throughout the system despite differences between the people of different areas.
- iii. Local community groups will have little opportunity to participate in education.
- iv. Variation or experimentation will be initiated by central authority.
- v. Teachers and local administrators will have to follow directions from central authorities and will probably be penalized if they fail to follow them.
- vi. The system may well be efficient (as far as can be assessed by the central authority) but will probably not be creative except as the central authority directs creative effort.
- vii. Communications and directives flow smoothly from the central authority 'down' but communications from those in lower levels may be stopped at any of the higher levels and often will not reach the central authority.

However, if the emerging democratic assumptions are used, Reller and Morphet (1962) point out that it may be expected that:

- i. There will be emphasis on decentralization and local initiative and responsibility will be encouraged.
- ii. Attempts to adapt the educational programme in different communities to the needs of its own children will be recognised and encouraged.
- iii. The emphasis will be on competent and constructive leadership rather than on control and directives.
- iv. Supervision and consultation will be to encourage improvement rather than to determine whether directives are being followed. (See pp.18-19).

Kandel (1938 p.43) in referring to this latter type of administration has stated,

"Such a system in itself educative, it demands and it elicits intelligence, it relies for the progress and success of education on public opinion and that public opinion must be enlightened; it calls for co-operation and participation for all who are concerned with education, but it also creates that concern".

It is obvious that the Department of Education was not only aware of the system change pressures that were visible at this time, but in fact on the basis of what evidence is available, can be seen to have been engaged in actively promoting far reaching changes and influencing the appointment and subsequent recommendations of an advisory committee. This is of major significance in itself if one subscribes to the view that centralized systems of administration exhibit authoritarian tendencies and are extremely resistant to change and modification except in the face of often violent, external events. It is significant also if one uses Adam's (1972) terms for system change where, in the proactive condition, the organization level usually seeks provisions and establishes conditions for anticipatory planning and development. In this case however it can also be seen to actively engage in establishing such conditions for individuals within the system that will enhance the inculcation of attitudinal behaviour which is forward looking and innovative. Basically this process follows principles identified by Wadia (1965) who suggests that by using social and personal variables in what he terms a social science approach, the administrator can best introduce innovation and thence dynamic

change. The compatibility of intrinsic and extrinsic values embodied in a new idea can be analysed and thus a reasonable prediction of reception to change or innovation be made. (cf. Wadia, 1965 p.365). The Papua New Guinea departmental position is clearly seen in a statement made in the 1968 paper Educational Organization and Management in Papua and New Guinea, which says,

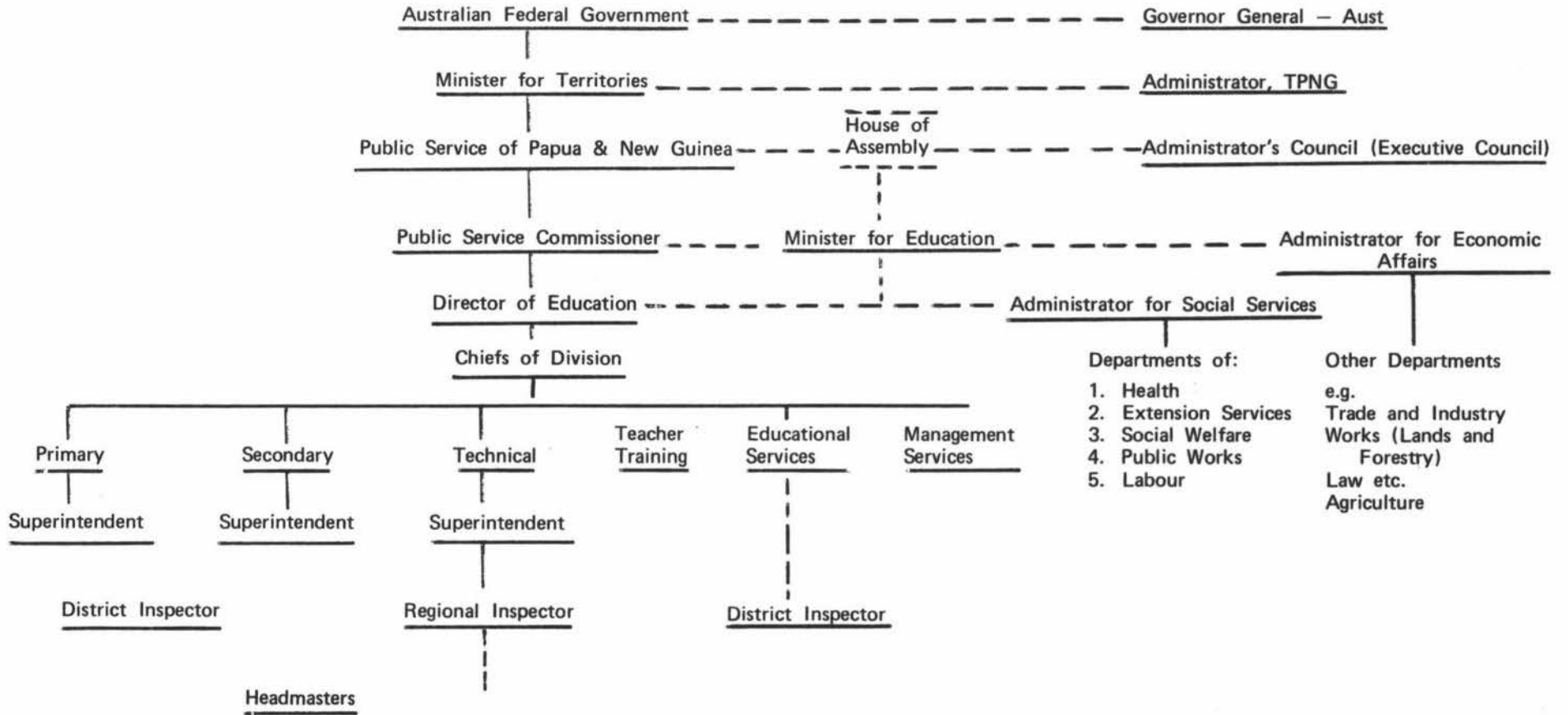
"Educational administration in Papua New Guinea must move from the first pattern (authoritarian/centralized) towards the second (democratic/decentralized) the question at any stage being, "How much further can we, must we move?" (p.6)

The recommendations of the Advisory Committee and the changes that followed from 1969 could be characterized as an attempt to move from an authoritarian centralized system patterned on the Australian model, to a consultative decentralized system. The former pattern of administration was structured as shown in Figure 1. (p.46)

Ignoring for the present the overall relationship with the Australian Government, House of Assembly and the Administrator, and concentrating only on the departmental structure, the line of authority was simplicity itself. There was a direct line from the Director to the first Assistant Director whose basic responsibility was to planning, to six chiefs of Division three of whom had superintendents at Headquarters level and from these to the District Inspector. Secondary Division also had Regional Secondary Inspectors who were responsible only for staff inspection and assessment for secondary schools in a particular region. The District Inspector as the Director's representative had complete power and authority within his District and clearly defined lines of communication to various Divisions. He was responsible for the inspection of schools both Administration and Church, assessment of teachers, and all administrative concerns within a District. Two of the larger Districts at this time had two Inspectors appointed to them and each District had a District Clerk who provided managerial services. Teachers were made aware

FIGURE 1

ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE



of the clearly defined communication links that were without exception channelled to and through the District Inspector. The hierarchical nature of the lines of power, left teachers with very little part to play in decision making. In a situation wherein main centres of authority lay outside individual schools head teachers and staff had little opportunity or incentive to take policy making very seriously. This situation was compounded by the lack of a vocal, operant teachers' association.

Figure 2 (p.48) outlines the structural changes implemented within the Department of Education as a result of the Advisory Committee's recommendations. Whilst the Divisions remain at six in number, a further line of authority has been added with the establishment of positions of Principal District Superintendent and eighteen (18) District Superintendents. The significant factors in terms of change in the authority structure however is the vastly increased establishment of the Department of Education required to operationalize the Committee's recommendations. In summary the establishment is headed by a First Assistant Director in charge of the four teaching Divisions each of which has an Assistant Director (formerly Chief of Division) and two Superintendents (Operations and Curriculum) except Primary Division which has an additional Superintendent (Inspections).

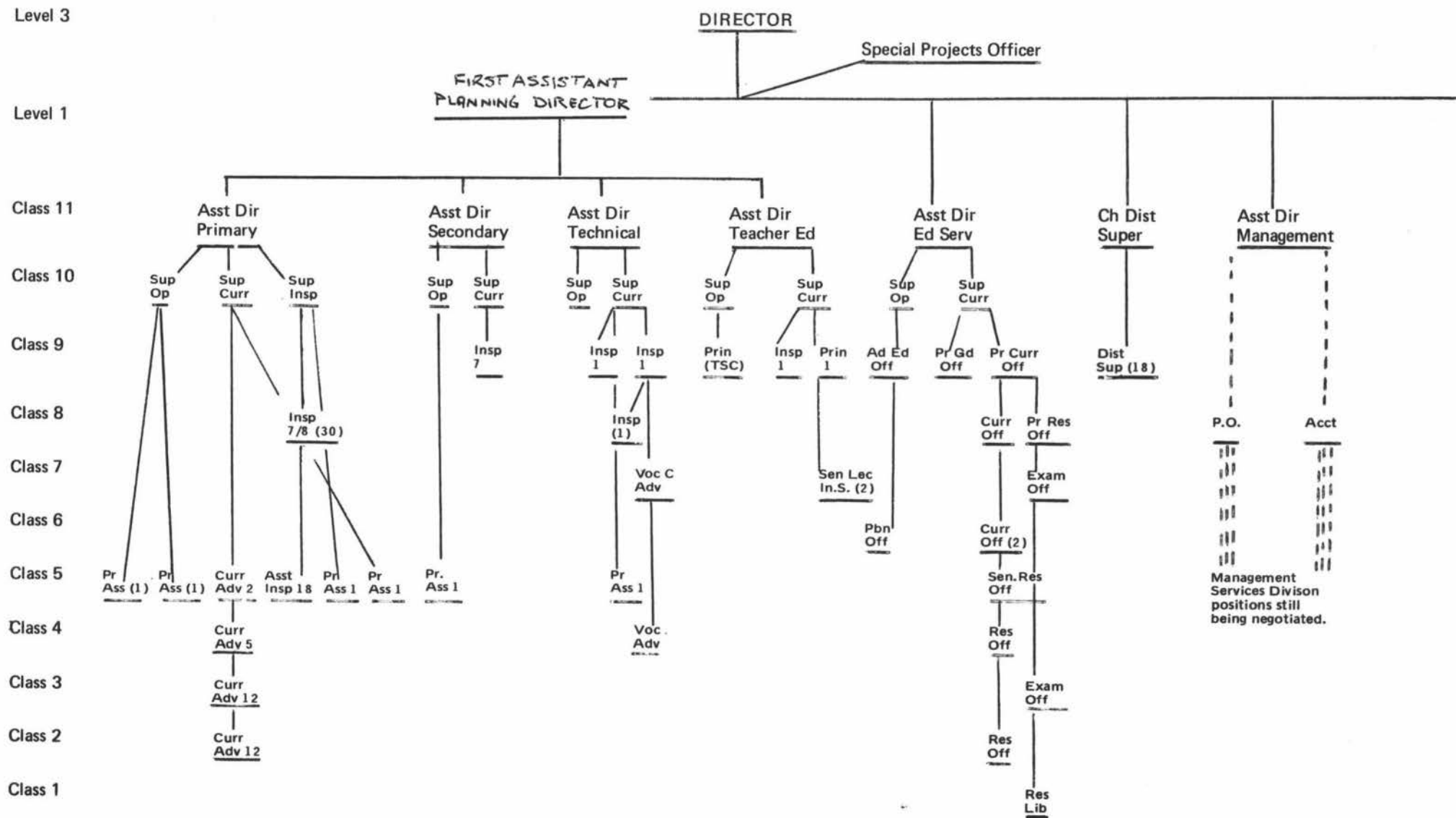
In the Primary Division as at 12th October, 1970, thirty one positions for Curriculum Advisers and thirty Inspectors and eighteen Assistant Inspectors in the Inspections Branch were created to fall in line with the Committee's recommendation of one Inspector for every one hundred and fifty (150) teachers and one Assistant Inspector for every one hundred (100) teachers.

In the Secondary Division a Professional Assistant was appointed in each of the two branches and seven (7) Regional Inspectors in the Division's Curriculum Branch.

In the Technical Division, positions were created for two Inspectors, a Vocational Centres Adviser, an Assistant Vocational Centres Adviser and a Professional Assistant in the Curriculum Branch. The Operations Branch had an Inspector and a Professional Assistant.

FIGURE 2

ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE - 1970



The Teacher Education Division added a Principal and five other positions to a new In-Service Branch. The Curriculum Branch created a new position for an Inspector.

The Education Services Division establishment was more complicated but essentially the existing sections of Adult Education, Guidance and Publications came under the control of the Operations Branch, and Research, Curriculum, Examinations and the Library sections came under the Curriculum Branch with a Planning section operating directly under the Assistant Director. Two additional positions were created in the Curriculum Section.

These new positions were filled first of all by direct transferral of officers from their previously designated position to an equivalent new designation. Additionally, officers were promoted to vacancies, particularly District Superintendent positions, where they had been acting in this capacity for a lengthy period following publication of the report but pending Public Service Board approval of the increased establishment. These officers of course had to withstand appeals against appointments to promotional positions. Simultaneously with this operation, unfilled vacancies were advertised in the Gazette as well as those vacancies created by provisional promotions.

Direct transfer of officers to an equivalent salaried position but to a new designation not requiring gazettal or appeals totalled twenty two (22). Provisional promotions, the bulk of which were from District Inspector positions to District Superintendent, totalled seventeen (17) officers. Applications were then invited for approximately eighty six (86) positions ranging from the Principal District Superintendent position through various inspectorial and Superintendent positions in a number of Divisions, to Curriculum Advisers and Professional Assistants at Headquarters.

The Public Service Board approval for the increased establishment of the Department of Education followed the introduction and subsequent legislation in the House of Assembly of the Education Ordinance 1970. This Ordinance following on recommendations of the Advisory Committee on Education, created a Territory Teaching Service and a Teaching Service Commission which handled terms and conditions for all teachers

in the country regardless of the employing agency.

The provisions of this Ordinance were naturally wide ranging and detailed examination is impossible within the confines of this present study.

Of interest initially, is the fact that all teachers employed in Administration Agency schools and regarded as Public Servants were automatically transferred to the Teaching Service immediately following the commencement of the 1970 Teaching Service (Temporary Provisions) Ordinance. They retained all former Public Service rights as far as terms and conditions of service were concerned until the Teaching Service Bill was passed in the House of Assembly in 1971. Teachers formerly employed in Church schools which qualified for 'member' or 'associate member' status, were transferred to the Teaching Service under Section 39 (i) of the Teaching Service (Temporary Provisions) Ordinance 1970. Until the Teaching Service Bill of 1971 came into force, these teachers were employed under local temporary terms and conditions of the Public Service Ordinance.

The Teaching Service Commission in its initial stages was not involved in day to day operations of the Teaching Service but was primarily involved in ensuring that effective controls over the new Teaching Service were established and that legislation to be included in the Teaching Service Bill (1971) was to the mutual benefit of teachers, employing agencies, the National Education Board and Teachers' Association. Thus in 1970 the Commission delegated many routine administrative operational powers to the Director of Education and senior executive staff of the Department of Education. These included powers relating to recreation leave, long leave, grant of passages, deferment of leave, early resumption, transfer costs, provisional promotions, operations, and so on. The Teaching Service Commission also delegated further powers to District Superintendents who in the new system became principal delegates of the Commission.

District Superintendents therefore had rather onerous responsibilities to the degree that they had three visible roles, each exhibiting different expectations.

- a) Representing the Departmental Head in Professional Planning and administrative matters;
- b) Representing the Teaching Service Commission in some staff matters;

- c) Acting as chairman and executive officer of the District Education Board.

Of equal interest is the changed role of the Department of Education. Before 1970 it was a body concerned with national requirements of education, employing teachers, instructors, lecturers and administrative staff to ensure planned development within a fairly closed system, with legislated powers of inspection over voluntary agency schools. Largely because of the commitments seen to be of more importance within the Administration education system, voluntary agency schools were largely ignored apart from the occasional disparaging comment on standards of efficiency, poorly trained teachers and general administrative inefficiencies that characterised a large proportion of church effort.

From this position the Department suddenly found itself as one of a number of agencies whose teachers, whilst working in schools operated by that particular agency, were employed by the Teaching Service Commission and paid by the Central Government. Department of Education staff were utilized by the Teaching Service Commission as support staff in areas such as Accounts, Personnel, Research, Statistics and so on. In other words, the Department of Education also acted as the executive arm of the Commission using its management services section to pay all teachers, process all leave and other allied operations.

As well, the Department of Education through its inspection and curriculum branch particularly, remains the chief executive of the National system. The Director of Education whilst abdicating the majority of his former powers to the Minister for Education and the National Education Board, still retains wide powers as the chief executive of the system. He and his executive officers are responsible for:

Implementation of government policy in relation to education curricula,
standards of education,
inspections of schools and staff,
special services, e.g. guidance, publications etc.,

issue of certificates and diplomas,
determination of equivalence of qualifications,
registration of teachers and
administration of schemes for scholarships, subsidies and
grants-in-aid.

He is also chairman of the National Education Board, and of course head of the education agency for schools and institutions conducted by the Papua New Guinea Administration.

As far as teachers in schools conducted by the Administration agency were concerned, their relationship with the Director changed in several respects, the area involving discipline being of particular significance. The Teaching Service Commission delegated power in this respect to District Superintendents but not, as formerly was the case, to Departmental Officers attached to the headquarters organization or to the Director.

The composition of Boards has also aroused comment. As McKinnon (1971 pp.11-12) points out,

"In addition to Government, Church, Local Government Council and Community representatives, there is provision at all levels for representation of teachers. It has caused comment that there is representation of teachers but even more comment at the insistence that teachers be representative of their fellow teachers. In passing it might be noted that provision for student representation on secondary school boards has also caused misgivings in some quarters."

All Boards whether School, District or National are bound by the Education Ordinance 1970, to draw representatives from various interest groups. The Chairman of the District Education Board is at the current stage the District Superintendent, although it is felt that this is only an interim appointment until Boards, which are a completely new concept to the Papuan or New Guinean, attain members with sufficient expertise to take this role. In fact it is felt that this point may have been reached already in a number

of Districts. Basically, the District Superintendent at this stage is seen as filling a training role in addition to being the executive arm of the District Education Board. Three official members are selected to the District Education Board after joint consultation between the District Superintendent and the District Commissioner. These members are drawn from the ranks of the Public Service. One of the three members is always the Deputy District Commissioner who is the planning and co-ordinating officer for all Administration and Council projects within a District and thus is essential for Education Board planning. Church agencies have three representatives on the Board, the matter of representation and election being the sole concern of the agencies operating schools within the District. Local Government Councils elect two members to the Board. Local Community interests are represented by two members drawn from private enterprise. Teachers' Association representatives are also two in number.

Representation on the National Education Board is drawn from the same sources however an additional member is appointed to represent the various Tertiary institutions in Papua New Guinea. To date the Vice Chancellor of the Papua New Guinea University has filled this position.

The members of the District Education Boards are elected for various periods ranging from one to three years, depending on the interest area being represented so as to ensure continuity of expertise being carried through on a permanent basis. Members can be re-elected to the Board on expiry of appointment if their parent organizations so desire.

It is also legislated policy to insist that a minimum of 50% membership representation be indigenous. It was surprising at the inception of this principle, to find a number of groups insisting at the initial stage that they could be best represented only by an expatriate.

"What is striking is that there is still considerable resistance among Churches and Teachers' groups in particular to the indigenous members." (McKinnon 1971 p.12)

Examination of the motivation of principal change agents and the type of change strategies employed during this period ignores by necessity other particularly interesting change areas such as the effect of such sweeping change on teachers, its effect on promotion, appointment and mobility within and between agencies inside the national system.

This brief outline of major structural change has been presented merely to provide a general setting against which one particular facet of planned change can be examined in detail.

CHAPTER FOUR
THE CHANGE AGENTS

Data Collection

Raw data for this study was obtained from those individuals identified as being fundamentally involved in the change process during the period under review. These people were interviewed by the researcher with the aid of a co-worker who was able to carry out interviews in Australia and New Zealand with those individuals who had already left Papua New Guinea. The interviews were tape recorded and transcripts prepared for analysis. The interviews were seen as a legitimate process of communication or interaction and an attempt was made to use a non structured approach employing a phenomenological technique, within a general framework of questions.

Questioning was as non directive as possible given the fact that information was required on a number of focal issues and specific events. Whilst there was a similarity in questions dealing with specific areas, the depth of follow up was dictated by the initial response and subsequent motivation of the interviewee towards the point at issue. It is quite obvious that motivational response will vary significantly from person to person. Thus the transcripts as can be seen in the Appendices, emphasize slightly different areas of response between the interviewees.

Questions asked of the interviewees were centred around the stated aims of the Report of the Advisory Committee of Education in Papua New Guinea. Some items specifically requested information about particular conflict situations in order to provide a suitable base for examination of strategies employed by participating change agents. An outline of the questions that formed the general framework for the interviews is given in Appendix A, together with a list of the persons interviewed.

It is recognised that this method of data collection yields primarily subjective data that is, direct descriptions of the world of experience. This type of data collection however has certain advantages to the social scientist where emphasis on goals, values, desires, social perceptions, or the concept of attitude, is being examined.

The writer's own stance with regard to the use of subjective data has already been explicitly outlined. It is firmly believed however that despite the crudity and simplicity of the research method used, the information gathered represents a unique body of data that has incalculable value as a starting point for further research.

The persons interviewed were selected by the writer following their identification as principal change agents from a number of sources. Initially a list of people involved in the initial committees of 1967 to 1969, ordinance working party members, senior officers of the Department of Education, representatives from various church agencies and organizations, Teaching Service Commission representatives, in fact anyone remotely concerned in perceived change from 1967 to 1972, was prepared. This was distributed to various figures of influence within the Education System particularly District Superintendents, and the list of names refined and reduced to the degree that seventeen individuals were identified as having most influence or involvement in the initial negotiating period which included the writing of the two ordinances.

In turn, during the interviews, each person was asked to comment on the contribution of each of the persons listed and identified as being influential others or principal change agents. Ten of the seventeen individuals so listed were interviewed. Additionally a senior Australian Public Servant who was involved in the 'pre-conditioning' period was also interviewed. Of interest, is the fact that no one apart from one other change agent interviewed, seemed aware of the existence of this Public Servant, or if aware, completely misunderstood the extent of his influence. A list of the persons interviewed is shown on page 80 of Appendix A.

Validity and Reliability of Data

Given the particular research method used and the fact that each of the individuals interviewed had his own perceptions of reality, complete construct validity of the data together with reliability measures, was almost impossible to test. In most cases, information from each of the interviewees was able to be used to cross check particular incidents, particularly where a conflict situation was involved. Where possible personal observation given the researcher's

own bias, was used, together with documentary evidence where available for interpretative purposes.

Steps taken in processing and interpreting data and in making generalizations have also proved to be extremely difficult to validate given the subjective nature of the research. Whilst the number of persons interviewed was quite small as a population sample, the importance of their contribution to the change process was such as to offset this factor.

Of some significance is the fact that the majority of the persons interviewed had at this stage left the Papua New Guinea education system and thus had no vested interest in being anything but honest and reasonably objective in their comments. The forthright comments engendered by this lack of involvement has forced the researcher to edit some comments in Appendices B - J, particularly where they may have given offence to another individual and were not particularly relevant to the investigation. This ethical consideration in omitting highly personal or non essential information of a confidential nature has caused the researcher a great deal of worry. For example, it has been difficult to decide what use to make of evidence concerning effectiveness of fellow educationists and possible dysfunctions arising from various policies. Accuracy and objectivity require that faithful reports as transcribed from interviews should be entered as a record of data where in most cases this data will speak for itself. However as stated previously, where the transcripts touched directly on the areas that were previously identified, this material has been recorded verbatim. Where a comment might have proved offensive to others, this has been removed and the omission indicated.

Development of Hypotheses

The main purpose for which explanation is sought in this study, concerns the effect of the process of change from a highly centralized pattern of administration to a decentralized pattern with a consequent change in the bases of decision making on and by the principal change agents. It is primarily a study of effect and influence and the type of strategies employed by these individuals.

The first major hypothesis generated by this study, states;

I.1 That the massive organizational change in the Papua New Guinea education system from 1967 was motivated and directed by internal change agents who employed a strategy which used outside experts as legitimizing agents.

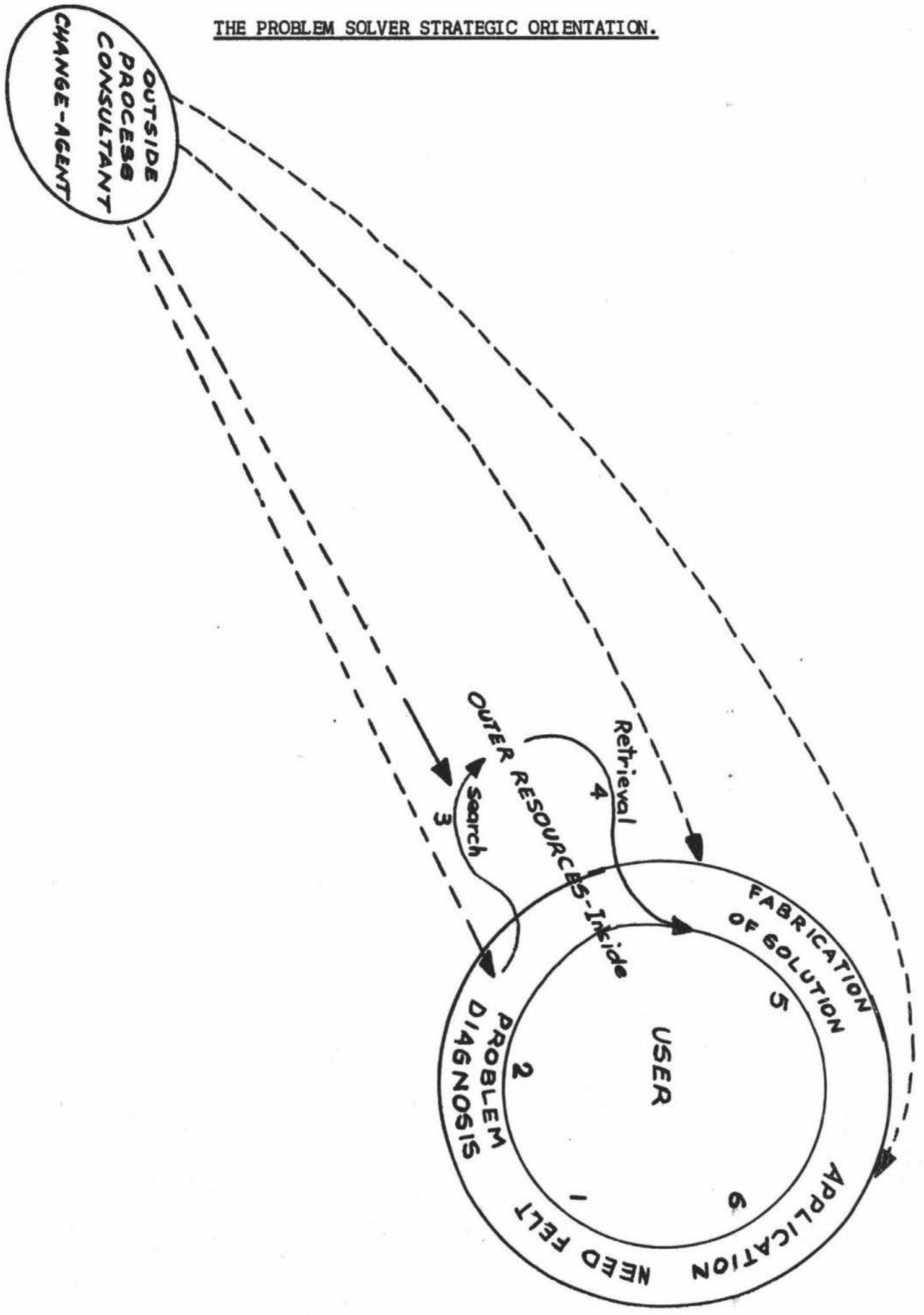
I.2 A minor proposition attached to this first hypothesis states that the major change agents as identified in this study, employed a process model incorporating what might be termed a problem solving perspective. This model is detailed in figure 3. (p.59)

By the term strategy, is meant a set of policies which underlie specific tactics or courses of action which are expected to be useful in ensuring the durability of a particular innovation. Normally this set of policies takes into account the innovation, change processes involved, characteristics of individuals in the target system and the nature of the system which is adopting the innovation.

The second hypothesis generated by this study states that,

2 : An essential component of planned change requires a collaborative relationship between the change agent and the target or client system. The principal change agents in the PNG study employed a collaborative strategy which used conflict resolutions to achieve a commitment towards stable change.

THE PROBLEM SOLVER STRATEGIC ORIENTATION.



CHAPTER FIVE
ANALYSIS OF DATA

Identification of the Principal Change Agents

The initial question that must be answered from the available data, concerns the researcher's assumptions with regard to the identification of the change agents. How accurately were these persons identified? Does a rank order of importance exist - if so from the vantage point of whose eyes is the order of importance judged? How perceptive or otherwise are the change agents in acknowledging the contribution of others?

A number of questions centred around the identification of individuals and their effect on planned change. As outlined earlier in this study all persons interviewed, were asked to comment on the part played by certain individuals identified by a card listing. (See Appendix A. p.78) Respondents were also questioned closely on the persons with whom they worked during the change period. They were also asked quite specifically to identify the principal change agents, giving some description of their motivation for change if possible.

Responses in this area were quite significant and ranged from the identification of a single person, to a small group of people, to a team. Dr McKinnon the Director of Education during this period, was seen by all who were interviewed, as having critical influence on the change process. Claude Reseigh is in no doubt that McKinnon was directly involved from the time that he became Director of Education."Ken McKinnon as soon as he got in the job came down and talked about a number of matters. In fact the general pattern - what subsequently transpired - was by him. It would have been 1966 - the first appearance of the new Director of Education within a few weeks of his appointment was to sit down with me in Canberra and he had numbers of ideas. It was partly as a result of his thinking on these matters that I became interested in coming back from England via Mali to have a look at precedents for the line of thing we were talking about. In order to test whether this was right for Papua New Guinea and in particular to get a weight of considerable authority behind what was proposed. It was decided we would set up this Commission and the terms of reference pointed out." (Appendix J. p.279).

Another respondent says quite categorically, "Dr McKinnon of course, I think was the architect of both Reports. He was the leading figure". (Daveson, Appendix C p.116)

He is coupled with Fr. P. McVinney in two instances by Dr Jones and Mr A. Neuendorf. Neuendorf particularly, saw these two persons as not being the only ones with ideas but at least having more ideas than the rest of those involved during this period.

Fry, who was the executive officer for the 1969 Committee of Enquiry, acknowledges McKinnon as the major architect of change but points out quite succinctly Dr Beeby's role in this process.

..."it was very much Beeby who was on top of the thing and he was a prodigious worker. You could have a round of discussions during the day and the next morning he'd come along with a pile of handwritten drafts which nobody could decipher and he'd have them typed up by lunchtime. He had typists all over the Department working on the things.... Yes he was a prodigious producer of drafts... ...I think you'd be pretty hard put to identify anything peculiar to anybody but Beeby. Given that the basic structure had been thrashed around for a couple of years in Port Moresby and Papua New Guinea before hand and this was a given starting point; that he was where he had got to and it was pretty well finalized and it was only a matter of closing up the little gap that was left. Everybody knew which way it was going to go and it was only up to some mastermind to put it into a package that was acceptable." (Appendix D p.148).

Fr. McVinney, seen by others as being a significant change agent, on the other hand states quite flatly,

"The one responsible was the team. There is no individual responsible. (For the shape of the new system) It was a team effort". (Appendix G p.231)

Nielson who later fell out with McKinnon in a bitter clash over the role of the Teaching Service Commission, linked Dr Jones with himself and McKinnon as setting up the platform for change;

..!Jim? - initially his contributions may not have been great; McKinnon was the leader. He was the driver - I'd had the extensive local experience." (Appendix I p.266)

Dr Beeby in speaking of McKinnon's influence states -

..."Very considerable (influence), but he never at any stage tried to interfere. I thought his role was very good indeed. He was liberal, generous and friendly without ever being interfering and indeed was one of the most liberally minded people that I met there from the point of departmental power. Never at any moment did I feel that he was struggling to maintain departmental power. He had a quality that sometimes jarred on people, but he never did on me." Appendix B p. 81) He also acknowledges the contribution made by Fr. McVinney immediately after this passage.

McKinnon himself confirms Reseigh's viewpoint in talking about the change process;

"The changes in New Guinea weren't really the result of mission pressure at all. They were really a plan that redeveloped even prior to the entry of them. What happened was, when I became Director - December 1966, I immediately set to work to write a number of policy submissions of which this was one. Then simultaneously we prepared a five year plan, which had all the elements of what is now in place in Papua New Guinea in it, of which I have one of the few remaining copies" (Appendix F p. 184)

This is a fairly revealing statement and certainly one that seems at odds with a popular viewpoint that sees the Mission pressure for change as being the catalyst. McKinnon's analysis of McVinney's role is also quite interesting. He acknowledges his key influence but places McVinney as a learner who once converted to a particular viewpoint, was a skilled manipulator of interest groups. In his viewpoint McVinney was not converted to the idea of the changed administrative system until at least the end of 1968. He regards Weeden and Beeby as the catalysts who effectively 'sold the system' to the different agencies. Throughout McKinnon's interview, there is a steady stream of comment centred around the developmental phases of the implementation of his policy submissions, which quite clearly indicate an extremely well developed self concept of his own role as the principal change

agent. This particular area will be probed more deeply when the type of strategy model employed by the change agents, is examined.

Does sufficient evidence exist at this point to confirm primary hypothesis I; that the massive organizational change was internally motivated and directed and that a group of outside experts were used as the legitimizing agents?

The extremely close fit between the recommendations of the 1969 Advisory Committee on Education, the recommendations arising from the 1967 Conference on Educational Development and the Department of Education Paper Educational Organization and Management in Papua New Guinea of March 1968, is undeniable. It is particularly obvious from an examination of the various transcripts, that the individuals involved in these conferences and report writings of this period, were aware of the extreme importance of the early groundwork commenced after McKinnon's appointment as Director in 1966.

Certainly there was a period immediately before his appointment that was completely unstable as Nielson points out. (See Appendix I p.265) The time was opportune for a person of McKinnon's ability and drive to put into effect far reaching changes in the education system. The time factor again is quite intriguing if one returns to this element in planned change as pointed out previously by Bennis in relation to the Blake and Scanlon plans. They were not really effective under a five year period. A similar time span would appear to be the case in the Papua New Guinea situation, where the change period spreads from 1967 through to 1972 by which time an effective network of decentralized administration was in operation.

Fry goes into some detail on the early groundwork laid by McKinnon and the 1967 and 1968 conferences and their effect on the subsequent Weeden, Beeby, Gris Committee report. For example he points out ... "McKinnon was able to present them with a great pile of stuff that had gone on in the previous couple of years, the Mission meetings, the joint committee and the background papers that were prepared in a big fat report. The initial discussions were really on where this report had got them and how McKinnon saw the present situation in relation to that report. Was it really acceptable amongst the Missions?I think it was pretty well put to the Committee that their main job was to cook up a compromise in which the missions

would accept the greatest possible amount of government control over what went on in the schools in return for getting the maximum proportion of the government level salaries and so as far as I recollect the starting point for the committee was the report that was prepared from the Mission conference plus the background papers being sent around the place." (Appendix D p.141 - 142)

How closely does this viewpoint fit in with the recollection of one of the Committee Members, Dr Beeby? He pays tribute to the ideas already there, ..."Oh yes we undoubtedly picked up all sorts of ideas. Certainly none of us went there with any fixed plan in our head." (Appendix B p.103)

More specifically at a later point in answer to a question on timing; Dr Beeby states "I'm referring to our formulation, because for us it was a matter of 9 months. We did have the work that was done earlier which we read - looking back now I don't know how far this affected us. But it is perfectly clear that the person who wrote those terms of reference had some idea in his head of the pattern that he would like to see come out of it. This isn't an amateurish, or entirely neutral set of terms of reference. Very far from it. So a considerable amount of thought had obviously gone in behind them. We were affected by that, we read the other stuff but at the present moment I can't remember much about it at all. I suppose there are two reasons; - one, it becomes mechanically wiped out by the time we covered the same ground ourselves and rediscovered, and also probably almost anybody tends to forget, tends to over-exaggerate his own and his colleagues' contribution, and overlook the previous ones. It's a psychological quirk which you would naturally expect and probably appears in this case..." (Appendix B p.108) Certainly a thoughtful and honest comment.

Further confirmation for the concept of internal motivators with external experts as legitimizers is presented by McKinnon, who at the same time gives a fascinating insight into his operational strategy. He discusses a move to set up an enquiry into education which he proceeded to quite ruthlessly suppress as he "couldn't think of a less suitable committee or a less suitable chairman." (Appendix F p.191) The movement from this point to the establishment of a

working party which also involved the Australian Government, appeared to have been quite clearly developed in McKinnon's plan of action at least. The working party which involved McKinnon, Johnson the then Administrator, and Reseigh from the Department of Territories in Canberra, carried along ideas from the education development conferences and in McKinnon's terms, the Canberra people..." were becoming socialized to the idea" (Appendix F p.192)

Even more to the point was McKinnon's statement,

"During that time I was talking about getting the committee of enquiry going because it was gradually borne in on me that that was the only way we were going to crystallise the whole thing and I wanted to get hold of Beeby as the Chairman, so I wrote to him and he said he would..." (Appendix F p.192)

Similarly Neuendorf and Nielson both stress the fact that in their opinion, the bulk of the work towards system change had been carried out before the 1969 Advisory Committee on Education was established (Appendix H p.239 and I p.262)

It appears obvious that sufficient evidence does exist to confirm the first major hypothesis:- that change in the Papua New Guinea education system was motivated and directed by internal change agents who employed a strategy involving the use of outside experts as legitimizing agents. Evidence for this can be found from two major sources, one source is to be found in Appendices B - J which contain transcripts of interviews with the principal change agents involved. The second source is the documentary evidence that is available from three reports. The first is the report of the Conference on Educational Development of July 1967. The second is a paper entitled Educational Organizations and Management in Papua New Guinea, produced by the Department of Education in March 1968. The third report is of course the report of the Advisory Committee on Education in Papua New Guinea of October 1969 popularly known as the Weeden report. A comparative analysis of the three reports clearly indicates that the major recommendations of the Weeden report merely reinforce recommendations stated in the two previous papers. Specific examples have already been outlined in chapter three of this study.

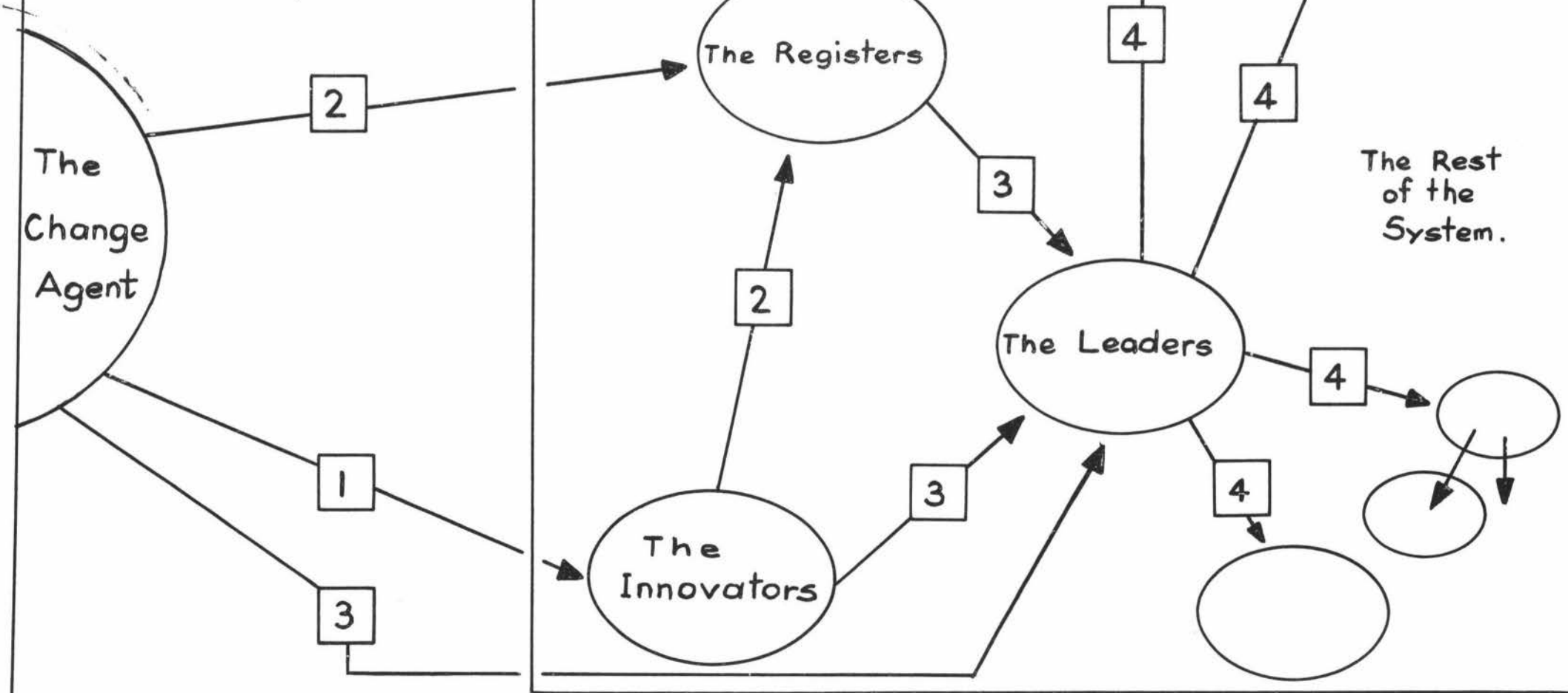
As a minor proposition, it was stated that the principal change agents as identified used a process model incorporating a problem solving perspective. (See Figure 3 p.59) In this particular model as Havelock (1971) has pointed out, the user is the starting point. Diagnosis comes before the solutions are identified and the outside agent or expert's helping role is non directive. The importance of internal resources is recognised in this model and finally user-initiated change is seen to have the strongest effect and be the most durable.

Again, from the evidence as supplied from the transcripts of interviews it is obvious that the major change agents, identified principally as Dr McKinnon with one or another of the persons interviewed, used the problem solving technique almost exclusively. The external expert's role could not be described as wholly non-directive however, as witnessed by the detailed recommendations of the subsequent report and its translation into legislature. Their role was predominantly non directive however which is clearly brought out by various persons who saw the committee's role as a public relations exercise. Fry for example states, "... they certainly created the impression of listening to what the missions had to say and carrying a mission point of view to the Government as well as what I have been emphasising, of getting across to the missions what the Government wanted them to do." (Appendix D p.143) From the point of view of the external experts, they probably employed a social interaction model within the overall problem solving perspective. It becomes quite evident in reading the transcripts, that a "stepping stone" strategy for gaining group acceptance was also employed. Such a strategy is shown in Figure 4. (p.67)

The second major hypothesis states that an essential component of planned change requires a collaborative strategy between the change agent and the client system. A collaborative relationship is a complex series of expectations and encounters which include a mutual determination of goals based on joint effort, an emphasis on trust and joint consultation between change agent and client, and the development of a mutuality of influence. Whilst this is seen as an ideal situation it cannot ignore the problem that conflict situations

FIGURE 4. A 'STEPPING STONE' STRATEGY FOR GAINING GROUP ACCEPTANCE.

67.



will invariably arise. Thus this second major hypothesis included the statement that the principal change agents, utilized conflict strategies rather than renouncing their goal as would have been the case if a 'pure' collaborative strategy was employed.

Utilization of Conflict Conditions

It is possible to illustrate specific instances where a conflict situation was utilized. One such is shown in the following sequence of events:-

..."One device we used - it was a fairly traumatic evening that evening because as I understand the situation, what had happened was that the Catholics had caucused over a barbeque to which Syd had been invited and had put Mac under so much pressure, that he was selling out the system. At that stage they weren't very sure of selling out to the Government, but maybe they were getting lost in the pressure of things for the protestants. They came around to my house and were quite abusive. It had a counter productive effect, because Mac was sorry about it afterwards. The next day we were able to bring the conference to a successful conclusion because we changed the name of the game a little. At that stage it was threatened that there would be a walk out on any resolutions. I was the Chairman and so instead of calling for resolutions and getting people to vote on them, we announced the resolutions and said, did anybody dissent from them? - which made it that they would have to stand up and argue; so they didn't. So it was a very positive thing that we were able to capitalize on in the month that followed"... (Appendix F pp.186-187)

The collaborative strategy as a complex series of expectations and encounters leading to a mutual determination of goals, takes quite a number of guises. Easily the more visible examples of such a strategy, can be seen in the manner in which the committee of enquiry operated.

McKinnon for example in describing the operational style of Beeby and Weeden says, ..."Their style and nature was tremendously compatible and they had known each other for years at international conferences, so they got off to a good start and we socialized a lot while they were in the area, so we could talk over how things were going and they

were beaut in confab with people. They would play the Gilbert and Sullivan roles. One would be straight and the other funny and they would drag out of people a lot of stuff and get an understanding going of what they were on about". (Appendix F p.193)

Similarly, Fry in speaking first of all of Weeden, says ..."It wasn't any mean sort of contribution to be just a Chairman, he was an excellent Chairman and he smoothed over a lot of the negotiations, He was also in a lot of ways, a foil for Beeby in a lot of discussions. I think you'd have to say that Beeby is pretty temperamental. He gets extremely agitated at the drop of a hat virtually and there could have been times I feel in discussion, where Beeby could have become quite aggressive and almost abusive to people and whenever this sort of glint appeared in his eye and he was just about to launch into these Bishops and tear them to shreds and call them all sorts of things for the attitudes that they held so firmly, Weeden would cut in. He'd speak in his slow and methodical way and take the heat out of the whole thing. He could also put a lot - Beeby would tend to race ahead and talk very quickly and put a tremendous amount into what he was saying and Weeden would sort of translate it back."... (Appendix D p.144)

An interesting contrast is provided by McVinney who illustrates clearly the assumption outlined earlier in this study with regard to the individual's perception of the same event. He sees Beeby in a completely different manner to that of Fry. ..."He (Beeby) was the one who kept Jock Weeden calm "... (Appendix G p.203) McVinney also presents an interesting analysis of the way in which these two persons worked. "Their tactic. I don't know who worked it out, but he and Jock Weeden alternated roles, befriending the churches on the one hand and being the devil's advocate. So one day you'd go in, Weeden was all on our side and Beeby had no use for the churches and next day was a complete reversal. And if you didn't pick this up, they got you into an awful lot of trouble. Some of the brethren in the other churches just couldn't understand this and they got themselves in all kinds of a mess but you know, it only took a week or so to see that play coming up and you knew you had no friends in either of them." (Appendix G p.203)

On this particular point Beeby himself says ..."In the negotiations with the public, since he (Weeden) was the head of the Mission he always took the lead in that and it varied what the subject was. Sometimes he would take the lead, sometimes I would take the lead, particularly on laying down some of these basic foundations. With the churches I tended to take the lead and in other matters he would." (Appendix B p. 84)

The principle of mutuality of influence and collaboration is clearly acknowledged by all respondents. It would be foolish however to insist that at all times collaboration was achieved by the various polarized interest groups. It is obvious that a commitment to collaboration and transactional influence is at best a goal and as an empirical reality, is usually fairly rare. An examination of the appendices does reveal instances where the relationship between the change agents and the client system has not been wholly democratic and a dissensus condition has been present. A coercive rather than collaborative strategy is seen in the following description from Nielson.

..."When a drafting committee on the Teaching Service Ordinance reached a point where there was straight out conflict, almost confrontation, between Ken and Vin on the one hand and myself and most of the churches on the other, Ken brought Weeden back up again and had another big Meeting at which he said; No, it was never his intention that the Commission should be an employing authority. This was a straight out lie... McKinnon had put his own reputation on the line and taken an inflexible stand and wasn't prepared to talk about it any more." (Appendix I p.271)

With relation to this particular episode which arose over the role of the Teaching Service Commission as an employing authority, McVinney was just as explicit as Nielson. "He (Weeden) was just as impossible. They dragged him up from Australia and he said, "This is what we agreed to." I said, "I beg your pardon. This is not what we agreed to." (Appendix G p.228)

The place and role of the Teaching Service Commission in actual fact provoked the most open confrontation between the individuals concerned in the change process. It is possibly the most serious conflict

situation which developed during this period of time and provides a good base from which to examine the way in which power was used and strategies employed. It is not intended to delve into this area in any detail in this study however, as it provides the basis for an extremely interesting future research project, particularly in view of the fact that current developments and problems plaguing the education system can be traced directly back to this original issue.

One viewpoint of the original clash between forces ranged with McKinnon on one hand and Nielson on the other, takes a simplistic and I believe misguided stance, that Nielson was engaged in empire building and self aggrandisement and was attempting to take over control of education through the Teaching Service Commission. The opposite viewpoint sees his efforts to develop the Commission as an autonomous authority, as a result of a genuine concern to have the Teaching Service operate as an effective, functional body. McKinnon basically saw the Commission as a temporary phenomenon and accepted it on that basis. He regarded it as a condition setter and watch dog of the system but also saw that... "The problem with the Teaching Service Commission is that the way it was set up lends itself to, or had to lend itself to the possibility of the people seeing they could run the education system through it. That was the early argument that arose when Nielson was in there. He saw this as a way of running the system and having District operators responsible to him for this sort of thing. That kind of operational role was just unthinkable if you were really going to have a unified system". (Appendix F p.196) Nielson explains and rationalizes his formal stance quite ably and the argument that he was motivated by purely personal motives does him an injustice.

