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**EDUCATION FOR DEVELOPMENT: CONTENT AND IDEOLOGY IN THE
PAPUA NEW GUINEA FORMAL EDUCATION SYSTEM**

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CHAPTER ONE	1
INTRODUCTION	1
1.0 Introduction: Theoretical Stance	1
1.2 Literature Review: The History of Post Contact Education In Papua New Guinea.	7
1.3 Contemporary PNG Government Policy and Education for Development:	23
CHAPTER TWO	30
DEVELOPMENT ISSUES IN THE PAPUA NEW GUINEA GRADE SEVEN AND GRADE EIGHT ENGLISH CURRICULUM: IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATION FOR DEVELOPMENT	30
2.0 Introduction	30
2.1 Definition Of Terms	34
2.2 Objectives	35
2.3 Issues Raised	35
2.4 Disciplinary Areas Involved.....	35
2.5 Research Methodology	36
2.6 The Content Analysis	36
2.7 Content Analysis of Book One and Book Two, Create And Communicate: Pilot Study	37
2.8 Application of the Content Analysis	39
2.9 Limitations.....	42
2.10 Teacher Questionnaire.....	43
2.11 Design.....	43
2.12 Statistical Methodology.....	44
2.13 Student Questionnaire	44
2.14 Student Questionnaire: Statistical Methodology	45
2.15 Student Oral Interview	45
2.16 Student Oral Interview: Statistical Methodology	46
2.17 Results.....	47
2.17.1 Content Analysis of Create And Communicate: Book One	47
2.17.1.1 Ranking of Sub-Categories: Book One.....	47
2.17.2 Content Analysis: Book Two Create And Communicate.....	47
2.18 Teacher Questionnaire: Results	49
2.18.1 Part One: Teacher Questionnaire.....	49
2.18.2 Part Two: Teacher Questionnaire.....	51
2.18.3 Teacher Questionnaire: Open Ended Questions	52
2.19 Student Questionnaire	53
2.20 Student Oral Interview	55
2.21 Discussion.....	62
2.21.1 Content Analysis	62
2.22 Teacher Questionnaire.....	63
2.23 Student Questionnaire	65
2.24 Student Oral Interview	66
2.25 Conclusion	70

2.26 Recommendations.....	72
CHAPTER THREE.....	75
THE ROLE OF LITERATURE IN EDUCATION FOR DEVELOPMENT.....	75
3.0 Introduction.....	75
3.1 Literature in the High Schools.....	76
3.2 Background to the Study: Literature and Ideology.....	77
3.3 The Study of Third World Literature At Goroka Teachers College: Research and Analysis.....	80
3.3.1 Objectives of the Research.....	80
3.4 Research Methodology.....	81
3.5 Research Findings.....	83