As a final comment on this period, the manner in which McVinney changes his strategy once faced with no likelihood of obtaining his initial goal in concert with Nielson, is an extremely vivid example of the manner in which a change agent accepts and utilizes coercive as well as collaborative strategies. He states, "Syd lost as far as I was concerned. From that point on, my obligation to the church and the teachers was to carry on and to start compromising. Syd interpreted this as a reversal of principles and things I'd agreed to. He might, even to this day"... (Appendix G pp. 226-227)

CHAPTER SIXSUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS.Purpose

The purpose of this study was to present a case history of the change process in the education system of Papua New Guinea. This particular method was used in response to a stated need for this type of study. (Havelock 1971)

Two basic information sources were utilized. One utilized printed and hand written documents which provided a comprehensive description over time of the manner in which system change was legitimized. The other used what might be termed oral history, in compiling transcripts of taped interviews from a small sample of individuals previously identified as the major change agents in the period under review.

The major focus of the study was upon the change agents, their characteristics and strategies and the manner in which they affected the social system within which they operated. This was earlier described as a complex, adaptive system of social and psychological events interrelated within a communications web, involving continuous decision making under conditions of uncertainty.

Thus on one hand, it has been necessary to outline and define, sweeping structural changes that have occurred in the organization of the education system in Papua New Guinea, whilst on the other, the central concern was with the fluid nature of the structure elaborating process, which operates within this particular social system. To this end the transcripts of interviews with the sample of identified change agents, has proved to be an invaluable source of raw data.

Two major hypotheses were offered for examination. The first set of hypotheses was concerned with the nature of system change and the role and function of the change agents.

Hypothesis 1.1 proposed that the massive organizational change in the Papua New Guinea education system from 1967 was motivated and directed by internal change agents who employed a strategy which used outside experts as legitimizing agents.

The hypothesis is supported by the available data keeping in mind its subjective nature. Quite explicit statements from persons within the client system and a representative of the external experts, support this hypothesis.

Hypothesis 1.2 proposed that the major change agents employed a process model incorporating a problem solving perspective.

The data appears to support this hypothesis, however one is required to inductively extract supporting evidence from the subjective data that is available and interpretation is thus necessarily selective.

Hypothesis 2 proposed that an essential component of planned change requires a collaborative relationship to exist between the change agent and the target or client system. The major change agents in the Papua New Guinea study employed a collaborative strategy which used conflict resolutions to achieve a commitment towards change.

The hypothesis is supported by the data.

In general the formal hypotheses do receive support from the data, subjective as it may be. The consistency of certain factors which are present in the data provide strong pointers to interpretation which could guide further research.

Conclusions

In a study which attempts to explain system effect as the result of organizational change on a grand scale, the complexities and scope for explanation are almost limitless. This study has exposed to analysis one particular interest area centred around the change agents themselves. There has been no attempt to produce a quantitative study as a case history approach has been preferred. In taking this particular orientation it is assumed that the collection of recorded interviews will provide raw data as a base for subsequent quantitative research.

It is appropriate at this point to make further observations about change in Papua New Guinea which have been implicit throughout and are verifiable once the appendices are consulted. It is fair to say for example, that the rationale behind the initial change impetus, was the establishment of a system of education that in an independent country would endure post independence pressures whilst continuing to provide a service of some quality. If then, this function is seen as the development, deployment and use of public resources in the interests of continued species maintenance and adaptation, then one has to make some conclusions about the type of adaptation seen as being successful. Basically, this is a reflection of interest group decisions as to what type of adaptation is seen as being most desirable. Thus the period of consultation before system change in Papua New Guinea, i.e. access by all interest groups to participate in planned proposals, public debate and the subsequent legislation, are all seen as critical factors in the change process. The presence of opportunities for continual revision of planning have also been ensured through appropriate legislation.

The essential proposition behind the stated rationale i.e. a system that will survive no matter who operates it, has been based on the assumption that decision making must be a truly community or communal based process. The more physically decentralized the organization with visible autonomy given to the various units, the better the identification and tolerance of the members.

The process of decentralization has produced a large number of conflict situations and operational problems on system members. To name but one example, the district executives, in the changed structure, required a complete re-appraisal of role expectations and role behaviour in terms of their own values. Specificity of aims at the nation level is of course precluded because of the very nature of the complex organization. At this level however some specificity or role prescription has ultimately been found to be necessary in order to influence district executives to reinforce national system aims.

Implications and Recommendations for Further Research

The study of the process of change, particularly of education as a social system, has only recently begun in a systematic way. Very few of the changes seem to have that perspicacity of detailed planning which would enable prediction or control of the consequences of a new piece of legislation. This present study of what is considered to be an unique change process, has by its nature posed a number of questions that could not be examined within the parameters of this study. It had however given very clear indications of possibilities for future research.

As a case history and description of events by an extremely small sample of individuals who were closely involved in the change process, some of the findings in this study require confirmation. It is obvious from a study of the transcripts that a number of common problem areas have been isolated by the respondents who have seen the change process in operation over a period of time.

The major conflict area and one which should have a high priority for further research, centres around the respective roles of the Teaching Service Commission, the Director of Education, the National Education Board and the Minister for Education. At the present time the power and functions prescribed for each of these bodies are confused and are seriously affecting the ability of the education system to survive as a viable organization. Since 1973, the Department of Education as part of its active localization programme, has effectively lost the services of the major change agents as well as those district and headquarters executives who were involved in the change process from 1967 onwards. This factor, together with a Teaching Service Commission that has been steadily seeking to increase its power by assuming executive and operational functions and a Minister for Education who is a strong advocate for centralization also seeking to impose his will on the operations of the Department of Education, provides a fascinating research study which can be traced back to the original conflict situation as described in the previous chapter.

The transcripts attached as Appendices, give invaluable information on the initial conflict areas as seen to exist between the Teaching

Service Commission and the Department of Education. Copies of all correspondence flowing into and out of the Teaching Service Commission during its formative stages, have already been collected and indexed. Instances of conflict between the two bodies over the past three years exist in sufficient quantity and variety to isolate the critical variables that can explain why this dissensus situation exists and to predict the future outcomes. It is not to be denied that some degree of conflict within organizations is inevitable and in fact, may even be a healthy sign in its tendency to bring about improvements in the organizational structure and through creative, divergent transformations. This has already been adequately acknowledged in this particular study. What is at issue now is that the question basically comes back to the point of asking, how much conflict is thought to be beneficial for positive change before it reaches a point where it becomes wastefully pointless and completely dysfunctional?

The proposition exposed in this present study that the rationale for the organizational change was to develop a quality system, with equal opportunity for all teachers, based on a communal decision making process, should be tested further. It requires a quantitative research study which would draw heavily on Church agency and Administration agency personnel.

Of interest also, would be a measure of Church agency influence now that the system has been opened to all. One of the earlier fears continually voiced by Church agency personnel, was that Church agency schools would suffer a loss of identity. This particular aspect of church and state relations could be probed further.

An extension of this study to examine the role of District Superintendents as change agents, appears to be a logical outcome. The change from a highly centralized to a decentralized system was such a radical one, that in permitting enormous scope for role incumbents at the district executive level to be fully interactive in accommodating to complex, structured, demands of others as well as to their own purposes, actually generated unanticipated consequences, demands and uncertainties that ultimately directed their own role performance and status. The change strategies employed

by these executives at the next subordinate level to those in this present study, would provide a fascinating comparison which could in all probability, lead to general predictions concerning the ultimate status, and level of advancement of the district executives. One valuable area of information on strategies employed by District Superintendents would be the complete minutes of each of the 20 District Education Boards from the time of their initial establishment.

Finally, whilst the education system of Papua New Guinea can not with any specificity, demonstrate its efficiency in cost benefit accounting terms as a result of massive organizational change, it has to a limited degree through the medium of a report on the proposed change and statements from significant change agents, specified a number of goals towards which it was directed. It is impossible in the absence of objective measurement to measure the performance of the system against stated goals, however at a subjective level in the examination of system effect upon one component of the system, it would appear reasonable to state that a measure of success has been achieved. Not until the system itself specifies itemized goals and provides objective evaluation measures will this situation be resolved.

APPENDIX AGeneral List of Questions for Interviews.

(These questions provided a general framework around which the interviews were structured using a phenomenological technique).

1. How did you become involved with the new system's legislation?
2. What happened to your interest after the legislation was passed?
3. Comment on the part played by any or all of the people whose names appear on this card, in the development of the new education system.

Dr K. McKinnon
 Dr C. Beeby
 Mr S. Nielson
 Mr J. Weeden
 Mr N. Fry
 Dr V. McNamara
 Mr N. Rolfe
 Mr L. Johnson
 Fr. P. McVinney
 Mr A. Neuendorf
 Mr R. Philpott
 Mr A. Tololo
 Dr G. Gris
 Mr A. Randall
 Archdeacon H. Roberts
 Mr R. Blacklock
 Mr F. Daveson
 Dr J. Jones
 Mr C. Reseigh

Any other significant person whose name does not appear on this list.

4. What principles were you interested in seeing incorporated in the legislation?
5. With whom did you work most closely during this period?
6. What were the hold-ups and difficulties associated with the change period?

7. How would you describe the relationship between your group and other parties in the development of the changed system?
8. Did you ever see any real role for local Government Councils? Can you explain what happened to this idea?
9. One of the objectives of the new education system was to co-ordinate educational activity. What do you understand by this term?
10. Why was it decided that Mission teachers should be paid a full salary and given improved conditions of service by the Government?
11. What experience did you call upon when formulating suggestions for the P.N.G. Teaching Service?
12. Was there any real guide to the financial resources likely to be available for a National education system?
13. Do you think the changed system fosters national unity? In what way?
14. Do you think that freedom and choice of religious education has been adequately protected? What changes would you seek?
15. Do you know of any official of the Australian Commonwealth Government who had influence over the way in which the new system developed?
16. What do you believe were the problems being faced by the voluntary agencies?
17. Do you think that there has been an improvement in the standard of education offered since 1969?
18. Do you think that the Teaching Service can be regarded as being a more professional body now than it was prior to 1969?
19. Do you think that the system of financing and controlling education as recommended is workable and durable? What amendments are necessary?
20. What are your personal views of an ideal education system for Papua New Guinea?
21. In your opinion have the decentralized bodies been effective? Why?
22. Why has the Government been reluctant to exercise its powers over voluntary school agencies?
23. The system currently appears to be extraordinarily complex. Why is this so?

24. What do you know of the conflict that occurred between the factions led by Dr McKinnon and Mr S. Nielson over the executive function of the Teaching Service Commission?
25. What factors were present in the education system prior to the Advisory Committee Report that motivated the change process?
26. What were the sources of pressure for change? Could you identify specific resistance to this change?
27. Can you identify the principal change agents and give some indication of their motivation?
28. Outline your involvement in the collation of the Advisory Committee Report, subsequent legislation and implementation.
29. What are your predications with regard to these areas?
 - The role and power of the Minister
 - The role and power of the Director
 - The role and power of the Teaching Service Commission
 - The role and power of District and National Education Boards
 - The relationship between, Teaching Service Commission/
Minister/Director/National Education Board.
30. What modification to legislation would you now like to make?
31. What form of political or pressure group manipulations occurred that you were aware of?
32. What do you think would have happened if the Advisory Committee's Report had not been accepted as Government policy?
33. Could you comment on the timing of the process of change as it was introduced? In retrospect would you have used a different strategy of implementation?
34. Comment on the opportunity for consultation for the 1967 and 1968 reports; the Advisory Committee report and the subsequent change.

List of Persons Interviewed

Dr C. Beeby
 Mr F. Daveson
 Mr N. Fry
 Dr J. Jones
 Dr K. McKinnon
 Fr P. McVinney
 Mr A. Neuendorf
 Mr S. Nielson
 Mr C. Reseigh

Interview with Dr Beeby, Saturday 29th June 1974. (Formerly Director General of Education New Zealand. Latterly Education Consultant with the United Nations. Member of Committee of Enquiry into Education in Papua New Guinea.)

- Q. Could we talk about some of the people that were involved at the time the report was being written? I'd like to get the first recall of the person and their role. Dr McKinnon, what influence did he have?
- A. Very considerable, but he never at any stage tried to interfere. I thought his role was very good indeed. He was liberal, generous and friendly without ever being interfering and indeed was one of the most liberally minded people that I met there from the point of departmental power. Never at any moment did I feel that he was struggling to maintain departmental power. He had a quality that sometimes jarred on people, but he never did on me.
- Q. He did brief you on conferences in 1967/68 on where they discussed the problems of the mission schools and they came up with some ideas.
- A. Nothing of that remains in my mind. I don't remember how much it affected us.
- Q. How about Dr Gibson?
- A. I wouldn't have thought he played any great part in it.
- Q. He has always liked to believe that he had some influence behind the scenes in things especially with Papua New Guineans.
- A. He may have, but he didn't register as far as we were concerned.
- Q. What about the mission people, - McVinney?
- A. They had a very considerable effect, McVinney and Father Mike Morrison. McVinney began I think somewhat suspiciously and perhaps a touch antagonistically - I met him at a cocktail party at Ken McKinnon's place the first day or two we were there and there was a touch of good tempered sparring at that stage. In actual fact in the end I found him one of the most reasonable people we had to deal with.
- Q. They say he had a very difficult path to tread.
- A. Extraordinary. He had 15 Bishops to agree which was really quite as hard as all the rest of it put together I would think. And I think he was fairly suspicious of outsiders, but I like to think

it went; it went, as far as I was concerned. He was one of the keenest and sharpest minds, one of the most logical and in this whole investigation, logic played a very considerable part, or it looked so to me. There were so many things that began from basic principles that was one thing I could find particularly with the catholics and with others too, with their particular kind of training, that if you've got a basic principle accepted, they would follow the process reasoning from it and I think that very largely to McVinney. I think McVinney once he became convinced of the direction in which we were going I think he would play a very big part with the Bishops.

Q. What about with the other churches?

A. I don't know. Certainly at the meetings one got - I couldn't feel any underlying tensions.

Q. I often felt other churches held back and let McVinney do the speaking for them.

A. Yes they tended to, because he was strong and he was tough. I wouldn't think for example that the Lutherans expected McVinney to do the talking for them.

Q. That was Ray Blacklock wasn't it?

A. I've forgotten the name of the senior man.

Q. What about Neuendorf, or Archdeacon Roberts?

A. Yes, Neuendorf - I don't remember much about him. Archdeacon Roberts, the anglican people generally didn't take a major part in it and I don't think affected the flow of thinking very much. What I remember mostly about them, they were the only group that I remember, who would have been rather happy to give up their schools to the department and get on with their religious work, but I felt that it was a kind of proper, not particularly red blooded, not particularly passionate....

Q. What about the other members of the committee. What particular strong ideas did they have - Weeden and Gris? Were they particularly strong on any ideas that came out in the report?

A. I think we were unanimous in our thinking. There was nothing very much, nothing behind the scenes; there were differences as we went along but I think again most of these were all ironed out. It was too much to expect Gris to have very strong points

of view, not only perhaps because he was a bit overawed to begin with. He just wasn't in his field. It was sometimes rather difficult to get his point of view, particularly if Weeden and I disagreed on any particular point. It was too much to expect him to exercise the casting vote, but he was a very useful person to have.

Q. Do you think he helped you get a more Papua New Guinean point of view?

A. I think he did, perhaps not quite as powerfully as I might have wished perhaps. But he could and it was awfully helpful in meeting the district councils and meeting the small local groups of village elders and the like. They obviously turned to him. Yes he did help us in that way.

Q. Some people have described you as the ideas man in the report and Weeden as shall we say the negotiator of the scene with the public and so forth.

A. Well I suppose there was a certain degree of specialization, of which I was the theoretician, if that isn't too pompous a word. Weeden took up some fairly specific jobs. Sometimes when I was working on other things, Weeden took up the whole question that interested him, of supplies, the purchase and distribution of supplies. There was a great amount of ill feeling among the private schools, they felt they weren't treated - that was a specialists job, that I never even looked at. I remembered after we had done Goroka, I stayed on for a week in Goroka and thought up and wrote up a lot of the crystallised thinking, I organized our thinking on some of the theoretical points for the early chapter and they went on and did the rest of the interviewing in Mt Hagen. I just stayed behind and wrote... Gris also, when we were not there got around some of the smaller areas and met the people.

Q. He went with Neville Fry. Did Fry make any particular contribution?

A. He was useful. We had John Neve to begin with, who wasn't very much use. But Fry produced a lot of stuff, particularly when it got to the concrete end of it. I mentioned I wrote the whole thing, which doesn't mean I thought the whole thing up and certainly when it came to the recommendations, other contributed. Obviously the thing that Weeden was a specialist in, was the whole relation to Australia, on the Australian system which was extremely important and in that particular area was one I was certainly bound to him...

If he had any ideas he would write a memorandum which I would take as a draft. I felt and I think we all felt that it was important that the report should have a unity of style. In actual fact I wrote it in the style I had adopted, but then I would include a lot of stuff that he had done. Weeden is an extraordinarily good critic, one of the best I have known. He is a very tough critic. He was very good indeed at analysing them, but he had many years of experience in this in UNESCO. Again, I was quite unaware of any tension, it was remarkable. I had known Weeden for twenty years or more then and quite thought that sparks might begin to fly. In the end I like to think that we finished liking each other better than when we began and that's not very usual for a team working for 9 months or so in the tropics. But there was a degree of specialization in that way and in actual fact when we finally met I said I don't like the report, I don't like the form of it, so I came back to New Zealand and altered the whole form and rewrote the whole thing entirely from beginning to end, into its present form. It involved a great amount of work. It didn't in any way alter the substance of it, it did alter and make it I think a much more readable thing. But it wasn't Weeden's fault or anybody else's, that it wasn't right, but I just knew when it was finished that it just wasn't good. So in that sense it all went through my pen, but it doesn't mean that all the ideas were all mine by any means. I'm certain when we came to the actual detailed recommendations I think we played a pretty equal part. In the negotiations with the public, since he was head of the mission he always took the lead in that and it varied what the subject was. Sometimes he would take the lead, sometimes I would take the lead, particularly on laying down some of these basic foundations. With the churches I tended to take the lead and in other matters he would.

- Q. After your first visit did you to some extent develop the number of principles which you then on the next visit more or less tried out on people?
- A. The first time we went around, it was rather difficult in some ways, we had to say we have no ideas, and we also had to say, remember that we have no power and I think this was extremely

important. What we were doing was in effect negotiating without any authority to negotiate because I don't know whether Minister Barnes had made it clear, but I certainly did when I met him, that we didn't think we had power to negotiate on behalf of the Australian Government. It was obviously unthinkable.

- Q. Surely, any Government appointed committee of enquiry is in the same type - ?
- A. But not quite so far separated in general from the Minister they are working with - with the department they are working with, so it was kind of hypothetical. We did negotiate - there was no conceivable way of solving that problem except by horse trading, but we had no horses to trade and we had no money to do it. But what we were constantly saying in effect was, that if we can get the Government to agree to this, would you agree to that? If we can do this will you accept this as a compromise? We didn't go back to the Minister in the same way, we had to make a guess; we certainly went and discussed it on one or two occasions with Johnson for example.
- Q. Did he play much of a role?
- A. No, not much at all, I think he very wisely kept out of it. I had been there two or three years before and Johnson was then the Director of Education. I think Johnson very properly felt it wasn't his business to butt in but if anyone wanted to go and cry on his shoulder he was there. One could try things out, I tried things out on the Public Service Commissioner.
- Q. Who was that - a local?
- A. No. A new man who had just gone there who had a reputation of being rather tough and I think began by being rather suspicious of these educators. In the end it was in no way obstructive. But some of the ideas were really joint ones. I remember one particular session with the heads of the churches, I think there were a couple of bishops there, certainly McVinney was there and the Lutherans, Seven Day Adventists, a whole bunch of the heads were there and we had to lay down - somebody said you have to have objectives and I'm not a very good person working with objectives. They're things I tend to shy away from in many respects. We said alright, if you feel you've got to have objectives let's settle down. Now those objectives, which are

simple looking things when you look at them, I don't know whether they are now. When you look at them they are pretty simple - now these were worked out very definitely with the group and I wouldn't like to say which of them came from whom. ... But they were positively saying that they didn't want to join the education system and this is where McVinney and Co. came in very usefully because we pointed out that they were in fact part of the system already. Once they'd got this agreement, that as a gentleman's agreement, (I don't know if it was ever written down), that if one church had a school in an area the others wouldn't encroach on it, if they did the education department would give no help. Now this was absolutely the kick to the system, this was where the whole concept of the system began. There was also those three possible meanings of a system, that all schools were owned and operated by the State, this was one that we had to disabuse them on. But they didn't recognise the fact that (a) that each school is recognized as the only school, they didn't recognize that was what had brought them into the system, whether they liked it or whether they didn't, and they were aiming at getting a certain amount of systemization under (b), but we began from (c) and said alright the rest yes, we're willing to aim at that. Not all of them had wanted to join the system in that final sense. Seven Day Adventists had never wanted it.

Q. They are still out of the teaching service.

A. I never expected them to be anything else. They were very cheerful and very reasonable about it and said this may look right to you, but you've done without our help before and can do without it again. But they never wanted to come in, but they had accepted that system and the moment they accepted it they were all in effect trapped into a system. Then the argument, I remember at the same meeting, the next series of points came up. Alright, will you now accept people not of your own faith in the school? They nearly all said yes, except the Seven Day Adventists' who said well, we never have done, suppose we could, but if need be we would do it. So then we said, if you now will accept them, will you insist on them taking doctrinal instruction from you. And the Seven Day Adventists said 'yes'. Are you quite adamant on that? and they said 'yes'. We argued this for a couple of hours

because they said our people came for that purpose, they came to teach religion, they are missionaries and they would feel they have been cheated, if we didn't let them teach religion. I said, if one of your children had to go into a Lutheran school, would you allow them to be taught the Lutheran doctrine and they said, 'No, not under any circumstances'. I said do you regard that as fair and logical and they said, 'No, it may not be fair but that's where we stand'. I then said, alright in that case you've got to remember then part of this Territory that we are dealing with is a trusteeship territory and this is a matter through education in Australia which is accepted as universal declaration on rights for education. But I want you to know just right now that I cannot under any conditions recommend that you get anything for education at all under those conditions, if you insist on that. And the Catholics said 'we do - we wouldn't mind even pastors from another church coming into the school building', and so then the question was, if you now have 40 places in Grade 1 and you have 35 people applying for it, including 25 Catholics and 10 assorted heathens would you let them all in - 'yes', and you won't desist? 'no'. They'd be taught religion, your religion. Alright then suppose now you've got 35 people but you've only got 30 places will you then insist on giving preference to people of your own faith and they said 'yes, we'd have to do that because they provided the money for it'. So I said in that case here's a policeman, a Seven Day Adventist comes to your school with 5 kids and he can't get them into the school because of his religion, does that seem fair? 'No, but neither would it be fair because our people have provided the money for that building'. I said you still under no conditions could let them in, and they said 'No' - 'and I said again I'd like you to know that under no conditions at all could I for one recommend the payment of anything to your church for education, not the half you're getting, nothing at all. I said privately to them afterwards, not only that but I would be perfectly happy to go and give evidence if the thing became before the trusteeship council, to take up the case against them. Again, as I say, logic came in and certainly Weeden and Gris were thoroughly behind it.

Q. How did you get over this particular problem?

- A. They said, 'perhaps we'd better think about it'. I said I thought it would be a good idea to think about it. The other churches, the Anglicans - Lutherans I don't remember on this one, I think the others were pretty tough on it too. I happen to remember the Catholics because they argued on it. I think the Lutherans were tough on it too. So they said we'd go and think about it and they came back. And they said 'yes, we would agree to that but how are you going to operate it?' So I at that point, I made a mistake, said the kids who were applying, you'd have the religion against the name of the child and you would report the whole thing, the numbers applying the numbers kept out and you report that to the District Education Board and one of them caught me at it 'Ah you insist then that you gave in their application, their religion, isn't that also an affront to human right'. And I said 'Archbishop, you are absolutely right of course it is I'm sorry, I withdraw that one'. They said 'How will you do it then?' and I said 'You'd put in the name of all the people who have applied and those who have been turned down, and I said 'I'm perfectly sure that some of them would either know or could easily find out what their religions were because they would be very well known and if in the first year you had 30 let in and 10 turned down and they all happened to be Catholics I'd take that as a coincidence, if the same thing happened in the second year I think it would be nearer to an act of God, but still if it happened in the third year, we'd know that you weren't playing the game and I'd be perfectly happy to leave it to your sense of honour and justice in this matter and also to the kind of publicity you would get through this thing if you broke it. I don't think - I'm perfectly sure that some injustice will occur on some occasions, but I don't think it will be gross injustice, I think it will be a minor injustice', and they accepted it. I don't know if the Lutherans did at that particular stage, I don't remember, but this was the point where people like McVinney would take up the arguing.
- Q. How did you first come into contact with Papua New Guinea?
- A. I first came in contact with it indirectly through Ken McKinnon. I was on the faculty at Harvard and he did his doctorate there. But he used to come across to the centre for studies in education

and development which was the planning unit at the graduate school of education and he came across to seminars and I got to know him there. And then I got, while I was at Harvard still, an invitation to go and give the Camilla Wedgwood lecture - in '66, and one condition of that was that I had to spend two or three weeks there beforehand and be taken around. Ken McKinnon took me around personally and this was my first contact with it.

Q. Did you come into confrontation with any of the problems that were later to crop up in that first business?

A. Well, I got my general overall impressions of standards. I got my first impressions I would think of the missions. Yes, when I went I wasn't - the problems weren't foreign to me in that way.

Q. What about the three years between '66 and '69?

A. I had no contact as such with New Guinea, I had been working in all sorts of places. I'd been in India.

Q. Was it much of a surprise to get the job then to join the committee of enquiry.

A. Yes, it was curious, I happened to be passing through New York and the cable, goodness knows, I can't remember now, the cable struck me in New York somehow. Yes I was quite surprised...

...Q. How much pressure was on you?

A. We weren't pressed by the Government, but we were well aware that they wanted stuff as quickly as possible, and we could make that judgment for ourselves. For example there was hanging over our heads or the Government's heads, threats of strikes, Bougainville particularly. This was one of the things I think that probably brought it all to a head.

Q. It is very hard to find evidence of pressure, pressure in a political sense as to why these changes, why any changes should take place in the system. All we've got is a few expatriate missionaries saying we need money to do the job. There is very little documentary evidence of any real pressure for change.

A. It wouldn't surprise me, all I can assure you is that we got sufficient evidence ourselves constantly, partly statements from religious particularly the Catholic missionaries at Bougainville.

Q. Were they bitter?

- A. They were very nice when we got there, but there was a considerable amount of bitterness in Bougainville, more than anywhere among the teachers themselves, and my own feeling, I don't mind saying this, my own conviction was, that their threats of striking had at any rate not been discouraged by the priests. I'm not sure that I blame them, you understand and I'm not saying - because they were all telling us how terribly dissatisfied the teachers were and there was a very real danger of striking and they were obviously all very sympathetic with it. I wouldn't say that they would have started the whole thing, but I don't think they did very much to stop it, because they saw the disintegration of their system, unless something was done.
- Q. But exactly the same arguments were used in 1967, were used again in 1969. That was two years later, you would have thought it would have blown up in the meantime. What kept it under control?
- A. I have no idea. My guess, and I haven't any evidence for it at all, at a certain point the church authorities no longer tried to keep the lid on. That's my guess. But if you ask for any proof of it, I can't give you any.
- Q. The church teachers must have thought it was Christmas, because shortly after they came into the system, they not only got their first pays on full rates, then they got their promotional positions and the following year they got a 20% pay rise, it must have had tremendous social impact on them.
- A. They had a terrible loss in the teachers' services. I think I have figures.
- Q. But a very expensive commitment to make for the country on its way to independence. Do you think it was worthwhile in the sense of giving a full integration, could we have done it cheaper, with satisfactory results?
- A. I don't think it could have been done more cheaply, no. One point that we used constantly throughout, was an argument that once independence does come your chances of getting anything as generous or as rational, if you like, as the Australian Government is willing to give, may decrease and they themselves felt it. I know a person, like McVinney and Mike Morrison, definitely thought that their whole chances might be less under an independent government than they were under an Australian one, because you've also got to remember that there was quite possibly a certain amount

of pressure that could be exercised by the churches in Australia itself behind it all.

- Q. It always amazed me that the Canberra people didn't react more violently to the recommendations, this was an alien way of doing things to the Australian way of doing things. The idea of breaking off the teaching service from the public service to some extent, the decentralization of authority in the education system, especially in the appointment of teachers.
- A. It must have been something of a shock to them. But they never showed it and we never had any scrap of opposition at any time and if you took the timing of it, we began this thing in March and presented the report at the end of October - 30th October we presented it. I think it was approved by the Australian Cabinet, sometime in November. If I remember rightly, it was approved by the Assembly in Moresby, I should think without being read, by very many, but behind that again was the force of the church. Most of these people were church people and McVinney and Co. not only had to deal with their Bishops, they also had to deal with their laymen and I think they had to convince them even before the report was published and certainly before it was legislated, convince them that this was a good thing. Which from their point of view I think it was, so we, I think went to see Hay once or twice. We met Hay and his Executive Council, we spent a whole afternoon with them and discussing and telling them the general lines along which we were moving and we had seen Hay once or twice, but not in the sense of getting down to a whole lot of detail. Anyway I don't suppose he had the authority to do much in this way, but we got an extremely good reception with that group. And when we saw the Minister in the end, the Head of the Department, Warwick Smith. I never had an argument with anyone. It was astonishing how it was accepted, it was almost uncanny.
- Q. Unless it's a forerunner of changes that may take place in the Australian system in the near future.
- A. I think it might well be so. Of course it seemed less strange to me than it did to the others, because I'm used to working that kind of system. The only thing that was strange to me was the Teaching Service Commission and that struck me as very strange.

Q. Whose idea was that?

A. That was Jock Weeden, because he said it was quite unthinkable - we had quite long arguments on this - he said it was quite unthinkable that any Australian Government would agree to salaried state servants, being under any other body but the Government and to be under a body which I would have wanted, which was the Board. I knew you'd have to have a unit like a teaching service unit, but I thought that the teaching service unit would have its own staff and that it should be under the Board so you would get a unified control. It had never occurred to me that it would be anything else and I wrote the stuff up on that basis and I got quite a shock - when Jock got an equal shock that I should have thought anything else possible. We had endless arguments and in the end I - it wasn't that I was overruled, but I just bowed to him, I said alright in that particular way you know best. You know what they will take, I think you're running into trouble, I think you're asking for a certain amount of trouble.

Q. Do you see what sorts of problems?

A. Yes, you've got a dual kind of control and if you got a Teaching Service Commission that really wanted to throw its weight about, if you read the conditions there, which we hemmed it in, I wrote those conditions, but they were intended to hem it in as far as you possibly could, so they didn't begin interfering with the Director of Education. My problem was they'd have three bodies controlling education functions. I predicted the whole of this. It was quite inevitable, you see you've got three bodies now controlling. You've got the controlling authority which is the Department or the Mission, you've got the National Board and you've got the Teaching Service Commission. Three different bodies. Now we had pretty well balanced out the latter day relations between the department and the board. Those I think were stated fairly clearly, but then you bring this other one in, where it is impossible to state. Well we stated them as clearly as we could, but so much depends on personality. I worked with this in New Zealand and I knew the difficulty, because part of my school system here had teachers who were under the Public Service Commission here. Most of the teachers in New Zealand are under their local boards but there were certain ones - the Maori schools

were under, the correspondence schools, all the special schools of all kinds, were directly under me as a Departmental head, but for all the purposes of the Teaching Service Commission handles, salaries and so on, they were under the Public Service Commissioner, as he was in those days and I knew the problems of this and in New Zealand we gradually worked to the point where in effect the Public Service Commissioner did hand over. He didn't have the same powers at any rate that he would have over there because the teachers' salary scales and so on were laid down by general negotiations, were laid down by regulations and they were negotiating between the teachers and the department, approved by the Government and they covered all the teachers whether they were under the Public Service Commission or whether under local authorities. But there were certain sticky bits, relatively quite trivial things that I used to find annoying enough to realise if it occurred in a complete national system as this was, you are sure to have discord. In the end I quite willingly put my name to it, there was no question of the two of them overruling me, I was just convinced that Jock knew best with this one.

- Q. I think one of two things will happen, either we'll get a total fragmentation of the teaching service down to a district level government authority type thing or we'll get the teaching service reincorporated in the Public Service of P.N.G.
- A. This is one the churches were very heavily opposed to.
- Q. Why were they so strongly opposed to this idea?
- A. They didn't want to be part of a system, they didn't want to be public servants.
- Q. It was more emotional?
- A. Well, in part. In part they didn't trust the public service they distrusted the system, as outsiders do. Since I've been part of a system I didn't feel the same about it and I said to them, I think many of your fears are quite unreal in this respect. I still didn't want to see it under it because you've got it in a quite subtle way. You had certain rules applied sometimes in practice and sometimes in theory for teachers that had meaning for public servants but not for teachers, the whole question of leave for example. Teachers officially, had the same leave, which was 3 weeks a year, as public servants. Now it depended on the area which they were either expected to sit on their

backsides in their schools doing nothing or else could be called upon, I don't know if they ever were, to do all sorts of other jobs, clerical jobs etc. during that particular period. Well this is just senseless.

Q. A public service regulation could have been written to cover that.

A. It could have been written, but other things - I am only giving you extreme examples. There are no doubt other cases -- there's a different kind of job that needs a different type of - discipline I think is the word. There is one great difference between a public servant, I mean the head of a big public service department and the head of a school system. That the kind of supervision and discipline you get in the public service is continuous and piece meal. I'm working in here and the boss is two doors away every serious letter I write goes to him to be signed. He knows how hard I'm working, how well I'm working. At every conference he sees me and we are discussing situations. It's a hierarchial system. That doesn't apply in schools. Once you close the door every teacher with 40 kids in his room and a blackboard, is just as important as every other teacher...

...Q. One of the few measuring devices available to us, is the strength of the teachers union in Papua New Guinea which is very very high and happened in the period of about 2 years from a zero start to about 80% membership.

A. We said here that it had to happen.

Q. A tremendous solidarity and singleness of purpose and almost a complete blurring of the religious lines in the thinking and functioning, of the association.

A. That's what we were looking for and I would certainly very much prefer the teaching commission having one to the Public Service Commission. The difficulty I saw between the Teaching Commission and the Director of Education was minor compared to the other one.

Q. The problem between the Commission and the Department is one of the management services. The Commission makes a decision, the Department is supposed to carry it out. The Commission argues that it can't see if the decisions are being adequately carried out or properly carried out or even carried out at all. Therefore, they say they should have the management services. The payment of teachers, the administration of leave rights and all this.

- A. No, I am against that personally, I think it's almost nonsensical to talk about it...
- ...Q. Were there any real guides to the amount of financial resources likely to be available? Did the Treasurer or anybody say to you really what was likely to be available? It's calculations I know, from the first development plans.
- A. Which were only rough . We were never instructed, but this seemed a rough and reasonable one to do. I don't think we tried to come within it particularly. It affected our thinking as we went along and both Weeden and I, we were both old administrators who think about money - don't splash it around unnecessarily. No, we really had no guide. We had no guide about anything, except those terms of reference. We were astonishingly free really and it is rather frightening to think of what one might have done.
- Q. What might you have done?
- A. Well, suppose we had brought down an extremely extravagant report?
- Q. But to my mind you brought down as expensive a report as you could have, because you brought the lower part of the system up to the highest part.
- A. Yes, but we could have speeded it up, by slowing down over a period.
- Q. But virtually we have had a standstill for the last 5 years while the system is catching its breath from the impact of those funds. I wonder if that was ever considered.
- A. I wouldn't like to say that we ever worked out the whole thing in very close - we made a very close study in relation to this to the total economy. Nobody knew what the total economy was for one thing and after all two-thirds of it was coming from Australia wasn't it. Two thirds was coming from Australia as at that moment.
- Q. Still about half comes from Australia.
- A. So in that way it was almost an impossible thing to say now this is likely to be your G.N.P. over a particular period and this is the proportion you can get for education because we knew perfectly well that within certain limits that the amount we expended in that way was going to be met by any government, Australian Government that agreed to it. They didn't have to. If you hadn't had McMahon behind it all, it would have been a different kind of situation, but I suppose Weeden and I are both used to countries that have money, being expected to give money to those who haven't,

and neither of us got any great sense of guilt in presenting that sort of bill. I don't know if I would have had any sense of guilt in presenting a bill twice as big - I would have had no guilt in the matter, I think Australia could afford it.

- Q. The political development that's taken place, it's then brought us right on the doorstep of independence and the growing Ministerial power, since there's been frustration felt by Ministers of Education at the National Education Board and the Teaching Service because they are not able to be as interfering as a Minister in another department, and this has often meant that Ministers are acting almost illegally, that they do force some pressure on the Director. The National Education Board has been cut to 4 meetings a year and as it is responsible for making appointments in national institutions and other statutory functions that is a pretty minimal number of meetings. How much did you have in mind the future political influence and the reality of Ministerial government?
- A. I think we were fairly realistic about this. McKinnon was fairly realistic about the amount of power, which in effect he would personally give up.
- Q. We don't feel that he gave up all that much power. The Department because it is the manager of the system, still exercises great influence.
- A. Yes, but he had a lot more power than he ever used before. His powers were much greater than the ones he ever used and if they had been left untouched and you had a government that came in - a new government, that really let him use those powers for closing schools and heaven knows what not, he could have been a very powerful person.
- Q. I have never understood why he didn't use some of those powers, for example to close schools, because some of the schools ought to have been closed.
- A. They ought to have been closed. I didn't discuss this with him. Except I've seen this in so many countries and how extraordinary difficult it is. In Indonesia, you say alright, we are going to close these schools, and the voters then say we've started a private school, the standards may not be very good, but if the local people are perhaps illiterate themselves, they

don't know what standards are to begin with. Now you won't provide the money, you won't provide the teachers and buildings to educate our kids, now we are trying to do it for ourselves and you won't let us. There are not many governments can withstand this pressure...

- ...Q. One of the great difficulties in a country like Papua New Guinea, the more complex an organization gets, the more likely it is to succumb to operational dysfunction.
- A. Oh yes, there's not the slightest doubt that it would have been simpler. The only thing is you wouldn't have got value for your money. You've got to remember that there is quite a bit of this money in certain churches that was given, was not going into the school at all. It was not going into the teachers pocket, it was going into the church's pocket. A group like the Lutheran church, the Lutheran church a good proportion of it, not all of it, but one got the impression that the Lutheran church was still in the 19th century and they didn't, they took over some of the money that was paid to teachers. It wasn't wrong. They weren't dishonest in the ordinary sense of the term and they used it for general administration. If you had given all the money to the Catholic schools there would have been no guarantee that they were going to pay it to the teachers. It would be almost certain that some of it would go to the general church and general mission purposes. I don't think there is any question of it going into somebody's private pocket but I don't think you'd have got any more, any rationalization of your system, I don't think you would have necessarily got any improvement in the quality. I don't think you'd have got improvement of any kind at all.
- Q. The quality of the system, the quality is really only achieved by blocking up because no provision was made for any increase in the quality of any individual teacher as such.
- A. Well, there is now provision, or should be provision for a much closer inspection and supervision. In theory, McKinnon's people were supposed to inspect these schools. In actual fact they did damn all. They had their hands full with what they got. Some of these schools were in an absolutely appalling state. I remember going to one school, we walked 2 or 3 miles to get at the school and when we got there, being the suspicious bloke I am I

always ask for their attendance register and their admission register. I was looking particularly at that stage, at what kind of progress the kids were making in the school. I read out the name of the child and they put their hands up, finding out how long this kid has been at the school, checking with the register and I found one kid who had been at school for 4 years and was standard 2 or 3 and he wasn't there. I said to the headmaster is he away from school? No. But I said he is not here where is he?. Well, we thought he wasn't getting on very well so we sent him right back to the beginning to start all over again and this was the kind of organization. I mentioned this to Smith and Smith gave us a case of one kid he had found in preparatory, and he was there in his 5th year and he had never shifted. They had no kind of school record of any sort at all, the school master had changed each year and a lot of the teachers had changed, nobody knew that he had been there he and his parents didn't know that there was such a thing as going from one room to another. Now this was the sort of chaotic mess that many of those schools - they were just unbelievably bad. You can't go on paying government money for that. It's alright to say give them the money, give them the teachers, you've got no guarantee you're getting value...

- Q. Well really you were buying access.
- A. We were buying access. We were also buying the control or some measure of control of planning, giving them some planning at the same time. We were buying justice in the sense that no kid was going to be deprived of education because of his religion, or no kid was going to be forced to take a religion that he didn't want.
- Q. There has never been any complaints on that, so I would say it has been successful.
- A. Well, I hope it was. We were trying to drag some of these schools and the attitudes towards the schools into the 20th century. The Lutherans for example, one of their reasons that they objected to coming in on this full membership was, if the teachers got their full rate of salary of state teachers, they would get more than the pastor, and they had the absolute rule that the pastor got the highest rate of salary in the village.

Q. Why did we have such a complicated system of membership? Was that a part of the compromise deal with the missions?

A. It isn't as complicated as it looks.

Q. It virtually hasn't been used, as they have all virtually come in as members.

A. They were intended to. This was the purpose of it. We were never simple enough to imagine that people were really going to embrace it completely at the start.

Q. Except that in the writing of the Teaching Service Ordinance it made things extremely difficult. It just took weeks of work to get around all these peculiar situations.

A. I'm perfectly sure it would. But you've got to realise that the Lutherans wouldn't have come in without it. The Lutherans themselves said, and this is in the report, our teachers are not looking for more money, they are entirely satisfied. If we get more money, yes, but money isn't the important thing, they are essentially missionaries. The teachers we'd see them and they would say we are not missionaries we are teachers. But there was a distinct difference there between the Lutheran German and the major Lutherans and their flock in this respect and the Lutherans said they could not do it as it means giving them higher than our pastor and this is one of our congregation. The pastor is the top dog in this place. So we said alright we are not going to fight that particular one - oh and they also objected to the dismissal. Yes, this was the key one even more. They said we want to have the rights of appointment and want to have the rights of dismissal and it may well be that a person should be dismissed from a Lutheran school for reasons that would not get him dismissed from a state school. They said we simply must be able to dismiss our teachers, so we said, alright we'll have a classification where the people come under the state regulations. They have the same rights of appeal. They can only be dismissed for the same reasons as a state teacher. They've got to be appointed, again for the same reasons as a state teacher is appointed, but we will have a second category where the teacher then signs a contract, with the individual controlling authority. Now

1. he'll have two thirds of the salary,

2. they'll be directly under you and be subject to your authority and you can dismiss them on the conditions that you have agreed between them.

It took them some time. Now they could accept that as a compromise, but it took them some time to realise, even before we were signing the thing, they had begun to realise that if they had been right about their teachers not being passionate about love of God and love of the church and not the extra dollars, if they had been right in that, then they were saying they thought they were right - I was absolutely sure they weren't but the only way we had of getting agreement from them at all was to do this. It's a wangle if you like, but was a perfectly honest straight forward thing and it was really based on our judgment that the teachers wouldn't go to them and their judgment that they would. They must have found out that our judgment was right.

- Q. I think between the time the report was handed down and the actual time of having to decide what classification, position and that would be, they must have come to this realization that the teachers weren't quite as loyal.
- A. That's one reason we gave them this year. We gave them a year under the old system to make up their mind because we knew that this would happen. The teachers themselves that we had met and that Gris had met, we were completely sure of that. I'm well aware that it must have cost you an awful lot of extra trouble and I realize how complicated it was, but it was only a temporary arrangement.
- Q. You know it took almost 9 months to write the full Teaching Service Ordinance. It involved over 200 meetings, some lasting all day.
- A. I don't in any way feel guilty about it, because this was just too -
- Q. There was some resentment against the report. It seemed to be the usual international scene, somebody comes in, lays down the rules and disappears and you're left to try and tidy it up. The element that's missing, when we think like that is the element of this is a negotiation document.
- A. I have never had quite that kind of negotiation before. Never in my life.

- Q. It really continued on and the frustrating part was there was more enlightenment and we could have gone a bit further than the report had we have been able to break out of the bounds of the report. Once it had become Government policy, it was too late to go back and change it.
- A. I'm sure if we could have gone on - we could have got something that was better and in some ways less clumsy. I think if we had twice the amount of time it might have been 10% or 20% better. I don't think it would have been 100% better than it was at the time.
- Q. What about the role of the expatriate? How did he fit into the scene? Was he ever discussed as a separate entity?
- A. Oh yes, and that is why we made all our calculations of course all based on local teacher, but we had to make certain gestures to the expatriate teachers. The whole question of leave, and right of travel and so on was all part of it and also the condition that any controlling authority, by which we meant primarily, the department, any controlling authority should have the right to make such payment, additional payment as it thought fit. Now this left the department perfectly free to do what it was doing before. It also left the churches if they had a bit of extra money to do the same kind of thing.
- Q. I'm sorry to tell you, but the Commission has managed to juggle amendments to the legislation which gives it the power now to recruit expatriate teachers and to pay them allowances which further complicates the relationship. It should never have happened but it's a result of not having powerful enough people in charge of the Commission knowing what the role is and a surreptitious junior staff being able to push things through and nobody really understanding. It is also a result too of the rapid change with the Australian Government people thinking the teaching service is the same as the public service and trying to incorporate the same amendments for political change.
- A. I found Australian, not Jock Weeden, but I found Australian thinking on teachers extraordinary rigid in that way generally. I don't think ours is the most generous thinking in the world but our system was very much more flexible and the enormous rigidity regarding your teachers as public servants, I find it

quite a bit in my talking with all sorts of Australians. Not with Ken McKinnon and not with Weeden, except on this question of the Teaching Service Commission. In the end I think Weeden was probably right, but I think it will always be a very delicate situation...

- ...Q. What do you think would have happened if the Weeden report had not been accepted by the Government?
- A. I think if the report hadn't been accepted and if no increase in salaries had been made by some other method, I think there would have been a strike. Of that I'm sure and there would have been very great political pressure and I don't know how far the churches' political pressure, how much stronger it is now or how much weaker.
- Q. It is weaker now, but in '69 it would still have been effective.
- A. Well, we thought it was going to be weaker and the churches with whom we discussed it certainly, McVinney and company, the more intelligent of the church people with whom we discussed it did expect it to be weaker so they thought they had a better chance of doing a deal with us than they had of doing a deal with the locals when they came in.
- Q. The astuteness with which you view McVinney and a few of the church leaders makes it hard for me to understand why the same people didn't pressure the process of localization within the church more in the church education positions more than what they - to try and protect that political influence.
- A. You mean before the commission, before we sat?
- Q. No. The churches have been very slow in localising their education officer positions and yet there was this awareness in '69 of the tapering political influence of the church.
- A. I suppose your missions are built up on a hierarchial principle, you don't get rid of it immediately. The Lutherans have done more of this than anybody, at any rate legally, although their paternalism I felt was no less. That is they were not any longer considering themselves as missions, but as churches at a local village based church rather than a mission and I still felt that big brother was very very much behind it and they were very paternalistic, more I think even than the Catholics. The Catholics by general tradition as a hierarchial structure, tended to be paternalistic too, but they were much more intelligent.

- Q. Would you, thinking back now would you have liked to have seen anything else incorporated in the report, or modified now?
- A. Since I haven't seen how it has operated since, like if I were there and watching it, I might have. No, by now I'm a professional at this business. By the time I close my books, I close my books and I haven't thought a great deal about it since. No, I thought at the moment, good or bad it was as good a job as we could do and there was almost an inevitability about it. I think one difference between Weeden and me, was from the very beginning, since I had probably done more of this than he had, I always felt somehow or other, some almost inevitable conclusion comes out.
- Q. The people on the scene in '67 had set out a basic framework which from what you said I take you didn't actually work from, but you came to the same sorts of conclusions and arrangements. There was already a local stimulus for the solution.
- A. Oh yes we undoubtedly picked up all sorts of ideas. Certainly none of us went there with any fixed plan in our heads.
- Q. Some of us have felt that perhaps, more than any other country Papua New Guinea reflects New Zealand in its educational administrative set up.
- A. It is always impossible to think entirely outside one's experience. You're bound by it, but I'm certainly not conscious of having gone there with any preconceived ideas. As each situation arose, I would tend I suppose because of experience of swinging in one direction. I rather like negotiating with local authorities and I like that particular kind of situation.
- Q. There were great hopes held for the participation of local authorities in the report. Very little of that has eventuated. Did you get much response from local authorities?
- A. It varied a lot, some were dead as mutton. You mean the local council - some were dead and some were pretty lively.
- Q. But did you take this matter up with the local government authority, because they seem to have been the great obstructors to participation of local government more fully in educational matters.
- A. We had long discussions with them, which I'm rather vague about at the moment.

I got the same kind of feeling when I went around with the local government man - district officer. They are very authoritarian, some of them I felt were rigid and paternalistic, some had no interest in education, but just a passion for roads, which again I could respect, if I had been in the position of one or two of them. I knew that kind of person, I've worked with them in so many places and I thought they were extremely good people some of them. One or two of their deputies I thought were fairly helpful people and I think we recommended that deputies do go on the local education authority.

The maintenance of standards and professional inspections of schools I think is essential.

- Q. What we got was a system that was capable at the point of decision, taking into account local peculiarities such as whether school ought to go place Y or place X which you can't make from the centre of a decision very effectively, otherwise the flow of information is too big and complicated to handle; I don't think the Papua New Guinean wants a decentralized or democratic system. The Papua New Guinean bureaucrat or educational administrative officer, he is very authoritarian because that's the model he was actually brought up by.
- A. This applies in most developing countries. I'm having the same struggle in a more serious situation in Indonesia, but I think what we did give, there was a hope of something that as you begin to build up the strength of these district boards. They are bodies which should be increasingly able to take over certain functions.
- Q. Actually I wouldn't be surprised if the district boards turn out to be more operationally successful than the National Education Board.
- A. I would have hoped so, but I have never been too successful in New Zealand in getting local variation even with our system, because people on the whole aren't looking for it. So many educational plans are based on the assumption that there is a mass of people just dying to do their own thing. There are a hell of a lot more who are dying to stop work at 3 o'clock and get back into the garden or onto the golf links and I think you can write a

system whereby the people who are really wanting to rake new ground, can have some hope of doing it and I would have thought that district bodies again were places where you are going to have an increasing training ground for your local politician, local administrator whatever.

- Q. But they were all nominated bodies, why didn't you ever consider having an election for members of the board?
- A. We discussed this with the local government people in head office, and various places and got nowhere with it. Their mind didn't seem to work that way, there wasn't any mechanism for electing, but at any rate the ordinary village life as far as I can gather of your Papua New Guinea isn't run on that basis anyway. It's a consensus and behind it all the authoritarian principles and the attitudes of a few older people and that was the more natural nominations.
- Q. These nominations, subject to acceptance, perhaps you would have had a more powerful representation had they have been just nominations, from the bodies that they represented and not subject to acceptance by the Minister? There have been quite a number of occasions where the Minister has refused to take nominations usually because they are expatriates. Now that's understandable and it served to illustrate how useful this particular suggestion was, but that situation is rapidly passing and we have a history of non-acceptance of nominations.
- A. I can't say at this stage how far we discussed that.
- Q. What about teachers' associations, did you ever discuss this matter?
- A. Yes, we very strongly felt, and I certainly did, that a strong teachers' association was essential.
- Q. You know McKinnon bent over backwards to assist and foster the development of the Papua New Guinea Teachers Association. Tremendous financial support indirectly of course. This we feel perhaps came from the reasonings and discussions of the report committee.
- A. I really couldn't say. I think McKinnon himself may have come to that feeling. So many of these discussions went on endlessly.
- Q. There are no two ways about the deliberateness of the fostering of the teachers union, that was no coincidence.

- A. No doubt whatever, that was regarded as highly important...
- ...Q. I think the same situation will happen in Papua New Guinea in that the Director won't be able to say anything, the Minister will race ahead making his whimsical decisions and the only people free to make any comment or kick up a fuss, who are informed enough to know what to kick up about, will be the teachers union because certainly the community is not going to come even through the district education board, is not going to be aware enough to complain.
- A. It's interesting you asked this. These are the questions for the Director of Education - I used to sit up at night and write questions I was going to ask him - The opening and closing of schools was the question I had for him, what standard of teachers, standards of buildings, size of classes, can you really apply to these? How far can powers be devolved on local authorities - what powers, appointment, appeals what authorities, what level? Is there in fact overlapping appointments between various missions and administrations e.g. what would overall planning achieve; have you enough staff to maintain inspection; have you enough staff to have representatives on administrative boards of governments, boards of management?
- Q. I would have liked to have heard his response to that, because this has been one of the major administrative problems and that is providing the personnel to participate in the system with the numbers of boards and governing bodies. It has often meant that senior departmental personnel are away for great slabs of time and this has had a serious impact and when they have ignored their duties we have got great discontent from the field.
- A. There was a certain amount about McKinnon in that way because he had to travel around a lot. It's a problem in any developing country though.
- Q. Talking of teachers, there are a lot of accusations being pointed at the system, sort of unspecified, that people are never really consulted on what they wanted. Playing it from both sides, I must state that we don't usually know what we want until it is on us. Do you feel the committee really made maximum effort to find out what people wanted?
- A. We certainly couldn't have done more...

- A. ... and I think the purpose changes over a period of time as you begin to implement you find that certain changes should become inevitable. Did you ever read that thing I did on the Educator - The idea with that particular one was to some extent there, but I deal with it rather more fully in a much older thing I did in 1956 on the Art of Administration. It appeared first of all in the New Zealand Journal of Public Administration, but it was reprinted in a lot of places. I was dealing here with the Administrator and this whole concept of emergent aims and how anybody who gives general instructions were very specific compared with the kind of instruction you get from a cabinet minute. But if you get a cabinet minute which tells you to do certain things, I know perfectly well if they gave that cabinet minute to you and if they gave it to me, they might get a very different answer and both of us really thought we were carrying it out because at a certain point a situation arises, does he mean this, or does he mean that? This can be done in two ways or you can say, in actual fact what they say just can't be done at all. Let's get the nearest thing to which you can do and in that way I think the implementation is - if you have got a person with intelligence who is sensitive, I don't think it is frustrating because I think he does inevitably - within the limits of his conscience, I think he does alter what was intended. As you can see here, I am quite surprised at some of these things that were not what I intended. They may be what Jock intended, I don't know.
- Q. I don't claim that changes were indeed made. They were insignificant ones. But the people working on this wanted to make major changes.
- A. I can see that. In that case I don't think - I think the only way in which they can do that would be go to your top authority with the report and say, now we consider when we really get down to this, we consider this particular recommendation unworkable for this and this reason, and we recommend that the change be made. I think you've got to do that if you want to make a major change and I don't think it is a wrong thing to do and I as one of the authors of this report wouldn't feel in any way offended if that did turn out to be the case for I know perfectly well that some things look very nice in generalization, simply won't work...

- ... What worried me was that this thing was adopted without any of this kind of detailed criticism. It swept through far, far, too easily, no group of people working at that time in that particular restricted way and when our personal restrictions could have done a thing that was all-wise. I'm perfectly clear it couldn't, but since they wanted to get it through quickly that was the way it was done, but the mere fact that it was done so quickly, again it would I think almost inevitably have called for - but if you had wanted to make a change or anyone there had wanted to make a change, I think the Government or Administration would be wise to send for one or other, if not all of the original committee and say, now if this change were made, what effect could it have on this and this and this because they were in a better position to know that probably, than anyone who wanted to make this particular major change.
- Q. You're saying this all happened quickly. To my mind it didn't happen as quickly as to your mind, because the process started back early in '67 and the ideas and the direction of the thing spans a period '67 to '73, which isn't a short time. The peak acts, if you like to call them, do happen within a very short period of time.
- A. I'm referring to our formulation because for us it was a matter of 9 months. We did have the work that was done earlier, which we read - looking back now I don't know how far this affected us. But it is perfectly clear that the person who wrote those terms of reference had some idea in this head of the pattern that he would like to see come out of it. This isn't an amateurish, or entirely neutral set of terms of reference. Very far from it. So a considerable amount of thought had obviously gone in behind there. We were affected by that, we read the other stuff but at the present moment I can't remember much about it at all. I suppose there are two reasons, it becomes mechanically wiped out by the time we covered the same ground ourselves and rediscovered and also probably almost anybody tends to forget, tends to over-exaggerate his own and his colleagues contribution, and overlook the previous ones. It's a psychological quirk which you would naturally expect and probably appears in this case.

But from our point of view we had 9 months to, put it this way, we had 9 months to get this agreed upon to people to whom what we were saying did appear slightly new. To the churches it was shockingly new. They had read this other stuff, but they were completely in some cases, very very shocked by what we were suggesting. They didn't regard it as some old stuff coming up again.

- Q. But the thought of losing their power of appointment and dismissal I think was the radical element.
- A. They may have thought in a general way, an organization such as this, I don't think they had seen the implications of it, that it was going to involve taking in every kind of kid, not insisting on doctrinal allegiance and not having the right to dismiss their people, coming into a system, with hated systems and wanted to be individual and isolated independent groups, all this set of consequences of an organization that within itself might have been relatively familiar before we came, but the whole set of consequences were not. This was a shock, and this was the business that we had to get across and this was our contribution.
- Q. I think the major contribution was the selling of the national system to such a variety of people.
- A. Our individual point of view was a very short period. I think it was long enough but it did involve a pretty intensive effort, but we weren't fully on it in those 9 months either, I had a lot of other things to do, but it did involve - I probably knew more about it when it began than Jock Weeden.
- Q. On some other papers I've got there, from you, papers sent from John Lewis and others from London, Ghana.
- A. We got those later, I wrote for those. You'll find one or two letters there from me, replies to these people. I wrote to some people particularly and a whole batch of stuff came back.
- Q. These countries are going through the same sorts of problems.
- A. They didn't come to the same kind of solution. I don't think you'll find a solution like this anywhere, not that I know of. I didn't get a great amount from them, except some comfort of knowing that other people had the same kind of problems, but in actual practice I don't recall getting very much, and I don't remember any of the solutions coming from them at all. The

problems, yes. The problems in some cases - well the thesis I am doing now is almost exactly the same kind of situation in Fiji. They haven't found their solution yet, they are still depending - and the people from whom I was getting most of this information were old colonial office hands who really all of them, except John Lewis, who was originally a Missionary - no that's not true, but he was the head of the education service for a mission, he was a mission employee. This was his first job. But all the rest were office hands, they were very much steeped in the mission, partly because it was cheap I think and partly because there is this particular English middle class religious feeling that isn't very common in either Australia or New Zealand.

- Q. With the backdrop of other countries, we seem to be in Papua New Guinea trying to head off the post independence muck-up of school system which nearly always occurs. Yet, what we have really done we have put in another colonial system. We haven't really put in a Papua New Guinea system.
- A. I don't know that you can talk about a Papua New Guinea system for running schools. There isn't such a thing.
- Q. But there is a system which is devised by Papua New Guinea. It will be a model of some Western system.
- A. If you get a system devised by them it will be very much more western than I would try to impose. It would be very much more conventional. Every country has set out to have its own education system, adapted to its own purposes, they have swallowed a whole great chunk of stuff that is utterly irrelevant to their purposes. Look at the number of countries that have set up comprehensive schools without knowing what they were all about.
- Q. But to me, we haven't stopped the process that will happen post independence. There will still be this rethink, this Papua New Guinea writing of...
- A. So it should and it is their affair, but I think one thing we tried to do was to establish a conception of standards. When a school is worth having at all, even the size of classes, the amount of training of your teachers and standards to be established by inspection and so on, we really did try to get away from the idea

that a school is a school, is a school. That a school to be of any value, has to reach certain standards. Now this with the missions, we had to hammer it and hammer it.

- Q. But the missions within the Papua New Guinea thinking, have a good deal I think, of support and because of the old argument of relevance, they are saying that the types of schools they were running were in much closer contact with the people. What we've done is, we've raised everybody's sights to what was the administration school model that was gearing people for the modern economy.
- A. Yes, I think that is entirely true. I think that the kind of school they had was inefficient.
- Q. In number terms, it didn't really matter that so many fell by the wayside. It was a great waste of effort, but even if they complete the course, now, they will still be by the wayside.
- A. But whatever we had done in this respect, if I can judge from other countries, the demand for this concept of education would have come from the people. I have seen it in so many countries now that it does come and when it comes particularly to people who have parents who are illiterate, who have got no sort of feeling of any kind of standards, academic standards - I'm not talking about standards now, relevant to the village - but to academic standards, as you get in Indonesia, throughout Africa and Uganda particularly, I understand, masses and masses of schools. Private schools set up. Charging what is to the people, exorbitant fees to produce something that is no good at all, leading them up the garden path ...
- ...A To get any additional support that we felt was necessary for the church schools and what we wanted, that meant expenditure of additional money. What we wanted was to make sure that in spending this money one of the things we bought was quality. Now this is a more restricted point of view than thinking of all the things you could do to improve the quality of education and this was a very genuine limitation. You could set to work and say all the things to do to improve the quality of education, you would have had to cover curriculum. You would have had to cover the kind of work that went on in the teachers' college

which we didn't know a great amount. I personally only knew enough really to distinguish between the state ones and the church and the mission ones. We did know enough about the mission schools to know that their general average of standard was much lower than that of the general average of state ones, particularly in the primary service, in the secondary service not so. Sometimes you got Catholic sisters and some of them ran a very good school. We knew that, we knew this was the opportunity to raise the standards and I was fully determined and I say I, and I think the others were the same, certainly Jock was, fully determined to get some value for the money we knew that the government had to spend in the raising of standards. That is a very difficult thing indeed from saying, alright we're here to say what you've got to do to raise the standards of your education. You could have done that without touching the mission schools at all, but after all...

- Q. That is what a lot of government teachers in the first instance felt you should be doing.
- A. Well that wasn't what we were told to do. There is no reference to standards here, nothing. The fact that we brought standards within it was entirely our business in bringing it in. We could have been told that standards were not our business. The missions could have said on the basis of that the standards was not our business. We could only bring standards in, in so far as it related to this. I don't give a damn what teachers thought we should have done, we couldn't do it, we hadn't been told to do it and we were both public servants and know what the limits are; and we also know how to get around those limits; and we got round the limits to that extent by saying alright, one of the things you are going to buy, if you spend this money, one of the things you've got to buy, is quality. That is the only reason for bringing quality in so to talk about length of training colleges, teachers colleges and so on in government schools, we had just no basis for it. I won't say we didn't think about it, but we didn't discuss it to any great length, because it would have been outside our total objective. People who are not public servants, they don't quite realise the limitations under which you must work and actually the time again was short enough. It certainly wasn't long

enough to do any more than we did. Even if we had been asked to do it we couldn't have done it. We could have said things about lengthening teaching service, but everybody who makes a report on any developing country said those. You show me a team going to any developing country and I'll write most of their report in advance. Increasing the length of teacher training and having in-service training course and so on, it must be no matter who they are, will never see the country. I could write one for Outer Mongolia and I wouldn't be far wrong. McKinnon himself was a person who was working very hard, working very hard on standards, which was really the main things we were dealing with and it was in far more competent hands - we could have added nothing but a few odds and ends and bits of advice.

- Q. I don't think it was a matter of you adding, it was a matter of getting ideas and proposals into a form which was accepted by the government and could be operated on. Had McKinnon have had a clean sheet of paper on which to work and he was the boss, we would have seen a far greater change than what we saw, but he was always running into logger heads with the public service board, or somebody else in the bureaucracy who were used to saying we don't do things this way. It took years to get the Government Stores organized to accept mission schools buying things from them.
- A. Even to get the stuff distributed when you had it, oh yes.
- Q. The problem was to get it into operational policy.
- A. I've only got one copy of that little booklet of McKinnon's, that he wrote when he used this whole example -- but this is really what he was trying to get out. I think he over idealises in some ways, our particular committee, but...
- Q. I assume that the report embodies some at least of your philosophy of systems, how education organizations function. Have you done much thinking in the intervening years on this particular topic? System functioning?
- A. Yes, in the intervening years most of my work has been on Indonesia. When I went to P.N.G., it interrupted a book I was supposed to be writing on this topic. My first book - the Quality of Education in Developing Countries. The whole instability of a government, the relations between a Minister

and his government servants.

- Q. It is just so different from the kind of experience, of relationship in a Western society. To me, this is the great weakness in the P.N.G. system in that I think it assumes a Ministerial systems relationship that comes from sophisticated Western society and I don't think that sort of relationship is going to exist in P.N.G.
- A. Don't think this is in just in P.N.G., it occurs in all the ex-colonial countries - not all, - in most of the ex-colonial countries that I have known. Not in India, India is different, India has a whole host of different problems...
- ... I think it had to be done at that particular time in that particular way and you have to accept certain - well the people themselves. If we had been advising an entirely indigenous government, we had the luck to be advising a fairly efficient government and in some ways as you say knew that sooner or later it was going to have done with the responsibility for it and it wanted a nice quick clean decision, and it got it. Alright, I feel no sense of guilt in their having got it.
- Q. No argument they were happy with it.
- A. I know they were happy with it which makes me worried a little.
- Q. They were happy with it I think because they didn't see the problems that were going to arise with the system. But I don't think the problems that arose were no greater indeed they might be a lot less than what would have happened if we had continued in the same way.
- A. I still think that, but I think the problems would have arisen and I think that the other problems of the relation between your educational output and manpower demands, the gap between the lowered age of leaving school and the age at which you could start work, that one would in the end have arisen in some form or another, as it has arisen in almost every country that I know. But some problems are just too big to look at. This is one of the curious things I've found there and again in Indonesia, that there are some problems that are just too big, so you say now let's suppose this problem didn't exist what would we do? We know now - we don't know, but have a pretty shrewd idea that between 1971 and 1981 the secondary school system will turn out about 2 to $2\frac{1}{2}$ times as many secondary school graduates as are likely to be absorbed by industry in the kinds of jobs that we

now regard secondary school education as being preparatory for. We know that, the Indonesians know that. They are increasing the number of secondary schools, they are increasing the number of primary schools, which would increase by the next 5 year plan intensify the demand for secondary education, all of which is making it very much worse. They know this, they don't need me to tell them this, but it is just so big that you don't see it. I'm not cynical about educational planning...

- ...Q. What about one of the big problems for the missions was this religious choice, right of parents to have the education of their child that they wanted and so forth. Do you remember any incidents or arguments in this area?
- A. We had a few people who came along and gave evidence that their child hadn't been admitted to the local mission school.
- Q. Because they belonged to another?
- A. Well, no, that was their view, they did belong to another religion but the answer we got when we took it up from the voluntary agency, the answer was we had 70 applicants for 34 places and we took the best.
- Q. Surely this was one of the major concerns of the mission, in effect they've run great risk in the handing over of their schools of the influence of the church -
- A. If that was their major concern, they shouldn't be in the education business, they should be in the missionary business.
- Q. Did you argue this with them.
- A. No.
- Q. You don't recall any particular issue or debating.
- A. No, there was no great issue on this. There was one group of course that didn't come in, but we knew they wouldn't.

Interview with F. Daveson, 19th June 1974. (Formerly Principal District Superintendent, Department of Education, then Associate Teaching Service Commissioner until leaving Papua New Guinea in 1974.)

- Q. I wonder if you'd have a look at this list of names and just go down them and if you feel you could make a comment in the first instance on the role they played in the Weeden Report and in the second instance perhaps in the implementation of either the Education Ordinance or the Teaching Service Ordinance.
- A. Dr McKinnon of course, I think was the architect of both reports. He was the leading figure. Dr Beeby I had very little to do with. I know he was involved in the writing of the report. The information I had was, he did the hard hack work in the actual writing, while Weeden was doing a lot of the questioning and he was in fact doing the backroom hack work after hours. Syd Nielson, I don't know if he had, up until the time of the actual writing of the report, after the report had been written, I don't know if he had a great deal to do with the Teaching Service Ordinance anyway. He certainly had a lot to do with the early implementation of it.
- Q. One gets the impression that there was a stage there that McKinnon leant heavily on Syd for support. Were you aware of this?
- A. I would say after his appointment for the first twelve months, but I didn't get the impression that it was in relation to this type of thing. Syd was an operations man really.
- Q. Why did McKinnon appoint him as Commissioner?
- A. I would say the report had been written and it was a matter of putting it into operation and he thought Syd was the person to do it. Unfortunately, I think that Syd - well rightly or wrongly he felt that it was going to be implemented in such a way that the Commission would have very little power at all and he was going to do his best to make certain that - well it was going to be more than just a cipher. Jock Weeden of course, was very much in the public eye and they really think of it as the Weeden Report, but I understand a fair bit of writing was done by Beeby. He was a public relations man really, there may be some of his ideas in it I don't know; as I said I wasn't there when the Weeden/Beeby committee met, so I'm not too sure I didn't see them in

operation at all. He seemed to have a fair grasp, after the event, he still had a fair grasp of what was going on. He could always say he didn't intend that and we did intend this, he seemed to have a fair knowledge of what the Report was about.

- Q. Did he ever talk to you when you went to Canberra in '73 about Papua New Guinea events after the Report?
- A. Yes, well after all that is what I went down for, to try to come up with some suggestions about how to start the show.
- Q. Did he reflect any disappointment or anything in what was going on there?
- A. Yes, the impression I got was that he didn't seem to think it was going the way they had intended. I don't know whether he was too clear on the operations of a decentralized system, appointments and that sort of thing. How they'd intended putting it into effect he didn't seem to think it was going as he intended. Neville Fry, he was the executive officer of the committee. I think he was a fairly bright fellow and had a fair idea of the background to it but he seemed to fade out of the picture after the committee and I don't think he took a great deal of a part in the actual formulation of procedures or anything like that.
- Q. Have you any ideas why this was so?
- A. I'm not too sure why, I'm sure he would have had a lot to contribute.
- Q. Have you got any idea why he was selected to be executive officer?
- A. No idea at all. He was a fellow who got on well with McKinnon and I think they needed him on other jobs like that too didn't they?
- Q. Yes, they did on a couple of occasions.
- A. Dr McNamara - I'm not sure what role he played when the committee was meeting, but he certainly played a very important role later on, when the Ordinance was being written.
- Q. One of the impressions we get from talking to people is that McNamara plays a kind of an echo of McKinnon's ideas. Do you find this to be the case, or do you tend to find he had his own ideas even though he might have carried McKinnon's out eventually?

- A. I think he definitely had his own ideas and sometimes of course they didn't agree with Ken McKinnon's, but on the whole they thought fairly much alike I think. Not always exactly the same, in the way in which it was put into operation, but basically I think their ideas were much the same and perhaps this is because he had been prompted. But I was involved with Vin, and on a number of occasions with Joe Lynch and he used to argue strongly for what the Department - he and McKinnon - were really after in the ordinance, and quite often of course they didn't get it because Joe Lynch used to pass it off as being impossible.
- Q. This is something that has interested me - Joe Lynch's influence on what actually happened.
- A. I think he had a lot of influence on it.
- Q. Joe was never able to break out of his public service thinking.
- A. Bruce and Joe thought alike a lot in many ways. Both had an approach that was basically a public service approach and I think they supported one another.
- Q. My impression was that Bruce didn't really come into his own until post 1971 when the rest of us got out and away from the Commission and the Commission was left with it by itself to start running:- that Bruce was shoved aside during '71.
- A. Yes, I think in the negotiating stages he was, but there are still cases in areas where he could influence even at that stage and I think he had a certain amount of influence with Syd and they argued the same way on a number of occasions before Syd actually left the Commission.
- A. Norm Rolfe was a fairly quiet operator and had a lot of influence on the outcome. I think he probably did a lot more than many people think. There was nothing that went into that Ordinance that he did not look at fairly closely and compare with the operation of the Public Service and if it was too far out, then it just didn't get in. I know all the time I was in the Commission we consulted very closely with him.
- A. Les Johnson? Well as I said earlier, to my way of thinking he didn't get involved. No doubt Ken McKinnon had consulted him and been advised by him, but certainly this didn't become obvious to outsiders.

- A. Paul McVinney? He was certainly a strong personality and must have affected the Ordinance a lot in many ways. I can remember a couple of occasions even after I went there, the Ordinance was fairly firmed up even at that stage, where we had to back down once or twice on things we had done. I think it was while you were in the Commission. Procedures that we had actually sent out to Boards we had to rephrase them and that sort of thing.
- Q. Did you ever come into contact with him in the Department, pre Weeden or during 1970?
- A. Not really, I had very little to do with McVinney until I went into the Commission to replace Syd.
- Alwyn? Much the same would apply there. I met these people but had very little to do with them. He also had a fair bit of influence on it I think. As a member of the National Education Board, he got around the Territory a lot and he knew what was going on and I think he was responsible for some things that came up to the centres from the districts. I know on a number of occasions he would go around the districts for example and suggest what approaches they should be taking and sometimes these conflicted really with what we wanted. He went to Mendi and suggested something that we were trying to avoid really. I just can't think what it was now.
- Q. This would have been in what, '71?
- A. No it would have been '72. It was to do with leave of absence or something. I think it was leave of absence to attend church agency courses and this sort of thing and he was suggesting to District Education Boards that they had the authority to release people and it was exactly the opposite to what the Commission was trying to tell them.
- Roger Philpott? Well I think while you were there in the Commission we leaned on you a lot, the same as we did with Alan Musciolater. There were a lot of background papers that had to be written for discussion with the group and that type of thing and I think in your own quiet way, you and Alan did have quite a lot of influence on the actual procedures that were adopted. I don't know whether you had much influence on the background to the whole Ordinance, I certainly didn't get that impression.
- Alkan? Just how much influence he had on the Ordinance I'm not too sure. He seemed to come out of his shell a fair bit towards

the end, but I think he might have been inclined to go along with what Syd wanted in the early stages.

- Q. I got the impression that he switched horses somewhere along the way.
- A. You mean from Syd to McKinnon. Yes, well that was the impression I got too, that's what I say, he was strongly influenced by Syd in the early stages.
- Q. Have you got any idea why he did switch horses?
- A. He certainly never said anything to me about it. Perhaps he realised he was backing a loser. I don't think there was any way in the world that Syd could win out against McKinnon, McNamara and Johnson, and Alkan would have been astute enough to see this and realise that if he wanted to get anywhere he had to be with the strength. I would have said the change came towards the end of Syd's appointment as Associate Commissioner, certainly before I went in there. Let's face it. In many of those negotiations, Alkan was present but not participating, although I know he did hold strong views on certain things.
- Q. You are probably right there. I can't think of any areas as I only came in towards the end of the Ordinance discussions, but I can't think of any areas where he really was sort of holding out for any particular line. I have heard him discuss things like leave for women and this sort of thing, but there was nothing really of an educational nature he was pushing. But he seemed to be having misgivings towards the end of his stay there about the whole appointment system and I wouldn't have been very surprised to see him come out for a return to centralization. In fact he said that a couple of times to me that he would like to see it recentralized in many ways, before he even got the job as Director.
- A. I think that opinion has probably firmed up since he's been Director. That is my estimation.
- To get back to Dr Gris, he is a fellow I have never even met. I can only assume that when he was involved in the writing of this report it would have been on a peripheral basis really. He wouldn't have contributed a great deal to it. I might be being a bit unkind to him there, I don't know.

A. Alan Randall? Like McVinney and Neuendorf, I think Alan contributed a fair bit in a round about sort of way. He probably didn't express himself as clearly as McVinney for example. He had a round about way of going around explaining about things. Although I think his heart's in the right place, he might have had a bit of difficulty in that score, he and McVinney and Neuendorf might have had a little bit more influence I think.

Archdeacon Roberts? Didn't seem to have a great deal of influence on the discussions at all. Missed a fair few of them for a start, he didn't attend, to nearly the same extent as the others. Seemed to be mainly interested in how it affected Anglican schools and Anglican teachers, fairly conservative in many ways - and that was the beginning and the end of it.

Ray Blacklock? Was a little bit that way inclined too I think. He probably saw things a bit more clearly than Archdeacon Roberts, but he was still basically interested in how it affected the Lutherans and was a bit more worried than most that they would lose their identity I think. Those two I'd bracket together more or less. He was also fairly conservative on how the system affected the appointments to Lutheran schools. He felt they should have Lutheran headmasters and he was fairly conservative about the approach to reserve positions.

Jim Jones? I think Jim basically wanted the whole thing reversed to centralisation. He didn't believe in this business of decentralization at all.

Q. Were there any who supported him in the Department, in that? Perhaps not as openly as Jim.

A. I think basically Des Peisker would have liked to have seen a return to centralization. The fact is that it's more difficult I suppose to operate with a decentralized system. These blokes have got to staff schools and they saw difficulties in having staff applying to go to positions where they wanted them to be and where a school could run efficiently. Basically it came down to that I think and of course it did mean a loss of their own power in the system. But I think basically they believed it was inoperable.

- Q. Was McKinnon aware of this?
- A. I think so. Clearly, there was no doubt. I don't think Jim Jones would leave anyone in doubt that he was opposed to the system. Mind you he did his best to make things operate so they would work. The appointment papers that had to go out to headquarters:- the secondary division always did the right thing by them. I can't think of any problems that we had with the secondary ones. I say they did their best to make it work, they didn't try to sabotage it.
- Q. You did mention Leslie earlier. You felt that his relationship with Lynch was an important relationship in the way things were phrased.
- A. Mind you he had his problems with Joe Lynch too, basically because Joe Lynch was such a busy bloke and he couldn't give the job the time that he should have been able to give it and evidently needed, because it was a very complicated system and to write an ordinance and regulations for it you needed a lot of time:- but neither one of them really believed in it I'd say.
- Q. We talked previously about the system pre Weeden and the problems that were in the education system in general and you said you thought finance was the principal motivating force for the change. Is there anything else you would add to that as a force of influence? Do you think that personal ambition or anything like this came into it, or any other considerations?
- A. It's hard to say, there might have been a feeling amongst some of the church agency people that this gave them a bit more power and a bit more influence in the country.
- Q. Do you think the new education system has had much influence on the standard of education or the professionalism of teachers?
- A. I don't know that it has had any time for it to have any effect on standards. It certainly wasn't my impression that it had affected things much.
- Q. Given our coming over production of secondary graduates, the thought crossed my mind that perhaps we needn't have worried about all this co-ordination and that we are actually going to produce too many people in any case.
- A. This is a good point too. There are lots of other ways you could

have gone. If you had been more selective.

- Q. What I can't understand is why everybody bought the idea when it was going to cost a whole lot of money for little substantial change in education. It was virtually a handout to teachers. Were you aware of teachers rebelling in the church schools, were they really losing many?
- A. It certainly wasn't my impression. My impression was that the pressure didn't come from teachers at all, it came from the churches. They were the ones who felt that they couldn't afford to operate even at the level they were paying teachers at that stage. I think the fact that the Seven Day teachers stayed out completely, would tend to indicate that local teachers were prepared to accept the rate they were getting and I think they were stirred to become vocal about requiring better conditions than they were getting. And it was only certain areas this happened, particularly around Rabaul I think.
- Q. Were you ever aware of any influence or pressure from Canberra on development of the new education system?
- A. No, I wasn't aware of it. I think like most Governments they are only too happy with a status quo and would have been quite happy to carry on as it was. I think it was brought home to them whether correctly or not, that there were going to be problems of this nature you referred to - political representation from teachers and this sort of thing. There were going to be problems if they didn't increase the grant to church schools. But they didn't want to go ahead and do this without doing it in such a way that gave them a little bit more control of church schools.
- Q. Why did they want the control?
- A. I think they wanted the control because, well basically, I think McKinnon wanted the control.
- Q. I'm rather at a loss to see what advantage he got out of having that extra control. It would have been administratively simpler to have let the churches do their own thing even if we were paying more money.
- A. Well he always said he felt a decentralised system, (whether he said this only for the public), he always said a decentralized system was less open to manipulation after independence. If you

had a highly centralized system and you gave the country independence, they could mobilise this force to more or less take over the whole system and use it in a way....

- Q. One, reading that report of the '67 conference in the '69 paper McKinnon wrote, one gets the impression that he was greatly motivated by democratic principles and ideas yet he never operated as a democratic type person.
- A. That was what I was referring to when I said whether this was just for public consumption; I am sure, but he maintained that the main reason he wanted to see it democratized was that it was less open to takeover, political takeover.
- Q. Talking about democratization do you think it was even a real genuine desire to involve local government councils?
- A. Not that I ever saw.
- Q. Do you know who that idea came from?
- A. Presumably it was included in the report. I'd have thought it would have come from a bloke like Beeby, but whether this in fact was where it came from I don't know.
- Q. It does crop up in the '67 report, the conference in the Kokoda Hall, but I think it would have been something Beeby would have supported. One of the principles in the Weeden Report is this protection of parental rights over the picking the right of religious environment in which a child can go to school. Did this ever crop up as an issue in the Commission while you were there?
- A. You mean whether a certain school would be established - the right to establish say more than one school? It certainly cropped up in the department of course, the right for a child to get an education at a church of the religion of his choice, or whether in fact you could go ahead and establish, or afford to establish two schools so that this would afford the person this religious freedom, or whether you had to restrict their freedom a bit to spread the available resources further. Did this crop up? My impression was that the tendency was to spread the resources rather than to guarantee the religious freedom, but as I understood it, this was why the proviso was put in that you couldn't restrict the entry of a child on the basis of religion. If there

was a school there, then he had to have equal right to go to it. How this would work out where you had far too great a number, where it would mean excluding children of that particular denomination, I don't know.

- Q. How would you describe the relationship between the various churches, government and teachers unions around this 1970/71 period?
- A. It seemed to be fairly guarded and suspicious I'd say. Each one suspecting the other's motives. It worries my conscience a bit, the situation of forced compromise which developed. I often feel that part of the ills is because of that '71 situation of having to compromise instead of just one person doing a co-ordinated system.
- Q. You mean when they had those meetings and they thrashed things out and in those cases you must compromise.
- A. Yes.
- Q. What you are suggesting is, it might have been better for the administration to come up with something and say, that's it.
- A. On the other hand they might not have got as many churches into the system as they did in the long run. You had one hold out, the Seven Days held out as it was, but you may have had particularly I think the Lutherans and the Anglicans, holding out if you hadn't compromised as much as you had and that may have been worse in the long run.
- Q. Do you have any personal views on what should be done in the education system in Papua New Guinea?
- A. Not particularly. It was just the enormity of the task.
- Q. How about the time span, say this Weeden Report had been brought in two years earlier. Do you think things would have been better now?
- A. I think that the system will probably shake itself out eventually, but I think it would have done that without the Weeden system anyway.
- Q. Do you think it's been much use to have say the Weeden Report? Could we have done without it?
- A. I think we could have done without it.
- Q. You feel that the administrators of the system would have moved

around some changes?

- A. I am sure they would have.
- Q. Let's come back to this McKinnon and Nielson clash. You don't feel that Nielson started to come into conflict with McKinnon until well into the year 1971, when it became obvious that Nielson wasn't going to give in, so far as his view of what the teaching service would be and McKinnon had in the first place picked him because he was an operations man and the best man to bring the new system into function. Do I sum you up satisfactorily?
- A. Yes, that was my impression: that until that period fairly late in his term of office as Associate Commissioner, they had gone along together fairly well, then this developed gradually I would say over the period of Syd's appointment.
- Q. Moving on to the McNamara issue. You weren't aware that the pressures were there to get rid of McNamara in the department, out of the negotiations.
- A. I can't remember being aware of it, I can't remember knowing of any attempt by the churches and the union... no I can't say I was aware of it.
- Q. You didn't have any involvement in the Weeden Report, you were absent that year, but you did attend some of the sessions in '67 in the Kokoda Hall.
- A. Yes, that's right and I can remember at that stage that this was where there was mention of the crisis developing for churches.
- Q. Were you ever aware of any political manipulations in the system?
- A. No I think we touched on that before, and I said the only one I was really aware of was the manipulation by the Association but this was not in relation to the implementation of the Ordinance. I have no doubt that, and as a matter of fact McVinney has told me on a number of occasions, that he had people that he could always go to in the House.
- Q. At the time the Ordinance was passed they spent about \$5,000 on shifting people around.
- A. He was never secretive about this. Similarly I think Alwyn used to do this and no doubt the Lutherans did.
- Q. But not quite as openly as McVinney?
- A. I don't know about the Anglicans. Probably not too much.

- Q. What do you think about the timing of the whole business? First of all, any proposal to bring in educational change and secondly of the actual implementation of the changes?
- A. Well it was such a momentous change. Not that the implementation was all that quick, but whether it was better to do it quickly or to make it a gradual implementation and have the complication of having to run both systems. There was such a marked change -
- Q. Do you think it was fair to do it when we were trying localization with looming self government and this sort of thing?
- A. Well, I think we mentioned earlier - my own view is I don't think I would have implemented, I think it was quite unfair on the country as a whole.
- Q. One of the areas missing in the report was any recommendation about the administrative framework within the department, yet for quite a few years now they have been trying to re-organize the department and it has not been successful. Do you think the implementation process would have been easier if the department had been re-organized?
- A. I don't know if it would have made that much difference.
- Q. One of the things that has always worried me is that Jim Jones has had his fixed ways of doing things and seeing the system function, the same with everybody in charge of various divisions and I wonder if this inhibited the implementation of things?
- A. Well it's only a formal organization anyway, I think it's the informal one that counts and changing your formal structure of the department wouldn't have changed the personalities of the people involved and I think the people who opposed would still have opposed it and would still have been in positions of authority anyway. I don't think it would have made that much difference.
- Q. Do you think other people, the teachers, community and a wider circle of people outside those directly involved really knew what they wanted in a new education system?
- A. No I am quite certain they didn't know.
- Q. Was there any pressure that you could identify?
- A. I wasn't aware of any real pressures for change at all.
- Q. What do you think would have happened if the Weeden Report had not been accepted by the Government?

- A. I think there would have been pressure from the Church for more funds and I think they'd have got it and probably the old system would have continued.
- Q. Of the things in the new system what do you like best, what has been the most successful aspects?
- A. I think there was beginning to develop a little bit of an idea of belonging to a Service and this is the thing that I saw as being desirable, that there was this fragmentation.
- Q. Are you talking about teaching as a profession, or the education system?
- A. Well a bit of both really. There was and still exists to a certain extent, this feeling of being separate services, there was a Catholic Teaching Service and there was a Lutheran and an Anglican and so on, and they were all separate, separate from and inferior to, as they say themselves, the Administration Teaching Service.
- Q. Why did they see themselves in this way?
- A. They saw it maybe because of the difference in salaries perhaps.
- Q. Money was the yardstick of man's worth?
- A. Probably I'm contradicting myself from what I was saying a little bit earlier because I felt at that stage, that there wasn't really the pressure of higher salaries and the pressure came mainly from the churches themselves, but in fact it wasn't only money. I think it was prestige. Where there was a church school and administration school operating in fairly close proximity, the people seemed to have a higher opinion of the service the administration school was providing and I think that this rubbed off on the staff. It wasn't only salary I'm sure, other working conditions, supplies and all round, the church teachers suspected or knew they weren't getting an equal deal.
- Q. Do you feel that there was enough education within the department itself and its various field officers, what was required and expected and why things had been organized in the way they had been?
- A. You mean communication from the top to the districts?
- Q. And within the hierarchy as well.

- A. Well probably not really. There certainly was as far as the Assistant Director level, whether there was in the Superintendent level, probably there was a bit of a breakdown in communication there.
- Q. Do you think superintendents were very interested? I got the impression that they get wads of documents and things, but never really get time to sit down and consider it.
- A. That's right, you've got a small area of responsibility and it is usually a pretty busy one at that level. Mostly practical sort of stuff and you haven't got much time to worry about the policy decisions and probably leave it to the Assistant Directors and Director. But I think they did their best to try to get down to the District Inspector, District Superintendent level. With the finance available they covered this process fairly well I thought.
- Q. Of course this report and its recommendations were written pre-effective ministerial government really, which we now have. What influence do you think that the coming of fully effective ministers will have on this system?
- A. Certainly the ministers will want to have a little bit more say in many things and this militates against that, so there is every possibility I'd say if you get a strong Minister he will want to reassert his authority and if you get a few senior public servants who support this view it might be hard to stop them reversing the process.
- Q. What effect do you think the new system had, on say, relationships with the Director, with the schools and the system?
- A. It didn't seem to affect McKinnon's contact with schools. I think he more or less tended to ignore the changes I'd say. He went on as if this change in system hadn't taken place, and I don't really see any reason why it should have affected his contact with schools, he was still responsible for educational standards.
- Q. Doesn't the question arise then, whether the system has been an effective decentralization or not. One assumes that decentralization meant decentralization of power. Would you say that has really happened?
- A. No, not really.
- Q. Why?

- A. Well he still held the purse strings. Perhaps it was that the National Education Board hadn't flexed its muscles and used the authority that was in the ordinance.
- Q. One of the other things that has been of concern is the Director's influence over the appointments of Commissioners and members of staff in the Commission - people on secondment from the Department of Education.
- A. Well, having been involved with this - this is a problem I must admit, the appointment of Syd as Associate and of Alkan as Commissioner, my appointment as Associate, the appointment of Kevin as Acting Associate when I left, Tau Boga's appointment; they were all done by the then Director of Education, but then, who else are you going to go to?
- Q. It may be more a ministerial type consideration in the future.
- A. Probably the Minister will assert his authority a little bit more as he gets to know the people involved, but the fact that you appoint a person, doesn't always mean that they are going to go along with you, as experience with Syd has shown. As Ken's experience with Syd, and Alkan's experience with Tau is beginning to show. People once they get the authority, quite often change. But the length of appointment is always your control on this and this happens whether you've got a public servant influencing the appointment or whether it's a politician. Personally I don't agree that they should make short appointments like that. Was it only two years they appointed Tau Boga or three? - but anyway they are fairly short appointments, and I think a Commissioner like that should be appointed for a fairly lengthy period. I can see the point in only making appointments of expatriates for only short periods and as a matter of fact this suited me and I certainly didn't want a long appointment.
- Q. Based on time in the Commission is there anything you would like to see changed or implemented?
- A. No, I took the view that I wasn't there to influence or implement changes other than those that were accepted in the report. I took the view that that report and the ordinance that was written on it, was the bible and except for the latitudes you were allowed, I didn't think I should go outside it.

- Q. When do you think would be a good time to review all this then?
Is it a bit early yet?
- A. I don't think they should let it go too long, they need to allow time to settle down, it certainly hadn't settled down before I left and I doubt if it would have settled down in the last few months. The sheer volume of applications for positions, we were always saying this is going to taper off and this load of sorting applications and making appointments, the load would diminish and decrease but this hadn't seemed to occur. I think for the bugs to get out of the system, it is going to take say two or three years for these problems to show their head and be sorted out. I would say give them to the end of next year, it might be a good time to have a really good look at it and decide whether there are any changes needed.
- Q. Is there any other matter you would like to comment on?
- A. No, I can't think of anything. I think I was a little bit disillusioned about the whole thing.
- Q. Why do you think this was so? This has been a common reaction of a lot of people with the whole process whether they were for it or against it.
- A. I don't know. Probably because we found the benefits weren't there. It was a lot of extra work - I have this theory that the Australian way of doing things is to have a committee of enquiry put out a report that becomes government policy and you put into operation. But if you've got a very complicated situation that's going to take several years to implement, as this thing did really, it took from the end of '69 through to say the end of '72 before the first detailed framework was out. We've had '73 to try it out and '74 again, but so many things have changed, that you need the flexibility to adjust to new pressures and that this type of educational change as proposed in the Weeden Report really needs to be held in the hands of an ongoing committee rather than a once only committee.
- My feeling was in a situation like Australia, which is fairly stable by comparison, this is the type of situation you might like to feel comfortable about implementing, because you'd feel that if ...
- Q. Would you get sufficient agreement in Australia to make sweeping changes like that?

- A. No, but presuming the Government made the decision to change and presuming it was implemented, then you'd feel that the country was stable enough for it to have a chance of success, but as it was up there, everything was changing. The whole country was moving towards self government, and further and you had Ministerial appointments coming through and these people were taking a great deal more interest in the operations and you could see that they were going to want to have more influence on it themselves, and my whole feeling was you were going to a lot of trouble and quite possibly what's going to happen is you'll have it half implemented and it is going to be thrown out and this was the nagging sort of suspicion I had all along. Is it worthwhile? I'm afraid I answered it in the negative. I didn't really feel it was worthwhile.
- Q. They tried to implement it.
- A. They used the spirit of it.
- Q. The fact that most of the recommendations were available in '67, raising the question of necessity of the Weeden Report, which we have already discussed, then the continual harping that this is the government policy, this Weeden Report and nothing else which you said you accepted when you went to the Commission, as the operational mandate, but in many ways it is this aspect which makes the implementation of the Weeden Report so difficult. That the '69 setting of the Weeden Report was vastly different from the '71 setting of implementation.
- A. I agree.
- Q. As a Senior Departmental officer, did you feel left out or were there enough operational things to keep you so busy you didn't really care? I'm talking about '67/68.
- A. I wasn't even involved in these considerations at all in '67/68, I was so busy doing appointments to schools all over Papua New Guinea, this type of mechanical operation; I didn't have any real worries about this sort of thing.
- Q. So your principal connection with this is within the Commission.
- A. That's right.
- Q. The impression as an outsider, was that you got appointed to the Commission because this helped the department - Syd had to go,

someone had to be found and you were in a key position that was going to be localised, so this gave an opportunity to test people out in it.

- A. I was acting as Principal District Superintendent, when they put me in there and that was Syd's position, the position he had been appointed to and he had held and I think he and I had a similar background in many ways, although he had been far more involved in the negotiations on this than I had, but I probably had as much knowledge of the background as most of the other people at that level. In my position as Principal District Superintendent, I did come into some contact with the group doing the organizing, but very, very, little really. I was involved from the point of view of organizing the district education boards, getting them off the ground, so I suppose I had a little bit more contact than a lot of others at my level, say Gordon McMeekin for example, although I think he was away at that stage wasn't he.
- Q. Why do you think there was the difficulty in implementing the Teaching Service Ordinance in comparison to the Education Ordinance?
- A. The Education Ordinance didn't really have the complications, the departures from normal practice that the Teaching Service Ordinance had had. It was fairly straight forward by comparison. In some ways I suppose the Education Ordinance was only formulating what was already operational.

Interview with Neville Fry on 25th June, 1974 (formerly Senior Officer Department of Education, Executive Officer Committee of Enquiry - now in administrative position University of Queensland.)

- Q. The first question we ought to pursue is how did you become involved in the work on the Weeden report?
- A. When I first went up to New Guinea at the end of 1967 that was just when a lot of the preparatory work was getting under way. They were looking at possible ways of financing the mission scheme and fixing all the complaints of the missions about not being able to keep going; and existing financial arrangements and the research section of the department where I was appointed, was asked to prepare a few background papers for a working party. Jim Ritchie was I think the chairman of that. It was an internal working party Jim Ritchie, Ken McKinnon and somebody else from Canberra - Claude Reseigh from Canberra. Another chap from financial section of Territories was on it. Les Johnson was on it and he was Assistant Administrator (Services) at the time. They were looking at possible new arrangements for accommodating the missions within the education system with a higher level of government finance and the two things they were really looking at was how much it was going to cost to keep the missions system going with a minimum cost to the government and from the education side of it, what was a desirable way of re-organizing the education system. That committee met a number of times and I think they prepared a report which I haven't really seen.

It was prepared, but I think it died a natural death in Canberra for lack of interest and probably because the cost of it was fairly substantial; and out of that rather than implement that just straight off the decision was to form an advisory committee because I had been involved in the background of the previous interdepartmental committee, I was I suppose a natural for getting the job with the advisory committee.

- Q. You walked more or less slap bang into that committee work when you first got there.
- A. Pretty well, I think I was fiddling around about a month on something else and that was the first major thing the research section got involved in.

- Q. You had come from a more educational curriculum oriented position?
- A. I was a teacher before that.
- Q. Did you play any part in the 1967 conference held at the Y.W.C.A. hall?
- A. No, that was just before I went to New Guinea. I got up in November of '67.
- Q. In other words, this subcommittee was working on a report that had already been prepared earlier in the year. You were taking policies recommended and trying to turn them into operational terms?
- A. I don't know whether they were really taking policies that had been recommended. They were looking for the outcome of that earlier conference. I suppose they were recommended policies, they'd looked at some alternative ways of re-organizing, but I don't think it was really a firm recommended policy coming out of it. I think decisions from that conference as I recollect it, wanted the Government to pay an equivalent amount of money to what they were paying their own teachers, yet the missions wanted to retain full control. Whereas from the other side, the Government's attitude was they didn't want to spend any more on mission education unless the mission schools could be brought into a unified system.
- Q. Who was the Government in that sense? Was Johnson behind that feeling and thinking?
- A. Yes, and Canberra too. This was certainly the feeling of the committee that met during 1968.
- Q. When I said March I was wrong, it was July '67 and March '68 that the report comes out in when the democratic, non democratic system is brought out in the first couple of pages.
- A. This is the brown book, is it? I think that wasn't actually a report but a set of background papers. I don't think a report came out till much later in the year.
- Q. What was the motivation for preparing these background papers. There was a whole lot of discussions on what various countries were doing. You did that in the research section as well?
- A. Yes, this joint committee asked for this kind of survey to be done and it was really just for a point of view of some background educational material, perhaps the feeling from the Papua New Guinea members of the committee was that the Canberra people that

were coming up were more the financial analysis types of people and they needed a bit of educational background, what was being done in other developing countries, what the rationale behind it was, also perhaps because they were used to a different kind of church relationship in education in Australia.

- Q. This was one of the amazing things about the whole of this Weeden report though, in that it is un-Australian in its orientation and we will discuss that.
- A. Deliberately so. That's Beeby's influence too of course.
- Q. Did you get involved with the legislation at all of the Education Ordinance?
- A. This is a lot later on isn't it. Not very heavily, I think. I must have been involved in it to some extent, but virtually it was the old educational advisory board formed a kind of a sub-committee which was going to be a working group to draft the legislation to implement the Weeden committee recommendations. I can remember Neuendorf and McVinney basically being the ones. Were you involved in that yourself?
- Q. No didn't come back until December 1970.
- A. There was somebody from the Teachers Association involved in it too. Was it Michael Grimes?
- Q. No it wouldn't have been Grimes.
- A. Was it the chap who was injured in the crash?
- Q. Probably, Kevin Diflo.
- A. He's here by the way. It could have been him, I'm not sure on that.
- Q. My understanding is that there was no teaching association involvement in the drafting of the Education Ordinance. They might have been involved at the last minute. The P.S.A. got a copy of the proposed draft just before it went to the House - last minute, do you object to anything in this and they did lodge some objections more on the employment side than on the system side.
- A. My memory is a bit hazy.
- Q. Let's come back to getting involved with the actual Weeden report. How did that come about? You prepared some background papers for shall we call it the Ritchie/Johnson report of '67.
- A. There is a report from that.
- Q. When did that report come out?

- A. It was in the second half of the year, I can't remember the exact month - '68. It was a big fat thing on foolscap paper and some copies had a green cover and some had a blue cover.
- Q. It wasn't called the first education plan, or something like this was it?
- A. I don't remember, but it had some 5 year plan projections in it.
- Q. I think I've seen a copy.
- A. One of the reasons that this fizzed, was that we prepared the report in Port Moresby and sent copies of it down to Canberra. The way it was prepared by and large was, that McKinnon sat at his desk with a stenographer on the other side and dictated the findings of the committee and it was all couched in his terms and with his emphasis in it and we had to supply all the detailed tables to go with it, but when it went down to Canberra Claude Reseigh in particular said this is not what we agreed upon at all and I think it was the former Secretary of the department, Warwick Smith. From what I can gather of the in fighting down there, Reseigh himself was reasonably convinced by the sort of argument that was put up by the New Guinea contingent and he did pretty well agree to the report, perhaps not in the well phrased form that it finally ended up but to the basic recommendations of it, yes. But when it got home to Warwick Smith, I think he hit the roof and said, oh you didn't agree to that did you? There were a few steps of backing down going on in Canberra and by the time it was all over they refused to accept it as the actual findings of this committee and it died a natural death.
- Q. That publication you had with the A.N.U., that research report. That was done in '68 wasn't it? So that would have been part of the background for this ...
- A. Not really, it was after that. It was later on and done independently of that committee, although of course the tables that are in the back are very much the tables that were presented to the committee, the 5 year projection and I guess it must have arisen out of that in my own mind, but it was a separate exercise.
- Q. We come towards the end of '68. What were the pressures then building up? Why did we get the Weeden committee coming? You'd just had the '68 thing knocked back virtually.

- A. Not so much rejected, as shelved in favour of a more thorough going enquiry and part of the logic behind that I always maintain, although of course you would never get anybody to admit it, was that if you had a further enquiry for another year it postponed the introduction of higher costs by a year and saved the Australian Government a certain amount of money. There may be an element of truth in that. Probably it is fairer to say for a major change in the system that was proposed.
- Q. Another system was not unreasonable ?
- A. Not so much that in forming a unified system and involving this enormous extra cost as it seemed at the time an internal departmental committee wasn't quite the stature of the body that recommended that, and there was some feeling that the package would become more acceptable to all involved especially to the Commonwealth Government and as they maintained, to the missions, although I don't think that was really so important, but the Commonwealth Government did have a lot less difficulty in accepting a report from eminent educationists of international note rather than McKinnon. It's not just in Papua New Guinea that that happens.
- Q. Were you aware of any outside pressures during '67/'68?
- A. There was a lot of pressure from the missions.
- Q. What form did that take?
- A. Letters from various bishops in particular. The Catholic Bishop, in basic terms saying if they didn't get any more money they would fold up, not quite threatening letters, but close to it. A bit like the Goulburn stuff here in Australia. We are doing a tremendous amount in education, we are doing it on a shoestring, we haven't got any more money and we can't keep going the way you are, and if you don't give us the money soon, our teachers are going to go on strike, our schools will fold up and then you'll have to take over and it will cost you a hell of a lot more than we are asking. It was that kind of thing. Bougainville I think was in the forefront with it.
- Q. Strangely enough that was one of the more reluctant districts when it came to the crunch to join the system.
- A. They wanted the handout from the Government. They couldn't see why if the Government was paying up to \$1,200 for a European teacher

and somewhere around the \$500 mark for a local teacher why they couldn't just double that amount or just pay over the salaries. Surely they were doing the job educationally to the satisfaction of the Government because they weren't getting any complaints from the Government that their education was inferior.

- Q. Did the impetus for the committee come from Canberra quite clearly or did it come from Moresby, in a sense that McKinnon might have been frustrated by the reaction and then tried to steer it into an external committee?
- A. No, I think it was basically Canberra. It became apparent in Port Moresby that the only way you'd get anywhere was to go in this direction. We wanted Canberra to just implement the big blue report that the joint committee had come up with but they refused to agree with it and weren't prepared to implement it on the basis that was proposed there and the only way they would proceed was by having one of these high level committees of enquiry.
- Q. When did you first find out about this committee development proposal?
- A. Again, I'm not too sure, but I think towards the end of '68. It must have been towards the end of '68 that the names were proposed and the people invited.
- Q. Do you recall who the first names were because it took a long time to get the committee under way?
- A. I'd have to get the file.
- Q. I recall Sir Arthur Lewis was one of the people they were hoping to get, but he wasn't available and my reading of the file suggests then they tried to get a non-European to be chairman.
- A. Yes, that's right. They were certainly...
- Q. Where did that idea come from?
- A. McKinnon basically.
- Q. What do you think his motivation was with that?
- A. Not too sure, I think the same sort of motivation that later committees had all tried to have local membership and the feeling was they wanted to have a committee that the Papua New Guinea people in the future would be able to look back on and feel it wasn't something that was imposed upon by them by the Australians, the British or some combination of Australian stooges.

- Q. This is just what Tau Boga has been saying. He just said recently, "a dream child of the expatriate theorists", so it was to no avail really.
- A. Well, it didn't come off, maybe he would have spoken differently if they had got one of the prominent African educators. I think there was a fair bit of feeling in P.N.G. Well it probably still holds - not so much now, they'd say 'we're not African now' but I think in those days there was a feeling that developing countries of Africa are where we should be looking for examples and advice rather than Australia because it is a different ball game altogether.
- Q. Have you got any idea how we came to get Weeden, Beeby and Gris?
- A. Not really, not anymore than you've said, they tried to get a number of people and it turned out that Beeby was available, and let's face it Beeby had an international reputation, pretty well second to none.
- Q. He had been to P.N.G. too, I think in '66 for the Camilla Wedgewood lecture. I think I remember going to hear him.
- A. But he had also done similar work in North Africa, Middle East probably both, I think he was involved in something in Iran, another one in Ethiopia.
- Q. Did McKinnon bump into him in his studies do you know?
- A. I honestly don't know. Beeby is a tremendous fellow and he gets on very well, so the first time I saw Beeby and McKinnon together, they were old buddies, but then later on Beeby would meet somebody one day and the next day they'd be old buddies, Mike Morrison and people like that.
- Q. Why did you get picked then for the executive officer?
- A. I was there and I had been involved in this other background stuff and McKinnon I suppose was happy enough with the way I had done that. There was somebody else, I have forgotten who, who was originally going to do it and it was the year I started trying to do an M.Ed. in P.N.G. I was out at the University, talking to Jeffrey Smith lining up my proposed course of study and the phone rang and it was somebody from the Department of Education saying, I thought you might be out there, McKinnon wants you. I said I'll be back after lunch and he said, oh no they want you straight away, go into the conference room in A.N.G. House straight

away. So I went in there without quite sort of connecting up I was only just back from leave and I walked in and Beeby and Gris were there.

Q. They didn't pick you until the committee had actually collected?

A. They were actually there. They had had somebody else, somebody else working for them and he had started with them. I was on leave when they first started and he had done some initial background work.

Q. Can you just rove around a bit on what the committee did and reaction to things and how you started off and who was the real strength in the whole thing?

A. It needs a bit of memory prompting.

Q. Well, what was Weeden's contribution, what was Beeby's contribution, what was Gris's contribution?

A. The initial thing was, McKinnon was able to present them with a great pile of stuff that had gone on in the previous couple of years, the mission meetings, the joint committee and the background papers that were prepared in a big fat report. The initial discussions were really on where this report had got them and how McKinnon saw the present situation in relation to that report. Was it really acceptable amongst the Missions? How good a starting point would that big fat report be to the advisory committee? I think McKinnon's feeling was that that report was pretty well it, and you had to pay pretty well the same salaries as government teachers, there was no way around that, but they didn't go for that. The Government and particularly the Commonwealth Government wouldn't settle for much less than pretty well direct control of what went on in mission schools, especially posting of teachers and this kind of thing. The impasse at that stage of the game if there was one, was the reluctance of the missions to accept the measure of control that the Government wanted. I think it was pretty well put to the committee that their main job was to cook up a compromise in which the missions would accept the greatest possible amount of Government control over what went on in the schools in return for getting the maximum proportion of the Government level salaries and so as far as I recollect the starting point for the committee was the report that was prepared from the

mission conference plus the background papers being sent around the place. I'm not too sure whether there were comments from the committee on it or not, I don't think there were. I think this was sent out by the Department along the lines that there is a committee of enquiry and these are the sorts of things that are being talked about, the committee will be coming around to visit you fairly soon and they'd like to hear your thoughts about these sorts of things and perhaps put some alternative possibilities to you for your comment, all of which I think were singularly ineffective, because when the committee did start moving around the place most of the mission teachers didn't have any real idea of what was going on.

- Q. We found the same with the development of the Teaching Service Ordinance that even if you provided information people didn't do much thinking on it.
- A. So that really the first round of visits that the Advisory Committee went on was as much explaining to people the sorts of things that were being considered and putting out of their minds the sorts of things that weren't implied by the enquiry. A lot of missionaries thought it was just going to be a government takeover, fullstop, and they couldn't understand that there was any other possibility, so that was really the way they went about it. They had one big round of visits where they tried to visit every district and if possible visit more than one centre in each district to get as many missions as possible represented both from the official mission authorities and the teachers in the mission and where possible to get them separately to explain to them what was being considered and get some reaction from them. In the later round of visits I think were more directed towards the mission authorities themselves, trying to negotiate the control business.
- Q. We have been having quite a debate over just how much contribution people make to things like this Committee of Enquiry. In effect the Weeden report is a rehash of the 1967 recommendations and obviously McKinnon must have set the groundwork very well in that first meeting, "it's a system we can buy, you make the missions buy it". Do you really see the principal task of the Committee of Enquiry being one of making sure that the missions could accept the control procedures?

- A. I think by and large, yes. It was more a public relations exercise, top level negotiation to some extent. I think it's a bit hard to just pin down the precise areas, but they certainly created the impression of listening to what the missions had to say and carrying a mission point of view to the Government as well as what I've been perhaps emphasising, of getting across to the missions what the Government wanted them to do. I think in some ways the missions probably got a better final result out of it than they might have got if it had been just on the basis of the previous recommendations from the joint committee.
- Q. There was certainly refinements to what was being proposed and a clearer spelling out. One of the things I've been worried about is the complexity of say the affiliated schools, associate schools, and all this sort of thing, most of which wasn't used when it came to the crunch, it seems to me we complicated the system for really a very small handful of people.
- A. You'd have to talk to Beeby about that. I didn't like it at all at the time and I think McKinnon's attitude was take it or leave it, knowing full well that they would be forced to take it, but this is where the main sort of mission itch was, they didn't want to be forced into it with no alternative and I think this was in the back of Beeby's mind, it was certainly his brainchild, he came up with it one morning after a sleepless night.
- Q. Who actually did most of the contribution to the report itself?
- A. You'd have to say Beeby did most of it.
- Q. This is what Beeby claims himself actually. I spoke to him on the phone in New Zealand for a little while and I was rather surprised. I would have thought Weeden would have made a bigger contribution.
- A. Weeden was abit out of his depth. Beeby was an educationist of international repute and he had done a lot of this kind of work in a lot of different countries, and developing countries too, with problems of a similar kind. He came from New Zealand where the education system is a lot more decentralized than in Australia, so he was used to running a decentralized system where he was quite happy to let local people make all sorts of decisions in appointing staff and everything and he was also used to developing

countries the sort of problem of having a very small percentage of kids in school and the need to build up a system that was actually providing an education rather than just putting up buildings and poking people into them.

- Q. Did Weeden have any particular contribution or was it just as chairman guiding things around?
- A. When you say just as chairman, guiding things around, I think that he's very shrewd and he's a very smooth sort of chairman. It wasn't any mean sort of contribution to be just a chairman, he was an excellent chairman and he smoothed over a lot of the negotiations. He also in a lot of ways, was a foil for Beeby in a lot of discussions. I think you'd have to say that Beeby is pretty temperamental. He gets extremely agitated at the drop of a hat virtually, and there could have been times I feel in discussions when Beeby could have become quite aggressive and almost abusive to people and whenever this sort of glint appeared in his eye and he was just about to launch into some of these Bishops and tear them to shreds and call them all sorts of things for the attitudes that they held so firmly, and Weeden would cut in. He'd speak in his very slow and methodical way and take the heat out of the whole thing. He could also put a lot - Beeby would tend to race ahead and talk very quickly and put a tremendous amount into what he was saying and Weeden would sort of translate it back. Quite often there would be a discussion between the two of them in which Weeden was elucidating what Beeby had said that had gone over the heads of those listening.
- Q. In my dealings with Jock I have always found him very conservative in his thinking on public service matters and that. He must have come into quite severe conflict with Beeby over the structure and organization. I would have thought for example he would have supported greater power for the commission.
- A. I'm not too sure of this. A lot of discussions went on after hours for sure and I wouldn't have been around for a lot of it but I honestly don't think - really Beeby would be a better one to tell you this, but I don't know that Weeden was that much of an influence on Beeby from that point of view of actually having a firm opinion on something that he wanted to insist on going into the system. I think the way that the system was lined up

was pretty much as Beeby conceived it and perhaps Weeden helped to spell it out more methodically and more clearly but I don't know that Weeden had that much influence on the overall structure.

Q. What about Gris? He's chairman of a committee of enquiry now and he's doing a very good job. He obviously learnt the skill somewhere.

A. I tend to compare him with Vincent Eri on the higher education committee and there was no comparison. Gris had contacts all over the countryside, the way any of these senior public servants have and he was able to get from local people their real feelings about things and quite dramatically.

Q. You did a special tour with him. What happened on that tour?

A. The idea of it was to get to a lot of the smaller districts where the full committee couldn't actually go because of the time pressure. We did pretty much what the full committee was trying to do in their rounds, of getting in touch with all the missions in the district and government teachers as well. Trying to talk to the missionaries and the teachers separately and to try and get the feeling of the teachers about it as well as getting what the missionaries said. It was quite interesting, you'd get to a meeting and if there were some mission teachers there and some missionaries as well, European teachers, local teachers, they'd all be saying we do it because we love God and we want to serve him and we want to serve the people of this country and we do find it fairly hard to make ends meet on the present salaries but the people are generous, they give us gifts and we're content to live amongst them and do our work as teachers, to the Glory of God. Then the meeting would finish off, the general idea being, No, they didn't want the money, they wanted to preserve their identity and make sure that the christian message was imparted through the schools and if the Government wanted to give them some more money, then they might be able to teach better, but they didn't really want it for themselves, they weren't looking for extra money. Then a couple of places it was quite dramatic, the meeting would fold up, they'd all go home and after dinner a couple of Gris' contacts would do a bit of ground work and a group of teachers might come along and they'd say don't take any notice of what they said at the meeting, we need the money, why should we work for less than the government teachers. We are doing the

same job. We don't care how you organise the system as long as we get the same salaries as the government teachers, and a lot of it was stronger than that.

- Q. It has always played on my conscience with the Teaching Service Ordinance, the expatriate domination of what actually happened. I don't know if it was avoidable, it seems to me that had we gone ahead in '67 with the recommendations, we might have been able to take more time to get the system working, but by '71 it was becoming painfully obvious that other changes were going to overtake any changes in education, the political change and the very method of administering the country, it was on the move and I think it would have perhaps taken Papua New Guineans quite some time to thrash it out. As it was it took a year for the teaching service legislation to be discussed.
- A. This was certainly one of the things the Advisory Committee was trying to achieve. I think it's in their terms of reference even and I think it was put into their terms of reference as much from their insistence as anybody else.
- Q. They did help formulate the terms of reference after the committee was more or less formed, or they went over them.
- A. As far as I remember they did. There was certainly a set of terms of reference put together before, that's right they must have been done beforehand, but it was one that they emphasised, that's probably as far as it went, perhaps they didn't, haven't any say but the terms of reference that it was to be the system of education which would be viable through the changing political scene, it was something capable of being introduced with the old system as it was then and that it should be stable whatever political developments went on. This is why there was so much emphasis on the implementation of people all around the place.
- Q. If Papua New Guineans were to have played such an important part, wouldn't you have expected them to have influenced what was recommended in the report? Yet you can trace what was recommended in the report back to that '67 conference because the major sorts of recommendations are there, so all these discussions in the field wasn't really one of just give us the money that was the main

- A. From the Papua New Guinea teachers yes, it was basically it.
- Q. There were no real discussions of the system as such?
- A. No, most of the mission teachers were asked questions like, if there was an overall united system of education, you might be asked to teach in a government school and government teachers might be asked to teach in your school. No worries, we're all the same. There were very few who took the real mission line, We're Catholics, we must teach the Catholic religion in our schools and if I'm a Catholic teacher I can only teach to the satisfaction of my conscience if I am in a Catholic school which supports the religion that I'm trying to get across through our teaching.
- Q. Had we had an appreciation of this in 1971 say, I wouldn't have been as worried about the threats from the Catholic Director of Education for breaking up the teachers union which was then formulating, but obviously there is great solidarity amongst the teachers because the teachers union has got over 75% membership more or less, so the time you take out expatriates there is not too many Papua New Guineans who are not members.
- A. You've got to bear in mind too, in most of the missions it was an accident of geography that we should happen to be there and it was an accident of geography if a kid went to a mission school or a government school and whether he was brought up with the great Australian philosophy or the great Catholic philosophy. It was just an accident of geography and in either case I don't really think they appreciated the higher things the mission or the government was trying to get across through the school system.
- Q. Who then were the big antagonists in the system when you came to discussing what would be the organization for the thing?
- A. The European missionaries. That was where the basic argument was, it was between the European leaders of the mission.
- Q. Any particularly strong advocates or antagonists come to mind?
- A. You'd be plucking them out of the hat. I think the Catholic mission by and large was certainly much more vocal than most of the protestant missions. I suppose the Lutherans were a bit more vocal than the United Church and so on. Some of the smaller ones had a fair bit to say.
- The missions were pretty well prepared to line up behind A, B,

C or D and after that second round with visits as I recollect there were some tentative percentages of who was going to opt for aid and who was going to opt out and so on and that was the basis for the financial calculations.

Q. Were you able to make much contribution to the report and its recommendations?

A. Not really, not in that case, it was very much Beeby who was on top of the thing and he was a prodigious worker. You could have a round of discussions during the day and the next morning he'd come along with a pile of handwritten drafts which nobody could decipher and he'd have them typed up by lunchtime. He had typists all over the department working on the things and by the afternoon he'd have redrafted it and there would be Chapter 2 or something. So yes, he was a prodigious producer of drafts.

Q. Was there anything peculiar to Gris that can be identified in the report?

A. I don't think so. I think you'd be pretty hard put to identify anything peculiar to anybody but Beeby. Given that the basic structure had been thrashed around for a couple of years in Port Moresby and Papua New Guinea beforehand and this was a given starting point that he was where he had got to and it was pretty well finalised and it was only a matter of closing up the little gap that was left. Everybody knew which way it was going to go and it was only up to some mastermind to put it into a package that was acceptable.

Q. We have already discussed quite a number of people that were involved and appeared on the scene.

A. We have talked about McKinnon pretty well. Certainly the initial bit of getting over the negotiations, if they can be called that, had got to and had very clear cut attitudes on what would be acceptable to the Government and what wouldn't, often a variance of what the Commonwealth was prepared to accept, tending perhaps to over commit the Commonwealth Government, without the Commonwealth being consulted and really sort of steadied down to accept things. Beeby I think we said was the main arbiter. Syd Nielson? - I'm just not too sure. He certainly was very heavily involved in the Ordinance.

Q. What part of it?

- A. Mostly on the teaching service side.
- Q. Did you ever see him and McKinnon clash at meetings.
- A. In the development of the Teaching Service Ordinance, well it depends what you call clash.
- Q. Well, disagreement in principle.
- A. They had pretty well diametrically opposed views, so I guess you can call that a clash.
- Q. This was as early as say '69/70.
- A. Over the range of the development of the ordinance.
- Q. Early '70 then.
- A. Right from the start I think McKinnon regarded Nielson as being very authoritarian and not being favourably disposed to the series of boards and committees who were going to make decisions, especially about staff.
- Q. Who was in the Department favourably disposed towards that though?
- A. You're right, not too many. I don't think Gibson was as worried as a lot of the others about boards, but when it came to the crunch of a Board of Teacher Education or something, I think a couple of times he felt he wasn't so happy as he thought he might have been. But the other Chiefs of Division most of them...
- Q. I often wonder if really McNamara was on side with all of this?
- A. My memory is a bit hazy. When did he come back from leave, I don't think he was there for some of this?
- Q. I think he got back after it was all sort of underway.
- A. I think he came back after the report had gone in and he was a bit more involved in the implementation. I think he was reasonably sympathetic. I can't remember - I don't now have the attitude that he was against it. Not that I really had much direct contact with him and heard him commenting one way or the other whether it was good or not he was all for implementing it and that was his job. We talked about Jock Weeden - Both of the enquiries I have been involved in, I really couldn't claim to have written terribly much of the stuff in its final form. With the higher education committee I certainly wrote a lot more background papers which were then cut, pasted and polished up but in either case the final phrasing of the report would certainly be the committee's work and not the executive officer's.

- Q. One of the things that concerns me is that you were taken out of the picture at the implementation of the Weeden recommendations, by being put onto that 1971 higher education committee and I wonder if that is a reflection of McKinnon's overconfidence in the ease of implementing all these things. Because logically, you should have been the departmental person who perhaps carried a lot of these things through.
- A. On the other hand the way McKinnon put it to me was, I was about the only one he felt would be able to support the higher education committee...
- ...Q. Were you happy not to be involved in the implementation process?
- A. I would have liked to have been involved in it, but I didn't mind being involved with the higher education committee either.
- Q. Had you started on any implementation work before this came about?
- A. I was a bit involved in it...
- ...Q. You answered one question I had in the back of my mind. Later on, Johnson seemed very much aware of what was the intention of a lot of the things in the development of the Teaching Service Ordinance, he supported McKinnon on a lot of matters to Canberra, which I don't think he could have done in all conscience had he not known what McKinnon was drafting in the letters and what McKinnon was talking about.
- A. I'm sure to some extent and probably a fairly large extent Johnson was some sort of father confessor for McKinnon. There were lots of times when McKinnon whizzed off down to his office, both when he was Assistant Administrator and later when he was Administrator. I'm not too sure where the changeover came, but both with this enquiry and with the higher education enquiry, to talk things over and Beeby and Weeden certainly talked to Johnson on a number of occasions. I don't know whether it was a sort of second opinion, but he certainly supported McKinnon and I think McKinnon was able to thrash out a lot of his ideas in private with Johnson and mutually respected one another I think. Johnson was very much a behind the scenes man, you didn't get streams of eloquence from him, but in the background I think he talked to Beeby and Weeden and McKinnon and he talked to the people down in Canberra and he probably influenced the whole thing to quite a large extent. McVinney, I sort of mentioned from the mission point of view - he was under a fair bit of

pressure from McKinnon to be the spokesman for the catholic education, whereas he was under corresponding pressure from the various heads of the catholic missions to be a conveyer of their opinions to McKinnon. I think for himself he would have liked to have been the head of catholic education and what he said went and these heads of missions had just better go along with what he said, but I don't think it was all as easy as that for him.

Q. It's quite obvious from some of his personal behaviour that he was under a lot of stress and I understand - were you ever aware of any violent arguments McVinney had with McKinnon directly?

A. No.

Q. Syd Nielson tells a few stories of screaming matches and this sort of thing, on McVinney's part.

A. McVinney's volume of talk at any time - you'd say good morning to him, where a lot of people would just say good morning, he would think of something and he'd carry on for about 20 minutes and throwing emotion into what he said, but I don't know that it means that he's any more personally highly involved with things. I suppose they certainly thrashed things out a lot of the time. I don't know that it became a real argument. I suppose you'd have to say it would, they'd be arguing out points and perhaps McVinney gets a bit more involved in arguing a point than other people might have. Screaming matches, no.

...Q. I haven't been able to discover where and when, but at some stage pre July McKinnon decides that Nielson has to go, because they don't recommend his continuance as Associate Commissioner.

A. That certainly came across after McKinnon felt that Nielson was overstepping his authority as Associate Commissioner and was swamping Tololo. But there was a side on that you probably heard from other people that Totolo himself was worried about being swamped out by Nielson and he was worried about some of the things Nielson was doing and he went along to Gibson in some agitation and said what am I supposed to do? I'm supposed to be the Commissioner and yet I sit in my office and I hardly ever hear of anything. Nielson occasionally tells me what he's doing and I can't understand a lot of it and some of these

things I just don't agree with and Gibson quietly told him you go and tell McKinnon that you're the Commissioner and you're sick and tired of Nielson acting as though he was the Commissioner, you tell McKinnon what you think and if you think something different from Nielson well you should be telling McKinnon that.

- Q. This is the first time I've heard this suggested. I've always felt Tololo stabbed Nielson in the back, not Tololo was anti Nielson. Let me be much clearer. Tololo was backing and supporting Nielson up to a point in July I think, when he goes to see McKinnon and obviously must have resolved that they were holding things up, because of the tone of McKinnon's letters changed to Canberra and to the Administrator and to the Commission talking about our resolving of the problems.
- A. Talk to Gibson about that, for he obviously told me, that Tololo had been to see him and that was what he had told Tololo to do. Then again I can't be sure of how far Gibson reports his own influence exactly as it was, but he certainly spent a lot of time going around talking to various local people and a lot of them did go and talk to him about things from time to time. He regarded himself, again, as some sort of father confessor to a lot of locals. He must have been around for a long time and had got to know a lot of them in teachers colleges and so on. He also claims to be one of the referees in the sort of network set up by some of the ministers and both Somare and Olewale from time to time consulted Gibson about what to do about education and what to do about McKinnon. Of course Gibson wouldn't hesitate to give them the benefit of his advice.
- Q. He did have I think some connections with Olewale, because Olewale did drag him in to advise him on a number of issues.
- A. I suppose the net result of that was that I wasn't terribly involved in a lot of the more agitated discussions with the Teaching Service Commission, because I was on the higher education. Alwyn Neuendorf? - as far as influence goes he was supposed to be representing the Evangelical Alliance but on the advisory board he was representing the United Church as well I think wasn't he?
- Q. He was I think on the Education Advisory Board committee.
- A. From time to time there was some feeling that he wasn't really representing the United Church as much as he could have been and

perhaps he wasn't really representing too many people at all the way he should have been. He was in there as the great Alwyn Neuendorf who was going to solve the country's problems.

- Q. This is still levelled at him. But I think everyone gets levelled with this criticism.
- A. The same pressure that was on McVinney to speak as a representative of all the catholics and what McVinney said that committed the catholics, what Neuendorf said was to commit a whole lot of other people.
- Q. People hadn't got used to the idea of belonging to an organization and taking the good with the bad with what the organization could arrange. I think they are a lot more used to it now than they were 4 years ago.
- A. At the same time McKinnon was trying to push the missions into 3 or 4 groups with 3 or 4 spokesmen who could speak for them and not have to go back all the time. I think both McVinney and Neuendorf, can I say fell for it and were quite happy to sit there with McKinnon and say this is what our mob thinks and this is what our mob will do, this is how our mob will react and I think both of them had a bit of a feeling amongst the missions that they were supposed to be representing that they were taking too much on themselves, that they weren't keeping the people back in the field informed let alone consulting them before committing them and they said that they were being committed to things that they really weren't consulted about and that they should have been. You've got Alan Randall down here, he came onto the scene a bit later than Neuendorf, a bit late in the piece when the United Church decided to appoint a special officer, but certainly the United Church much preferred Alan Randall to be speaking for them than Neuendorf, and a lot of the smaller evangelical missions around the place felt the same. It came to a head didn't it when the N.E.B. membership was finally settled and through some kind of a misunderstanding I think it was that Neuendorf was put on instead of Randall. How did it go? There was to be a Catholic rep. and was it 1 or 2 others.
- Q. 2 others, 3 church people.
- A. There were various proposals put up about first and second priorities for these others, whether it was to be an Anglican,

Lutheran or Lutheran and United Church with the Lutheran speaking for the Anglican and this sort of business and in the various priorities about who would prefer who, either McKinnon didn't see some of the letters from the United Church mission heads or misinterpreted.

Q. Neuendorf was an old wantok of McKinnon's.

A. I know, but I think that there was to some extent an honest mistake in it, that McKinnon honestly thought that the United Church had said they wanted Neuendorf whether they didn't worry about Neuendorf as their number one preference whereas in fact they wanted Randall and the proposal that came out of the meeting of the mission heads, of all the protestant missions was that their 2 representative should be Blacklock I think and Randall and McKinnon appointed Blacklock and Neuendorf and there was some worry about that. I think what the suggestion was that Neuendorf was the backstop for Randall and McKinnon had assumed that he was the number 2 representative so it was Blacklock and something funny like that, but there were some hard feelings there. Mr R. Philpott came onto the scene very late in the piece, after the report had come in, but I think he had a pretty substantial influence on the Teaching Service Ordinance but as you know I wasn't terribly heavily involved in it and this is only an impression from outside.

Alkan Tololo we've talked about again. This is in the later phase of implementation where I didn't have a lot to do with it directly. Gris, I think he had a fair bit to convey the opinion of the local people to the committee. That was probably his function on the committee as much as anything else, to make sure they did get local opinion and he was given the brief of watching out for any case where he thought the local person was speaking words that had been put into his mouth by an European missionary or some other official around the place, which a lot of them did and then try and sort out what they really want afterwards and from that point of view I think he did straighten out a lot of what was being put across to the committee as being the opinion of all the local teachers, which in fact wasn't their opinion at all. Alan Randall I think was a bit later on in the piece. I'm not too sure he wasn't in the early stages all that confident of himself I don't think and I had a fair bit of respect for him. He

probably was pretty honest in representing and trying to represent the opinion of all the various branches of his mission and feeding material back to them and trying to get their opinions back, but possibly the delays in doing that meant that everytime he was asked to say something it was all in the pipeline and he couldn't really speak definitely because he was conscious that the people hadn't really told him what they thought. But I don't think he had a tremendous impact on it.

Archdeacon Roberts - again I don't think he had a very substantial influence. The Anglicans weren't all that substantial a mission either. Another very sincere person and somebody who had been around for a long time and had a lot of background but possibly living a bit in the past by the time this all came around I think. A bit paternalistic to his teachers and this sort of thing and inclined to think that they were members of his flock without quite realising what they really thought.

Ray Blacklock had a lot more influence on it. A very capable chap and his official position was a lot clearer than McVinney and Randall and Neuendorf. He was certainly the education spokesman for the Lutherans and that was a pretty big mission and he did his homework well and consulted his Bishops and whatever else around the place and he knew exactly what the Lutherans felt about it and he was able to speak for them.

- Q. I wonder why then the churches didn't drag him in more because he is a very confident speaker and arguer and less inclined to be taken over by McKinnon and others, yet they seem to have ignored his capabilities.
- A. You mean the other churches, apart from the Lutherans by and large, who sort of lined up behind McVinney and Neuendorf. I'm not too sure what the story was there.
- Q. I must ask Ray, because I think perhaps he wanted to be involved.
- A. Maybe he was on leave, something as trivial as that, that just in the month that this had to be done McVinney and Neuendorf were on tap and Ray could have been absent.
- Q. Having to come across from Lae for the Teaching Service Ordinance, cut him out a lot.

- A. Again I don't know too much about the personalities in that, but I would have thought that he still made a pretty fair contribution to the Teaching Service Ordinance and I think he made quite a contribution to the Education Ordinance. I'm not too sure to what extent he was really left out by the churches.
- Q. He integrated with them but I think he could have taken a principal role rather than a secondary role.
- A. Dr Jim Jones. On this one I'm not too sure that he had that much of an impact. From my point of view with the advisory committee and that year, that the advisory committee was there until they brought in their report and probably up until the time the Education Ordinance came in. As far as the Education Department was concerned you couldn't say that anybody apart from McKinnon had terribly much influence on what was going on.
- Q. This has been a - why did McKinnon group around him then, men that didn't have much contribution to make?
- A. I don't know whether its that they didn't have much contribution to make or whether they were overshadowed, and McKinnon didn't seek a contribution from them. I think as far as he was concerned, he had it all up here and he knew what he wanted to get from the thing. He was the Director, so why should he consult them. It was up to them to fall in line behind him and do what he said and maybe there was a bit of explanation went on at staff meetings and so on but what all these things were going to be involved in them all, what he was doing and what the advisory committee was going to recommend, but I don't think he really sought their views from the point of view of having them influence it at all. You'll probably find that Jim was on the joint committee. I'm not too sure whether he was.
- Claude Reseigh and Warwick Smith between them being examples of being obstructionists, of being behind the game as far as what was going on was concerned.
- Q. What about Liversley or Lindsay, he came up at one stage.
- A. I can't even remember him coming up.
- Q. He came up for the '67 conference.
- A. I don't know why ~~they~~ would have sent him up at that stage of the game. Kevin Nolan came up on this one as just a sort of clerical exercise. Probably much the same thing as - and when the final crunch came and they wanted somebody with some sort of

Canberra authority who could carry the day down there, they sent Jeff Mannell and he was there for a week or so when we worked out the final recommendations and the final financial implications of it, and the main point of that was, was that what he said went as far as Canberra was concerned and Canberra wouldn't go and backtrack on the figures that were produced at that session whereas with Kim and Nolan they very well might have. They would have just said, these were just junior chaps they had no authority as far as we were concerned. Lance Henderson, when did he come on the scene?

Q. Quite late, but he was there at the end I think.

A. I think he was far more sensible than Reseigh and far more enlightened. He was very much a Warwick Smith man and very conservative. If a recommendation came down from Port Moresby there was a trick in it somewhere and you had to find it if it took you 3 years. You plugged away at it and you found that trick that McKinnon had worked into it, for I suppose he had learnt from experience that McKinnon was all for putting one over them. There was that sort of feeling of antagonism between the Canberra people and Port Moresby people right through, which I think dissipated quite a lot with Henderson and certainly when Hay went down there and replaced Warwick Smith there was a completely different approach.

Michael Somare? That he was one of the few indigenous politicians that they had much of a talk to about this, or that they were able to get much sense out of. They had quite a long talk to him in Wewak and he seemed to have a fair grasp of what the proposals were all about.

Q. Was there anybody else?

A. Paulus Arek was another one. Those were the only two who contributed.

Q. Do you think the system of financing and controlling education as recommended is workable and durable?

A. Controlling, fair enough I think yes, I like it. The financing probably not, I think it probably needs more money into the missions really. The long run of the thing has got to be that schools are on an equal footing for the next how many years it takes, it will be just a process of attrition until the mission schools gradually build up the same sort of financial status as the

government schools. Things like housing and so on it will be intolerable before too long for your mission teachers to be in a poor sort of house that the missions built compared with -

- Q. Do you think the teaching service can be regarded as more professional now than say in '69?
- A. I've been out of touch with it for a while, but I would have thought so.
- Q. Perhaps a fairer question, do you think it started a move to become more professional.
- A. I would have thought so because the mission system was so abominably poor beforehand. It was so tied to the mission as opposed to any educational influence and the teachers were so dependent on the expatriate missionaries and there was so little initiative by the local teachers in particular, so little contact with anything outside their own little close - even from the tour that we had with Gabriel Gris or the rest of the committee, the sorts of things you got from the teachers was always a sort of parroting of what European missionaries had said and done and it seemed to be a mindless following of whatever the local missionary was saying was the best way of doing things.
- Q. Was there any real guide to the level of financial resources. Why was it decided that mission teachers be paid a full salary and given other conditions of service by the government instead of say a partial salary?
- A. I think that over the 2 years before the advisory committee came along the mission teachers had come to expect equal salary and I think they would have felt that they had been sold down the drain if they had got anything less. It's not as though the salaries that the government teachers were getting were all that grandiose anyway. I suppose part of it too, was the carrot - the bait, to get the missions in. Whether three-quarter salaries would have done the trick is hard to say, but the option was there if they had settled for further percentage of salary the missions could have retained more control of their schools and yet they weren't prepared to take three-quarters of their salaries in order to get a bigger measure of control, that is probably indicative of how badly they needed the money.

- Q. One of the objectives of the new education system was to co-ordinate educational activity. What did you understand by this term?
- A. I think it was in connection with the district planning and national planning of education. The feeling was that the mission had been able to grow in their own particular areas according to the amount of money available to an individual mission and the manpower they could attract and if they happened to be in one particular district that district was better off for education. The feeling was that resources available for education ought to be more evenly distributed between the district and within districts, it ought to be more evenly distributed between various subdistricts or towns.
- Q. One of the principal ideas in the Weeden report and the '67 report was the idea that local government councils should play a bigger role, would you like to comment about what was seen and felt behind this idea?
- A. The advisory committee was wanting to involve as many people as they could in educational decision making and education generally and partly from the point of view of having just the people at large involved in education, that if there was any attempt to bias the education system centrally by a tyrannical government, there would be a grass root protection against it. As far as the government was concerned, the motive was probably to try and attract a bit more money into the education system from the local council. The Education Department had been angling to get more local government council money into education for some time.
- Q. You don't seem to have achieved that yet.
- A. I think the local councils were always pretty poor anyway. There was a lot of opposition from the Commissioner for Local Government towards making any contribution towards education. The Commissioner and his mob were more intent on getting involved in road building and economic activity rather than education.
- Q. Perhaps the Commissioner was right too?
- A. He may have been. There is a lot to be said just the same, for the local council getting involved in building schools and building houses for teachers.
- Q. Perhaps under a subsidy system, even a 100% subsidy to generate the activity in the area might have been better.

- A. Well the subsidy system that was supposed to be working was a bit haphazard I think. A lot of local government councils had been disillusioned because what they expected to get in subsidy somehow or another didn't arrive.
- Q. Were you ever aware of anti McNamara feeling during the development of the Teaching Service Ordinance? Did you ever hear anything about it, about trying to get out McNamara from discussions and negotiations on the thing?
- A. I didn't have a lot to do with it.
- Q. Just a couple of questions running into one another on the power of people. You recall any discussion or thoughts on the powers of the Minister and the powers of the Director, Teaching Service Commission and District Education Boards, which was the main stream of recommendation? The sort of thing I'm looking for is comments on say, the statutory functioning of the N.E.B. as opposed to its advisory functioning with the Minister.
- A. Of course all of this took place before there was actually a Minister. There was a Ministerial Member and he was pretty well under the thumb of the Director.
- Q. This was Toliman wasn't it?
- A. Yes. There was the notion that there ought to be some kind of balancing power between the Minister, Director and N.E.B., the details escape me at the moment.
- Q. I don't think it's really worked out. What's happened is you had a great closing down of the activities and the number of meetings etc. of the N.E.B. and tremendous increase in power and influence of the Minister, completely overriding the advice given by the board on many occasions and a desire not to have the board. It seemed more of an interference, a nuisance than a help.
- A. Probably the assumption was that the benevolent Minister would be party to this agreement. There was some discussion on about whether or not the Director of Education should be the chairman of the N.E.B.
- Q. Or the Minister?
- A. Not the Minister so much as a chairman. Whether the Director because of his position as Director would sway the N.E.B. so that they wouldn't really be making an independent set of recommendations but in any event the notion was always that advice

should go to the Minister and the final decision should be in the hands of the Minister. Perhaps there was too much reliance on some kind of westminister notion with there be a tradition, the Minister accepting the advice of the N.E.B. and this is the sort of thing that can only be built up over a period of time. A new Minister coming in as the first Minister of Education wouldn't have that background of many years of tradition to guide him.

- Q. It's a general problem for the whole Ministry really and one that they are not prepared to accept advice. Were you ever aware of political pressures on the committee or on the department, aware of pressure groups or things as such? - organized groups.
- A. Not really political groups that I can recall, not from the present political structure in P.N.G. They were certainly under pressure from the Commonwealth Government about the limit of the finance they could commit themselves to, or even talk about publicly. There was pressure from the missions, that was another conspicuous pressure to retain their identity. Really no, I don't think there were any organized political groups that I know of.
- Q. Since McKinnon came to the chair in '67 there has been a whole series of proposals to reorganize the department. Do you think it would have been desirable to have done this, more than what actually happened. There's been a little bit of re-organization, and do you think it was necessary to re-organize the department to carry out the Weeden recommendations effectively?
- A. It's a hard one because I came in at the end of '67 as an outsider, new to the system and things that may have been apparent to people who had been there longer didn't strike me as being particular problems. I don't know that the structure of the department would have had that much effect on the implementation of the system by and large. Throughout the committee's enquiry and probably the later efforts towards implementation, the Director was so overwhelmingly in the picture, whatever structure you had underneath, I don't think would have made much difference. You could say there was a certain amount of re-organization in the fact of having a Chief District Superintendent, who was supposed to be directed towards the

development of the new District Education Boards which were an essential feature of the system and to a large extent Vin McNamara was sort of troubleshooter towards implementing the new system and getting it going properly.

- Q. It struck me during the whole Teaching Service Ordinance development that the assistant directors in the department and superintendents were actually diametrically opposed to what was going on and they could not see their jobs in a new light. They still wanted to post teachers to schools and order the situation and subsequently we have had changes to the legislation which has given them back some of the power to do that especially with expatriates and I think had the department been re-organized and the traditional power lines been broken, we may have got a more effective implementation because in order to establish yourself in your new position, you would have to quickly grasp what your new responsibilities were and get them operating.
- A. I'm not altogether convinced, because however you rearrange the department you would have had to have pretty well the same people involved. You'd have had pretty well as much trouble in getting them to appreciate a new role in a new structure. I'm not too sure what sort of re-organization you had in mind.
- Q. I think essentially it would have been the removal of the 4 traditional divisions as such and replace them with a much more diffuse type division which cover right across the whole spectrum of educational activities.
- A. The staffing rather the division, primary education and so on. I really think the structure was so entrenched that it's pretty inconceivable to me that any major re-organization of the department would have ever got through anyway.
- Q. They have always been knocked back for one reason or another. Would you have added anything to the report or taken anything away from it? Do you remember anything you would have liked to have seen there?
- A. Probably not at the time because I think at the time I was pretty much involved with the committee the way it ran itself and the way it interpreted its own work and it was fairly strictly confined to its own terms of reference from what I can remember which was largely on the re-organization of the system and some way of

unifying the missions with their government system. In the time that was available I don't think they could have tackled very much else.

Q. What do you think would have happened if the report had not been accepted by the government?

A. I really don't think they were in a position not to accept it. There had been the conference in 1967 that had pretty well established the need for some change either at the level of the subsidy, or if that couldn't be changed, without some change in the organization of the system, it had to come too and in '68 there was the joint committee which was supposed to come to some conclusion which would lead to an increase in subsidy or something else. I don't think that it could have been delayed any further and if the recommendations of the committee hadn't been accepted there would have been something else introduced, perhaps a simplified version in which it was a take it or leave it, here's the money, if you accept the government control and if you don't accept government control you stay the way you are and perhaps disappear from the scene. I think the only alternative to accepting the committee's report would have been some over-simplified version of it. Really, it was the best compromise that was available at the time.

Q. Is there anything you'd like to say or comment on before we close off?

A. I think you've covered a pretty wide range. Perhaps a general comment that the exercise was carried out in a tremendously sincere way, especially Beeby himself and the other members of the committee. I think McKinnon himself for that year, the time that the enquiry was on, there was a really genuine attempt to come up with a workable system that would carry P.N.G. through the change to Independence and perhaps further on. A system of education that would be a popular education, a system that was as far as possible controlled by the people themselves and service the people, one in which the decisions that had to be made were made as far down the line as possible and one in which there'd be scope for local variations and for initiative and innovation and the rest of it. I think they did a pretty good

job of it by and large. Whether or not the end result was any better than if they had implemented the joint committee's ideas a year or so before is hard to say.

- Q. They had started to implement some of these things and the education and district education committees were actually a result of that '67 conference.
- A. At the same time the district education committees were pretty weak sort of bodies.
- Q. They started to get people together to talk about things. Some District Superintendents used them, the majority didn't.
- A. Some didn't even meet for month after month.

Transcript of Interview with Dr J. Jones - Assistant Director
Secondary Division, Department of Education. 21/6/74

- Q. How did you become involved with the new system's legislation?
- A. I was on the E.A.B. I was at the 1967 or 68 conference. I was in Headquarters as an Assistant Director, so that was why I was involved.
- Q. Were you involved with both bits of legislation the Education Ordinance and the Teaching Service Ordinance, or one more than the other?
- A. The Teaching Service Ordinance came when I was on leave in 1971 and I was in on the initial drafting of that in 1970. I was back for perhaps the final drafting of it in '72 but on the whole I would have been much less involved in the Teaching Service Ordinance than in the Education Ordinance. I was in with the
- E Education Ordinance the whole time.
- Q. What happened to your interest after the legislation was passed, we'll take the Education Ordinance first of all? In terms of perhaps wanting amendments - your interest hasn't waned at all?
- A. Amendments to the Education Ordinance? Certainly the interest hasn't waned. Amendments to the Education Ordinance, yes, I wanted a couple of those. Amendments to the Teaching Service Ordinance, yes, I wanted more. Once the legislation was in, then I could see certain parts of it which weren't exactly as I wanted them to be.
- Q. There is a list of people here who were involved and I am wondering if you would care to make a comment on any of them in terms of the contribution they made.
- A. McKinnon? major; Beeby? major; Nielson? major; Weedon? major; Fry? peripheral; McNamara? now I think he was more involved with the Teaching Service Ordinance than the Education Ordinance. I think he was in Canada. Rolfe? I don't know him; Johnson? fairly minor I think; McVinney? major; Neuendorf? not quite as influential as McVinney; Philpott? minor I would have guessed but what he may have done on the Teaching Service Ordinance I don't know but virtually no influence on the Education Ordinance; Tololo? I don't know; Gris? minor, although he was part of the committee, pretty

good at interviewing, but I don't know how much of this actually came into it. He had nothing to do with the Teaching Service Ordinance; Randall? relatively minor; Roberts? minor; Blacklock? medium; Jones? medium shading to minor I would say.

Q. Is there anyone we could have included?

A. Gibson?

Q. Gibson was one who came to mind actually and I was just wondering what sort of contribution he made.

A. Well he was there -

Q. I know he was there, but it was a period of time when Vin and Ken seemed to gang up on Geoff. I know Geoff was very quiet during that period. I don't know - having seen Geoff in operation over the years, the way he sort of operates - something occurred. Probably sit there and make a few comments while it's on and when it's over he goes around the edge like the Indians surrounding a wagon train and tries to influence. Perhaps that's where his influence lies?

A. With the Teaching Service Ordinance I don't know how much he had to do with it, but with the Education Ordinance I think he might have been involved.

Q. Just going back to the E.A.B. was there any person with greater influence in terms of bringing about this change than any other person on the E.A.B.?

A. McVinney. McVinney perhaps not personally, but McVinney having the sense to realise - I don't know if this is the right time to speak about the background? My interpretation of the background is this; that the churches from that '67 or '68 conference wanted a lot more financial assistance from the government. The Catholics in particular were the leaders in this, although the other churches hopped on the bandwagon. The Catholics were mobilising their teachers to demand equal conditions with government teachers. This sort of thing was coming more and more to the fore, so McVinney had this vested interest in pushing this. It became reasonably clear that the government would have to do something, they would have to contribute a lot more. I think McKinnon was shrewd enough to realise that if the government was going to do something then they might as well get something in return, and so with McVinney pushing from one end and McKinnon

reacting at the other end and somewhere along the line came up the idea of a committee to review education but of course once the Weeden committee was established it was pretty clear that it was designed to get as much as it possibly could from the missions, in return for government funds and assistance. How McKinnon got the idea of Beeby and Weeden for the committee I don't know.

- Q. He was here for a Camilla Wedgewood Seminar about '66 or '67.
- A. McKinnon knew him at Harvard and the fact that it was Beeby on the committee, makes me think that probably McKinnon organised this but I'm not sure of the background. How the committee was set up.
- Q. Did you have any particular principles you were interested in seeing come out through the legislation? - and by legislation, you can take it to mean either the Education Ordinance or the Teaching Service Ordinance.
- A. Yes at that time say about '67 - '68. I spent 1964 in England having a particular look at decentralization. A feature of the Education Administration set up there is local government's responsibility for education authorities and Boards of Governors so I was fairly interested in an approach which seemed to be coming out which decentralised decision-making. So I would prefer to see decentralised decision making if you can establish a system which permits decentralised decision making. I was at one stage all for developing local authorities and giving decision making powers to district local authorities. I wasn't too keen, however, on the way that Beeby started going because it struck me as being a bastardised mixture between centralisation and decentralisation, but at one stage when it was first discussed that there should be a move for decentralising the Department of Education I was pretty keen on the idea.
- Q. This is what I wanted to look at - the decentralised system. The fact that one rationale for system change was decentralisation, in districts and through D.E.B. - To find how far we've gone in this particular direction.
- A. Another reason I supported the idea of this quid pro quo, was an attempt to bring the missions more in to line to make them contribute more to the education system, because the mission

school system, although it was a big one was dominantly aimed at the advantages of the missions. Service to the public was an incidental byproduct.

Q. So your basic principles were decentralisation. Were you also involved in local government?

A. Very much. Of more immediate importance was bringing the missions into line.

Q. Into line in terms of contributing... ?

A. Contributing towards national policy. They were not contributing towards national policy then and they are still not, so it has failed in that respect. I was on the secondary planning committee which met in 1967. We had a commission on the Curry report and the World Bank report; to expand Secondary education, and also around about 67/68 we got this increased social pressure for more places in Secondary schools and the missions obviously had no real desire to come to the party but at the same time they were saying, "we want more aid", so I thought O.K. let's capitalise on the fact that they want more grants in aid; they deserve more grant in aid, they need more grant in aid, ...

Q. Do you feel that this attitude has changed since the system has become more open?

A. No. But they've taken - well I don't know if one should say the missions have taken, but certainly the missions have not co-operated any more now than they did then. They won't take part in National Planning. When I say they won't take part, they just won't follow National Plans. The net results in terms of expanding the non government sector of the High School system of increased places has been virtually nothing.

Q. I thought that one of the spin offs that I could see for opening up the system, and I'm thinking of the system as a whole, when it was first mooted that the mission agency people, teachers and all and administrators were particularly suspicious about our motives, about the motives of the Catholic Church if they were in evangelical alliance too and very reluctant and resistant to change of any description. I had thought that this particular suspicious attitude towards change had changed but you're saying that the underlying principle - there is still a certain amount of insularity and almost parochial appearance to let's look after

our own agency, is still there?

- A. Yes, let's take a simple example. Since 1967 it has been government policy to encourage the attendance of day students at high schools. Tusbab High School has an enrolment of about 600, the Catholic High School has an enrolment of about 430. Tusbab has 350 day students the Catholic High School has 48 day students. They are next door to one another. Rigu, the Catholic High School at Bougainville has 1 day student.
- Q. Incredible, particularly in Bougainville.
- A. Bereina has about 24 day students out of an enrolment of about 400. Onkiu in the Highlands, 20 day students. Kerowagi not far away, has 150 day students.
- Q. That brings it home more than the others, because some of the others are in fairly isolated areas. We'll just follow this one up on Local Government Council. You saw a real role for Local Government Councils taking part, even becoming an agency. For some reason this hasn't taken off. Have you got any reasons why this would be?
- A. One was the Local Government Ordinance, the attitude of the Commissioner of Local Government the whole series of fights resulted from secondary, where the people had wanted to contribute to High Schools and the Commissioner insisted that this was forbidden by the law. Mat Toliman had a few long arguments about this.
- Q. So basically it's a resistance on the part of Local Government, the council hierarchy, headquarters hierarchy...
- Q. Did you work with anyone more closely than with any other person in the legislation writing process?
- A. Syd Nielson and I worked closely together at one stage. McVinney also. We had a working party but McVinney for example, did a great deal of work on the ordinance. I was doing some work by attempting to put it into simple English at one stage.
- Q. What were the holdups and difficulties in the development of the new Education system?
- A. Once we got the Weeden Report, it was a matter of getting it into legal form, through Joe Lynch. Consulted him early in the piece - it took a long time. Some of us were given the job of going around the Districts explaining the Report and this is

where we brought intense suspicion of the Church upon us. I suppose selling the system was more difficult than the hack work involved in legislation.

Whether it was a real difficulty or not, I don't suppose it was, it was more of a hold up in terms of time rather than something clogging up the system. All of a sudden the process is going smoothly, something occurs - which then brings the process to a halt for a while.

Q. Did any of this occur?

A. I wouldn't have thought so, when you think of what the Education Ordinance led to, drastic reshaping of the system and it involved writing an Ordinance from scratch and it involved extensive negotiations with all sorts of people, it involved meetings for selling the system. I can't remember the time span, covered....

Q. I was going to ask you about the timing.

A. Well I went off on leave at the end of '71 and it was virtually finished before I went on leave. (Education Ordinance)
I left on leave at the end of '71 and we had already started on the Teaching Service Ordinance.

Q. Did you see? - well, the Education Ordinance was the first one that shaped the system. Once that was done did you have the feeling, that's it, there's no need to keep on going, or did you feel that the Teaching Service Ordinance was of more importance?

A. It wasn't more important at all. I saw the Teaching Service Ordinance as something we had to get stuck into, but as a very very minor job. All we needed to do with the Teaching Service Ordinance it seemed to me was to set out a fairly brief ordinance to cover conditions of service for teachers. This of course is my interpretation of the role of the Teaching Service Commission.

Q. How would you describe the relationship between your group which was a Departmental organization and any of the other working groups within the writing teams?

A. Very, very good indeed. Once initial fighting was over and there was a fair bit of this. This was when - before the committee arrived, whilst the committee was taking evidence, the considerable meetings that we had, there was a lot of very hard bargaining, between the Department and the Missions, once that was over,

then McVinney and Nuendorf really worked extremely well. It was a team after that, and there was very little trouble as far as I can recall. Occasionally McVinney and I or Nuendorf or someone would have long discussions about just how we should put something into the Ordinance, but there was no friction.

- Q. One of the stated objectives of the Weeden Report was to co-ordinate all educational activities. How would you take this particular term?
- A. I would take it the way Jock Weeden wanted it. That is to pool the various expensive courses, we can't afford, the Vudal College, the D.C.A. College, Forestries at Bulolo. Put them all together and get common standards of teacher pupil ratios, buildings etc....
- ...Q Why was it decided then, to pay mission agency teachers the full salary and give them equal opportunity, rights of promotion etc.?
- A. 1. the churches were after that. 2. well, I think most people recognised that teachers deserved it. 3. I think we were trying to set up a national system for Papua New Guineans to work in and to operate. Therefore they were teachers first and church representatives second, so you wanted complete change.
- Q. What experience did you call upon within yourself with the development of the legislation, in development of principles for action? Did you have any experience of decentralised systems for example?
- A. Only what I specifically studied.
- Q. Any value judgments about decentralised - v - centralised systems?
- A. As I said a while ago, I thought New Guinea was admirably suited to a decentralised system, because I could draw a parallel, the British system of local government worked so well or used to work so well because people had a sense of identity within a particular location and they were interested in local government. Take the Australian local government set up, on the whole people aren't interested. What I know of the British system, people are reasonably interested in it - New Guinea is very parochial. Possibly, if you could get people in New Guinea to take a keen interest in affairs if they were local.
- Q. On the surface it looks okay. Do you think decentralised bodies as have been set up under the legislation would have been effective?

- A. No.
- Q. Any reason why?
- A. A District Education Board is not representing the people in the District. The ordinary person in the district, doesn't really have any voice in district
- Q. Education authorities - what do they really want in our exercise?
- A. I think there are two or three prime movements amongst the education authorities. Generally they want (1) a national system (2) a system that would be suitable and designed specifically for local teachers rather than expatriate teachers (3) a system that would give people a real say in what was going on - Boards of Management, Boards of Governors, District Education Boards, decentralised.
- Q. I suppose you'd say a consensus model rather than authoritarian.
- A. Yes.
- Q. Do you think the consensus model is a right and valid model for Papua New Guinea?
- A. We thought so at the time, but again you see things move so quickly, I very much doubt if the Government is terribly keen on a consensus model anymore. I think perhaps the people might want one, but if it was taken away from them they really wouldn't mind because they haven't had a real chance to operate as such to date.
- Q. What would have happened if the Weeden Report had not been accepted?
- A. I really don't know. I suppose the system would have gone along pretty well unchanged.
- Q. What if perhaps the churches, or voluntary agencies may have grumbled a bit?
- A. I doubt if they would have grumbled any more than they have. I can't see that the Weeden committee, apart from paying the teachers - and that's fine - achieved any of its other aims.
- Q. What about the timing of the whole process E.A.B. days through to final legislation, implementation, do you feel the timing was right, too quick, too slow - ?
- A. I think it was right enough probably it should have been done before. If it had been done before, it would have a longer period of stable operation. I think perhaps one of the things attributable to it's failure to operate too well, is changeover of staff. It goes back to localization processes and the fact

that District executives have changed rapidly.

- Q. In retrospect would have gone about implementation differently yourself?
- A. In retrospect, it's difficult to say this, but I'm going to say it. Given that the Education Ordinance took the path it did I haven't many regrets about that. I have already pointed out my reservations about the D.E.B's - that is my major reservation about the Education Ordinance, that the D.E.B's are not clearly represented. In hindsight I would invite a different type of D.E.B.
- With the rest of it, I am inclined to broadly go along with. That's the Ordinance I was concerned with. The Teaching Service Ordinance I was not terribly concerned with. It's an abortion, and I think the Teaching Service Ordinance is the thing that is causing all the trouble.
- Q. This is funny, because I was going to get back onto that one. When I was asking before if there were any holdups or difficulties during this period there seemed to be this opening argument and dissension with the Education Ordinance which was then resolved and everybody was happy and all the heckles and suspicions died for a while. However once the Teaching Service Ordinance started to be written again you had these difficulties, holdups and people getting emotional and refusing to work. You're tending to consolidate this impression that I have by saying "it's an abortion", it may be the result of compromise - but have you any particular comments on why it is an abortion at this stage - or not functioning properly, in comparison with the Education Ordinance itself?
- A. It's too long, it covers functions. It gives too much scope for confusion between the role of the Commission and the role of the Department of Education; it's just ill conceived right throughout. It doesn't even square with the Weeden committee. It's pretty clear that the role of the executive and its functions are going to cause problems for years to come.
- Q. Opportunity for consultation for the 67/68 conference reports, consultation for Weeden report, do you feel there was sufficient opportunity for consultation?
- A. As far as I am aware, yes. A great deal of consultation, probably the biggest public relation exercise that the Department's ever had.

Further Interview with Dr Jones as a result of a malfunction in the June interview tapes. Some material in this tape was covered in the earlier interview as well. December 14th, 1974.

- Q. One of the objectives of the education system was to co-ordinate educational activity. What do you understand by this term?
- A. When the legislation was being set up the education activity to be co-ordinated was the activity of the government with the activity of the missions.
- Q. Why was it decided then that the mission teachers should be given a full salary and other conditions of service by the Government?
- A. Perhaps the real motive behind it was the recognition by the Government that unless they gave equal pay to mission teachers there was a possibility that the missions would withdraw from the education set up here. Possibly as a secondary feature you might of had a little bit of altruism but I think the major thing was a bit of worry that the whole mission education set up would collapse.
- Q. Now as a result of the Teaching Service Ordinance, and education ordinance since, do you feel that the legislation has arrested this?
- A. Difficult to say to what extent it is the education ordinance that has changed things. You've had since the new ordinance was introduced some mission bodies requesting further assistance. They got assistance with the salaries and they said OK we need assistance with buildings and we need assistance with additional running costs. You have the United Church with the George Brown High School almost certain not to operate next year. You've got probably next year for the first time, government teachers on full overseas allowances being seconded to Church Teachers' Colleges. I don't know that the new ordinance, well it's the old ordinance now, but I don't know how effective it really was. I'm inclined to think that it's more a sort of historical accident that there's been so much localisation both in government and mission that the old difference between government and mission isn't so strong. I think the old difference was more an expatriate difference. That's just a guess. Be interesting to see what will happen.

- Q. Possibly the structural change that has developed has an acceptance across boundaries now.
- A. You sort of wonder to what extent. Let's put it this way, the missions have been a lot quieter over the last two years. To what extent this is due to satisfaction with the change in the education system. To what extent this is due to the fact that people like McVinney are no longer taking an active role. ... I don't know.
- Q. The change in the philosophy of the structure of the education system, fostered national unity as such?
- A. No.
- Q. Why?
- A. Well its tied up with decentralization isn't it.
- Q. What I was getting at was that this was one of the pre-conditions in setting it up - the committee claimed that setting up a system like this would foster national unity.
- A. Well let's put it in a different way. I think it may have helped to reduce differences between local teachers employed in the government service and local teachers employed in the missions. They were on one salary scale, they could transfer from school to school. They could gain promotion from mission to government and vice versa. I don't think it has gone any further than that and I don't really see how it could.
- Q. What about freedom of choice, identity, religious opportunities within church schools. Do you feel that this has been adequately protected?
- A. It was never in doubt really, and although you would really have to define freedom of choice and identity. There's still a problem in Port Moresby with Bomana High School. Now the Bomana interpretation of freedom of choice is that a child from Hanuabada should be transported at government expense all the way to Bomana because his parents prefer him to go to a catholic school. That's not really freedom of choice and in fact is grossly illegal under the ordinance. I think the concept; the idea that the people who framed the ordinance were getting at was, yes there should be freedom of choice provided in exercising that freedom, parents did not deprive another child of the opportunity for education.

Therefore, if you have two children who can attend High School as boarders it doesn't matter whether they go to a government school or a non-government school, assuming there are vacancies. And so a catholic parent could elect for a child to go to a catholic school. However, what you can't have and what the ordinance has never permitted but what some mission people claim should happen is, - a catholic student let's say living within day school distance of a government high school but being allowed to attend the catholic high school as a boarder. So on the question of identity there is nothing really in the ordinance to prevent a school retaining its identity, except the insistence that entry to all schools shall be free irrespective of religious affiliation. I can see that its possible for some schools to be adversely affected, if for example you have a Lutheran school in a predominantly catholic area. Now if the ordinance is implemented properly (this is a primary school) then the children living nearest to it would go and if they were all catholic the Lutheran school would lose its identity. My answer to that one is the Lutherans shouldn't have put their school in that area in the first place. I doubt if there are many such examples of this, it's the only example that I can think of where a school can lose its identity. However, when the ordinance was being framed and all the discussions were being carried on, this was the big bogey. I think all the denominations were very frightened that they would lose their identity -

The ordinance has been in for what, four years? and I certainly can't really think of an instance where a school has lost it's identity.

- Q. A value judgement : Do you think there has been any improvement in the standard of education offered since 1969?
- A. I think it went up. I don't know whether it continued to go up. I wouldn't like to say that any improvement is directly attributable to the new ordinance. I think the development of the education system in Papua New Guinea over the past 10 years showed an improvement in quality. This improvement was brought about I don't think by the new ordinance, I don't think the new ordinance hindered it, I don't think particularly assisted it. I'm trying to guess and you asked for a value judgement, probably this improvement in quality has stopped over the last couple of years. We're possibly teetering on the brink of a decline -

subject of opinion of course.

- Q. What I was thinking by framing this question. System change brought out a re-organisation particularly in respect of senior field staff. Before we had one or two District Inspectors, - all of a sudden we are inundated with District Superintendents, inspectors and curriculum advisers - which should have meant some improvement. Now with the increase in field staff has there been a commensurate increase in the quality of education and output from schools - the professional attitudes of teachers as such?
- A. I guess I misunderstood your previous question. What you say is correct. But the ratio of one inspector to 150 teachers was brought in under the ordinance. I had assumed this was going to go in anyway. Yes I would think that that definitely made an impact on the school system. However, at the risk of sounding cynical the quality of inspectors available in primary is inclined to militate against any real improvement. Theoretically I would agree given competent inspectors one would expect an improvement. From what I have seen, the inspectors are a very mixed bag.
- Q. Would you regard the Teaching Service itself as being more professional over the past couple of years than it was pre 1969?
- A. I would say it's less professional but then again I don't attribute it to the ordinance.
- Q. Do you think the system of financing and controlling education was as recommended in the original report, the Weeden report, was durable and workable?
- A. You will have to remind me of what that system was.
- Q. I guess he was talking about decentralization, control of the district funds from the centre and what they were before; Government paying, you know central Government paying, all the teachers rather than this coming out of grants aid; more centralized funding I suppose, the way the money was used within the education system.
- A. I thought there would've been less control rather than more. What are the changes? Previously missions received a grant in aid in respect of their teachers. Now the teachers themselves are given a salary. It doesn't seem to be

It's a good move I think, but I think there's a heck of a lot of money wasted on district education board financing. To my recollection of budgetary procedures and estimates before and after the ordinance, apart from the salary change and the D.E.B. and N.E.B. funding which has wasted an awful lot of money. The other thing which has been a decentralization and enormous waste of money has been this whole transfer and promotion system where a D.E.B. will cheerfully go ahead and move a man on promotion from one end of the country to the other because although theoretically the District is charged there has been such lax budgetary control that the central government has picked up the tab every time. So apart from some sort of inefficiencies in the budgeting set up I don't think there has been much of a change.

- Q. What are your personal views on an ideal education system for Papua New Guinea?
- A. I really haven't any personal views on an ideal educational system in Papua New Guinea it's a far too difficult question for for me to answer.
- Q. What about the other one that you have answered before and we'll come back again to the decentralized bodies - in your opinion have they been effective, if they haven't why not?
- A. No I don't think they have been effective. I don't know that I'm prepared to say that they have been ineffective. They've operated at a mediocre level of efficiency. That's my impression. What was the second part?
- Q. If they haven't been effective, why haven't they?
- A. 1. I don't believe that the D.E.B. is truly representative of the people.
2. I don't think that the chairmen of the D.E.B. have in all cases been of sufficient quality to make sure that the D.E.B. operates.

As a result of this failure of quality among the chairmen, certainly not all chairmen among many chairmen, you have had

1. vested interests running things,
2. disregard of legal provisions and professional requirements.

There are many people without the chairman and/or his staff having the competence to pick this type of thing up and do something about it. I get the impression that many districts

flounder. There is little educational leadership. The teachers as I said earlier, are possibly less professional than they used to be as they can get away with things. The missions continue to manipulate the board, the politicians appear to be able to exert considerable influence on D.E.B.'s. So, you really need a representative board and the members of the board need to be pretty competent, pretty sensible, pretty down to earth; and you need a highly skilled administrative chairman and back-up staff. I don't think you have these things and therefore I think the District Education Board is not doing the type of job that we'd hoped they would at one stage. And I guess really it was a bit of a stupid romantic idea that they really would.

- Q. The next area I want to look at, is the area of conflict between Teaching Service Commissioner and the Department of Education - you remember the blow up between McKinnon and Nielson. Basically this was over the functions of the executive, the Department, and the Teaching Service Commission. Do you know anything of the background of this, involved in this personally?
- A. No. Because when the blow-up took place I was on leave. I have heard the story although I must confess that the memory even of this story is fairly hazy. But I think an interesting point is that you have a very similar conflict going on at this moment. That's if my recollections of the previous conflict are at all accurate. In other words you have a Teaching Service Commission which is at this moment continually interfering, and I use the word advisedly, interfering in the executive operations of the education system. Now, my recollections of the committee, particularly of the Weeden Committee, and of the framing of the education ordinance are that it was very specifically and clearly stated that the teaching service commission would be very small, it would not have administrative functions, it would be a watch-dog. Now certainly the people in the commission at the moment are disregarding that. They are trying to get their staff increased and they are now interfering in administrative decisions. I believe the McKinnon, Nielson conflict was because McKinnon insisted on the Department's being the executive and the Commission being a condition setter and watch-dog; and Nielson

who was an excellent administrator of course, wanting a much larger piece of the action than that. But the problem hasn't changed - its still there at the moment.

- Q. It's interesting to see that this original conflict is now arising particularly since Ken has gone. I get the impression that since Ken has left that the commission's starting to flex its muscles.
- A. No. Well you could put it that way. You could on the other hand be doing Alkan Tololo a dis-service. When Alkan was Commissioner, I thought he was really doing the job the Commissioner was supposed to do. Mind you, he was as stubborn as you could ever find and you couldn't sway him on some things, but he did have this idea if a certain thing was the Department's prerogative and that was it. There were certain things that were the Commissioner's prerogative and that again was it. But he set his limits much closer to the condition setter, watch-dog approach than the present set up that the present commissioner is doing.
- Q. You've heard specific examples I suppose of the T.S.C. interfering with the department over the last 6 months or so. Have they backed off on any of these things at all or has the department been able to make them back off?
- A. I would say this year in particular, this past year, once we realized that there was no point in reasoning with them we deliberately went out of our way to win as many conflicts as possible. I think we won most of them. But, nevertheless I would say, that when you think of the waste of time, the frustrations in the field. It's counter productive to use the jargon term.
- Q. Looking in the future now; a few predictions for the future. The powers of a minister first of all. There are conflict situations arising forgetting the personality of the person involved, do you feel that the grab for power pattern is one that is going to be adhered to?
- A. Well. Yes I think that it would be an exceptional minister who operated his ministerial powers in the way perhaps the ordinance wanted or perhaps the way educators would want. I think that perhaps not many people at ministerial level or people who are likely to move into ministerial level over the next few years have the sophistication, the intelligence, the education

whatever it may be, to realise that as ministers, their responsibility is to implement the government's policy. To set these policies for the executive i.e. the public servant to carry out. I think we are going to continue to interfere in parochial matters, to make decisions, to assist friends and relatives or even just to give a good impression to someone they have met in the hotel. I think because you see you can get a lot of kudos to yourself by being a good fellow to people. Perhaps it tied up a little bit with the New Guinea background, I don't know about this. Must be a big temptation for a fellow to have considerable power but not to wield it in minor matters. No frankly, I would think the ministerial government up here is going to be at least as bad as it already is for some while to come.

Q. Where do you see the places and the power of the Director in the future years. Do you see him as diminishing in power?

A. If the Minister continues to make parochial decisions, to interfere in the routine running of the administrative set up, yes that is inevitable.

Q. What about the T.S.C?

A. The T.S.C. would continue to be a bloody nuisance.

Q. District Education Boards?

A. District Education Boards will go - District Education Boards will presumably somehow be absorbed into provincial District Government type setups, and will therefore be considerably more important and influential than they are at the moment. Because while I think the Minister's powers will grow as regards Central Government affairs or those things he can get into near to Konedobu, I think that his powers will decrease considerably in the districts. Because I think that provincial government is just going to finish central government.

Q. The recommendations that were made by the Weeden Report would there be any modifications that you would have liked to be included at the time, or now?

A. I think that the Weeden Report has been overtaken by history. I think that what is needed is a complete new look at the Education system in the light of future development to governmental ministerial powers, future development of provincial government,

regional government, district governments, breakaway moves, and anything like that. The pace of change has just been so quick. I'm not criticising the Weeden Report here. I'm just saying things have changed so much I think the whole structure of education will probably have to be re-organised along with the whole administrative structure in this country.

That's if District and Provincial Government get going.

- Q. Just a final comment on the introduction of the change : Do you feel that the timing was too quick, too slow?
- A. It was done very quickly. You are asking for a value judgement. If it was done too quickly? No I don't think it was done too quickly. I think if it was the sort of thing that if it were to be done, then it should be done quickly.
- Q. What about the active implementation of change. In retrospect, would you have gone about it in a different way? In other words, the consultative processes involved, ...
- A. No. I thought it was quite good. The thing I would have gone about in a different way was not bothering with the Teaching Service Commission. But if you are talking about the way they went around and gathered evidence and all the discussions that went on. Not perhaps - I suppose a change like that theoretically ought to take 3, 4, 5 years and everyone discuss it and everything like that, No, I think it was fair enough.
- Q. What about, you said forget about T.S.C. What do you mean by that?
- A. I can't see that they serve any useful function.
- Q. You would just as soon have teachers as public servants.
- A. Yes, given that they would have special conditions. But I don't see why you have to have a Teaching Service Commission to administer these special conditions. Why can't the Public Service Board run it. I don't know. Perhaps - I suppose my disenchantment is more because the T.S.C. has made such a mess of things. Perhaps if they had different people after Alkan
- Q. Well one last one, what would have happened if the Weeden Report had not been accepted as Government policy?
- A. Well I assume the old monolithic centralized system of education would have continued. I don't know that this would have, you know in the light of the way things have changed, and the

five years of the D.E.B. I don't know if this would have been such a great disadvantage. I suppose too the big problem is what would have happened with the mission schools and the mission teachers. But conceivably the government could have said we will pay mission teachers government salaries, and the only changes we will bring in will be those that will enable us to pay mission teachers at government rates. Then presumably also tied up with that I think any government would have had to have said, but as a condition for our picking up the salary bill, Religion can't be a test of entry. I think you know, if you could have avoided the complete structural re-organization with administrative decisions saying 1. teachers will receive full salary, mission teachers will receive full say; 2. Religion will not be a test of entry. I'm not saying that would have been the best decision but I'm sure it could have been implemented with no problem.

- Q. Are you still a centralist in philosophy or do you prefer decentralization?
- A. Strangely enough I prefer decentralization, that is my theoretical standpoint - I'm not sure that I prefer decentralization in Papua New Guinea at this moment, because when you decentralize things you need as we've mentioned before, a reservoir of skilled people to administer the setup in a whole series of different places and you need an informed body of public opinion also in all the places to make sure it works. A decentralized system is certainly the one I'd go for given that there are the conditions in the country. Perhaps one should say it is better to take the plunge into decentralization as we have done in Papua New Guinea and live with the problems in the hope that in 10-15-20 years, you'll reap the rewards. So perhaps as a long term view even, if in Papua New Guinea, decentralization might be worth while. We'll have to wait and see.

Interview with Dr K.R. McKinnon, Tuesday 9th July, 1974. (Formerly Director of Education, Papua New Guinea. Now Chairman of the Schools Commission in Australia.)

- Q. One of the difficult things is to find evidence of the pressure for change from the missions. All that we have is this statement "we haven't got enough money, we need more money". I haven't been able to find any real concrete evidence of say a high wastage of teachers out of the missions in the few years I looked at - 1965/67. They were running at about 6% which is not particularly high, at least from the records we had. What pressure was on really, from the missions?
- A. The changes in New Guinea weren't really the result of mission pressure at all. They were really a plan that redeveloped, even prior to the entry of them. What happened was, when I became Director - December '66, I immediately set to work to write a number of policy submissions of which this was one. Then, simultaneously we prepared a five year plan, which had all the elements of what is now in place in P.N.G. in it, of which I have one of the few remaining copies. The rest just went out of the window and got lost.
- Q. Who developed that plan?
- A. At the time John Lee was my Special Projects Officer and most of the writing was in John Lee's hands. He was effectively the planning branch of the Department.
- Q. That was before Neville Fry?
- A. Neville comes in about '68, as far as publications and traceable documents go. Then following that document, we got some papers through the then Executive Council, and Toliman was still I think, Under Secretary for Education. That was before he became Ministerial Member. Cabinet agreed to the general outlines of what we proposed. Then it went to Canberra about June. Then we had a working party on Education Development - I'm having difficulty in putting in the exact time sequence. The Conference on Educational Development came in July '67 - Y.W.C.A. Conference 1968, there were the documents on what other countries were doing. I think the very first thing was the plan. Then there were these papers in the early months of 1967, then I figured the way to get

it out in the open was to have this Conference on Educational Development.

- Q. There is a remarkable harmony between what that Conference was developing and what you were working towards.
- A. That's right, but that Conference was really a turning point in our relationships.
- Q. My background data is that many of the departmental people there - that the document doesn't reflect some of the antagonism that was evident in the air. There was a great feeling of distance between people.
- A. One of the key people in this outfit was Paul McVinney. I think he was more influential at the time than anybody else. He wasn't influential in terms of his status, he just came in as Education Secretary and he had an agreement with me in private as to their representation, which he agreed would be rather less than the exact numerical strength because I tried to persuade him that a conference based on numerical strength would be as abortive as the Mission Relation Conferences of previous years. Then he got hauled over the coals by his colleagues and I think, what are now called Education Secretaries, and came very angrily back to me and this was mostly really because they had been so far out of touch and he'd be the only one who'd be in touch. I had the impression - that his Bishops weren't very much in it at this stage.
- Q. He was placed in a difficult job. He didn't really have the support of the people who were really affected by it, yet he was required to carry out this central co-ordinating job.
- A. It was very early days too and there had been no previous apparatus and another feature of it was that he was considered by a lot to be an upstart American from the Latter Day Missions. As he described it to me, the Germans and the French Missionaries in Rabaul and the French in Yule Island regarded themselves as the senior people, so if there was to be a central co-ordinator it should come from these sources. However, Mac is essentially a reasonable man. He sometimes took a while to see a new idea, but once he saw it and was converted to it, he was quite willing to weigh up all the competing pressures. By far his strongest skill was in the area of picking his way through pressures. This conference was set up and got underway and during the conference Mac was under very strong pressure from his own people. Some of

the personalities of the conference were Bishop Hand who was quite unreasonable and was always talking about the divine mission of the church and that didn't give anybody any right to rationally plan an education system, if anybody was in school for one day or two days, that was helpful. It didn't matter how poor the school was. Jack Sharp from Rabaul, was one of the very persuasive people, a very rational man, and had a lot to do with some of the ideas that came into the final paper. Some of the ideas that came into the final paper had been circulated before the conference, by us. However, during the conference there was a tremendous blow up one night, when Mac and one of his friends came around to my house and threatened to wreck the conference. Syd was involved with me as an organizer.

- Q. Syd was in quite deep then as far as where the system was going to be headed in theory in this early stage. A lot of people in the department claim they didn't really know what was going on and they are still claiming this up to 1972/73. You get the blame I suppose for moving on too fast. They said they weren't consulted over things in the teaching service, they weren't consulted over the operation of things, and I'm surprised that Syd was quite closely involved at this early stage. What was he then, do you recall?
- A. Superintendent, Primary. Might have been Chief District Superintendent.
- Q. But that position wasn't created until after the '67 conference I thought.
- A. I couldn't tell you, but I was using him as a sort of a coordinator on this. Directors always use people because of their particular skills and Syd had a particular skill which is the wheeling and dealing on the same lines as McVinney. He also knew quite a few people from over a few years and so he was fairly helpful in moving, especially the organization side of the conference along. One device we used - it was quite a traumatic evening, that evening, because as I understand the situation, what had happened was that the Catholics had caucused over a barbeque to which Syd had been invited, and had put Mac under so much pressure that he was selling out the system. At

that stage they weren't really very sure of selling out to the Government but maybe they were getting lost in the pressure of things for the Protestants. They came around to my house and they were quite abusive. It had a counter-productive effect, because Mac was sorry about it afterwards. The next day we were able to bring the conference to a successful conclusion because we changed the name of the game a little. At that stage it was threatened that there would be a walk out on any resolutions. I was the chairman, and so instead of calling for resolutions and getting people to vote on them, we announced the resolutions and said did anybody dissent from them?-which made it that they would have to stand up and argue; so they didn't. So it was a very positive thing that we were able to capitalise on in the month that followed.

- Q. There is still a good deal of hesitancy within the Catholic Church, after the resolutions had been accepted.
- A. I guess you'd find that even today. I don't regard that as having achieved anything, more than airing a few ideas and educating some of those who would need to educate others. Mac wasn't converted to the idea of the system until a fair bit later than that. In fact I would think it took the whole of '67 and '68. I think it would be fair to say that he and perhaps one or two of the protestants were suspicious of my intentions until the catalysing effect of Weeden and Beeby.
- Q. Why in that '67 conference when there seemed to be on the surface a unanimity of purpose and acceptance of the broad outline, why did we have to wait until '69 to get another committee which comes down with almost the same sorts of recommendations?
- A. It's the same old process. That's why we kept all sorts of things going through that period.
- Q. One wonders if there was Australian Government opposition or was it a process of education for them as well?
- A. Yes, it was. It was also a process of them coming to grips whether I was moving too fast for them and in the wrong direction.
- Q. It's always a source of amusement, that until Warwick Smith left how these ideas just ran into a brick wall.
- A. They did. I have some very terse correspondence on that. There were a number of things that happened during that period.

One of them was that we had McVinney on the Education Advisory Board and he got more and more attuned to grasping ideas. Remember, although he had worked with us on the curriculum committees and I knew him from quite a long time back, this was the first time he had come to grips with ideas of national organization of education in a sense in that classic phrase, from the Weeden/Beeby report, village oriented rather than nation oriented. Also, if you talk with Alwyn Neuendorf and Alan Randall, - Alwyn went to Africa during that period and Alwyn was seen by Paul as being a rational person too, and in most ways respects him and when he came back and said they can't understand why we haven't done this years ago; moved along - I kept talking to them about the fact that if you didn't rationally plan, if you didn't take things by the hand, you got taken. The alternatives in New Guinea were, the long range possibility of nationalization versus a rational coming to grips with the situation at the present time, which would set up a system, so that it didn't have to be nationalized and I saw that as one of the key things I was working at all the time I was in New Guinea.

- Q. There is this balance. In writing, you've always advocated the participation and involvement of Papua New Guineans and in retrospect all the new system is an expatriate dominated model. It's decided and designed - taking into account I think that all people are very conscious of Papua New Guinean feeling and it certainly made every attempt to consult and have the participation of Papua New Guineans, but in the final analysis its an expatriate setup.
- A. It is very easy to forget just how rapidly things changed in New Guinea. If you think in terms of Toliman for example, at that Educational Development Conference, he was Under Secretary for Education, and I remember how meek and humble, as he always was as a person, but at that conference his only contribution was an outburst against the Chinese. He wouldn't have thought of taking a leading role in it, we wouldn't have thought about it. He then graduated to being a fully fledged Minister, consulted on everything, making key decisions, confident, "you leave it to me, I'll convince Papua New Guineans of this"; - that occurred over 6 years and it was that sort of thing in terms of my own reaction

to events about 1969/70 that was the watershed for me. I really began to realise at that time just how much I'd been intellectualising the process of development towards self government, carrying enough people along in the P.N.G. section to cope. We'd gradually been speeding up our executive training but I made a quantum leap at that point by saying it didn't matter about the lack of apparent training. You had to involve them, so that mistakes would be made - in other words, the experience up until that time had convinced me that we'd done the wrong thing and it was almost a guilty feeling that I hadn't been sharp enough to see it earlier, even though I think we were further along than most people. But it's a mistake to think that Papuans and New Guineans weren't very instrumental in acceptance of the scheme. If you talk of Gabriel Gris you'll see that a couple of critical incidents occurred when the Lutherans told us that they weren't going to have anything to do with this when the Weeden/Beeby/Gris committee was moving around. So we got Gris to go off and talk with a group of Lutheran teachers. He came back and said, they've really got a different point of view from the mission - and he went and did this in several other areas and so he got a clear view of what they wanted and the excellent device that they thought of for having voluntary options about where you took up participation, was based on our knowledge but we knew where the teachers wanted to go and that the teachers had an option, regardless of whether the church had an option. We were pretty certain that this was going to swing the thing anyhow.

That is surely the trick and I wrote on this a little bit on the paper that has come out on educational planning from UNESCO. I've got a little bit of a study of that in there which will give you some idea of some of the processes that I felt would have worked. Which was really that you provide people with voluntary options but set the circumstances in such a way that there is just one obvious one. So I think Papua New Guineans were instrumental in it from that point of view.

- Q. If you just rely on the evidence of committee members in as far as the teachers when they got them by themselves, I think there is a measure of the success and the sense of feeling in development of the teachers association. You've got about 85% membership in a short period of time and a relatively solid core of belief in action

within them and I think the coming into the service, the teachers were well ahead of everybody in their sense of unity and in the reward they got for coming in, made them extremely contented.

- A. We worked a bit on teachers too in this area. The biggest possibility at one stage, as you'll recall - the Bougainville teachers would go it alone from the Catholics and from the teachers in general and quite a lot of effort went into persuading them that this wasn't in the best interest of teachers and it wasn't in the best interest of the church necessarily. A lot of what you got in an area depended on how rational the education secretaries were...
- ... But at that stage also, the Public Service Association was a pretty rigid sort of organization. They were fighting very strongly for everything to be done a la public service and very, very tight, and the idea of a separate group within them that would be as strong and as big as they were, was anathema to any of them. An idea that existed pretty well to the end that teachers could have conditions different from public servants but no better or no worse was something that we were still fighting in '73.
- Q. I do think the Public Service Association made a number of mistakes and they are even under pressure now still from different sectoral interests to have a greater say in their own activities. Posts and Telegraphs and nurses for example. If they had in '66 or perhaps '64 opened up the association and become more of a federation we might have staved off this problem.
- A. There was a very strong axis that we were fighting at the time. We were fighting the Canberra Public Service Board, Public Service Association axis, who all thought in the worst attenuated way, that an organization could only be like the Commonwealth Public Service with much more rigidity and so anything we wanted to do was just impossible within that kind of framework.
- Q. It certainly wasn't the point of view of the executive officers or the general secretary of that time. They were all in favour of an open situation. Anyway it is interesting to know that you were interested in the early days of the local teachers association. I was on the other side. We couldn't understand why they just didn't want anything at all to do with the P.S.A. occupational group.

- A. I felt very much for them in those days. They had always had their claims subordinated to expatriate claims for salaries. They had always had their claims subordinated to expatriate claims for promotion. We were still operating on the Australian system, so no Australian could see that any local fellow should get a promotion job unless he had at least matriculated and two years at an Australian teachers college and that was impossible to beat within that organizational structure and the only way to beat it I thought, was to help them get out on their own.
- Q. It would have been better to have the Papua New Guinea Teachers Association other than the local teachers association.
- A. We put in a bit of effort on this too but didn't get very far. There is a limit to how much you can do in public in these sort of things and I forget the exact details how we were operating at the time but I know I felt that we'd been dashed with cold water when we talked with expatriates about joining; that they had more in common with Papua and New Guineans than they had with other public servants, because in fact right to the end that was the condition that we were pushing very hard to understand; that it wasn't a sly dodge to cut down their benefits...
- ...Q. I could never understand why Weeden was chosen to head the Committee of Enquiry. I can understand Beeby who had a '66 Wedgewood Seminar trip to Port Moresby and I think you bumped into him at Harvard a bit. He'd already started to publish and seemed a reasonable choice, but why Weeden?
- A. Funny; all sorts of things were going on at the time. Another effort which I don't think has ever been reported to counter what we were doing and I was fighting rearguard actions at the same time; Australia move forward to have an enquiry made into education headed by Bill McCasker which met two or three times. It started just prior or just after I became Director. Bill was the Government Economic Advisor, an ex school teacher and knew all about education and he persuaded Warwick Smith to set this up.
- Q. But this would have been for the five year plan, wouldn't it, which came out in '68?
- A. No, it was a separate deal to have an enquiry into education and then I gradually, without any remorse, tried to kill it. I couldn't think of a less suitable committee, or a less suitable chairman. That went on for a while. People kept asking where

this committee was and where it's report was, and what was going to be done about it and Warwick Smith kept telling me that this was the big deal and all the things I was doing on the side, was a nuisance, and there's somebody you ought to talk to here - a fellow called Claude Reseigh who was the Assistant Secretary of Education in Social Welfare in the Territories Department. Then a working party was set up which was myself and Johnson, who chaired it, and Reseigh. And that was the first involvement of the Canberra people and we carried the ideas in that along from that educational development conference and the earlier five year plan. By that time, they were becoming socialised to the idea. That went on through most of '68. I hope you've seen a copy of that. There is one around somewhere.

- Q. I know of the existence of the Johnson committee but I haven't come across the documentation for it. I'll look for it now.
- A. During that time I was talking about getting the committee of enquiry going because it was gradually borne in on me that that was the only way we were going to crystallise the whole thing and I wanted to get hold of Beeby as the chairman, so I wrote to him and he said he would. I went off then on leave and while I was away it was consummated. I was doing some work from a distance and I had no objection to Weeden, I didn't know anything about Gris. His was a name that came up but Beeby was the one I wanted because he had written and thought about a lot of the same things and then Weeden of course was the Senior Assistant Secretary who had been involved in international education in the Department here and as Beeby said, it was natural to have the Australian as the chairman. I thought at the time he was an inappropriate choice.
- Q. I am of the opinion that it was probably with Weeden as chairman that it had a respectability for Australian Government authorities.
- A. At the time of the appointment I thought it was inappropriate but later and partly through the way things turned out I understood it was the only sensible way to get the thing acceptable, because Weeden was known to Reseigh who would have put in the advice to Warwick Smith. I think Warwick Smith's view was that it was possible that I was running in a headstrong way and he needed somebody to steady this thing down a bit.

- Q. I think Weeden had always been a good public service man in that he has been part of and operated within the rules and regulations and this element of his trusted public service way was greatly in his favour.
- A. I didn't know Beeby very well and I pressed for him so hard that they had no choice but to take him and this was a way of making sure the thing was on the rails. This is often done in government circles. I think subsequently it was a jolly good choice, not only from the point of respectability in Australia but from the point of view of harmony of the participants. Their style and nature was tremendously compatible and they had known each other for years at international conferences, so they got off to a good start and we socialised a lot while they were in the area, so we could talk over how things were going and they were beaut in confab with people. They would play the Gilbert and Sullivan roles. One would be straight and the other funny and they would drag out of people a lot of stuff and get an understanding going of what they were on about.
- Q. But Weeden and Beeby did clash I think on one major issue, the nature of the teaching service. Beeby wanted it under the National Education Board and Weeden said in the Australian mentality this would never be bought. Werethere any other variants you know?
- A. No, and I think Beeby would have fought harder for that if I hadn't said I tended to agree with Weeden. When the report was being written there was a lot of this kind of conferencing and they tended to check out their proposed recommendations with us and that's the only one I can recall. Probably I recall that most of all, because we made a point of bringing that out at subsequent discussions with other people, how things are decided.
- Q. Run your eyes over my list of people, and if you'd care to comment on their participation or antagonism...
- ...A. The Catholics said we couldn't accept that and the Protestants said we must have it and there was a reconciliation so that over a couple of days about a dozen or 15 key opinion makers were further socialised into this sort of thing. That was the importance of their report and the process was more important than the report itself.

- Q. Once the report is completed the action period is very short between getting the Australian Government, Papua New Guinea Government, Executive Council, accepting then drafting the Education Ordinance. All really takes place in an astoundingly short period of time.
- A. It wouldn't have got done if it hadn't been done in a short time. Now what happened was, as the report was being compiled we were checking with each other daily. I was reading drafts and commenting on them and so on and as the report came nearer conclusion, Weeden and Beeby had been to talk with Warwick Smith a few times, they were both old hands at this sort of thing. Then the last writing session was here in Canberra during which time a lot further was done in bringing people to grips with what was in the report. As the last thing was written we got it to the printer the same day and it was printed within about 3 weeks. We were pressing people against that November deadline because we had to have something done -
- Q. What's this November deadline?
- A. There was a sitting of the House in November and the idea was to get the Bill into the November sitting of the House so that we wouldn't have to make arrangements to the salaries for the beginning of the next year, which was said to be a critical leaving period. If we got the Bill into the November sitting of the House we would then have the excuse that they didn't pass it to defer action. The whole financial bit that was brought in there was not to make any changes during the period of the committee and until the legislation was produced, so that we would be in the maximum bargaining position as far as achieving the changes and in a sense what we were saying was if you've got to make changes spread out over 10 years for which you get nothing in return, you're just as well off to do them straight away in return for the kind of planning, organizing, rationalizing features that we were after.
- Q. You then split up into two groups didn't you? You didn't get the legislation into the November sitting.
- A. Before the report went in we had the Minister in Australia saying he wouldn't oppose it. The then Minister, Barnes had said he wouldn't oppose it,

- Q. As I understand it the Education Advisory Board largely vetted the things as they came through. Can you recall that at all? Who did the actual drafting for the Education Ordinance? It would have been the key people?
- A. The Temporary Education Ordinance was done on the same language draft that we had hammered out in that same process you got involved in later for the Teaching Service Ordinance, so there was really two years of continuous meetings. Then it got into the hands of the legislative draftsman and messed up a piece of good plain writing. It would have been a much better ordinance - I don't know if you have seen that draft?
- Q. I've never seen that early draft. In the development of the Temporary Teaching Service Ordinance you get the first inkling of the split in thinking over the function of the Commission. This is a problem that is still dogging relationships between the Department and the Commission today.
- A. I think at the time Syd Nielson's own feelings and ambitions had entered into it. Syd was always in the very awkward position of not having any academic qualifications and thinking and perhaps knowing he was better than a lot of guys who did get promotions and I think he saw the Teaching Service Commission as a niche for himself; one for which he was particularly suited, having been President of the Public Service Association, knowing a lot about Public Service rules, he had been a troubleshooter for a long time and in the build up, which we didn't see, had misinterpreted the Teaching Service Commission. In it's early days it had tried to take on the role of a public service board. It didn't see itself as a residual responsibility.
- Q. I don't know if you know the latest development. They have handed back to the Commission the actual determining of conditions and recruitment for expatriates. It's been taken back from the Department at the end of 1973, which totally abrogates the function of the Commission as I see it. The choice of Tololo was a good choice, but the choice of Tau Boga the Teaching Service Commissioner to me spelt the end of the Commission.
- A. It was a particularly bad choice for that role at any time even when Nielson was deputy. He was totally unimaginative. The epitomy of the kind of worst Commonwealth Public Servant let loose

on a new system with entirely different ways of functioning.

- Q. I think it would have been best for us to have appointed perhaps more Commissioners perhaps like you've got here, part time Commissioners, and had we got a couple of people who were connected to the system in a position where they could have influenced the working of the Commission. I thought perhaps for a time that a teaching council could have been viable. But there was a holding back of the acceptance of any function for the teaching council, but it could have been used as a safeguard to what was happening in the Commission.
- A. I'd have had my doubts about that. I in many ways saw that the Teaching Service Commission was a temporary phenomenon, and I accepted it on that basis, and attempted to manoeuvre it into some part of the National Education Board, which I agreed with Beeby was the best place for it. Or that if it was doing that, it was better off under the Public Service Board because then you have a more dispassionate view of terms and conditions that eject from people who also want to run the education system. The problem with the Training Service Commission is that the way it was set up, lends itself to or had to lend itself to, the possibility of the people seeing they could run the education system through it. That was the early argument that arose when Nielson was in there. He saw this as a way of running the system and having district operators responsible to him for this sort of thing. That kind of operational role was just unthinkable if you were really going to have a unified system. I still think Syd wasn't right there. I think it was a mistake and a limited view of the role right from the beginning; limited in the sense that he too saw it very much in Commonwealth Service terms.
- Q. But don't forget that the - Papua New Guinea viewpoint is a different thing, but the nature of public employment had a good deal of universality, answerability, uniformity and this sort of thing.
- A. Not really - yes and no. Yes, public employment has certain principles that are the criteria which make it public employment. Answerability etc. as you said are part of these, but there are literally innumerable ways of realizing, and to think that there is only one way or the Commonwealth way is the way, is quite the

wrong thing and we were not only having Commonwealth views, but they were more rigid than they are in the Commonwealth. You could do lots of the things in the Commonwealth that you could never do in Australia or New Guinea. It doesn't operate in that way in Australia. They've got a lot of worse things I'll admit but no, I didn't believe that the Teaching Service had anything like that kind of role.

- Q. Really, the Teaching Service was set up as one of the kind of alternative option things for the mission organization teachers and public servants although in fact they had become public servants. This was the principal purpose in setting it up.
- A. Sure, in that case it should have been a low key sort of operation. The higher the key the less it fills its function. It should be more like an arbitration commission or prices justification tribunal but it only operates and is only triggered into action in certain circumstances. It doesn't have a necessary day by day life that takes operational staff.
- Q. I never thought it had any operational responsibility at all. All the processing of leave applications that goes on, it just ties up their time.
- A. Well the problem was also understanding the problem. I don't think there were enough people who understood. I would have seen the best way to operate the commission would have been to have had somebody like Matthews, the public service arbitrator coming whenever needed, available as a court of appeal and his word be law. He could hand down judgment. The Union saw the Commission as the alternative way of participation and management of the system and that was in my view a bit sad, because it meant they were going the alternative way, they didn't have enough on the National Education Board.
- Q. Don't forget that as things have turned out the N.E.B. has underestimated the political changes that were taking place in P.N.G. and the strength of Ministerial government which is there now either by default or by right. The N.E.B. was in a very precarious position for its existence.
- A. Precisely, but so too is the Commission, don't make any mistake about that.

- Q. Yes, I accept that. I think as far as current benefit is concerned, the teachers are getting more out of the Commission than they are out of N.E.B.
- A. Of course they are, for that is the body set up to do it for them. The problem is the distinction between what they are expected to do professionally and what they are rewarded for industrially means a very much restricted education system. I'm not really as concerned with what teachers get out of anything. I was concerned with the health and wealth of the education system.
- Q. What about the administrative side. My main thesis is that they should have had a big shakeup in the administrative organization of the department when this was to be implemented. It would have meant a smoother implementation had they given people new mandates and it would have destroyed their old fears.
- A. There is one re-organization I had in mind and had been toying with for about 18 months and I realized the prior, priority, was localization and I didn't feel we could handle localization at the same time as changing departmental organization from a provisional organization to a functional organization. I understand it is now.
- Q. No the Minister has knocked it back.
- A. I had a lot of this kind of feeling that you can only do so much in a limited period and I think you were among those who were telling me to take it easy.
- Q. I feel you get more effective change by massive dosage. You can't do it all the time, but with Tololo as Director, I don't expect any radical re-organization while he's in the chair.
- A. No, the whole experience I had with localization and I have very firm views about it now, I started off earlier on by manufacturing jobs for people which were not there before and that didn't work.

Interview with Father P. McVinney on 19th June, 1974. (Formerly National Education Secretary for the Catholic Church and Currently Principal Holy Trinity Teachers' College Mt Hagen.)

- Q. The first question is a specific one. How did you become involved in the new system of legislation?
- A. Well, the honest opinion is that the Bishops didn't know what to do with me so they sent me down to bother the Government. It started with an involvement in education at Teachers' College and while at the Teachers' College I got involved in programming, details of lesson notes for teachers, and a number of Government bods came around to Teachers' College and saw I was interested. That brought me down to Moresby and my first contact with the Administration. That led us to a revision of the primary school syllabus which led us on to my appointment as the National Secretary on the part of the Bishops. Now, when they set up this office, the Catholic Bishops in 1968 had an agonizing appraisal of the commitments and the resources of the Catholic Church, particularly in regard to the Social Services they were and could possibly offer to the people of the nation and education ruled very large because we were heavily committed in education and if it could continue, where would it end and what have you? So they said the only thing you can do if you can't solve the problem, is to set up a committee and postpone it. So they asked me to establish a national education office, for the purpose of getting 3 or 4 people representative of the country to sort out our educational commitments and one of the commitments was of course to continue the service we were offering the people because there would be a tremendously keen reaction if we stopped this in terms of loyalty to the church, and Sunday worship and all these sort of things. But, the dilemma was, if we were going to continue it we couldn't afford the costs. My one mandate was to try somehow to get our mission teachers paid and leave it free and possible for us to continue this Social Service for the people.
- Q. Did you have at that time any thoughts of possible system change?
- A. Yes, I personally did, the church didn't. The mandate was rather clear. Get our teachers paid and leave us alone and this was my first proposition to the government.
- Q. When was this? Do you recall? About 1966?

- A. About '68 - No wait - about '66, you're correct.
- Q. There were a couple of conferences. July '67 was the one. Were you involved in that one?
- A. Oh yes, definitely. It was actually '66 at the Bishop's conference that we made the proposals to set up a National Office - an education office. This was the Bishop's report. So in '66 I got my appointment, '67 was the Administration Government conference. Well its interesting; a diversion - the system we built, Tau Boga and a few of the natives find it very difficult and Bishop Noser who was really the man behind the scenes in all this came from Africa Gold Coast specifically and said that they developed this system, the British did, and eventually it worked out that they couldn't trust one another. The teachers and Public Servants generally could not trust their own local officials and eventually asked if agencies could handle the money problems. Now its interesting with Tau Boga finding this complicated system almost unmanageable that the direction might be, that having proved that we can live together, we may be able to sort out a much more simple system.
- Q. Yes...
- A. But, it was working with two different agencies at the time with no...
- Q. Yes I find it funny that Tau says this - you know he says its too complex when he has been with this right from the ground floor.
- A. One of the things was credibility. Our church had changed radically from the Vatican, but the rest of the world didn't know it, and Government were always suspicious of this big doctothomy between church at state. We come in with a new song altogether that we can live with the rest of the world and this wasn't believed. This was the first operational hurdle and it was a very interesting one though...
- Q. Lets move onto another area. You were interested in both the Education Ordinance Legislation or the Teaching Service or both?
- A. I was interested in both.
- Q. Let's look at the Education Ordinance first of all. What happened to your interest after the Legislation? Anything, or did you get out of it? After the legislation was passed I mean.

- A. Yes, as a tactic I wanted out, and I wanted all our overseas people out of the structure part of the Ordinance. If you can consider the whole system as being structural on one part and operational on the other.
- Q. What about the Teaching Service Ordinance now? Or do you want to talk a little more about that one?
- A. Can I make a few more comments on the education one? The truth is, it was concerned with representation basically. We saw we had that and one of the foundation principles was decentralization because this again gave more confidence to a structure that is basically a District one. So that there was really no need for us to be nationally represented heavily as a foreign agency. It was one of the areas where we could prove ourselves as a church to get into localization. My tactic there was to pull out. It was misunderstood. Everybody thought that having created this baby we should stay there and see it through. But there was a decision I had to make against advice from friends and everybody. I haven't regretted it.
- Q. What about the Teaching Service Ordinance?
- A. Now the Teaching Service Ordinance. Our church knew nothing about it really. Neither the Bishop nor any of the workers had any concept of what Social Service or service requirements terms and conditions of service really meant. We sort of worked in blind faith, and hoped the Lord would take care of things. So it was an area they (a) didn't know anything about and (b) really were not interested in. I felt that the Education Ordinance and the structure that was built, were leaving the Department of Education as the executive both for the structure and the service. It was dangerous. It gave too much power. On the other hand you couldn't create a service and then sort of take it away. So that, the thing dearest to my heart was the teaching council, and I saw that as a form, the machinery, whereby we could bring all the forces together to be the check and counter balance to the National Education Board and to the one executive running both the structure and the service part. Unfortunately it has never got off the ground.
- Q. Its funny that, The Teaching Council was just regarded as one of those little off shoots. Like an octopus' tentacle.

- A. It wasn't intended to be that. That's the real whip. If they knew its potential they'd have more Teaching Council meetings than they do now.
- Q. It might be just another sort of thing for the Minister to complain about and say that the system is over-governed now.
- A. Well, actually a lot of their problems, teachers' pay and conditions, no consultations, is because they haven't had a teaching council meeting. They haven't had one for over a year. The first one was just a few months ago.
- Q. I think if I asked people, who were on the Teaching Council they wouldn't be able to tell me anyway.
- A. No they would not know. But structurally speaking, that is where we as a church remain. That level and that level only. Not being Public Servants we didn't know how to manage one that was for a professional group of civil servants, and we didn't know anything about it. There is no experience or anything in our church structure for that.
- Q. It might be a good point of time here to have a look at those people who are on the card. You can comment on any or all or just some of them in terms of the part played by them in the development of the system.
- A. McKinnon's real genius was, his real genius in this whole operation, he was the first and probably the only one in government who realized that church had shifted its ground. He saw this almost immediately, even though he used to tease us about it and I tactically would always say, the church will never do this, you'll never get the Bishops to agree. He saw through that there was possible co-operation. Now the second thing he was looking at, was to win it, he realized that if we would come as a combined group of churches, we would have a better case with the Australian Government than if we came just as the Catholic Church. It initiated as a Catholic plot and he worked very hard and he was the one that actually brought all the protestant churches to the conference table. I was completely indifferent in fact, initially opposed to it. My stand was, we have 1/3 of the system and we have responsibilities so, ... McKinnon was the one that brought all the other churches to the conference table and I don't know whether people realize this.

Q. What about other people, Syd Nielson for example?

A. Syd saw that if we had that, we had a better case. But his experience with protestant churches was like myself. You couldn't trust them really. He welcomed them once they came to the conference table but McKinnon was the one, McKinnon made a tremendous effort to get them there. Dr Beeby is the next one - let me get those guys straight.

Q. He was the New Zealander.

A. Yes he was the New Zealander. You can't calculate his contribution to the thing. I look upon him as the Saviour. We were at the point where it was something brand new. We had created a structure that had no precedents anywhere. The price was a bit much for Australia to handle in one gulp. Something like 3.2 million dollars for the first hit when the church teachers came in. Australian Government people weren't sure the churches and government could work together, and I think it was Beeby who came without any Australian commitment or any church commitment, but with a lot of International muscle. It sort of saved it. He was the one who kept Jock Weeden calm and he was the one that would point to the churches and say well - look, this is a major decision and, if you take it you have to live with it. You've given up rights where there are controls and if you go to a conference table having made a policy decision at whatever level, you've got to live with it. I think he was the saviour once all the work was done he saved it.

Their tactic - I don't know who worked it out, but he and Jock Weeden took alternate roles of befriending the churches on the one hand and being the devil's advocate. So one day you'd go in, Weeden was all on our side and Beeby had no use for the churches and next day was a complete reversal. And if you didn't pick this up they got you into an awful lot of trouble. Some of the brethren in the other churches just couldn't understand this and they got themselves in all kinds of a mess but you know, it only took a week or so to see that play coming up you know, you knew you had no friends in either of them.

Q. There's remarkable similarity between this system and the New Zealand system where he was Director for many years. When I saw him in New Zealand I said, I picked up this similarity and that

was one reason why I went to New Zealand and asked him whether the system they brought in here was what he would have liked to have seen in a more perfect New Zealand system. He ummed, and ahhed, and hedged a bit but he sort of admitted it in the end.

- A. The next one is Syd Nielson. Well he's the one Government representative who knew most about the country. McKinnon was the one that had to make decisions in the final analysis, but without Syd Nielson he just couldn't have got to where he got. Syd grew up with the country, in terms of you know, the civil service, he knew how people thought and reacted: He knew what the potentials were, the difficulties with communication. He grew up side by side with church people. He was on speaking terms with Bishops. He was on a drinking level with Padres, and other fellow missionaries so that he could interpret our reactions and our worries and concerns and also what our reactions would be. Without him Government wouldn't have the kind of information to bridge the two worlds and I think if anything, his role was the bridge-builder. He gave us that avenue that we could cross over. Even though Dr McKinnon knew that our church had changed, he didn't know enough about the country or enough about anybody, to know how far we could go. Syd's contribution was of course that he bridged both worlds. He spoke both languages.

Q. It's funny that, because McKinnon had been in this country a long time too.

- A. Time wise, he was in areas that didn't bring him into the contact that Syd had. He was in the Western District, and that wasn't really largely developed. He wasn't really involved with the service people like Syd was. Syd was in the executive of the Public Service. These were the kind of things...

Personalities too:- Syd was a mixer where Dr McKinnon wasn't. Syd was a tremendous help to the church in teaching us how Public Servants thought. That was a brand new experience for us. Although he wasn't in our employ he should have been. Weeden was the real devil's advocate in all this. I didn't really appreciate him until it was all over. He came with a mandate from Canberra. You know we think we've got a problem up there. (a) Its not going to cost us money and (b) the church is not going to run us; and without really knowing even to this day what his real

appreciation of the situation was: this always came out as we weren't going to buy it, its too expensive, you don't mean it. I had difficulties with him, especially after the ordinances came through and after Education Ordinance was finished and we thought the Teaching Service Ordinance. He came up once at the behest of the Administration to sort of brow beat us and tell us what was meant in the Weeden Report to which I took exception. I said, you're not the sort of interpreter of the Education Ordinance. Your name was on the cover for the report but you're not the only architect in this. So we had a real clash. When we were developing the Teaching Service Ordinance. Principally on the understanding of the role of the Department of Education as the executive for two forces, and this is where Syd Nielson and myself lined up against McKinnon, McNamara and company and we brought it to a confrontation with the Administrator and the decision was made.

Q. Despite the fact that in the report it says the Teaching Service Commission would be the employer.

A. There was a change of heart but I didn't know the Australian or the Canberra scene well. I didn't know it at all actually. Now there was a change, a power struggle going on meanwhile all the time and I think even down there they had a change of heart. No one realized that once we got the Education Ordinance there was another ordinance to come. There were just a few of us I think, and this was another reason to have a flashback. Why I left the structural part of it.

Q. That's right.

A. National Education Board, I got off into the middle of the road immediately because I saw my role as a middle man between the service to the people and the structure. Now the service had been done and I said, well I can't be on that National Education Board because I've got to come at you now as an employer. You know with people to go into this I've also got to represent 18 Bishops with jobs and they want to know what kind of people are coming in to them. And it was only then that it dawned on a few people, that another ordinance was required and of course I was sitting in my room here studying ordinances from all over the world because I didn't know the first thing about a Teaching Service Ordinance. e.g. entrance Syd Nielson on the scene to educate me. I used to

call him up every other day.

Neville Fry? Was an executive. Peace at any price. In my opinion made no substantial contribution to the thing at all.

McNamara? Capable intellectually, no rapport with persons and his big difficulty is he confuses himself. I think he's his own worst enemy. His ideas just roll around and he says, let me simplify it, and then he writes out a complicated thing, and gets everyone confused. He was a good anchor man and a body guard for Dr McKinnon at times. A sort of a conscience too I think. I think Dr McKinnon was quite willing to explore new areas where McNamara was holding back. Perhaps for the good of the system. If he had gone too far we might have lost everything. But other than that I had a lot of personality clashes with Dr. McNamara so the less I say there the better it will be. But it's just personalities.

Rolfe? Only contacted us once when we were developing the Teaching Service. I realize he was the big Public Service guy in the background and everybody had to run to him. And he was badgered into agreeing reluctantly, but he saw he had no option. Again this was where Syd Nielson was quite instrumental in making a positive contribution to the system. He was again, the bridge between the Public Service and the brand new thing we were trying to develop. Rolfe and the whole Public Service Board haven't been honest even to this day I don't think. They reluctantly gave in but I don't think their hearts were in it.

Les Johnson was a bit removed from the scene. Rather impatient with the process. He figured 2 or 3 people could have done it and he didn't see the need for a prolonged, protracted thing. He would have put McKinnon, myself maybe Syd, and someone else in a room, locked the door and said come out in 3 weeks and don't bug me with this. But there again his real part in the contribution was to second Dr McKinnon with, the churches had changed, this is a brand new situation up here, and let's go. I felt he wasn't involved at all in any of the development of it. I think he was able to okay McKinnon's thing and when we were challenged from Canberra he was able to say, yes sure I know the people I know the system. But other than that, not a big contribution to either of the things at all. Except he was quite willing to pay the price and have us talk, quite reluctantly.

Alwyn Neuendorf? Was a learner all through this thing. Not contributing either to the Education Ordinance at all. He was learning. Really one of the real learners.

Q. Pretty limited background I suppose?

A. Yes. Tremendous mission experience and when we were talking about missions, mission reactions, needs, representation, growth, as far as going back to a very loosely defined evangelical alliance, he was good. He was able to tie them together in a very cohesive group. For whatever work that is, he was the one that was responsible and should get credit for it.

Philpott? - little to do with the Education Ordinance, a lot to do with the Teaching Service Ordinance. Quite a positive contribution actually. If it hadn't been for him the teachers wouldn't have been represented at all in this country. We had the teachers representing us all through the Education Ordinance but no contribution at all, and then we started the other Ordinance. Philpott came in aware of the need for teachers to be represented, and worked day and night. I have never seen anybody work as hard as Roger and to speak up and defend and do the research. And the teachers today in this system owe Roger Philpott everything they've got. Again he was unliked and unloved by his department because they looked upon him as a renegade because he should have been loyal to the Department but he was there representing teachers and he stood his ground and spoke.

Q. Terry Chapman was put in a similar situation.

A. But Chapman didn't come good. He would pussy foot and say we would have to go back to the council of 500 almost like the protestants, but Philpott would stand up and say, under no circumstances, I'm a teacher and this is what I stand for. He wasn't afraid to take on Government or churches or anything.

Q. Terry was more concerned with his own career ...

A. His own career, his wife's career and family problems and he didn't have the personality anyway. He wasn't any sort of a politician, he didn't belong in there.

Tololo? Again he was in the role of Neuendorf - a learner.

Didn't come up very big in the Education Ordinance but came up big in the Teaching Service Ordinance. I have never seen anybody with the patience of a Job as Mr Tololo. For months, day after day

we had meetings - unbelievable, you know these marathon meetings. He sat there, day after day while these white men argued and fought over issues I'm sure he didn't know...

Q. Switched off.

A. Well no he didn't. But he learned, and the endurance that man had, I'm sure this will serve us well and himself well.

Dr. Gabriel Gris? He came up strong in the report that led up to the two ordinances. He was sort of a ray of hope if you can classify him as anything. We were desperate. I had a mandate from Bishops. Get our teachers paid or else. We were in an area dealing with an Australian Government that was very, very, far away and two of the bright boys came up and they were professionals. Our ray of hope was we did have an indigenous there who knew the country and what the churches were fighting for. In terms of serving people. And being one of the people himself he was considerate, kind, and very sympathetic and as I said throughout it all he was able to tell the other people of the committee of enquiry, they're telling the truth.

Q. He would probably have got more out of it than he put into it?

A. He got a lot out of it which stood him and the country in good stead later. But as far as this goes he was one of the anchor men who always gave us hope. What we were saying could be tested out not only at the professional level but the personal, social level. Alan Randall? Contributed quite a bit insofar as really telling us what the other churches thought. Alan contributed more than Neuendorf did in terms of speaking out, of getting his people together, working through possible options, and coming into a conference with some homework. He was very good at coming back after larger meetings or mixed meetings into smaller church group and going over it again. He did a lot of homework. He learned a lot. I think he again contributed a lot by bringing back information to the church probably more than he brought to us but as the overall contribution he did contribute insofar he got the other churches to come along with it. He set up a lot of meetings with different personnel and got them along and told them what we were really trying to do with these ordinances. It wasn't a sellout of churches. It was really that churches had to wake up and realize that they were dealing with people. They couldn't write documents about social justice and wages and just living

conditions and then not do something about it. He's slow, and held us back a lot especially in that Teaching Service area, they were really sore at that, but a positive contribution.

Archdeacon Roberts? My conscience throughout all this. He was sort of an oil on top of troubled waters all the time. Again he had as much interest as our church did in helping the people that work for him, his teachers. They had a real problem in so far as whatever they did for the teachers had an awful chain reaction into other people working for its churches. The shipwrights, captains of boats, and they were not able to help much and he was worried about that. But to follow that. He was the one that kept McKinnon and myself speaking at times. We'd have coffee breaks and he'd come in and tell me to back-off and cool down or McKinnon would get him and say, look, you'd better go and talk to McViney, and this role he played to his genius - he's quite a gentleman and he's the father so he's the parent figure in the churches in all this.

- Q. Of course he was involved in the Education Advisory Board. Was there much carry over from the Education Advisory Board to this process of legislation?
- A. On two or three of the basic issues only. That Boards must have decision power. He was able to bring this out time and time again. That District Boards and the National Board must have some power to make decisions otherwise the country isn't going to benefit by it. That particular area and there was the other area of no matter what recruitment and what resources we tried to get, we also needed a multiple agency thing. Other churches actively involved, there's no sense in trying to do this as a one agency operation. From his experience on the E.A.B. he was able to carry this over. Both of these are cornerstones of...

Blacklock? He was the saviour of the Lutheran Missions. They were the reluctant partners in all this. Very, very, much so. Admitted publicly they were badgered into it. This was part of McKinnon's operation to get all the churches on side. Unwilling to learn, very slow to accept and Blacklock has a very good education, he's a graduate. He was able to take back the message to the protestant churches particularly the Lutheran bloc and get them on side. He had to work very hard. His contribution was that

he did bring this reluctant group to their senses in time - to get them in where they are now. They don't like a lot of features of the thing. Nobody does. But they don't know much about politics, they simply compromise. They are better off I think. It's not for me to tell them how well off they are or how well off they think they are.

Blacklock was the one that saved them because he had credibility with them on the professional level. On the church level I don't know how much he had - I don't know whether it was relevant or not. At the professional level because of this, he saved them. As far as contributing to the actual development of the ordinances he was good in so far he was meticulous, did a tremendous amount of homework and was slow and very methodical. McKinnon and I were running out of steam of course towards the end and quite willing to make any kind of compromise. Not really any kind, but minor points are minor points and immediately once we got finished, we didn't really want to worry too much about the small detail, but Blacklock kept us real honest and kept us going over and over. Which makes it much better. Jim Jones didn't appear at all in any of these meetings except to be called in when we were referring to a few things that affected establishments for secondary or different things like that. I think Dr McKinnon had trouble with him always believing the churches hadn't changed. He's never believed that we have changed and I would like to question him today if he thinks we have. Unfortunately I think he misinterpreted, misunderstood and is having a lot of problems today and seeing things develop. The only thing is, he is a Public Servant and whatever the Public Servants held, they can be thankful to him and grateful to him cause he hung on to the grim death of what a Civil Service means; what its rights are and what its guarantees are. He was very, very, adamant, a very, very, strong defender for them and contributed a lot in that way. It held him back though. He can't see de-centralization, localising, I mean locating decision making power, other than at the National level and of course makes it very difficult to operate in this system. But there again we come from two different political worlds where in my country, politics dictates the Public Service and as you change Governments you change your whole Public Service. Whereas he didn't. No matter what Government changes the Public Service

carried on. And he couldn't appreciate it. He couldn't prove to me that this country needed his kind of Public Service. Other than that, his contribution was marginal but valuable as far as the service goes. One comment I have to make with Roger Philpott, the teachers in general, teacher's representatives and this whole issue. We bogged down seemingly unnecessarily, by our conditions and guarantees for overseas staff in this whole system. They thought it was necessary. Syd Nielson, Philpott, Jim Jones and everybody kept telling me, even McNamara. You know we can write this ordinance until we can make sure that all the loopholes are closed so that people who are now public servants, overseas people, get all the guarantees. My brief was, to develop a system for indigenous people and even though I worked just as hard at the other part, I ran out of patience with it and said, look, I'm not interested, and several times I walked out of meetings where they were talking about benefits for overseas personnel. I think we spent an inordinate amount of time on it. But this is a personal comment. I think it's got to be a point you want to critically analyse in your paper and get other people's views on it, because its one of the criticisms I have of the whole operational side of it.

- Q. I suppose you could say this sort of protection would only be required for about 5 or 6 years anyway, when you look at the point of time.
- A. In hindsight it must, because we moved into self-government, independence. A.S.A.G. took over and I don't want to say I told you so. But at the time...
- Q. Its an interesting comment, I haven't picked up before. You wonder how much is self interest and how much is seen to be required to sell the system. Because at this stage, these are the people of influence, your overseas personnel.
- A. I think Syd Nielson in all honesty was worried about it. If he didn't come back with these sorts of guarantees, it wouldn't have got a voice. This was tested on the public several times you know and I'm not criticising in terms of it wasn't necessary, but for the amount of time, the lack of preparation these guys had. They would go into the conference meeting and come prepared. They would bog down general meetings with discussions and, you know...

- Q. Was there anyone else that you feel should have been on that list that made a contribution at all?
- A. There's a group that's missing - those are the advocates for the Public Service Association. Hawkes and this other fellow. Hawkes was the barrister, the fighter in the court room but it was the deep water, quiet guy - who was he? He was up here.
- Q. You mean the draftsman?
- A. Well they made a fantastic contribution in the Service Ordinance. He was there a long time.
- Q. He was a lawyer too wasn't he?
- A. They had nothing to do with the Education Ordinance and come into the Teaching Service Ordinance many times and told us that they should have been in the Education Ordinance too. We had guarantees with churches and agencies that teachers just couldn't live with, couldn't do much about it.
- Q. Did you have any particular principles that you wanted to see incorporated in the legislation at all?
- A. Four or five. One was to help teachers in the system - on social benefits - this is one of the things. We couldn't go along employing people and having them living at two levels. Another one is professional determination. We would have liked to have seen professionals determine their own career a little more than the Public Service could give. Another one of the principles was - decentralization, particularly the decision making power. Representation of agencies where we could live with one system, provided it was an integrated one. Another thing was to reduce if possible - the machinery bit whereby appeals and appointments and everything seemed to be a bit heavy.
- Q. Simplify the process: Have we made it much more complex than it needs to be in an attempt to simplify it?
- A. Its much too premature to judge yet. It is a big system and we are working with a lot of inexperienced people. District Boards, Administrative Officers, inexperienced Mission Education Officers etc. etc. Now I think it would be wrong to say the system isn't working simply because we haven't got the right kind of experienced people there. This is only through I think - you want to make a distinction between structure and operations.

Now because an operation is difficult and not succeeding its not valid to then say the structure is no good, and if I was allowed to speak publicly this is where I'd have all the fights all along. Tau Boga's problems, he has an operational problem. So, you don't change the structure. You improve your operations.

- Q. This is what Syd is worried about. In terms of the structure and decentralization he was right behind this. He wanted more centralized control of personnel. The operational side, the posting, the promotional bit etc. etc. He wanted a bit more control from the centre and what he was frightened of what would happen - just as you say, OK - the operational side is a little loose and failing a little, so we change the whole structure. So everything is thrown out and you lose the lot. Perhaps, I was thinking one of the reasons might be, if we examined over a three or four year period, the transition, the movement of the Key staff, the District Superintendents, the D.A.O's. even people within the D.E.B. such as D.D.C's, Kiaps, this might be the major problem...
- A. And that was, bringing all our church personnel into a Public Service, because:
- (a) We didn't know what a Public Service was,
 - (b) We saw it as a threat to any sort of representation or being able to achieve or maintain our identity, achieve our aims and objectives.

So we opted for a service that gave the decisions to professionals. If we run a good system and we've got professional people, they'll make the decisions and work for us, we'll be safe, and we weren't so sure that the Public Service as we knew and experienced would accomplish that for us. So this is why we opted for a separate teaching service. I think one of the questions that could be raised, would the church always take that position? The answer would be, No. Now that we have had some experience with how government works. It is not necessary to have a multiple civil service. We could easily move over provided it was give and take, provided that the existing Public Service as we know it as distinct from the Teaching Service, would allow for some professional differences or differences relating to professional groups. Where its not everybody is grouped in with a sweeper and cleaner. Now, as this P.N.G. country develops and if they want to go into that, we're quite

willing to go back to the conference table or the drawing board, to help draft a single Public Service, that allowed for professional differences and this is why we had to fight so hard for the other one. We couldn't move Rolfe and company into introducing changes into their system. So we were forced to opt for a different one. We've often been asked now, would the church hold out for a separate Teaching Service. We said no, what we really created was a professional one. Because now the nurses are involved in all this, well, we don't have to keep multiplying these things. As far as the Catholic Church being one of the most outspoken groups on this, I think this particular aspect of it should be recorded somewhere.

- Q. It's quite interesting really. The whole process was interesting. Where you had, and this was a deliberate McKinnon ploy too - where he actually instructed the Superintendents to get out there and build up a Teachers Association, a unified teachers organization. Then he said, in two years time I'm going to you fellows and say 'Boys, you've created a Monster!'

If there's anything that strikes me over this period, its the unification of the teachers as a force. Part of this set up I'm sure is the setting up of the Teaching Service as such. A professional body.

- A. Sure. Again, the structure is there. Our church stopped, we should have continued to a change of staff like everything else. We stopped here too. But it was clear that our next role was with the teachers.

- Q. Who did you work most closely with in the development of the new system and why?

- A. I'm a loner, 'cause I'm a bighead. Two groups. The church has a structure of power. A Catholic Education Board. I had to call them in to tell them where we were, where we were going,

(a) To test it against a church reaction and

(b) to get information back to the troops.

The other one is, annually, we had to report to the full Bishops' conference because they were the only ones in the church that could make positive decisions. They gave us quite a complete blank slate on this one and said, you know, go for your life. I'd built up credibility. I don't know how or when, but it was just an annual presentation given a lot of options and through a series of questions

and answers, they saw which way they wanted to go.

- Q. What about in the actual working group of people on the legislation, Anyone you worked with, or did you try to stay as a loner?
- A. On the Education one a loner. The Teaching Service one, very closely with Syd all the way up to doomsday - if we can classify it as that.
- Q. Were there any particular hold ups or difficulties that arose in the development of the new system?
- A. The Education one none, except to the stage where we got to the legal draftsman, and, for the life of us we couldn't see why he couldn't see - what we wanted. But fortunately in the Education Ordinance we got it written the way the drafting instructions were. This wasn't true of the Teaching Service Ordinance. The Teaching Service Ordinance, we got nowhere for months. We had holdups, because of the basic disagreement on the role of the executive of the system. Now we all agreed that the Department of Education could be the executive and the executive both for the structure and the service part. But, there was very much disagreement on who could give orders to that executive. Now there was one bloc that said, everything has to filter through the chief executive, the Director of Education, and then he passes on instructions to the executive. I was on the other camp that said, no, the executive should be able to take instructions from two different heads. We got nowhere I think from January to April. I don't know the exact dates but we kept going around and around and when we got tired of that we'd do other bits and pieces of the structure. But no decision could be made until that basic one was resolved. These were the only two holdups. Then we got to the legal draftsman again and this Teaching Service Ordinance. He was in despair but we were writing an Ordinance that was never written before and it just didn't fit established patterns even in our country and we felt sorry for him. We lost out on a number of things but in the final analysis we were in good shape.
- Q. Have all those regulations and so on been written?
- A. Not that I know of. Not sure.
- Q. How would you describe the relationship between your group organization and so on and other groups?

- A. Catholic Church Agency and Government Agency, wholesome and healthy. All the way through despite individual differences and personality clashes, there was none. At one time in the Teaching Service Ordinance, McKinnon said, they are all under me anyway. So he kept sending McNamara up until we got to a stage where unless McKinnon came, I wasn't going to come anymore. So we had little problems with that but this was a personal thing rather than an attitude of our church and the Government all the way through. The other churches? The Anglicans were all our way, but they didn't appreciate the fact that we were running rough shod over the other churches. I never really did stop to worry about it too much. The Anglicans thought I should have and I should have waited for them to catch up and been a bit more kind. The United Church? We got along real good because they were quite willing to learn. They did have meetings and they got together and tried to pick our brains and I learned a lot from them. The Evangelical Alliance is, was, and ever will be an enigma. Zero contribution - neither negative nor positive, just zero.
- Q. Do you ever see any real role for Local Government Councils?
- A. Yes a fantastic role.
- Q. What happened to this?
- A. In limbo. Like the Teachers Association, no matter what they, where they think they have gone, they are in no place but in limbo. We created a heaven for them, we got them out of hell, but they haven't moved out of it. So the only way you can describe them is in limbo with the Local Government Council. Structurally, decisions could be done even down at the school level. This is where Local Governments best operate. Provisions were made to be represented to contribute - its still there. They still can. The whole country is developing. National concerns are dominating the scene so they're just stalemated. A lot of our church people don't realize what's happened. An on-going education process hasn't been invoked.
- Q. Any ideas why they're still in this limbo? What happened to them?
- A. Basically finances I think are limited, and ignorance on the part of agencies, particularly church agencies, as to what their role is. They should have studied and gone out and re-educated and re-thought.

Everybody from the Bishop down got complacent. We got what we wanted, we're represented, we know our identity, so everything is fine. But it isn't. This wasn't the end of anything - this was the beginning and everybody just sat on their haunches. But, they're in good shape. With a bit of effort, they can move on.

- Q. One of the objectives as stated in the report, was to co-ordinate educational activities. What did you take this particular concept to mean?
- A. Educational activities would mean - basically planning, sensible use of resources both material and manpower and trying to appreciate other people's identity problems.
- Q. Why was it decided then that mission teachers should be given full salary and other conditions of service by the government?
- A. Because we saw teachers not so much as identified with the agency but identified as a service group. The proposition was that teachers are always lumped in with an agency which is different from other agencies and our whole concern was, we think this is wrong. Our brief is with other agencies. Teachers are a professional group that can work. We as an agency have that opportunity. This is where we meet. But unfortunately before, they were tarred with our brush and we didn't think that's right. So once we made that split, that teachers really aren't mission teachers, they're professional people, then we saw no reason why, no matter where they worked they shouldn't get the same conditions.
- Q. When you formulated suggestions for the new system what experiences of your own did you call upon?
- A. My excuse for living is really organization methods. In the church this is the role I play. So that building structures and taking models and looking at models was one thing I liked to do and I did in the church. Where we started with each village having a school and saying this is crazy we are going to cut back the number of schools, then getting to the larger scene to National Boards and all this. One of the experiences I drew on was this sort of experience in organization and methods. Another one was - I grew up in the country and I thought I knew Melanesian mentality, on how Melanesians appreciated conditions of service, what they figured was a just wage. What, if they did something, what they wanted in return. This was something I always brought to the church. I said,

look you can't always have those people keep working for us for ten years for the same 3 dollars. So I drew on that experience. Politically, I grew up in a political family dealing with people and politicians and being able to meet them head on and eventually compromising. I was never worried about it. Whether it was an experience I called upon or something given just at the moment, I don't know.

- Q. Talking about Melanesian experience, a rationale for the system is, we want to build up a consensus model, share decision making on a communal basis. I've got a few doubts as to whether the consensus model really fits the Melanesian situation. Is it a consensus society?
- A. No. No not basically. It's certainly, one man - might is right. Not only authoritarian by tradition, its also some idiot who has a big mouth or stronger. However what we were going at, was the legacy the government wanted to leave the country and what the churches wanted to leave the country as being consistent with these two. It was just part of a legacy that the inroads or invasion of civilization was going to have. But in order to develop the right way you needed some sort of Melanesian experience. To realise - more for the language you were going to use in order to describe it and pass it on rather than for the actual structure you were going to build.
- Q. Yes, another rationale for the change according to McKinnon anyway, was that we wanted to leave a system that was going to endure after we'd gone.
- A. One of the other things that just come back. We wanted to develop a system if possible to help unify the country. Bringing government personnel and church personnel together was seen as one of these things.
- Q. That actually was one question that I was interested in. Do you think the new education system fosters national unity?
- A. It was intended to. Whether it actually does or not I don't know.
- Q. The process involved would be the drawing together of all these strands.
- A. Sure, and the possibility of teachers to apply across agencies and from District to District. This was all seen as part of it.

- Q. Was there any real guidance to the financial resources that were likely to be available to you?
- A. Yes. Government had an ongoing, non stop committee working on this all the time. We mentioned his name earlier, Neville Fry and his group. This was presented to us by Weedon and Beeby and it really was part and parcel of some of the compromises we made when our teachers came in at what level, not immediately at equal level with all the others. A phase-in programme sort of thing. It played a big role and we accepted it and knew it. One of our briefs was to go back and sell this to our teachers. The day you became a member of the Teaching Service doesn't mean that's the day you get identical wages, or identical conditions because there had to be a lead-in period of 4 or 5 years.
- Q. Do you think the freedom of choice - religious education was adequately protected? More in terms of a sense of identity.
- A. If it hasn't, it's our problem. It's adequately protected by law. Whether it's adequately protected in fact or not is nothing you can legislate for - it's something people have to work hard at. In our church we have a double identity problem. One is the overall church one and then there's a subset within the church called teaching orders of men and women. Now their identity is not - it's always as limited as the churches. Our church maybe is satisfied with less than one of the teaching orders are. Now as far as church goes there's adequate provision in law. We don't get it, that's our business. The Teaching Service, the religious people in our group, our teaching orders, never have and never will agree to this. But, they're not the policy makers in the church, and it's just something we have got to live with.
- Q. You wouldn't seek any further changes than those that you already have?
- A. The church won't. They constantly are. They're badgering Bill Jones, they are writing letters to the Director, they are getting their teachers to jump up and down about all this, that, and the other thing.
- Q. Can you think of any officer of the Australian Government, Commonwealth Government of this time, who had any influence on the new system?
- A. I believe several. I didn't know their names and I was never

allowed to get near them - as a tactic. They were afraid, McKinnon and Co., were afraid that I would execute them. They did their job down there which we didn't always appreciate and in fact when the Teaching Service Ordinance was going through we were getting telexes as the Ordinance was in the House. Would you believe this? The day the Ordinance was in the House we were getting a telex approving of articles that were in that Ordinance. We worked harder, were prepared more for the Education Ordinance. The Teaching Service Ordinance brought churches into a world we didn't belong in. The other churches did little. I was learning as I went along. There were a lot of things that the Australian Commonwealth wasn't really ready to accept. Particularly equal wages, promotional opportunities for women which I was determined I wasn't going to give in on. At one stage they brought two of their lawyers up, to tell the churches there was no ball game. Unfortunately for them, I told McKinnon, McNamara and all the churches to back off because they were my boys and when they left the room, their comment was, my God how long have you been dealing with this guy McViney? McKinnon said stick around awhile, but they never repeated that experience. I had responsibilities and this is an area that I felt pretty strongly about.

- Q. What do you believe were the problems being faced by the voluntary agencies?
- A. Lack of an internal programme of what their contribution and commitment to the country was going to be. This is the basic thing. Even our own church, although we are fairly big and fairly organized, it was a time of agonizing appraisal. Vocations are short. Overseas funds were dwindling. The country was changing. We were dealing with a different nation and we were all in a very grey area of mission work.
- Q. Do you think the agencies faced similar problems or they were different problems for different agencies?
- A. Different problems for different agencies. Very, very much so. We were very sure that we were going to continue social services to help education. There was no question at all in our mind, though there was and still is today where some of the other churches, United Churches really will continue that - real differences there.

This is why they were reluctant sometimes to go on because they had no firm church commitments. Having made our commitment in '66 then we knew where we were going to go.

- Q. Do you think there has been any improvement in the standard of education offered since 1969?
- A. I'm not really competent to say because shortly after the ordinances, I came out. I think it would be unfair of me to comment.
- Q. As a sort of corollary to this, then, do you feel that the Teaching Service itself is a more professional body than it was?
- A. No. I think they are more experienced as a group. They have closed ranks and have become aware of their identity. The potential for being professional is still there but they are a long way off. Again I think, everybody stopped. Because the job of building the ordinances was such a big one, people became exhausted and fatigue set in. I think I would be very critical of both our churches and our teachers themselves. They're responsible for this situation. I got out because I was an old man and I was tired. The idea was to bring new blood in and to pick up where we left off and continue but unfortunately it didn't jell. Teachers had trouble with houses. Agencies had problems with how big they wanted to make a physical plant and everything but the machinery is still there. My interest is, all of this was geared at getting a child out of school better prepared than he was before and that the responsibility to the parents was guaranteed. I'm not really interested whether the machinery is ready to operate. The acid test of both provinces is, are the kids better off? Now I'm in no position to say. I think they would be.
- Q. Do you think the system of financing and controlling the new education system was adequate? The controls that were set up as recommended?
- A. Teachers get cheques, which is what we wanted because its the personnel thing and if there is a machinery breakdown now, the criticism isn't at an agency, where it never belonged and it always was. It comes back to an executive, operational level and I think for those financial arrangements, it's much better. There is a lot more freedom. We've educated Treasury people in so far as allowing project financing at some of the top grade schools, Technical Colleges and things. These were provisions that were introduced,

and they're good I think. Until we know what the new Government is going to be like, or the constitution, it's pretty hard to say whether financing at a District level will be a boon or not. It could be. But we are quite happy with it.

- Q. Have you got any personal views of what would be an ideal education system for Papua New Guinea?
- A. Surely not the one we built. One ideal system would be to get all the children in school for some time. I'm a strong advocate for universal at the primary level, without committing myself to how many years. I do think, there is more than an educational benefit. There is a social benefit. Apart from that there does seem to be room for a variety of curriculums rather than the one. Even though English is the language and the objective to get the Papua New Guinea child as equivalent to the Australian counterpart was one of the terms of reference and we geared to it, I think it was a long time ago and I think its time and plenty of room and scope to review this. But here again, they change categories. When people say the education system doesn't work, what they mean is the curriculum is outmoded and not the system, but you have to understand that. So in terms of universal primary education and curriculum, these would be the things where a better or ideal situation could be brought up. Secondary, I think it's time to hold it a bit. I think we might get a little bit too top heavy and in place of that to explore the National Youth Service, which would have educational overtures but not the formal education we think of and we'd two or three different courses. Get people who can communicate in every language.
- Q. I think the current 5 year plan that they are working on now does incorporate the idea of the National Youth Service before they can go onto a senior college or vocational training.
- A. But this again would lead us more to an ideal. But an ideal is an academic thing. It's when you don't have one, you can't transpose.
- Q. Your ideal I would imagine would incorporate a decentralized system?
- A. Yes.
- Q. In your opinion then, have the decentralized bodies that have been set up been effective?
- A. Some have, some haven't and that's again because of the personalities in them. The provisions in law for them to be effective are there and some groups have used them quite well, some District Education Boards and Boards of Managements. Others haven't.

- Q. Re the National Education Board, has it been effective?
- A. Disappointingly so.
- Q. You'd rather see the Teaching Council being the main decision making body?
- A. Yes. The National Education Board is ineffective because its not getting information. They are not doing their homework. The indigenous people on it are swamped. You take our own case, with Father Kilage and Sister Natera. They've got full time jobs. To jerk them out and ask them to go to a Board and make decisions without doing any homework or research is just asking the impossible. Now the Teaching Council should have been another big source of information for these people and in all of which it's been a disappointment. I'm leaning backwards not to get in a role of sour grapes. e.g. I told you so.
- Q. Do you think that the Government has been reluctant to exercise it's powers over voluntary school agencies? This is in relation to standards and things like this?
- A. I don't feel this from my experience as the Administration people look upon it as a single system now. They look upon the church group as their own. Personalities have been a problem but not the system.
- Q. Some people have described the system as being a real monster, full of a tremendous complexity. Where do you feel this is so? Where does this occur? Within the Teaching Services and the relationship with the Teaching Service and its operations?
- A. I haven't met the critics and I haven't asked them, but I would imagine there are some internal critics. Internal critics are Heads of Department and public servants. Their criticism comes from the fact that it's easier to make a decision and move people around. It's a criticism and its a valid criticism insofar as that's true. I don't accept it and I never have. I'm for people making mistakes and decentralizing. I'd be willing to sacrifice efficiency for people learning in other areas. Now the external critics are the ones that expect the impossible. They don't know anything about the structures or the basic principles or the objectives we're trying to get principally in developing a professional group that will generate enough expertise to run itself. Professional teachers will monitor this whole system in time and

they get impatient that the machinery doesn't keep up with the pace and I think its an invalid criticism.

- Q. It's interesting to say that the professional teachers are going to monitor the system eventually.
- A. They must. They have to.
- Q. But at the present time, I'm pretty sure that 99% of them haven't grasped it yet.
- A. That's right. This system will work best, its modelled on professional people running it. Whereas the executives and the agencies have the safeguards of control but the ones who are going to save or ruin this system are the people in it.
- Q. I'm trying to get more of a value orientation of yourself and other people involved. The first question concerns the clash between McKinnon and Nielson that we touched on before.
- A. It wasn't McKinnon and Nielson so much...
- Q. What happened and why? How did this come about?
- A. What happened was there a disagreement of the role of the executive branch of this system, this so-called integrated system. There were two points of view (1) That the executive branch took orders from one person and one person only, e.g. the Department, the Director, but there was the other opinion, with other principles at stake, that the Teaching Service Commission is an authority on its own, parallel with the Department, the Director, and it should have a straight line access to this executive branch and this is where the clash came in. Now I lined up with the group which said the Commission is an autonomous authority and it should have access direct to the executive people, the people that don't do the machinery bit without monitoring or vetting (a) on the part of the Department and (b) on the part of the Public Service. I had an extra hook in there. Syd was quite willing to have the Public Service Board look over our shoulder. I wasn't even happy with that but it came down to this. Like I can talk about people but it's really the principles that are the highlights. McKinnon and McNamara looked upon this as a challenge to their authority. It caught them completely by surprise. They just weren't aware of this. They built this educational structure. They thought it was good. They were on top of the pinnacle and they said, good - now we've got it, the churches are happy. We know where it's going

to go. The day that was signed and sealed, I was out. Like a rocket - You can ask them. Nobody knew where I'd disappeared to. Because I saw now, that the people who served this thing had to get a say in it. So I took that stand and was criticised for a turnabout. McKinnon said, what the hell, this is the system we built and I said, this is the structure we built. Now we have to get people to run it, to serve it. Now its their time to get a say in it. So these people thought I'd retracted from giving the Director all the power in the world, only giving him a bit of it, and wrongly interpreted it. But I think basically McKinnon and McNamara didn't do their homework. They got their structure ordinance done. They sat down and said, Amen, it's all over. I said, well that's half of it done. Now, I had no experience, I will say this in all honesty. Zero. The day we finished the Education Ordinance was the day I went down to the Government Printers and bought all the Public Service Ordinances and Amendments I could get my hands on and with my international organization I tried from all over the world to get ordinances relating to services. My brother is the Budget Director for the State of Massachusetts. I got them from England from Scotland, from Massachusetts. I did nothing but study. Night after night I spent months studying Public Service Ordinances, because if I was going there I had to be prepared. I had to know as much about a Public Service as the guys that I was going to talk with and I did this, and this is where Syd Nielson came in and this was his genius, because I picked his brain until we almost spoke together - the same message came out. This was it. It was no more complicated than that. That Service branch - it was simply an autonomy, an autocratic system. It denied one of the basic principles that the professional group has got to determine themselves. Right? I couldn't see why they couldn't see it but they couldn't see why I couldn't see it. So Syd and I were in accord with this. But it went on and on and on till everybody was certain that we were going to get nowhere. We were running out of time. It got down to March or April but getting together with Syd we worked out a strategy. OK, let's call McKinnon and McNamara to task. Now what I say is very personal and between us. I want to get it on the record because Syd and I were the best of friends, we still are, but there was a

time there when things got very cloudy. Syd's strategy was, that the guys to convince are the Public Service Board people here and the bods down in Canberra. Now both of these worlds were unknown to me. They were outer space and Syd worked up a strategy (This is my side of the story by the way) Syd worked out the strategy and said OK I think I've got a power base in Canberra strong enough to make a run at McKinnon and McNamara now. I didn't know this. This was something he had to decide. So we worked out the strategy. OK now is the time to go. I called a halt and said look, tell them we're speaking with two voices and we are going to get nowhere. McNamara said, what do you mean we're speaking with two voices. I said, you have got the service branch saying one thing you got the system branch saying the other. I said look - it's not going to go on, I want to see the Administrator. McNamara asked McKinnon, are we speaking with two different voices? McNamara asked Nielson, are we speaking with two different voices here as government?, and Syd said, Yes. That was the end of that. Then we had the churches. I just told everybody I'm going to see the Administrator. The other churches said No, No, No, - what's this all about? They didn't even know. Then the Teachers' Association, these two lawyers, saw that this was real good potential for teachers because of the step we were taking. Syd's step was for servants, people. So off we went to the Administrator and the Administrator said, well this is a Government problem. Thank you. My concern was the churches would lose any chance to have a say in forming the Public Service because we were only there by invitation. Having called this dilemma I figured - I kept telling myself, we don't want to mean we're out of negotiating but we're not negotiating. I was afraid we were losing our chance to be part and parcel of this thing. So Les Johnson the Administrator accepted this. He said OK. You don't jeopardize your chance. I appreciate you've got a problem but it's my problem. It's a Government problem. Mine. Thank you. Good day. Now scene two was Les Johnson, McKinnon and Nielson. I don't know what went on. What transpired. Before we started Syd said he had the power bloc, and when it came out, Government said we have one voice. Syd lost as far as I was concerned. From that point on, my obligation to the church and the teachers was to carry on, and to start compromising. Syd interpreted this as a reversal of principles

and things I'd agreed to. He might even to this day. We've never really tried to thrash it out. You know, appointments came and went, personalities were involved. As I said this is my side of the story; how I interpreted it. I mean Government having all the Government parties together and come out with a voice, it was then time to carry on. To get the ordinance written, and even then we came down to the last wire.

- Q. I see this as probably the focal point. If there are any problems today with the Teaching Service Commission and the System, this could have been it.
- A. It still is. Its the executive. The Jones' and the Tololos, trying to manipulate the service side. Another thing is, one of the real problems, do they always have to have an education man go into that Commissioner's job? You want a Civil Servant in there. You don't want an educator. This is the real weakness of the thing. Syd saw it coming and Syd was all for teachers and he knew how civil service worked and he didn't want to bring the whole thing, the whole house of cards down. Because somebody had to do the hard sell to the Public Service Board and he was the only one going to do it and he wasn't going to sell something he couldn't live with to this day. This is when I insisted at that confrontation with Les Johnson too, that McNamara get to hell out of the room, in fact if he ever showed up at another meeting I wasn't going to come to it.
- This was when we brought McKinnon back into the Teaching Service Ordinance. He thought this Teaching Service Ordinance wasn't even worth wasting time on. So we wasted five months until he came back. Anyway he came back and...
- Q. I knew that a delegation had gone to the Administrator and said, look we don't want McNamara here, or we would prefer to have McKinnon in it...
- A. No, we don't want McNamara and if he does come, we are out. I'm out. The other churches they were shaking in their boots and the lawyer said well if he's out, he represents the big bloc and we are not going to deal with you either. It was real personalities and no options. McNamara was out, and McKinnon said, what's this all about? It was at that stage he saw the Teaching Service Ordinance.
- Q. That's when he first got involved?

- A. Yes. He sat down one afternoon and took the old Public Service Ordinances and took the word Public Service out and put in the word Teaching Service. Had his secretary type it up and tabled it. I'd tabled mine two days before that and I threw his out the window. McNamara got the brief, you know to push this through. Weeden? He was just as impossible. They dragged him up from Australia and he said "this is what we agreed to". I said "I beg you pardon, this is not what we agreed to".
- Q. You got a fair bit of co-operation on this one.
- A. The ones who could have helped us a lot were the Public Service Association but they weren't in the Weeden Report and they weren't in the Education Ordinance thing. So they came in late and they had to catch up. This was Philpott, Hawkes and the other guy. They were real good, they closed ranks with me on this one. In a sense I never really went back on my word to Syd. But our operation, our brief, was to compromise and he felt I should have held out until the end, but I didn't have that kind of a brief from my agency. I stuck with him as long as I could up to negotiating but there was a point...
- Q. Do you feel Syd did the right thing to get out when he did?
- A. Well he didn't get out, he was just outed, he had no option. It was a complete confrontation and he lost.
- ... It was up to the stage of 'should he leave the country or shouldn't he'. It was a real agonizing appraisal and I was no help at that stage. At this point it looked like a changed camp. He would have to tell you his side of the story. I've tried to briefly outline mine, and this is why I had to be a loner and I put in some loney days and lonely nights.
- Q. Was one of the problems with McNamara too, the fact that he would always have to go back to McKinnon to be briefed?
- A. Vin was just hopeless. Not only that, he wouldn't go back because he understood it all. There was no problem. We kept saying, we want a decision made here. He would say we are saying the same thing, let's draw it out on a blackboard. A couple of other things that confused the issue here was the possibility of changing the whole payroll structure. That was mooted too. Maybe we're approaching this thing wrong and if the teachers were paid a whole, completely different way, that maybe it wouldn't look like such

a loss of authority or power from somebody, and we explored avenues of that too. Trying to determine if a guy has a certain job you don't have to worry about who he is or how long he's been in the Public Service. It was basically a confrontation here. I don't think Syd, when we were building the Education Ordinance, Syd didn't realise there was another one to come, but he did the day after he caught me. I told him I'm out of the Board - Jim Jones caught me down at the Yacht Club and said "what are you doing" and Syd came here a couple of time, "you're doing the wrong thing". But he was the first one I explained, I said 'Syd we've only got half of it' and he caught on immediately, whereas McKinnon and McNamara - McKinnon just gloated over the idea. He was the architect of the thing, big noting - how it moved job opportunities in Canberra and all this, this was where he got lost and he didn't realise that back at the ranch the troops were working, and the troops were me, studying the whole thing.

- Q. I suppose it's understandable that when you set up a new system, you think the details look after themselves in terms of looking after the people who put it into operation, but the Teaching Service Ordinance turned out to be a bigger monster than the other; much more complex.
- A. It's the greater contribution too. Structures are easy because it is one dimensional. Teaching Service Ordinance is two dimensions, you've got a structure and another group going across it of values and purposes and objectives, which is exciting. Nobody - I don't think even McNamara and McKinnon really appreciated the contribution the Teaching Service Ordinance made. Syd does.
- Q. I suspect McKinnon and McNamara might have, once it was finished.
- A. Of course McKinnon went out, things caught up with him. Promotion, localization, everything caught up with him. If he had stayed on he could have worked this one out.
- Q. Do you feel then that the Minister for External Territories and the Administrator here, had played a very significant role at all?
- A. No role at all. It's the troops down in Australia that worried about the financial commitment, nobody was interested in...
- Q. So that was their only involvement?
- A. Well, except for very initially, when we couldn't get a hearing to change the system or they didn't really appreciate how adamant our

church was in making a reform. But when I went to the House of Assembly with printed letters reminding all the guys who were elected, one of their platforms for election was to do something for teachers, that I was almost evicted from this country. I had a beautiful letter offset printed in English and in Pidgin to all the Members of the House of Assembly and Hay interpreted this as twisting Government's arm and he went through a couple of meetings in Cabinet to see what action they were going to take on me. He thought I had exceeded all rights. Matt Toliman was my neighbour here and he came back and said, we've wasted a couple of days on you. I didn't know this was going on, the only thing I knew about it was from Matt.

This was the only role Hay played, but it was ignorance, he didn't know what the church was and how serious we were and what it meant to the whole operations of the country but a lot of the politicians realised.

- Q. What was wrong with the system pre the Weeden Report?
- A. Untidy. From the church's part we were too big without any sort of structure and a part of the government overstructured and not serving enough people.
- Q. Probably no real points of contact?
- A. None, zero. The Government had a unique system and all its teachers were well catered for, but not the resources to give it to everybody and we were all involved, had no rhyme nor reason until churches were unified, and our own Catholic Church was a shambles.
- Q. What were the sources of pressure for change?
- A. One was on our part from the people themselves. Bishops going to Rome writing documents on social justice and coming back employing thousands of people. This was definitely internal pressure. The other pressure was, we were at the limit of our resources, how big of a service can you get, this was another pressure. Distinct from the conditions, you were given people. The internal competition of resources of health people, development people in the church, they said education is getting a lion's share, stop it. Other pressures brought to bear were the political ones. I realised our biggest allies were the politicians, because they're grass roots people and if there was any place the church was, was grass roots. Even today, we are very strong that way.

- Q. Can you identify any specific points of resistance to change?
- A. In the Catholic church, all the teaching orders, 100% total opposition until the day after the Ordinance was signed. Internally, a tremendous amount, because it looked to them like they had lost all their autonomy, which they did. Certain dioceses in the church objected, particularly Bougainville. They stood out against it principally because I think, we started developing the structure before we did the service and their stomach ache was the conditions of teachers and they didn't appreciate, before we did something about that, we had to do something about getting the framework. The other real difficulty was the government people kept saying, the church hasn't changed. A lot of Administration people kept saying the church in Australia doesn't do it, no church in America does it, your church won't do it. Everytime a new issue would come up they'd say, you wouldn't do it. Those were the big difficulties.
- Q. With individuals there is a reluctance to change at any time.
- A. We built some machinery, like a National Education Board and Regional Officers, we tried to get information coming through as fast as we could, which anticipated problems.
- Q. So, what were you seeking for the system? Were you successful?
- A. Primarily, but one of the secondary issues was to get our teachers paid. That was done and is being done, so as far as I was concerned it was a complete success. But we did a lot more because we outlined a lot of the objectives and I think we reached them where we have rationalised resources, particularly in the area of planning. We can get people together, agencies together and plan at the district level and at the national level and not go on our own and this was something very desirable and something we have achieved. The power of different boards to make decisions has been given. Where they have been aware of it and made use of it, it has been a success - partial success there, I guess you would classify that as. Professional development of teachers? - limbo, we have them as a cohesive group that's as far as we've got.
- Q. Who is responsible for the shape of the new system and what was his/their platform as far as you could see?
- A. The one responsible was the team, there is no individual responsible. It was a team effort. Two agencies, government and catholic church,

basically as far as the Education Ordinance went. The other churches came along, but with marginal contributions really - I'll say this in all honesty.

- Q. It's funny, when you start looking at change in systems and this sort of thing, the basic theories say, right, change comes externally, the external change agents are those who can impose from outside, you bring in the experts in other words, and this gives it legitimacy, but this does not seem to have occurred in this country. The change seems to have been internal and you brought in external agents like Weeden, Beeby etc. to legitimize it.
- A. That's right, in order to get Canberra to bless it, we had to have Canberra people up here. It's unique. In the Teaching Service Ordinance there was a different team - a much broader one. There were the Public Service people and these are crystallised in Syd Nielson. He was a link between the Public Service Board and he was the one who kept nagging and pushing at these Public Service Association eager beavers. Once he made them aware of their responsibility they came good and they did a fantastic job. So there was the public servant, in the person of Syd, there were the legal boys for the Public Service Association people, there was the Administration, as the executive of this system and then there was the churches and this is a humorous thing, this is the first time in church history that the protestants elected a catholic to represent them. I was the only church man there, but by popular demand they said we know nothing about it and McVinney will speak for us. It was fantastic, McKinnon and I were speechless. We had to go and have a drink at the Yacht Club after that.
- Q. You were involved a lot of course, in the legislation, what about the writing of the Weeden report? Nothing apart from your own submissions?
- A. No, we had made 3 or 4 submissions. We were the only ones that put big blue papers to the Commission and we said this is our story and of course Weeden and Beeby wanted to test this and when they came back from their interviews they realized that we were representing the actual situation and we got a lot of credibility from them.
- Q. How would you predict for example, the future power of the Minister? I think you've seen over the past couple of years there has been a

- complete change in his orientation.
- A. He is going to have to re-lose it. They had nothing before, they assumed some and he is going to have to lose it again. A Minister is much like a Bishop in our church if I can draw a parallel. They are allowed policy decisions, they alone can make policy decisions, but that is where they stop. The professional work has to be done by professionals. Now, the Ministers recently, have been tempted, naturally so, to get down into the professional arena and they are going to have to back out of it a bit.
- Q. Do you think they will?
- A. Yes, they will. We'll force them out.
- Q. What about the power and place of the Director?
- A. With experience it should develop a little, it's very much of a stalemate at the moment.
- Q. What about the place and power of the Teaching Service Commission?
- A. I would see that hopefully developing into a single civil service for the country and then the relationship between the director as in charge of a structure and the chief executive representing this larger service being reworked completely.
- Q. This would need a change in legislation again.
- A. Well, the area where we had our problem before will have to be reworked. Where you get an executive who has no sense of multiplying executives, departments should be the executives for all the branches. There'd be a single stream public service, but where this service relates to it's executive, will have to be reworked because the temptation will be, for all the directors to be little gods...
- Q. What about the relationship between the Teaching Service Commission, Minister, Director and the National Education Board?
- A. In law, the provisions are there for it to be good. They are making a mistake at the moment by having education men take their job where they need a service man.
- Q. Boards, District Education, National Education Boards, you see them much as they are at present?
- A. Well, to get better. I wouldn't change it, There is no evidence to change the structure, where there seems to be a little bit of evidence to change the service, not to diminish it, but to redefine it.
- Q. That would be the only modification at the moment?

- A. Yes. Also, to kick this Teaching Council alive. They are really missing the ball there. I made a decision, I made my contribution and that's that and it's unfair for me to keep shooting from the outside having left it. If I feel keenly enough about it I should go back in.
- Q. Were you aware of any form of political or pressure group manipulations?
- A. From Canberra, not internally.
- Q. Teachers Association, not churches?
- A. No they weren't defined really, they were - the Teachers Association was desperate, a little... I couldn't enumerate them, but there were shifts in power blocs throughout the whole thing. Syd and I would line up on one side against the teachers, Syd and I and teachers would line up against McKinnon and McNamara and company, but with no brief.
- Q. What do you think the people, the teachers and education authorities really wanted?
- A. We think we knew what the teachers wanted, and the only thing they wanted was decent wages, a chance to cross districts to get away from the Bishop or the Sister, they wanted that desperately and I think they were sincere about wanting to improve and as far as church teachers go they wanted a chance to be promoted. There were no opportunities. I think in fairness to them we knew what they wanted. We represented them and I think we got what they wanted. They are better off because they have representation in schools, they have boards of management. As far as an ordinary layman's mentality, there is no difference between the University and the Primary school it is all the same, but they do have a say in running it, it fits in with local development.
- Q. What about the education authorities?
- A. The churches are okay -
- Q. They probably wanted a decentralized system I think,
- A. That hasn't really come up 100% but it's personalities, it's not the system again, it's the Jim Jones and the people that are not built that way. We've got this internal subset of ours of the Teaching Ordinance keeping us unhappy all the time,
- Q. What would have happened if the Weeden Report had not been accepted by Government?

- A. We would have had to go back to the table and try to renegotiate as a Catholic Church and Government. Barring that, we would have made it a much bigger political issue than it was and would have brought Government to task. We only did it here and got away with it. Hay backed off and blew the whistle and Canberra sent the team up. We would have gone much further than that, we were prepared to go all the way. Barring that, we would have had a real agonising appraisal..
- Q. I think the climate for change at that time was very good though.
- A. We were in good shape, but if you want to know to what extent our church was prepared to go? The whole way. We were going to take service benefits or nothing.
- Q. What did you think of the timing of introduction of everything? From the time you started negotiating, the time legislation was written - too fast, too slow?
- A. The Education Ordinance was fine, but in terms of the development of the country - at the last hour, if we hadn't got it in that month, that year, July, we were history. So as an operation the timing went smoothly, predictably and it took strenuous efforts. McKinnon had to go down and get that book published in order to have it into the House at that week and all this - it took us some nights of working.
- Q. Do you think it could have been a lot quicker?
- A. No, but we had left our run too late. If our church hadn't pushed when it started pushing in '66, we would have never made it.
- Q. Well really, there might be an argument that what was said in the '67, '68 conferences was really repeated in the Weeden report to a large degree and perhaps it could have been implemented at the end of '68.
- A. It could possibly have been, but we had a hard sell. With Canberra on the one extreme and the four square gospel guys on the other end of the world and there was no sense in forcing this on them, we thought that tactically it would be much better if everybody had something to say about it.
- Q. So in retrospect, would you have changed the process of implementation?
- A. Yes, to bring the teachers in a little bit stronger. They had nothing to say about the structure. They were invited and they knew what was going on but they had no way to do it. But today they would be a real force. There would be no way in the world you

could do things affecting teachers without them being...

- Q. Why would that be do you think?
- A. Mission teachers belonged to churches, there was no such thing as teachers who were public servants and everybody else.
- Q. Again we're getting back to this central thing - the most visible change has been the unification of teachers.
- A. Yes, that only happened because we let them free.
- Q. Can you comment on the consultation or consultative process that occurred for the '67, '68 conferences?
- A. Before that can I answer the previous question? The second part of it about the Teaching Service Ordinance. We had some serious timing problems on that. No one knew how big it was going to be, in terms of the amount of work and then we bogged down for months over this confrontation between the role of executive as representing the Commission and the Government - and then we bogged down needlessly over conditions of service for overseas people, I think we wasted a lot of time on that again and we almost lost our shirt. We got the Reading into the June House where they promised to get it in October, but the changes in the country were coming so fast and so vocal at that stage that we were really in jeopardy with that whole Teaching Service Ordinance.
- Q. Any later?
- A. Any later than October and we would have been gone. That was no good at all because we had to rush. That was a real disadvantage in timing on that second one.
- Q. Opportunity for consultation?
- A. Ample. All the way through. I always thought that the churches had their own responsibility to consult with themselves which our church did, we built a national office and spent thousands of dollars to buy this place; to put me in here to get me the equipment to travel; to build up a one man band and this was clearly a church responsibility, which our church did and the other churches responded to, and the Government was quite good.
- Q. Since the Weeden Report was presented, there has been an almost constant flow of reorganization proposals within the Department of Education, setting up different divisions and so on and they have never been very successful. I'm wondering why this would be so

- A. Perhaps they tried it too soon. I think people are tired of change really.
- Q. Do you think reorganization is necessary, of the divisions and so on? It's a bit hard for an outsider I suppose.
- A. The only thing - one thing I wanted and I lost, I wanted the Minister for Education to be responsible for tertiary education and McKinnon wouldn't buy that, never did. This is one thing I lost in the Education Ordinance. Now since then, the Department wanted to create a separate department for tertiary education which we vigorously opposed. They even tried to sneak that into the House and we stopped it at the Cabinet level. We had to go to the Cabinet Members - to stop that one.
- Q. This would be a form of political manipulation pressure group -
- A. It isn't a good way to compromise. This is one structural change which I think is upsetting everybody because tertiary is not anchored yet. Another feature about your changes in the department is because of the desperate need to provide lateral positions for people they can't afford to lose, and people they can't keep on where they are. Now the solution for that is you create jobs that are lateral level. In order to do that you have to alter the structure and this is probably one of the things. This is an outside observation.
- Q. This was overcome initially in the first instance by creating positions of inspectors and so on and there was a large increase in the Inspectorate and creation of District Superintendents positions, which I think has probably had an effect on the professional standards out in the field, but since then very little in terms of positions - there was constant reorganization proposals - they have to fight with P.S.B. on this one.
- A. I have no experience in this.
- Q. Is there any final comment you would like to make?
- A. One of gratitude really, first of all it was an experience given once in a lifetime and it brought into experiences, personalities, people and options and it was quite exciting all the way through and in hindsight looking at it, it was well worth our effort and I think the only comment throughout all, it was motivated on good principles. I didn't detect anywhere where people were involved in the thing for what personal advantage they could get out of it. And this was one of the really rewarding features about it, that

we felt we were engaged in an operation dealing with - for the good of somebody else and that is not just personal gain, public servants were ensured of their salary and that sort of thing. The only other comment is, I don't think we should get complacent and say it's all over. Our attitude shouldn't be that it should never be changed, or it shouldn't be changed immediately, or completely overhauled.

- Q. This is one of the things with the reorganization proposal, that change has to be fairly constant.
- A. Yes and I think we should accept that. Our problem was to educate church people and say we can work together with government, we can have a multiple, complex situation and still maintain our identity. Having proved that point I think alternate forms are quite easy to introduce now.

Transcript of Interview with Alwyn Neuendorf from Evangelical Alliance
(Member E.A.B. and later N.E.B. Church Representative)

- Q. How did you become involved with this new system's legislation?
- A. I suppose it originally goes back to the Education Advisory Board. I was a member of the E.A.B. and it was the Advisory Board that was basically involved in the original thinking and it was because of the E.A.B. that the Weeden Commission was set up to look into the whole subject.
- Q. This is something since then actually. I was talking to Syd Nielson recently and Syd thought that if you were going to do any sort of study of this particular period, you have to go back to the E.A.B., which we have done to a limited degree. When you look at the conferences the 67/68 conferences, they seem to have developed out of the E.A.B.
- A. Yes that's right, the E.A.B. certainly arranged the '67 conference and the E.A.B. had been working for about 3 years on the type of education system or legislation, new education ordinance that would be much more suitable for a self governing type of Papua New Guinea and it was as a result of our continued minutes going down to Canberra, at least this is what we felt, that the Weeden Commission was set up.
- Q. Yes this is what we felt that actually the Weeden report and the advisory committee was more or less a legitimising agent for the things that we wanted within the system.
- A. Yes they went further of course than any one particular group set of recommendations, they went into it quite thoroughly and came up with a much more comprehensive report.
- Q. Would you have been able to identify anyone in the E.A.B. specifically moving towards this system of change?
- A. No, it was just a general thing I think. Everybody felt it.
- Q. This is what McKinnon always said, the rationale for the system, besides getting it decentralised, at independence there should be a system that the people can work with and understand.
- A. Yes, mind you tied up with it all was the churches trying to get equal salary for their teachers was a big part of it too and in order to get this there had to be a terrific amount of negotiation

- backwards and forwards, so it all came up about the same time.
- Q. What happened to your own interests after legislation was passed, that's both Education Ordinance and Teaching Service? You still kept an interest in the system as such?
- A. Yes indeed. I'm very interested in education nationally and in Papua New Guinea -
- Q. You were involved with the writing of which ordinance?
- A. The Education Ordinance. I was basically south when the Teaching Service was made.
- Q. Would you comment on these names - on the part played by them in developing the system.
- A. Ken McKinnon of course was obvious, Beeby from the Weeden Report, Syd Nielson was particularly involved with the Teaching Service Ordinance, probably also in the Education Ordinance. Neville Fry I think all he had to do with it was when he was Executive Officer for Brown - higher education.
- Q. He was executive officer for Weeden, Gris and Beeby.
- A. Oh, he was executive officer for that committee too.
- Q. And I think he may have been involved also in establishing what financial resources were to be available to the system after the change.
- A. Vin McNamara of course was vitally involved in both, I don't know Rolfe; I don't know that Les Johnson had very much to do in the actual writing, he probably had quite a bit to do with getting it through the House and so on. McVinney was vitally involved in both ordinances mainly because he was on the E.A.B. Roger Philpott, now Roger was on the N.E.B. and he was very very heavily involved with the Teaching Association and the Teaching Service, but he had nothing to do with the Education Ordinance as far as I recall. Alkan, being in the position of Teaching Service Commissioner was involved and Gabriel Gris was on that Weeden Committee. Alan Randall, Blacklock and Roberts, those 3 worked with McVinney and myself in both of the ordinances. Blacklock is a details man he can tell you all sorts of things about details, he keeps back copies of everything, the original draft, and second and third draft and how they developed and when something comes up he digs out one of these drafts and says 'but that's not the intention behind it all'.

Jim Jones, I don't think he was very much involved in the Teaching Service. He might have been. He was a member of the N.E.B. and was quite involved in the Education Ordinance but don't recall him very much in the Teaching Service.

- Q. Have you any comment on the part these people played? - their contribution to development. Writing part? Negotiating part?
- A. Beeby, Weeden and Gris of course had a tremendous influence. McKinnon naturally had a tremendous influence. I don't know how much influence Vin McNamara actually had. He was Ken McKinnon's man mostly, but he was at loggerheads so often and stalemates were reached so often that people had to go past him, back to McKinnon and sometimes, this might be why Les Johnson's name is here, sometimes even had to go to Les Johnson to get over a point or two. So whether Vin actually had a great deal of influence on it or not I'm not too sure because in a whole lot of things, which he claimed all the time were dysfunctional, we had to go back and then McKinnon came around the other way. McVinney of course had a tremendous influence on both because it was his agency basically that were pushing for things. It was his agency I think more than any other that was the cause of the dichotomy I suppose you could say between the Education Ordinance and the Teaching Service Ordinance because the other churches rallied around him quite strongly on the matter of the teachers not becoming members of the Public Service and this was one of the basic things which caused the Teaching Service to come out as such. I would say probably McVinney and McKinnon had the greatest influence in the two ordinances. Philpott of course was the Teachers Association man involved - oh, what was the name of the other fellow who was always arguing - Grimes, he and Roger and Alan Mussio - those 3 were the 3 who represented the Teachers Association. There was a lot of negotiating in the Teachers Association one, because I don't think there was a Teachers Association when the Education Ordinance was written.
- Q. That was one of the things that McKinnon instructed Superintendents more or less. He said 'go out there and set up your teachers association and in a couple of years time I'm going to tell you you've created a monster'. For this to work there had to be an

association of teachers and this I think is one of the very visible effects of the new system, a unified teaching service as well as a teaching association.

- A. Blacklock was very valuable too, from the point of view of making sure that details tallied, and dovetailed so you didn't say one thing in one place and another thing in another place. The rest, we were there, we talked and so on, but I don't think we were all that influential.
- Q. What principles were you interested in seeing incorporated?
- A. Well I was very strong on decentralisation and that was one that I was very interested in. I was also very interested in the setting up of the Teaching Service as distinct from a Department or the Public Service. I suppose once you get onto decentralisation, this covers most of your Education Ordinance really. Naturally being a church person I was very interested and very keen on identity of church agencies being safeguarded, this was one brief that I was certainly given by my agency. I think that would more or less cover my particular interests in decentralisation.
- Q. Was there any one particular person or group of people who you worked with most closely in the development of the new system over this period of time?
- A. The National Secretaries of course, we had quite a lot of meetings - but you mean more within the working group?
- Q. It's obvious you worked very closely with Ray Blacklock.
- A. I think we were more or less mostly together, McKinnon, McNamara, Nielson, McVinney, Randall, Blacklock and myself, we were more or less involved in it all the time.
- Q. Were there any if any, real holdups and difficulties then? In the development of the new system that you saw?
- A. With regards to the Education Ordinance and the setting up of the whole system I don't think there were any real holdups really. We were all fairly unanimous, but it was when you got down to the Teaching Service Ordinance this was where all the difficulties came up, because what the churches wanted the teachers didn't want and what the teachers wanted the department didn't and what they wanted, the commission didn't. I think it was basically on the Teaching Service that there were the holdups and I think this was the one that took the long, long time to get into written form

and into the House and it was only this year that it was finally promulgated.

- Q. It has been finalised.
- A. Yes I think it was in Febraury/March this year - '74.
- Q. So it was principally a matter of timing - ?
- A. We can't work out why once the Ordinance was written why it wasn't promulgated except for some things there had to be regulations and determinations, but we couldn't work out why the delay.
- Q. There are only a couple of legislative draftsmen and they are flat out I suppose.
- A. Yes that takes time, but it wasn't only that I think, we couldn't work out any real reason why it shouldn't have been finalised.
- Q. How would you describe the relationships between your organization and other parties that were involved in the development of the new system?
- A. My particular group, we have an annual Church Education Conference, when the church education secretaries of every member of my particular agency, we come together and apart from being briefed by them, they left everything to me; and whatever I accepted within the briefings that I had been given, they just accepted after this as far as the Ordinance writing was concerned.
- Q. But your relationship between the group you were representing and other groups who were also working with the legislation was pretty close?
- A. Quite close, there was a very odd thing in which the churches had a different point of view, but basically they were after the same ideals.
- Q. Did you ever see any real role for the local government councils in the new system?
- A. It didn't come out very strongly, I mean they certainly could have taken a place as agencies in education, they could run schools if they wanted to, there was nothing to stop them from doing it. It was thought at one stage that they might and they certainly were in mind at one stage of the possibility of entering the education field as an agency. It never ever happened. I don't think it took any really strong role.
- Q. You have no reason or explanation why the councils never took up the avenues that were open to them.

- A. No, I've never looked into it either. I don't think councils wanted to buy into it. Possibly because of the way it developed, they used to give money towards school buildings and houses and so on and that's about the extent of it. It's quite possible that their advisors advised not to do anymore.
- Q. One of the objectives in the new education system according to the Weeden Report was to co-ordinate educational activity.
- A. Yes well there again I think most D.E.B's before they start new schools, they get local government councils to send in their desires and they don't accept them from anybody else.
- Q. Only from Local Government Councils. So you would see this as being encompassed by the term "educational activity"?
- A. Well co-ordination, yes.
- Q. Why was it decided then that mission teachers should be paid a full salary and given other equal conditions of service by the government?
- A. Other equal conditions of service -
- Q. In terms of transfer, appointments, promotions, housing and that sort of thing -
- A. Why did the Weeden committee recommend it? Well I can't answer for Jock Weeden and his company, but this is one of the things that the Catholic agency in particular were really pressing for because they had teachers, I don't know whether it was automatic natural response or reaction on the part of the teachers, or whether they were stirred up somewhere, but their teachers were certainly talking about leaving teaching or striking, although strike wasn't as popular a term in those days. The Catholics were generally concerned that they were going to lose lots of teachers and they were pressing very strongly for this. Some of the other church agencies weren't - well they didn't mind one way or the other. They didn't mind particularly if things went as they were at the time or whether they got the full salaries, but I think it was basically because of the very strong Catholic group, because they are about one third of the teaching force of the country and that they were so strong on it and then just to get one system for the whole country rather than having a whole series of diverse systems - I think this is where the Weeden committee felt it would

be advantageous. That doesn't really answer your question? -

- Q. Yes it does when everything else is taken into account. I suppose in a way the question sounds as if we are asking what made Weeden and the other people make up their minds to do it this way. In fact when I was in New Zealand a couple of years ago I asked Beeby, or suggested that what he had incorporated in this report here, was something he would have liked to have seen in an ideal New Zealand situation. He sort of agreed. It's a very similar system. They haven't gone all the way in terms of opening the system in making it a national system with regard to all agencies and it is quite obvious that this is what Beeby has been mulling about for years and years.
- A. Mind you there was a lot of negotiating about it. Some of the churches were objecting to different terms but they just had to, if they wanted to come into the national system, there just had to be give and take. One of the things that a couple of the churches were quite upset about and one that caused the S.D.A's to drop out, was the fact that you could not stop a person enrolling at a school on religious grounds which is what most of the churches had been doing up until then. That was a very sore point with some of them. Then a lot of the churches were very suspicious that their whole education would be taken over by the Education Department, and some of them are still a bit that way.
- Q. I know there was a lot of suspicion early on.
- A. Most of it is allayed, but there still is a bit from the teacher appointment aspect, some agencies are still a little frightened that the teacher appointments are being worked.
- Q. That's at the district level?
- A. Yes.
- Q. What about the objections to enrolling if they want to come into a member school, enrolling irregardless of religious background and so on. Do you feel that this is still an issue?
- A. I don't think it is an issue at all anymore. That just completely disappeared as far as I know, I have never heard of it in the last few years. But mind you, some of the things that churches used to do I think some are still doing in certain parts, they haven't realised that there is a national system. Like, transferring

teachers without reference to the district education board and so on. Then D.E.B's catch up with it and cause -

- Q. What experience did you call upon, internal, external whatever, when you were working in this area of development of the legislation?
- A. Well actually my mission sent me on an overseas trip and I went over to Africa and had a look at sister churches or sister missions working in Africa where education had been nationalised and had a look around there and had long discussions with missionaries and Africans and then came back into the fray, so that was the experience. It helped to allay a tremendous amount of suspicion that my mission had beforehand, to see how our sister churches in Africa were getting on - happily, and some of them saying they would hate to go back to the original system where it was just church and then to realise that what was being proposed in P.N.G. didn't even go anywhere near as far as most African countries went. It certainly helped, not only my group, but I went speaking to a number of the Catholic places too and Lutheran, in Wabag I went to a couple of groups there and when they heard what I had to say about churches in Africa and how they were basically very happy with the set up, even though they went further than we were proposing here, this helped the Lutherans - the Wabag Lutherans to make up their minds, so it was a useful trip.
- Q. During this period, was there any real guide to the financial resources that were going to be available to a national system of education?
- A. There were recommendations in the Weeden report as to what it would cost and by the Government accepting the Weeden report, they accepted these costs.
- Q. Did you have any real fear about not getting this money?
- A. Personally, no. We just assumed that if the Government accepted the Weeden report it hinged on that. We didn't know for a while if they would accept the report or not.
- Q. Would you have felt much easier in your mind if they had said, yes, whatever it costs we are going to foot the bill, or, we have set aside a certain amount for the introduction of the first stage?
- A. I don't think it would have made any difference to me. I'm not terribly financially conscious I suppose not having worked in millions ever.

- Q. Do you think the new education system fosters national unity?
- A. It ought to. How far it does actually foster it I don't know. In Secondary of course, the inter-district High Schools are being gradually phased out and this takes away from national unity. Senior High Schools are very much national but this is about the only point where at a very close level you get national unity developing, as a distinct result of the education system. In very general ways I mean you can through social science and so on you can through your teachers try to infiltrate the ideas of national unity and national values. I don't know how successful that is actually at the present time, but I don't think that we are doing very much or achieving very much apart from the Senior High Schools in developing anything like national unity - I suppose Teachers' Colleges too, because they are fairly national now.
- Q. Teachers are fairly mobile now, particularly in the Highlands. Some districts aren't at all, you look at the Gulf District or Manus where most of the teachers actually come from there.
- A. Of course this is the way the Ordinance was set up, it was deliberately set up expecting that teachers would want to go back to their home area. And it was deliberately set up to give them the opportunity to do this, so we shouldn't be surprised at this happening. That is where they've got their land, they want to go back to their own place, develop their own land and so on.
- Q. A lot of them of course will never get back there -
- A. It's impossible - for the Island districts. Well Manus for instance there are 2 level 4's, 1 level 3 and nothing apart from that. If a Manus teacher is any good he's just not going to get a school in Manus.
- Q. Unless he becomes an Inspector and there is only 1 there.
- A. There is only 1 Inspector there and a Superintendent. Their teachers have been reduced from 153 to 129 at the moment, so there are even less and less of them and the population is going down because most of the young people are getting out and so there are less births in Manus every year, so if the population goes down the teaching force will go down again.

- Q. Do you think the freedom of choice for the right of a parent to send his kid to a school of his own choosing, church agency or administration for that matter, has been adequately protected?
- A. Yes I do. There are some people who don't. I feel it has been adequately protected because I don't think it is the final right. I think there is an overriding right and that is not to deprive some other child of an education. Provided that isn't overridden, then yes, I accept the parents' right to choose. But where it can deprive another child of education, e.g. take a high school. If a lad very close to a day school where he ought to attend as a day student, because his parent wants him to go to a boarding school where he can get say a Catholic or a Lutheran education, by going into that boarding school, he is taking a boarding place that by rights never belonged to him, so by doing this he is depriving someone else of an education and I think that the right to have an education is more important for another child's parent than for this particular parent, but apart from that if it is a matter of two day schools involved and he wants to go as a day student to a Catholic school rather than an admin. school which he lives closer to, no sweat. Or if he had to be a boarder in any case and he wants to go to a Lutheran boarding school, rather than an Admin. boarding school, no problem, providing that the parent pays everything.
- Q. Did you know of any officer of the Australian Government, Commonwealth Government that is, who had any influence on these developments at this period?
- A. Only Weeden that I know of. I didn't meet anybody who tried to -
- Q. There were a few people monitoring the change -
- A. Yes, but I didn't meet any of them.
- Q. What do you believe were the problems that were being faced by Voluntary agencies at this time? This is before change that led up to the change.
- A. I suppose the basic one was finance. Teachers starting to become unhappy about the small amount they were getting. Teachers in Admin. schools, who would have been quite acceptable to church schools and who would have liked to move into church schools but wouldn't because they would have had to drop to about one third of their salary. Then the teachers in the church school could never get any promotion. It was just a once and for all thing,

there was never any annual increment or any encouragement or motivation at all to improve themselves in teaching, unless the churches did something about it and I don't think any of them did as they just didn't have the finance to do it. I think these were the things that the churches were beginning to see, if they were going to run or continue in an education system they had to do something that was much much more professional than they had been doing in the past and they just couldn't cope with it. I think this was basically the

- Q. It brings to mind something that I hadn't thought of for a while and that was the change over from the grants in aid system to the salaries for teachers. Did this have much effect on voluntary agencies initially?
- A. I think this did affect some agencies, not ours. Because we handed this directly straight over to the teacher, whatever came in grants in aid in our agency. Some agencies used to run their whole education system and pay their teachers even half of that. I don't know how they got on, or how they coped or what they did because we never did that we just handed it completely over.
- Q. I suppose you could also say that different problems were being faced by different agencies. The financial one would be the only one where you'd have similarity right throughout.
- A. I am sure there would have been different ones in different agencies, although this professional one would have been common to all as well.
- Q. Do you think there has been an improvement in the standard of education since 1969?
- A. Well, I don't have very much to do with primary anymore, but high school teachers quite regularly say, until this year, maybe last year too, that they felt the standard of education of their Form I's were better each year, except possibly last year and certainly this year they have been saying they very strongly query it that this was because the Boards of Management picked a lot of no hopers and not the academic best, and so the high school teachers are completely against the Boards of Management selecting.

- ...Q. Do you think, as a follow on from there, that the teaching service, can be regarded as being more professional now and a more professional body than they were in 1969?
- A. The Teaching Service - they certainly ought to be able to, but I wish the Teachers Association would get a bit more professional rather than industrial. Look at all the opportunities they've got for in-service. They've got tremendous opportunities for in-service with a lot of stress placed on professional training rather than just pure academic training. We've even given professional training equivalence to academic training, with all the in-service the D.E.B's have been encouraged to run and are running. The inspectorate has expanded with the curriculum officers as well, as well as the expanded inspectorate. Certainly ought to be a more professional group.
- Q. Do you think the system we have now financing and controlling education as it was recommended in the Weeden report and legislated is workable and durable?
- A. I can't see why not, provided you've got a payroll section that works.
- Q. Can you think of any amendments that may be necessary?
- A. No I don't think so off hand.
- Q. Have you got any personal views of an ideal education system for PNG?
- A. No, not for quoting at this stage anyway. But I am beginning to wonder very very much whether a thing such as a National Education Board is something that really does fit P.N.G. Although I can't see that you can do anything very much other than have something like that, if you want to keep away from a purely professionally dominated education system. The reason why we set up the National Education Board in the first place was so that we'd have all interested bodies, or all bodies interested in education able to be involved in the policy making and I still hold to that and if you hold to that then I can't see that you can do much other than have something like a N.E.B. but it isn't a terribly Papua New Guinea system, but then you've got a cabinet and a House of Assembly and a cabinet at the moment which aren't particularly Papua New Guinean systems either. It will be very interesting to see in a few months

time what they come up with and if they come up with something radically different we may well have to come up again with something radically different in education. N.E.B. members come along to meetings, although sometimes you have to scrape to get a quorum, they come along to meetings and they'll talk at meetings and make decisions and so on, but that's as far as it goes. Mostly I suppose they are too busy to be involved in committee meetings and boards of governing councils and all this, but this is what is going to be essential if this kind of thing is going to run and if you can't get this then the whole system just won't work.

Q. What about the teaching council, that doesn't seem to have worked?

A. The Teaching Council works. The problem was with the new Commissioner it wasn't called; I've just forgotten when he took over, but the first one wasn't called until about May. I think it must have been nearly twelve months between two meetings, but I think the last teaching council was quite effective.

Q. That's what I wondered, it seems to have slipped into obscurity and I wondered what the reason was. Do you feel the Teaching Service Commissioner should be a professional? Does he need to be a teacher or somebody from the Education Department specifically as has happened over the past?

A. No I don't think he needs to be and I think the Ordinance is so worded that he doesn't have to be.

Q. Who nominates the Teaching Service Commissioner?

A. The Minister. It was the Administrator. I suppose it is the High Commissioner at the moment.

Q. Yes, until independence anyway. Have the decentralised bodies been set up under the new legislation?

A. I think the decentralised bodies work ever so much better because they are right in their own immediate area, they are facing the things that they are day to day involved in and they've got the district office which is interested much more closely in the things that are going on day by day, to carry things out and so on, and I think they're working ever so much better, but I think a lot of D.E.B. members still have to learn what the role of the D.E.B. member is and I think in quite a number of places they still let the department get away with things they really ought to negotiate. On the other hand, some of them I think approach things in a rather

rude way and try to completely override the district education office and there is a median that most of them have reached.

- Q. Why has the Government been reluctant to exercise its powers over voluntary school agencies?
- A. D.E.B's have the power to close schools down and D.E.B's have been using that power. The Director has the power to close some schools if for certain reasons like perversion and this type of thing, which as far as I know has never happened; What are the powers that the Government is not using? They could possibly make it a bit more difficult for some voluntary agencies, we were talking about a bit earlier who tried to beat the system and do things that are contrary to the ordinance, but it's probably better to try and do it by discussion and so on.
- Q. So you don't think in fact there has been any real reluctance?
- A. Not that I know.
- Q. I've heard - some comments I've had already, say, talk about the complexity in the present system and I'm just wondering if you see the present system as being a very complex one and if it is complex where does this complexity occur?
- A. It never seemed to me to be complex at all. It seemed to be quite a simple system, but I find the teachers find it quite difficult to understand. They don't know who they belong to, who they're working for or so on, but I find that when you give a simple explanation that they seem to cotton on very quickly and understand what it is all about. It's probably just bad communication that somehow or other it just hasn't been got over to teachers.
- Q. I suppose this originated from the Teaching Service Ordinance rather than the Education Ordinance.
- A. Yes, it's conditions really - the appointment system, all the paperwork makes it difficult. Yes, one of the things they don't seem to understand is who they should write to who they should contact for certain things. Do they write to the District Superintendent do they write to the Teaching Service Commission, do they write to the N.E.B., who do they write to, how do they find their information? There are a lot of D.E.B.'s who don't understand this too, because they send letters to the N.E.B. that are pure teaching service matters and have to be referred to the Teaching Service Commission and some things that go to the

Teaching Council has got nothing to do with the teaching service, they are N.E.B. matters, so from this point of view there is some complexity but I think it's because it hasn't been very clearly explained because most people seem to cotton on once it is explained.

- Q. Getting into this value area now - One specific point of this function seems to be, What is the Role of the Central Executive? What was going to be the role of the Education Department in relation to the T.S.C. which sort of precipitated this clash between the pro McKinnon and pro Nielson forces when the legislation was being written,
- A. As far as I'm concerned throughout the whole thing the Education Department was basically the office to carry out the instructions of both the Teaching Service Commission and the National Education Board. The N.E.B. has four Government members on it and they've got more or less all the opportunity they would need to present government policies and so on, and of course what I am saying here - forgetting all about the Minister at the moment, for the Minister has final say in everything - and on the Teaching Council, which is the advisory group to the Teaching Service Commission, the Government has five members there also, where they can get any of their points made over and it seemed to me, and I thought this was accepted too, by Government, that with the N.E.B. and the Teaching Service Commission, the Government, or the Education Department as such, was handing over a tremendous amount of its power to one or the other. In the Ordinance there are still things that the Director is basically responsible for but apart from those things his office legally is one of carrying out the instructions of the other two. Now of course with the Minister, it takes on another function, that is carrying out the instructions of the Minister and it's a very difficult position to be in.
- Q. This argument is really about this stage of writing the T.S.C. Ordinance which ultimately led to Nielson going off. Did you know anything much about what led up to this and the reasons for it and what happened or not?
- A. At the crucial time for that Ordinance writing, I was away, south, but I knew it was going on, but I can't recall now the actual parts of the ordinance that brought it to a head. It was

something to do with the Teaching Service being autonomous and the Department not being able to buy into things, but I'm a bit hazy.

- Q. As far as I can gather it was centred around what is the prime function of the Executive. Syd's objection basically was that the Department wanted to retain all the power as an employing power basically and thus would emasculate the T.S.C. In fact, in a way this might even have been borne out by what Tau Boga said a few weeks ago.
- A. Yes, I think the Department has acted recently contrary to the Ordinance, but at the same time I think the Teaching Service Commission have tried to do a couple of things that haven't quite been along the dotted line either.
- Q. They've taken on an agency function very recently in as much as they employ and recruit A.S.A.G. employees themselves. Well let's go on to another problem area which arose in the writing of the report - legislation. That is something you touched on before when you found McNamara a little obstructionist and the delegation finally went to the Administrator asking for his removal from this exercise. Were you involved in this?
- A. No I wasn't involved in that at all.
- Q. You know nothing about it at all?
- A. Not in detail anymore, but that happened while I was south and I was written to and told about it.
- Q. The reasons for it were basically the role that Vin was playing was that he was obstructionist or that he didn't have final authority to have to make decisions - had to keep referring back to Ken?
- A. I think the basic idea from the churches and from the teaching service point of view, that he was just an obstructionist. He took a position that anything else would be dysfunctional, any position other than the one that he took would be dysfunctional to the whole system and just refused to budge from it and nobody could get anywhere with a complete deadlock and this was why they took it over. Because one of the things that the Teaching Service Commission and Syd and their company wanted, they wanted a complete office themselves to carry out everything that they did and actually on this issue I went along with Vin because I thought this would be dysfunctional, provided you had your

decision making groups who could monitor and make sure that every thing they said was carried out, one office would be sufficient to carry it all out. Provided the N.E.B. could make sure that what it said was done and provided the Teaching Service Commission could too. We've been finding out from the N.E.B. that a lot of things the N.E.B. says just don't get done. Some of the divisions have other ideas, so they just shelve it. We've found this out. Whether the Teaching Service Commission has found the same out or not I don't know, but I agreed with Vin McNamara on this one actually to have a separate office would be quite dysfunctional.

- Q. A separate office would be set up remote from the Department as they have now - ?
- A. No they don't. Most of the things are decisions that they make concerning schools.
- Q. Did you know what was the involvement of the Administrator and the Department of External Territories in introduction of the new system? This is in specific reference to the Ordinance.
- A. No, I didn't have anything to do with that at all. Once we had done our job, then Ken McKinnon took it over.
- Q. A value judgment. What was wrong with the system pre Weeden report, E.A.B.?
- A. From our point of view it was purely departmental dominated and controlled and as churches as we had been in it for a long time and been used to acting just as autocratically and we couldn't quite see ourselves fitting in with somebody else doing it for us, and we just wanted to be a part of the whole machinery. Possibly if there had been any other Director of Education the whole thing may not have been so amicably settled, for at least he was amenable to working together and so on, I don't know whether some directors would have been quite so free. Because a lot of his own department felt I think that he gave up too much to churches. Most of them have gone now...
- ...Q. Could you identify any specific resistors or resistance to change. Did any occur within your own organization or from anywhere in the system?
- A. Within my own organisation there was a lot of suspicion that it was just a government takeover and fortunately two of our other mission leaders were all for it and so the three of us we managed

to persuade the others to go along - particularly after my trip overseas.

Q. Was it basically group resistance or individual?

A. No, it was the mission as a whole. Basically the type of people in my agency, - you would say they are high school educated people - who joined a very narrow point of view in their church and they don't bother thinking very much about anything other than doctrine and the life of the church, and from their background in Australia they are rather suspicious of anything political or government or anything else and so that kind of people coming up into the situation in Papua New Guinea in this particular time, we were talking about change in education, they were just tremendously suspicious and you can't talk rationally with people like that. They get so emotionally involved, you can't talk logically and provide arguments and so on, so it wasn't to be surprised at really, but as I say we managed to overcome it.

Q. Has there been any change?

A. Yes ...

Q. This is a result perhaps of the openness of the system?

A. Yes, the system has proved itself. You still get the odd person. One tremendous problem was that they were tremendously scared that they were going to get drunkards and adulterers and this type of thing coming in on their mission stations as teachers and headteachers. But it has happened on occasion, in an odd case here and there, but the fact that basically it hasn't happened, has won most of them over to the system.

Q. I did ask you before what principles you were hoping to see in legislation. What were you seeking for the system and were you successful and perhaps, why were you seeking it?

A. What I was particularly looking for was decentralisation and power at the local level where churches are much more involved at the local level and I think they've got this.

Q. Did you see any particular person who was responsible for the shape of the new system - or people.

A. I'd say it was the same ones as I said earlier. McKinnon and McVinney very basically, although they weren't the only ones with ideas, but I would say that they had more than the rest of us had.

- Q. What was your involvement in the actual writing of the Weeden Report?
- A. None whatsoever.
- Q. Any submissions?
- A. Submissions, yes, meetings yes, but then they wrote their own report. We submitted E.A.B. materials, church material, both in writing and also in sessions with them.
- Q. A few predictions - the power of the Minister in the future, seeing what has happened in the past - would you like to predict what would happen in this area from now on?
- A. I think it could depend very largely on which party is in power, if there is going to continue to be party politics - I don't see how you could go back from that now. Pangu Party policy for example is that the policy making structure should remain exactly as it is. If the party exercises discipline and insists on its policies and its platforms being carried out, I suppose there may not necessarily be very much change in the policy making setup for education, which from many points of view it does involve Papua New Guineans at all levels. At the national level, district levels and then down to the Boards of Management, governing councils, boards of governors and so on. There are Papua New Guinean majorities in everything, some even 100% Papua New Guinean, and so long as you've got this you've really got Papua New Guinean decision making processes, but I am still a bit concerned about the National level. I think we might have to try and evolve something that is a bit more Papua New Guinean if the thing is going to be terribly successful.
- Q. This is specifically referring to N.E.B. -
- A. Yes. Referring to N.E.B. and the way the N.E.B. works. The main thing is the committee work of the N.E.B. Getting N.E.B. members to sit on committees and then liaise back with the N.E.B. and it relies on the committees. This is where we get our big problems. Anybody we appoint goes to one or two meetings and then fades out. It ended up that I'm on each of the committees now, as sort of the official N.E.B. liaison officer and this isn't good.
- Q. What about the place and the power of the Director?
- A. Well he's got a place and power according to the ordinance.

- Q. I'm thinking in a way here too, as only fairly recently the Minister said the whole system is over governed. He claims not to be able to see - we've got an N.E.B. that makes decisions, we've got a Minister, Director and D.E.B.'s and all the way down the line we have people who are making decisions and it almost came out to me, that he felt he should be the only one who had power to make decisions and direct policies.
- A. If this is what they want, they can easily write it in and everything else is advisory, that the N.E.B. now is virtually advisory, now we don't act without his permission on any of the recommendations.
- Q. Do you feel this will happen?
- A. It doesn't surprise me at all. It wouldn't surprise me if it did happen. Under the previous minister we never ever made any independent decisions, it was only when he ratified any recommendation that it was carried out. This led to a lot of problems because there must be about two dozen recommendations that are still outstanding from years ago. Covering a two year period, they have never been ratified and so they are just in abeyance, sitting in limbo. Then the director at the moment - he has power of curriculum and power of registration of teachers and power to close some schools. Running of schools is not the Director's job, that's a N.E.B. job, conditions of teachers - Teaching Service Commission, what else is there? It sort of covers everything and he has wide areas in curriculum and so on,....
- Q. The thing that seems to come through to me, the Minister feels that he should have all these powers that are currently taken up by the director, by T.S.C. and perhaps even D.E.B.'s who are the translating authorities at the district level.
- A. Well this will depend a fair bit on the type of government that is going to evolve I suppose. Teaching Service Commission is tantamount to a Public Service Board and if that kind of thing is going to continue well the teaching service must function as such, making it's own decisions but if they wipe the P.S.B. that type of thing, then they'll wipe the Teaching Service Commissioner to be able to administer and that would be rather disastrous. But as far as the N.E.B. is concerned he has got power now and as far as curriculum is concerned, I mean if he states anything in the curriculum the department has just got to carry it out. Registration of teachers, surely he doesn't want anything to do with that -

or he might.

- Q. You don't feel the relationship between the Minister, Director and so on will change much. Are there sufficient safeguards?
- A. I should think that there are sufficient safeguards. I think he is just newly feeling his feet and not quite sure of where he is going. Not having had anything at all to do with education in the past and being a man who has been completely opposed to decentralisation in his own field, I should imagine he finds the education system rather confusing and it may take him a while to settle into it. It must be awfully difficult for him.
- Q. You wouldn't make any modifications now to anything that should have been included in the legislation?
- A. There are some things that I think that need amendment e.g. I think we have given too much freedom to teachers, particularly coming out of teachers' colleges, that upsets the whole system. I think it would be far better for the system if teachers were posted from colleges to districts rather than given a free choice. It just isn't working. A few things like this. Bonding of teachers which is something that is being seriously looked at at the moment. Things like this, there are a few amendments that certainly need to be made.
- Q. Were you aware of any form of pressure group, political manipulations which occurred during this period of writing of the report?
- A. I know McViney used to lobby a lot in the House, but I was never involved in any of it. I keep clear of all that type of thing.
- Q. What do you think the great mass of teachers and education authorities really wanted out of this whole exercise. Take them in parts - what did the teachers want?
- A. I know church teachers certainly wanted opportunities for promotion, which they weren't getting. They wanted opportunity for in-service and improving themselves, they wanted salary, these were the things that teachers wanted. Churches as such, wanted to retain control and I think both of these groups are getting what they wanted. The boards of management, church agencies and local churches can keep basically control there, if they want to and the teachers are certainly getting what they were looking for.
- Q. What would have happened do you think if the Weeden Report had not been accepted as Government policy?

- A. Oh goodness - well I doubt very much if most of the church education would have continued for very long. I think there would have been quite a big exodus of teachers over to the government where they could have got promotion and professional opportunities and so on. And I think this was one thing the government was frightened of, they wouldn't be able to cope with it and I think the church involvement in education would have dwindled - and still have a very centralised system.
- Q. Could you make a comment on timing of the process of introduction of the new system, was it seen by you as being suitable, too quick, too slow - ?
- A. At the time I thought it was possibly a good time, but looking back I think it may have been too late. If the whole education system would have settled down by self government and been something that everybody had come to recognise as a really working thing, it would have been a lot better because at the time nobody quite suspected that self government would come just as quickly as it did. That is why it seemed at the time the timing was quite reasonable, at the time but now I think it probably should have come earlier. It's not that we weren't talking about it earlier, but we weren't talking about it sufficiently to get action.
- Q. This is quite evident from the conference reports in 67/68. So in retrospect how would you go about implementing this change now?
- A. I suppose I wouldn't have gone about it much differently really, other than making much stronger statements and protests a few years earlier to have got Canberra moving and getting a Commission appointed earlier and so on. If we had about four more years of actually operating the system to get it really settled down and a working thing in every district, nationally, I think it probably wouldn't be attacked in the way that it has been. We could have ironed out the business of appointments from colleges.
- Q. What you are saying now we were saying 2 or 3 years ago in the operations section that we should have control right from the word go, but it seems to take a while for this sort of process to be accepted. Things that the inspectors and superintendents are coming up with now about this very subject and about ratings were first put 3 or 4 years ago in McKinnon's time and he wouldn't

wear this at all, but now people are coming around to accepting this -

- A. Well 4 years earlier all this would have been ironed out by now and it would have been an understood system, and really working well.
- Q. As far as consultation, consultative process was concerned in all these conferences, reports and so on, do you feel they were adequate?
- A. I think so. I think the Director really went overboard backwards to do everything that he could to ensure it. I know that the churches were perfectly happy with all the consultations.
- Q. The process is continuing?
- A. Yes, possibly from the church's point of view we would probably like to see a little more with the Minister, but as far as the Department and churches and associations go, there is a lot of consultation.
- Q. Since the Weeden Report and introduction of change there have been constant proposals in our Department to re-organize the department on a divisional basis and set it up quite differently and they have met with resounding failure all the way through. I was wondering if you know anything about this you could give some indications why they have been unsuccessful?
- A. No, I don't know anything about it apart from the fact that I knew that it was going on. I don't know any of the details. I rather gathered that they felt that it was a sort of westernised thing and they would like to make something more Papua New Guinean but just don't know how to achieve what they are after.

Transcript of Interview with S. Nielson, (Senior Officer Department of Education, Member Education Advisory Board, First Associate Teaching Service Commissioner) - June 1974.

- A. We in fact had agreed within the E.A.B. on all the principal elements, or all of the principles of the new relationship between what was formerly church and state with education, and we started off at the primary level in this country.
- Q. Actually the first specific question we have is how did you become involved with the new system's legislation?
- A. In the E.A.B. we worked up quite a number of good papers, discussion papers ourselves. I believe that probably Ken McKinnon and myself were the leading lights on it, and McVinney on the other side.
- Q. What happened to your interest after the legislation was passed, that's current legislation?
- A. You mean the Education Ordinance as such as opposed to the Teaching Service Ordinance? It was maintained and I probably did more work on that legislation than anybody else. Perhaps McVinney and I did most of the work on the Education Ordinance. It was a very complex piece of legislation, it introduced extensive changes. It was a brand new system, it didn't follow the old system very much at all.
- Q. And it went through more or less with no problems?
- A. It was almost an emotional thing.
- Q. I can remember the lobbying and so forth, that went on with the House of Assembly.
- A. We had that session with about 35 Members of the House before the bill went up when we thought it was going to be debated in the House and the support was so strong that the Bill was never debated, it was almost accepted with acclaim. Unfortunately there are so many points in it that should have been debated and should have been examined in a fairly dispassionate way on the floor of the House.
- Q. While talking about people, I have some names I'd like you to comment on here; parts played by any or all of these people.
- A. This list covers both your Education Ordinance and your Teaching Service Ordinance and these are two different ball games. On the Education Ordinance we have McKinnon, Nielson, Beeby, Weeden,

Fry; His most influential time was when he was executive officer to the Beeby, Weeden Committee. I don't know what his contribution was.

Q. Yes, this is why we've put him on the card actually.

A. I had never heard Neville Fry at any stage make an original contribution to this particular exercise. I know that he helped to rewrite the report, structured in a different way but in terms of entering discussions on what the component would be and what the recommendations should be I don't think Neville made any contribution at all.

I was away during the early part of the Weeden, Beeby Committee hearings; it could be that while they were sitting as a committee Fry did make some sort of contribution, but prior to the setting up of the formal committee and I stress that in my view most of the work had been done before they were set up, and subsequent to my return which was well before the report was submitted, I was in on practically all the discussions and there was no contribution.

Q. We'd like to look at those involved in the Education Ordinance first.

A. McNamara as I recall wasn't involved in the Education Ordinance because he only came back after we passed the Ordinance I think. Rolfe? the Education Ordinance came in; only Rolfe, Lynch and I wrote the temporary provisions ordinance. We had two sessions with the Public Service Association, the three of us and that was about Rolfe's only involvement then. He wasn't involved in the Education Ordinance.

Q. Was there any point of contact with the Public Service Board?

A. He was it. He was involved in the Temporary Provisions Ordinance. He could have become involved on the Education Ordinance; he probably did become involved with the Education Ordinance, when we were talking about the powers to be vested in the National Education Board and the District Education Boards.

Q. I suppose in a way Joe Lynch's a fellow who should have, but as legislative draftsman did he have much to contribute or was he basically structuring the whole thing?

A. He was acting on instructions. Joe had his own very clear views, but as a draftsman he hasn't got the prerogative to argue these

views. He can argue only about the clarity or lack of clarity in the instructions given to him.

Q. This is why we are trying to get as much of this information now as we can because in another year or so it will be completely lost.

A. When the brawl occurred, this was basically over powers which should be retained by central government. It was over the question of whether all powers of D.E.B.'s should be vested into them as being prime powers or whether there should have been a provision for them to have these powers, but the ones they actually exercise would have been by delegation from the Minister. This was one of the greatest ones. Now Rolfe was always involved with discussions concerning these aspects. They did come up initially with the Education Ordinance but I think it was agreed around the table that what was being proposed in the Education Ordinance was good and sound and it was supported right round the table and the questions of, to what extent it would be immediately exercised by these bodies really come up on the teaching service side later on, in detail.

Q. It would almost seem as a result of these earlier discussions now, that when the Minister complains about the system being overgoverned, because we have N.E.B. making decisions and D.E.B.'s making decisions, he complains he doesn't know where his role is, but basically he's after centrality of decision making himself again.

A. One of my cornerstones in this whole exercise was that I felt it was presumptuous for a group of expats to make decisions of the nature we were making, entrenching them in legislation in a way that would have made it at least embarrassing, if not impossible for a newly independent government to change. This is why I was a heavy supporter of a decentralised structure stopping short of entrenching the prime powers as being the right with these various bodies. Of leaving with Caesar some of the things Caesar could expect to have in a newly developed situation.

What I was frightened of was, to go as far as he actually went it might well create a situation where the new independent government would in sheer exasperation say "Well to hell with the system let us go back to a totally centralised system".

This has happened elsewhere in the world and I wanted a half way measure where the structure was there but there was sufficient monitoring power left to let the central government satisfy its demands. It is intolerable really that in a country at the present stage of development in New Guinea where teachers are politically active, that for a teacher who is politically active in one centre cannot be shifted from that centre by the central government and I am not being extreme here, but for the central government to have the power to shift him, could in the long term be the difference between the teacher being bumped off or continuing to pay rent. This is true.

Q. Are there any other people you would like to comment on?

A. Les Johnson had a monitoring role in the whole thing, he was keen but then he without doubt was the leading change agent in the whole non-government area.

Les Johnson was not responsible for any dramatic changes at all I don't believe, I do believe that though, it was Les more than anybody else who brought a degree of rationality into E.A.B. discussions which made it possible subsequently for McKinnon and myself to sort of push or develop pretty widespread interest in this new concept. I don't think Les actually ever moved into it himself as Director of Education, but I do think that it was he who developed this new level of confidence amongst churches and their dealings with government in the field of education.

Q. When you look back in retrospect you see different people at different periods being the right type of person at that time.

A. When Les took the department over it was pretty unstable of course. There were factions within the department and Les had a difficult job on his hands, so I guess that his principal job was to sort the department out, to re-establish it as a team. It was Les of course who introduced what I think one of the most important concepts ever introduced in education up here. He got rid of this designation of District Education officers and identified them as being Inspectors. This sort of gave a professional identification to their activities. He did that, and created stability, and he created confidence and I think that was about all that any man could have done at that stage. What we did subsequently was based on this confidence spread by

Les Johnson.

Roger? - He played an interesting role, well he played no role at all in the Education Ordinance, so we'll leave that.

Tololo? - he played no role at all in the Education Ordinance.

Gris? - this is probably an inverted situation here. The exercise probably did more for Gabriel, than Gabriel did for the exercise. As far as I know it was the first time that he had been exposed to that type of situation. I don't know of any contribution that Gabriel made although I wasn't privy to actual committee discussions.

Alan Randall? - Alan was a member - was he a full member of the E.A.B. or not? No perhaps he wasn't a full member but he was certainly in all the E.A.B. discussions leading up to this stage and was involved in all subsequent discussions, and he made more of a contribution to original thinking to the new principles than Neuendorf. Neuendorf saw it all through and was making his contributions in detail towards the end.

Q. He was a real work horse, Alan. Certainly Alan Randall to me always appeared to have as you said, to have a refreshing outlook.

A. Alan could see the forest and Alwyn was mixed up with the trees. Archdeacon Roberts? - he collected one or two points and was satisfied with those and then drifted back again.

Blacklock. This is why I think Alan wasn't a member of the E.A.B. Blacklock was and Alan was his opposite number. They had a very different role, for he was representing the conservatives, more so than anybody else; McVinney had individual bishops, e.g. Lemay, who were difficult to handle, but Blacklock was representing a total church which was basically conservative and traditionally, anti-government, might be too strong a word, but it had a traditional philosophy to divorce itself from activities of government as far as it possibly could.

Q. Except for perhaps the Enga people?

A. They had a different background altogether. Basically the difference between the Missouri Synod and the Evangelical Alliance was that the Missouri Synod didn't have any significant components of old Germans and the other one was dominated by them. Each year the younger Americans got more and more control of the deal but whenever they met - whatever they used to call it, a conventional conference once a year, the views of the old Germans prevailed and

even when they started to localise themselves, the first of the locals who came on the scene were the products of the old German attitudes and they also weren't seeing things nationally at all. They weren't even seeing them at a district level. They were seeing them entirely from a slightly separate and somewhat remote church situation.

Jim Jones? Yes, when Jim came on to the E.A.B. Jim, with Ken and myself also set up the platform for change. Jim - initially his contributions may not have been great; McKinnon was the leader. He was the driver. I'd had the extensive local experience. I think probably what they needed of all the Government people I had a better rapport with, not all the churches, but some of the churches and specifically the dominant Catholic Church and not only with McVinney but most of their Bishops and Archbishops; and this helps.

Somewhere here I've got a whole pile of stuff which are all the drafts of the Education Ordinance from our first draft to our last draft and all the working papers which I will dig out and you can have.

The teaching service one was done in many sessions of formal committee work, the education one, towards the end of it we were doing this, when Joe was actually drafting it. We'd give him a set every day and as Joe drafted it we'd correct it and send it back to him and that was mostly McVinney, Randall and myself with Blacklock occasionally.

- Q. McVinney's contribution was fairly large in this then?
- A. Yes, McVinney was, - if you say that the top contribution was McKinnon I would see McVinney and myself as being the second level. This is on the Education Ordinance with Blacklock and Randall. Randall taking a broad view, Blacklock taking rather a sectional view. Neuendorf taking initially a very narrow European view. As it developed it came more and more of a team.
- Q. Yes, Neuendorf sings Blacklock's praises quite significantly as being a very insightful and perceptive person, which has never struck me and this may be because they brought this team concept.
- A. When he made a proposal, he'd always done his homework well, he'd have it documented and you would know exactly what he was talking about and what the background of it was. He presented it well and

mostly would have his point of view accepted by the rest of the group, but there was no great volume of the stuff.

Q. What about the teaching service? - a new ball game?

A. Well that is where we ran into troubles. There were a number of points involved in this one and this is where I would criticise Ken and Vin and Roger. I think that all 3 of them to varying degrees were a bit emotionally involved in the exercise. McKinnon could have been a bit harder headed than the others. Okay I'll exclude McKinnon at this stage and only talk about McNamara and Roger. What they were basically trying to do I believe, was, and this may have been done without complete awareness on their part, they were trying to create a system which they themselves would have liked to have worked in as young men. They were being very optimum about the whole thing there was a lot of idealism, which to my mind wasn't paying sufficient regard to the limitations of the New Guinea situation. Day after day both from Roger and from Vin we would have this insistence that teaching was a profession and must be organised as a profession and I got sick and tired of saying, yes but how about our 5,000 'A' course teachers who were barely classroom technicians. That was an underlying problem throughout the whole exercise. The second point on which there was a serious disagreement, where I became involved, was this presumption as I saw it, of stripping central government of its power which the Teaching Service Ordinance actually did. I believe that power should have been given to people, to committees outside, as they demonstrated their ability to handle it. I believe that this integral power should be left with government so that if political situations of difficulty occurred the government would have the means to give itself certain powers to look after a situation even though this might have been a short term situation only, and not to force government into the deal where it was practically all or nothing - as the elements of the Education Ordinance were good.

Perhaps related with this philosophical attitude of Vin and Roger was my own deep conviction that if this thing was to become successful to succeed in a way we all hoped it would succeed, was that it had to be made feasible, to be set up in a way which would probably work and not collapse and I felt that it was

possible to simplify the operations of the system without in any way detracting from the excellent components built into the Education Ordinance.

Ken had a philosophy which he repeated many times. He said, "the powers of centralisation will always beat the powers of decentralisation, so if we are going to do anything now we have to totally decentralise". I used to argue the other way, you know if you totally decentralise you are inevitably producing a carrot. One of these days it is going to encourage the government to totally centralise again. There were many elements of this, e.g. we were talking about how primary teachers should get themselves into schools. Nobody around the table at all had any objections to the fact that this should be a D.E.B. responsibility. We felt that this was good. I on the other hand, thought it was both unnecessary and probably in terms of strictly observing the requirements of an ordinance, not feasible in terms of placing people up to a grade 3 level in primary schools. For the life of me, I couldn't see why we couldn't restrict applications by people at level 1 and level 2 in primary to districts. Have this finalised by August/September or September of the year. You do it on a very simple sort of basis and then when the D.E.B. of that district advertised the positions for the school for that year, applications could be received from those fellows who were remaining in the district and those fellows who knew they were going into the district. And if only we could have carried that one I think we would have removed from the operational side a problem that has continued to bug us and is so time consuming. And is also one where I think government officers are consistently and repeatedly acting illegally and they have to act illegally to make the thing work. I felt that in the secondary schools, the system was small enough to leave it and I felt that if a primary fellow had been restricted to districts only when he got to grade 3 level they should also be able to apply nationally. I also thought that it was at least as important to have a bit of control in a minor sort of way over the distribution of quality staff at your grade 1 and grade 2 primary level. It was probably more important to have that than have control at the top level.

Your top level had big carrots and the carrots would persuade even the better quality people to go to the Southern Highlands to pick up a grade 3 school. There is nothing in the system, there is nothing built in to persuade your younger teacher and your more competent teacher to go to the Southern Highlands to get teaching experience.

- Q. Except that now these are the blokes with 3 or 4 years experience who are the ones who are getting the level 3 schools now.
- A. Yes but you must see this is a temporary phenomenon. One of these days in the not too distant future you are going to hopefully have a degree of stability in the teaching force in this country that we have never had up to date and that a fellow won't leave college in 1974 with aspirations of becoming an E.O.5 in 1976 or something.
- Q. Any other comments -
- A. One of the basic blues regarding the Teaching Service Ordinance was the role of the Commission. The Weeden report was at least implicit if not explicit, that the Commission would be the employing authority. McKinnon had had a very bitter experience with the Public Service Board and he had a personality clash with one particular member of the board - Noel Wicks. It became anathema to him and Ken although he has never admitted it, was determined that when he set up the re-organized education, under no circumstances would there be an authority which would cut across either the formal powers of the Director of Education or his assumed powers to run the system as he saw fit. This view was supported by Johnson. It was opposed by Nielson, Rolfe and the then First Assistant Secretary of Territories. (Department) It was opposed also initially by the churches, and all sorts of deals went on. Canberra backed off finally, Territories backed off saying we are not prepared to have a head on collision with Les Johnson, although we think you're right. And it was this hang up that Ken had about, I believe the fundamental need for an employing authority who had the prerogative to set certain conditions of employment both on agencies and individual teachers and who would be subject to challenge and arbitration to support or to justify. It was because Ken wouldn't accept this that we finished up with a deal where the Commission was emasculated

and quite candidly when I said "to hell with it, I'm bailing out", I couldn't at that date and I can't today, see what the Commission is there for. There was a clear rationale for it when it was supposedly the employing authority and we made provision for this in the Temporary Service Ordinance.

Q. In a way they have taken on this function now by representing A.S.A.G. people, being responsible for recruiting and fixing up conditions. Aren't they doing recruiting and fixing up conditions of employment?

A. Things have happened there that I am not aware of.

Q. I think they have now taken on this function.

A. I know that they got certain powers at one stage delegated by Olewale and these powers were later on revoked and another set of powers were issued.

- When a drafting committee on the Teaching Service Ordinance reached a point where there was straight out conflict, almost confrontation between Ken and Vin on the one hand and myself and most of the churches on the other, Ken brought Weeden back up again and had another big meeting at which he said, no, it was never his intention that the Commission should be an employing authority. This was a straight out lie.

Yes in Section 7 he said several of our witnesses enunciated principles in which they were unable to compromise, for instance Administration teachers and representative of P.S.A. were adamant that the central teaching service should be formed with an employing authority other than Public Service Board. Teachers who are now members of the Public Service should retain all their rights. McKinnon had put his own reputation on the line and taken an inflexible stand and wasn't prepared to talk about it any more. It was Weeden who said - No need to have an employing authority. Wasn't employing authority but could be taken to arbitration.

Q. What principles were you interested in seeing incorporated in the legislation?

A. As far as the Education Ordinance was concerned in its relation to the Teaching Service Ordinance making a total system I felt that the Government should have residual powers and that initial powers to D.E.B. should if necessary be on a delegated basis. That was probably my formal stance and I felt that the operations of the system, if you are going to rely upon local Boards to run

them, should be more simple than they are now.

- Q. It's funny the whole set up is based on a consensus model. People sit down and talk about things and they come to a decision and I've been wondering if the consensus model is appropriate to Papua New Guinea?
- A. I think it is absolutely essential to get the education structure accepted by the community in general. It was so different that it could not have been imposed. It had to be done by consensus. But the people who participated in the Education Ordinance were skilled, qualified men who were personally experienced in the whole range of problems that we were trying to solve but when you came down to personnel management this is a different kettle of fish and quite candidly Rolfe and I used to sit at that table trying to discuss the need to put certain elements in and the need to do things in a certain way. We both weren't getting to first base, our views were being rejected by a group of people none of whom had had any experience or had any personal skills in management.
- Q. Why I was asking this, it makes me think when I look at teachers today who still don't really know what has been involved, they don't appear to know, let us put it that way. ---
... A thing that was supposed to have been brought in after a lot of discussion and consensus, there wasn't so much of this consultation.
- A. There was a fair bit. I don't think they could have done any more on the Education Ordinance and that's one where it was completely reasonable, legitimate and sensible to have this sort of consultation and was the one where these people could make terribly important contributions but not with regard to management.
...
... I wanted to retain to the Commissioner who was directly employed by the government, certain residual powers so the Commissioner would have the power to compulsorily transfer a teacher from one part of this country to another part of this country, - to meet the very situations we discussed earlier. Hard to put into so many words. It wasn't just running into a brick wall and having a fight, this thing developed progressively over 4 or 5 months and I became horrified at the sheer unwieldiness and unnecessary complexity of the system that they were developing.

- Q. I think this is what horrified us initially too in the field, things started becoming very complex and almost like an amorphous monster. It was very hard for us to see where the employing and who the employing authority was; and just what our role in the whole situation was. ...
- ... Let's say we've passed the legislation. What problems and difficulties did you see after legislation was passed and the development of the new system. You were still involved?
- A. No. I had reached a stage where I was utterly convinced myself that the only way to make the system work, as then provided by legislation, was for senior officers to act illegally. It's happened and still happening. This has been borne out.
- Q. Did you ever see any real role for local government councils?
- A. There were two things that I recall came up about local government councils. I didn't see any role for them in terms of the personnel management side but two things came up. One was a peripheral matter, but an important one. This was, for the restrictions placed on expenditure of local government councils by both the Commissioner of Local Government and the Director of Education, should be lifted. I argued that if we were thinking in terms of giving a scrappy old committee like the D.E.B. such extensive powers we would be inconsistent to say that a formally elected council couldn't decide where it was to spend its money. The second one was we saw the need to provide within the legislation for a local government council if it so desired to become an educational agency.
- Q. Whatever happened to these ideas.
- A. I think the education agency when it was incorporated into the legislation. The other one was handled administratively between us and I suppose the Department of Education and the Commissioner of Local Government. It was partially won but not completely.
- Q. One of the objectives at that stage in the Weeden report was to supposedly co-ordinate educational activity. What did this term mean to you?
- A. Just that I guess. I saw the D.E.B. taking over a function formerly exercised by the District Inspector over government schools and by the District Inspector and the various agencies of the church schools.

- Q. Why was it decided that mission teachers should be paid the full salary?
- A. One of the things that triggered this whole deal was the problem being encountered by the churches who had an efficient form of teacher education, in retaining staff, this is why the Lutherans weren't terribly concerned, because nobody wants to pinch their staff, they were virtually unemployable! But certain of the Catholic orders, they were facing very serious problems with staff loss, not to government schools where we had always tried to dampen it down, but to nonteaching situations, principally Bougainville. Copper was just getting off the ground and we saw it as a national problem that this outflow of teachers to nonteaching jobs had to be stopped. Putting it simplistically Ken's philosophy was, well let's just not perpetuate the present fragmented education system by upping the government subsidies again. If you blokes want this help, we agree with you that you do want this help, we want a more efficient system. In other words the government wants more than a pound of flesh for the extra pound it was going to spend. If there was blackmail or collusion in the whole thing initially it was the payment of salaries to teachers, and other equal conditions of service, promotional opportunity. (this came later)
- The stage is also set for this by our departmental activities, from particularly 1960 on where we pushed and prodded and did things on the church side, which encouraged a separation in the church ranks of teachers, from the nonteachers. In some cases we knew, they put in a form of hierarchical head teacher structure, in other cases, e.g. Bougainville, they were all teachers and the head teacher was the parish priest and that's where we had extreme difficulties. So, our proposal to have this unified system, was not opposed by many of the churches as they saw more money coming to their teachers and they felt confident of their own ability to continue exercising influence over these teachers. And it was supported by the teachers, (a) because they looked like getting more money and (b) because they wanted to work as teachers under the supervision of somebody else whom they regarded as a qualified or practically qualified person.

- Q. When you were formulating suggestions for legislation, and change to the new system, what experience did you call on?
- A. My own personal experience. A lot of field work, location in different locations through the ranks. Probably one of my most valuable pieces of experience I was seconded to the Department of Public Service Board in 1960 where we did a complete reorganization review of the whole of the department of education, and this sort of opportunity of sitting outside looking in within my own area of experience I think enabled me to evolve a lot of ideas.
- Q. At any time, were you given any indication of the type of financial resources that were likely to be available? To set up a national system.
- A. No, we in fact, in discussion with the church representatives at E.A.B. and interim level we emphasised it wasn't the government's intention to provide a lot more finance, that it was not unreasonable to assume that the amount of finance available in that particular year, would continue to increase around about 10% per year, as happened over the past. But what we were trying to do was create a system which would permit us, the government, to use their money more effectively. We saw one area that would be a special additional need and this was teachers' salaries and the government was prepared to make this once and once only - or there was two of them, the first one of putting all teachers on to base level salaries and the second one was to open up the promotional positions 18 months after that, which would give many people a job lift again. But beyond these two points we stressed repeatedly that there would not be further additional monies.
- Q. Do you think the new educational system fosters national unity?
- A. This was always one of the stated aims. I stopped short of it myself. I really believe that my own aim was to create a unified education system, but flowing from this there was probably a contribution towards national unity.
- Q. National unity has to compete with so many others, the political and social climate anyway. As an aim we thought it was a funny one.
- A. I never saw national unity being there as one of the immediate goals or giving immediate return.

- Q. Do you think the freedom and choice of religious education has been adequately protected?
- A. Yes, and this was accepted by people who had vested interests in the area, if they accept, I guess I must accept it.
- Q. Even though your reaction is positive because they have accepted it, would you see any changes that might still be necessary?
- A. Well I ducked the question a bit because I believed and I believe that it is inevitable when you have a unified system these old concerns for protection of religious interests and what have you, must go by the board, it is a question of when, not if.
- Q. Do you know of any officer of the Australian Government, Commonwealth, who influenced the system?
- A. I wouldn't say influenced, but who was monitoring it from the government end was Lance Henderson. He is the fellow you should get in touch with. Lance was then assistant secretary in charge of educational welfare;
- Q. What do you believe are the problems that are being faced by voluntary agencies?
- A. Well one of them of course was depredation of staff that was being carried on:-
The only thing in addition I would like to say to that one is if you are going to make any meaningful examination of this problem, it is not a problem as faced by an educational agency, it is what agencies do we have and what problems do each of those agencies face? because they were different - because if there was any common thread it was the concern about the integrity of the government, but each agency saw a different set of problems and these arose sometimes from the historical sort of Lutheran attitudes and philosophies, through to others who had teacher training facilities and others who didn't have teacher training facilities etc.
- Q. Do you think there has been any improvement in the education system since 1969?
- A. Even though it is a monstrous system, unnecessarily complex I think that you have got a unified education system and that is what we set out to get. I think if we had been able to set up a more simple and direct personnel management sector in the system that you would be a lot further ahead than you are today, in

terms of smooth operation and terms of teacher understanding and perhaps in terms of teacher participation.

- Q. As a sort of corollary, do you think that the teaching service is more efficient now than 1969?
- A. Well it is but I don't think that the new structure necessarily brought that about. Except in the nongovernment side where we brutally got rid of Catholic priests out of schools and perhaps some of the Lutheran serving ministers out of schools. We put the school in the charge of a fellow who was at least a trained teacher. I think that there has been a substantial or tremendous change in professional attitude on the part of local teachers, where in 1968 we probably had zero: in '74 it is a substantial demonstrable element, but I don't think this was the new system that brought this about I think this came largely from the professional leadership of headquarters officers of the Department of Education of their senior field staff and of enlightened people and what have you on the other side of the fence.
- Q. Possibly you could say the new system allowed an increase in the inspector and supervisory functions?
- A. It made us able to better utilise available talent.
- Q. Do you think the system of financing and controlling education as recommended is workable and durable, and what amendments might be necessary?
- A. I'm not too sure just what is happening at the moment on it.
- Q. What are your personal views of an ideal education system for Papua New Guinea?
- A. I think what is provided for in the Education Ordinance is fine. The way it was implemented, and the fact that residual powers weren't preserved to the Government and its representatives is the greatest impediment.
- Q. Do you think that decentralised bodies are being effective?
- A. Well I haven't had personal experience. I see no reason why they couldn't be effective, but in a more controlled situation.
- Q. Why has the government been reluctant to exercise its powers over voluntary school agencies?
- A. Well who's got these powers now? When we first started off we were saying there should be powers held by the Director and by

the Commission to bring pressure to bear on agencies who weren't performing. Like the Commission directing that staff be withdrawn, or the director directing the staff be withdrawn because the school wasn't operating at a certain standard. All I could say on this one is just a personal view because I have been away for so many years now, but I think one of the reasons why greater pressure hasn't been put to bear on agencies is due to the fact that the whole situation and the operations are confused. There aren't enough clear statements about who has what responsibility, and what the line of demarcation is, between two sets of responsibilities. I think that the system has operated because our district superintendents have grossly exceeded their authority and have assumed these responsibilities. Now if it hadn't been for this body of 18 fellows the system would never have worked. And I think things are getting back to a more confused state during the localisation process too, because all this expertise is going out. A local fellow who moves into a job which appears to have certain powers and responsibilities and prerogatives he will assume he's got them and this is where we are moving into a very dangerous area. Because he is assuming that all the powers he's watched District Superintendents exercise are formal powers - and this is not true. And when he gets a direction from Neitz that this bloke is not to go to this school he is to go to another school, he assumes that Neitz has the formal power to say this. And when Jones switches a fellow around he assumes Jones has this power and you and I know that they haven't got this power and why one teacher hasn't challenged them I do not know.

Interview with Mr C. Reseigh on 10th July, 1974. (One time Assistant Secretary in the Department of Territories and currently a senior officer in the Special Minister for State's Office.)

- A. My last intimate association with Papua New Guinea ended about 1970.
- Q. But then the framework for the changes had already been set up by then.
- A. Yes, I left at the point when Beeby had made his report - Beeby and Weeden - and in fact my last official act was to get it approved.
- Q. This is the very matter I would like to take up with you. It seems to me from an Australian background point of view, what was being proposed for New Guinea was really quite radical in Australian terms and yet that report was through and approved and brought into legislation in a remarkably short length of time.
- A. It is a fact that in government matters, things seem either to go through quickly in that way, or tend, if they are subjected to a lot of second thoughts, to get bogged down; and before the committee came I had myself spent a month or so having a look in Mali at the way in which they had moved earlier on from about the same situation as we were in New Guinea. Quite a different situation to that in Australia, to a view with the problem of education being largely in the hands of the missions, and move out to a national teaching service.
- Q. What was the strand of development of this concern in thinking in the department? Can you trace it back to any particular event?
- A. Ken McKinnon as soon as he got in the job came down and talked about a number of matters. In fact the general pattern, what subsequently transpired, was by him. It would have been 1966 - the first appearance of the new Director of Education within a few weeks of his appointment was to sit down with me in Canberra and he had numbers of ideas. It was partly as a result of his thinking on these matters that I became interested in coming back from England, via Mali to have a look at precedents for the line of thing we were talking about - in order to test whether this was right for Papua New Guinea and in particular to get a weight of considerable authority behind what was proposed.

It was decided we would set up this commission and the terms of reference pointed out.

- Q. But that wasn't decided till late '68 or mid '68 was it?
- A. There was a time lag - I went to Mali in June '67 and we had Professor Lewis down from London University who wasn't looking particularly at that, but had a look generally at whether we ought to be doing something different about rural schools.
- Q. What was the prompting to get Lewis there? Do you recall why Lewis was asked to come out? I think he looked at primary education in general.
- A. In general:- but given a couple of leads as to whether we were looking at possibly having a special rural course, angled towards agriculture, children generally, if they took this stream of schooling, would not be disadvantaged for a government administrative career or professional teaching career. It would be a shorter course and directed very much at the rural environment. The thought was that it might lead on to vocational centres and thus feed a significant stream of children back to the rural environment. He however, did not favour this. I think the impetus was some interplay between McKinnon's ideas, but there was a feeling down our end in Australia that what existed in New Guinea followed fairly largely the Australian pattern and that the circumstances of the Territory were so different to those of Australia that we ought to beware of following the same pattern. Arthur Lewis, the other, had made a number of pronouncements about educational matters, in particular ...
- Q. I understand that we originally tried to get Arthur Lewis to head up the commission, or the committee of enquiry.
- A. I don't recall that, I don't think so.
- Q. There was some correspondence the other end on that but it mustn't have been an important issue at the time. One of the things that is a little bit hard to understand is why - I can see the pattern why Weeden was chosen, he was a senior Commonwealth educationalist.
- A. He was available of course. He was nearing the end of his career in Australia. It was necessary to have someone who could be spared for a considerable time and let's face it, as far as I was concerned it was felt that this would give some weight of

authority and it was an important part both to have matters examined in detail but also to have them examined by people who would carry authority so that their report could largely rest upon the authority.

- Q. In retrospect, I think Weeden was a very wise choice because he was somebody who understood the Commonwealth machinery, who had done work for people before and could be relied upon and had the communication to - I think you yourself were quite well acquainted with Weeden.
- A. That's right and it was felt that his joining in this would give weight for authority to the report of the Commission and we were conscious of the fact that a good deal of time had elapsed and we were of course at the time running against increasing troubles from mission teachers who were restive about their inferior positions.
- Q. How was that brought home to you?
- A. They were making claims, but there was a lot of pressure being brought by them, with us being told that fears were that they would in fact lay down their pens and refuse to teach if they didn't get a much better deal. In fact there were some improvements made.
- Q. It's very hard to get concrete evidence of this.
- A. If you look back on the concrete evidence that we were told about: - serious unrest existed amongst mission teachers and this was justification for the Administrator pressing for various improvements in pay.
- Q. I've looked at things like the wastage rate in mission schools between about '66 and '68 when you would have expected all these pressures to be starting to show and the wastage rate according to the Department of Education records remains pretty stable around 6%.
- A. They didn't get much other place to go though.
- Q. No, I'm sure discontent was there.
- A. It was evident, and it was pointed to as being a very important factor in doing something quite quickly for mission teachers.
- Q. Yet we had a period, in '67. McKinnon about June sent his first submission down to start moving towards some sort of central teaching service and things. Then in '67 we have a conference

of mission and government people and I think you went to that -

A. Yes.

Q. What were your impressions of that?

A. They have now become a bit hazy. My impressions however, generally, were that the mission element was strongly for it.

Q. Did any particular person stand out?

A. No. I wouldn't be surprised of course, the time lapse that in fact took place, it does surprise that it wasn't longer, because the changes were quite major ones and affected interests.

Q. I think the time lapse was necessary, because it was an educational process bringing people together and getting them to talk about their problems and trying to agree on common solutions. I don't think Weeden and Beeby would have had the unanimity behind the support for their report had those couple of years not taken place.

A. And at the Commonwealth end, the thing had been talked about to the point where we expected that the report from Beeby and Weeden would make proposals along the line of a teaching service and which would combine most of the mission teachers as well as the government service.

Q. You were used to the idea by '69?

A. Well I personally had been promoting it within the department and it appeared that it would be substantially more costly and of course at that time the emphasis was on placing greater resources on the economic side and lessening proportionately the emphasis on social matters. Of course it can be argued and argued that education is economic as well as social. That was argued, but never-the-less it meant there was some resistance about accepting what would appear a substantial proportion of the budget going to education.

Q. But they managed. In '68 the first economic development plan came out, and that had quite substantial proposals in it to funnel more money to the missions because Weeden and Beeby used that as part of the justification for what they were recommending, that they were recommending amounts grossly in excess of what had been channeled to the missions in any case. Have you got any idea how that programme was influenced in this particular area? Were you prompting them to make greater provisions for education?

- A. The action that followed the visit of the first mission in 1965 was the setting up of 5 year plans. In my own corner in the department, I was in fact pushing the case for a bigger share for education. The whole exercise tended to be inconclusive in the long run in the sense that a programme was drawn up covering the 5 years but there was a great deal of vagueness about the detailed build up of it. You would have seen that in the education field, it was true of other fields, it hadn't really been matched with any promises of revenues matching the expenditures and it tended ultimately to just become an exercise looking forward and not a real planning exercise. It wasn't - the plan - put up on the walls of individual offices so they could see whether a school was on it or a new hospital, it was in very general terms and the realisation was of course quite different from the plan.
- Q. At the same time that plan was going on there was an attempt to spell out in greater detail educational development. I think the end of '67 or early '68, McCasker, Chenoweth and a few others, grouped together to try and develop an educational plan and then after that fell through, McKinnon was opposed to that, that particular group:- after that Johnson, McKinnon and a few others formed another group which attempted to do some planning and actually did produce a quite substantial document...
- A. About '67 I suppose, a committee that was set up of the department and the administration. Johnson chaired it, McKinnon was on it, it was serviced by Fry, Temby came, he was the Assistant Secretary of Finance, he came with me. We had several meetings, we produced a lot of paper. What basically, or one of the important things we were trying to do was to do our own manpower projections and relate it to the economic situation and thus through output backwards to facilities, teachers, buildings and so on that would be needed to produce this. Naturally we ran out money figures and we produced quite large documents. Frankly from the Canberra end we were always feeling that the Territory end was pushing out the boat a bit enthusiastically. The manpower unit in the Territory had then begun to do some work on manpower and certainly their figuring of the needs indicated a need for greatly increased output of many skills. I personally had doubts, as to whether this wasn't just too optimistic an exercise. But the whole thing did some good in

the sense that in the next version of the 5 year plan, with some chopping down, we used the figures that we got from this committee, for the purpose of supporting the education element in the plan.

- Q. Fry must have taken a bit of that work on because he did an extrapolation published in '68.
- A. When we went over the same thing, we had the extrapolation and then later when we were trying to revise the plan, the only basic figuring we had, was this figuring that had come out of the committee and we had a number of exercises going back over that arithmetic even 12 months afterwards because in fact we - the plan itself was just, socially in the education field, was just thinking of a number and putting an amount in. It had no substance, nothing worked out as to output.
- Q. What are the difficulties that seem to have been there in this period from December '66 to '70? Is some conflict between the head of Territories down here and the education authorities in New Guinea that the change and so forth was being pushed perhaps a bit too fast? I'm not necessarily saying from the education people in the Territories here, but Warwick Smith.
- A. I think generally what I told you earlier was true, that he was very anxious to increase the resources, the administration for economic advancement and he believed that the experience of other countries could well be repeated in Papua New Guinea that we would set going too large a stream of people with clerical qualifications who, once the tap was turned on, couldn't too readily be turned off and would soon be found to be grossly in excess of practical needs.
- Q. It's right, this is what is happening. You can see it in the pipeline now and this is a result of things that happened in '67 and earlier, but I don't think it was understood in Papua New Guinea at the time. They were suffering from the immediate operational problems.
- Q. Coming back to the committee, do you recall any prior knowledge of Gris? I have not been able to discover why Gris was picked for the Committee. I can see why Beeby was. I think Beeby was probably pushed very heavily by McKinnon.
- A. He was.
- Q. He wouldn't have needed too much pushing, he was quite an eminent man in his area.

- A. Gris was put up from the Territory.
- Q. But I think McKinnon was away at the time.
Were you ever aware of any attempt by missions to bring some sort of political pressure in Australia on the department or the Minister about their problems? Was there ever a deputation to see the Minister?
- A. He did have some ecclesiastical person to call from time to time and I don't think you could regard them as exerting any great pressure down that end. They received a very sympathetic hearing from Hasluck of course in earlier times. The pressures that I am talking about, arose in the Territory and were communicated officially by the Administrator in support of the case for progressive improvement in the subsidies that were being made towards mission teaching. There was a good deal of pressure building up when we had embarked upon the commission that we get to an early decision because the Administration would find difficulty in holding off the mission teachers if we didn't quickly get to some solution.
- Q. I get the feeling talking to others and reading the correspondence that Johnson was a great mediator for McKinnon and the department in that he was able to round off some of the barbs that came from the department to McKinnon.
- A. He also brought barbs back...
- Q. But he was also able to temper those a bit for McKinnon and so perhaps keep a better working relationship. Did you see him in this role in the education area?
- A. I think he's pretty good at that, in all areas. He had a particular interest in the education area because he had formerly been the director.
- Q. He was also I think confident of McKinnon,
- A. He always expressed himself so.
- Q. Sometimes McKinnon would turn to discuss a matter with him and there were not too many he would do this with.
- A. It's fair to say that Warwick Smith never got on with McKinnon and went along rather grudgingly...
- Q. It's a bit strange that McKinnon did actually get the appointment I find.

- A. He was pushed hard by Johnson and it isn't always easy to get suitable people for the top jobs in the Territory. McKinnon had suitable academic qualifications and had some 15 years experience in the Papua New Guinea teaching service. To choose an educationalist from Australia wouldn't probably have been successful.
- Q. I think Johnson was about the last senior appointment like that, that we had.
- A. It was a lucky choice, for you could well get stuck with somebody who wasn't flexible enough and wedded to the Australian way of doing things.
- Q. Talking about the Australian way of doing things, Beeby says he would have liked to have seen the teaching service actually under the National Education Board, rather than out on a separate public service type limb that it is. Were there any feelings?
- A. The only two alternatives that I can recall being discussed were having them as part of the public service.
- Q. Which of course the missions opposed...?
- A. Which they had been, ... or as a separate teaching service.
- Q. I don't know how long they are going to last as separate teaching service. I think they'll probably get drawn back in the public service the way things are going there. It seems to me that this separate teaching service deal was largely to overcome feelings of the mission authorities about public service.
- A. McKinnon supported it strongly. He said he saw the unsuitability of their, for instance, having the same leave as public servants. Up to that time the teacher was expected in say the long leave over Christmas to come back and work in some department. In numbers of other respects he felt that the conditions of their service would be necessarily substantially different.
- Q. I would have thought McKinnon would have supported Beeby. Would have given him a greater control of influence over the teaching service, had it have come under the control of the National Education Board.
- A. I don't know.
- Q. I think he probably went along with what was being proposed in order to get some thing done. The pressure was on to complete the report. Is there anything you would like to mention that I have missed? Any particular conflict in the education scene?

- A. The probing about rural schools came from Canberra and was opposed by McKinnon and there was some pressure coming from Canberra too, that more attention be paid at the secondary level to technical education.
- Q. Of course that did take place subsequently.
- A. That's right, but nevertheless there was some feeling that McKinnon was not going fast enough. He would make the rejoinder that has got a good deal of truth in it, that the student who gets a breadth of education is much more likely not to find part way through his working career that technological changes have made his narrow skills no longer relevant and that he's not equipped to move to some other skills...
- ...Q. Weeden says quite clearly that they weren't interested, no matter how good a solution they could come up with, they weren't interested in that sort of solution. They were interested in a solution of the problem that people in general could live with. They weren't interested in ideal education solutions.
- A. We were all keen to have something that would be a good pragmatic exercise and would quickly gain acceptance of the government and be put into effect.
- Q. How important was this element of something that would last past independence? I assume one of the motivations for trying to drag things together was to avoid the uncertainty that hit several African states in the education system when they started to consolidate them.
- A. I know this point about setting up institutions that will last through independence was put. I don't remember it being put particularly in relation to this problem.
- Q. They do say as one of their objectives in here, that a system of financing and controlling education that would be workable not only now but after self government is achieved.
- A. I can't remember it being one of the mainsprings of action in this case. It was one of the mainsprings of attempted action in the general broadcasting field. It was felt that something should be set up all over the Commission that would be some sort of bulwark against the Minister of Education who would want to take things too much into his own hands. I don't remember it as being regarded as particularly important.

- Q. One of the big problems with what has been implemented is our inability to judge in '69 what would be the response of Papua New Guinea Ministers for the departments and I think we're finding it's probably much more authoritarian and dictatorial than perhaps what this system of education was going to rely upon. That there is a tendency for the Ministers not to want to listen or have anything to do with the National Education Board.
- A. They tended not to listen often to their permanent heads of course.
- Q. It's extremely difficult for the N.E.B. to effectively function unless it does have the sympathy of the Minister...
- ...Q. Do you recall any issues that came up at any time. Your'e not going to find that written down anywhere.
- A. I don't know if there were any - I can remember from my own part having some reservations whether the additional outlay that was involved was going to produce much result, because it was to cost, initially anyway, a good deal more and achieve nothing. You'd have a status quo, in so far as the education service is concerned.
- Q. Well certainly as far as primary education is concerned, we've been on a plateau ever since that introduction, for what we were doing was virtually consolidating what was there and it was a very expensive exercise. We just couldn't move forward in primary education. Although I think there has been tremendous quality improvement partially as a result of the Weeden committee report. I think the attitude of teachers towards themselves and their profession and the opportunities given to spread the expertise in a system around schools and generate a superior standard.
- A. Yes, I think if you looked at it this way, if you wanted to expand primary education; the alternative fundamentally would be at that stage for the government to go on expanding and leaving the mission schools to just wither on the vine or just get along as they were, or to draw the missions into a national scheme which was the final result of course and then upgrade them. I think the second one was the efficient one from the point of view of Papua New Guinea. Although you had some inefficient education given by the missions, I think probably that was the best course to get a truly national education system and to have a planned education

- service to meet the country's needs.
- Q. How did the teaching service as a suggestion strike you at the time? It's a bit foreign to the Australian theme.
- A. Is it foreign to the Australian theme?
- Q. It's not now, we've got a Commonwealth Teaching Service.
- A. The South Australian teaching service was separate from the public service, you couldn't move from a teacher's job into an administrative job. You didn't rank in seniority in the public service, similarly you couldn't move out of the public service into a teaching job. In New South Wales it was different, they were in the public service but at least in South Australia, which I know because they also provided education for the Northern Territory.
- Q. They were still - the teachers were still, public servants though weren't they.
- A. They were not under the Public Service Act, they had different conditions.
- Q. In New South Wales -
- A. In New South Wales, yes, but I'm saying it's not the universal Australian experience.
- Q. I wasn't aware of South Australia. Did you play any part in preparation of legislation?
- A. Yes I joined the first group. This one was made up of a group of mission representatives, chaired by Ken McKinnon.
- Q. Was there much debate when the legislation was being drafted or did you largely just take the Weeden committee report, or had any work been done prior to this?
- A. It had been done prior to my arrival in Port Moresby.
- Q. You were virtually hit with an outline of legislation.
- A. That's right, but everyone in the room had virtually written in clauses of his own. As a piece of legislation it was a nightmare. It had everything in it but the kitchen sink.
- Q. How did you resolve it?
- A. I think a lot of those provisions had to be in, to make the whole thing acceptable to everyone that was to participate. Part of the success of the scheme depending on its acceptance by the missions of course and the missions had to be satisfied if the legislation was going to correspond to what they had agreed to.

- Q. Do you recall how long this process took? Was it into '70.
- A. I couldn't tell you the date now. I'd have to look back through files, but I was in Moresby myself for perhaps a week or fortnight, but it was well advanced before I got there. I was working through drafts that had already been prepared and well worked over. I thought it got Commonwealth approval about December and the legislation was brought down about March of the following year. It was all implemented pretty quickly.
- Q. Did your committee have much to do with the committee that was drafting the Teaching Service Temporary Provisions?
- A. No, we weren't working on that.
- Q. Were you ever aware of any pressures for the appointment of the first Teaching Service Commissioner?
- A. To get them appointed, or in favour of particular persons?
- Q. In favour of particular people.
- A. I don't think there was from our end. I think proposals came from Papua New Guinea and they seemed to be suitable and they were accepted.
- Q. Obviously McKinnon must have supported Nielson's original appointment, over a period of nine months he sours quite completely on the idea. He believes I think that Nielson tried to build a greater empire for the Commission than what was envisaged for it. Nielson maintains that he was doing this on the basis of what was a workable, viable activity and function for the Commission. Obviously McKinnon won that battle. Were you ever aware in Territories down here on the underplay that was going on in New Guinea about this?
- A. This was about the time I ceased.
- Q. This would be well into '71. Were you still there?
- A. There was an undercurrent, but I don't know if I'd be free to discuss it.
- Q. Well, let me tell you about it then. As I understand both Nielson and McKinnon came to Canberra to put the case for what the Commission ought to be. Nielson was arguing for it to be a much more operational organization for the management services functioning for the teaching service, whereas the Weeden report indicated that it was to be more of just a judiciary arbitrator and Nielson couldn't see it working this way. And I think he had the backing of Tololo up until about March of '70 and then somehow Tololo switches horses and you can see it from a meeting that Tololo and McKinnon had,

a rather long meeting, sometime in March and in the tone and the actions from that changes substantially. As I get it, there was a considerable amount of lobbying from New Guinea down here to Territories, especially by Nielson who thought I think, he had the support of Territories in what he was proposing.

- A. I don't think that was true. Certainly cases were put. There was the difference which you mentioned and I think that was perhaps the core of it. The Commission was developing in the way that the government decided it should operate.
- Q. The argument was that this should be put to the government as a necessary thing for the Commission to function properly.
- A. I can't recall any submissions being put to the government.
- Q. I don't think it got to a submission stage.
- A. There was a further problem in that Tololo was the Commissioner and I think that Syd Nielson probably had to reverse the roles. It would certainly have been intended that he would help Tololo, but in fact I think that he was a very dominant personality and Alkan of course was a novice to the job.
- Q. Alkan had no background, at least Syd had been involved partially with the development of the Teaching Service Temporary Provisions ordinance and had been involved in early discussions with the missions and so forth, so he was much more aware of the system than Tololo was when he came into it. There wasn't much support then from Canberra for Nielson's arguments?
- A. I think you had better ask Lance Henderson that one.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adams, R.S. 1972. Technological and Procedural Innovations in Educational Organizations. A paper presented at UNESCO Seminar on Educational Planning, Victoria University, Wellington.
- Argyris, C. 1962. Interpersonal Competence and Organizational Effectiveness. Homewood, Illinois: Dorsey Press.
- Bassett, G.W. 1970. Innovation in Primary Education. London: Wiley Interscience.
- Bauer, R. 1964. American Psychologist, XIX. No.5 pp 319-328.
- Bennis, W.G. 1966. Changing Organizations. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company.
- Bennis, W.G., Benne, K.D. and Chin, R. 1971. The Planning of Change. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 2nd Edition.
- Berrien, F.K. 1964. Homeostasis in Groups, in General Systems, Yearbook of the Society for General Systems Research, Volume IX, pp.205-218.
- Blake, R.R., Mouton, J.S. and Sloma, R.L. 1965. The Union - Management Intergroup Laboratory: Strategy for Resolving Intergroup Conflict. The Journal of Applied Behavioral Science. I, No.I pp.25-57.
- Buckley, W. 1967. Sociology and Modern Systems Theory. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall Inc.
- Carlson, R.O. 1965. Adoption of Educational Innovations. Eugene, Oregon: The Center for the Advanced Study of Educational Administration.
- Chin, R. and Benne K.D. 1971. General Strategies for Effecting Change in Human Systems, in Bennis, W.G., Benne, K.D. and Chin, R. The Planning of Change. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

- Department of Education, Papua New Guinea. 1968. Educational Organization and Management in Papua New Guinea. Port Moresby: Department of Education Publication.
- Erikson, E. 1964. Insight and Responsibility. New York: W.W. Norton and Company, Inc.
- Etzioni, A. 1969. A Sociological Reader on Complex Organizations. London: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 2nd Edition.
- Evans, R.J. 1968. Resistance to Innovation in Higher Education. San Francisco State College: Jossey-Bass.
- Griffiths, D.E. 1963. Use of Models in Research, In Cuthbertson, J.A. and Hencley, S.P. (Eds.) Educational Research : New Perspectives Danville Illinois: Interstate Printers.
- Griffiths, D.E. 1964. Administrative Theory and Change in Organizations in Miles, M.B.(Ed) Innovation in Education. New York: Bureau of Publications, Columbia University.
- Gross, N. et.al. 1971. Implementing Organizational Innovations. New York: Basic Books Inc.
- Guba, E.G. 1970. Development, Diffusion and Evaluation, in Netzer, et.al., Educational Administration and Change. New York: Harper and Row.
- Harvey, O. 1967. Conceptual Systems and Attitude Change, in Sharif, C. and Sharif, M. Attitude Ego - Involvement and Change. New York: John Wiley and Sons Inc.
- Havelock, R.G. 1971. Experimental School Networks Theory and Reality. Journal of Secondary Education, 46. No.4
- Havelock, R.G. 1971. Planning for Innovation Through Dissemination and Utilization of Knowledge. Michigan: University of Michigan.

- Hilfiker, L. 1970. Factors Relating to the Innovativeness of School Systems. Journal of Educational Research, 64.
- Huberman, A.M. 1973. Understanding Change in Education: An Introduction. Paris: UNESCO.
- Immegart, G.L. 1969. Systems, Theory and Taxonomic Inquiry into Organizational Behavior in Education, in Griffiths, D.E. (Ed) Developing Taxonomies of Organizational Behavior in Education Administration. Chicago: Rand McNally and Company. pp. 165-238.
- Kandel, I.L. 1938. Types of Administration. N.Z.C.E.R.
- Kast, F.E. 1970. Planning the Strategies in Complex Organizations, in Netzer, et.al. Education Administration and Change. New York: Harper and Row.
- Likert, R. 1961. New Patterns of Management. New York: McGraw-Hill Inc.
- Lonsdale, R.C. 1964. Maintaining the Organization in Dynamic Equilibrium in Behavioral Science and Educational Administration. N.S.S.E. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Mann, R. 1973. The Identity of the Researcher. Unpublished Paper. Michigan: The University of Michigan.
- McCall, G.J. and Simmons, J.L. 1969. The Nature of Participant Observation, in Issues in Participant Observation. Reading, Mass: Addison - Wesley Publishing Company.
- McGregor, D.M. 1960. The Human Side of Enterprise. New York: McGraw - Hill, Inc.
- McKinnon, K.R. 1971. Education in Papua New Guinea. The Years Ahead. Papua New Guinea Journal of Education. Volume 7 No. I.

- Meehan, E.J. 1968. Explanation in Social Science. A System Paradigm
Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press.
- Miles, M.B. (Ed) 1964. Innovation in Education. New York: Bureau of
Publications, Columbia University.
- Miller, J.G. 1955. Towards a General Theory for the Behavioral Sciences,
American Psychologist. Volume X.
- Miller, R.I. (Ed) 1967. Perspectives in Educational Change. New
York: Appleton, Century Crofts.
- Morphet, E.L., Johns, R.L. and Reller T. 1959. Educational
Administration. Inglewood Cliffs, New Jersey:
Prentice Hall Inc.
- Morphet, E.L. and Ryan, C.O. (Eds) 1967. Implications for Education
of Prospective Changes in Society. New York:
Citation Press.
- Optner, S.L. 1965. Systems Analysis for Business and Industrial
Problem Solving. Inglewood Cliffs, New Jersey:
Prentice Hall Inc.
- Pellegrin, R.J. 1966. An Analysis of Sources and Processes of
Innovation in Education. Paper presented at the
Conference on Educational Change, Allerton Park,
Illinois.
- Reiss, A.J. 1969. Who Obstructs Innovation. Journal of Secondary
Education. January.
- Reller, T. and Morphet, E.L. 1962. Comparative Educational
Administration. Inglewood Cliffs, New Jersey:
Prentice Hall Inc.
- Report of the Advisory Committee on Education in Papua New Guinea.
1969. Canberra: Union Offset Co. Pty. Ltd.
- Report of the Conference on Educational Development 1967. Port
Moresby: Department of Education Publication.

- Rogers, C. 1959. A Theory of Therapy, Personality and Interpersonal Relationships, in Koch (Ed.) Psychology: A Study of Science. Volume III New York: McGraw - Hill Inc.
- Rogers, E. 1965. What are Innovators Like, in Carlson, R.O. et.al. Change Processes in the Public Schools. Eugene, Oregon: University of Oregon.
- Rogers, E.M. and Shoemaker, F.F. 1971. Communication of Innovations. New York: The Free Press.
- Schon, D. 1967. Technology and Change. New York: Dell Publishing Company.
- Severin, F.T. 1973. Discovering Man in Psychology: A Humanistic Approach. New York: McGraw-Hill
- Shepard, H.A. and Blake, A.R. 1962. Changing Behavior Through Cognitive Change, in Smith R.J. (Ed) Human Organization. New York: The Macmillan Company.
- Smith, L.M. and Keith, P.M. 1971. Anatomy of Educational Innovation. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc.
- Snygg, D. 1941 . The Need for a Phenomenological System of Psychology. Psychological Review, 48, pp. 404-424.
- Wadia, M.S. 1965 . The Administrative Function of Innovation - A Social Science Approach, in Hack, W.G., Ramseyer, J.A., Gephart, W.J. and Heck, J.B. (Eds) Educational Administration. Selected Readings. Boston: Allyn and Bacon Inc.
- Walton,R.E. 1965. Two Strategies of Social Change and Their Dilemmas. The Journal of Applied Behavioral Science. I, No.2, pp 167-179.
- Warrens, R.L. and Hyman, H.H. 1966. Purposive Community Change in Consensus and Dissensus Situations in Bennis, W.G., Benne K.D. and Chin, R. The Planning of Change. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 2nd Edition.

- Watson, G. 1967. Toward and Conceptual Architecture of a Self-Renewing School System, in Watson, G. (Ed) Change in School Systems. Washington D.C.: National Training Laboratories, NEA
- Westley, W. 1969. Report of a Conference, in Innovation in Education. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.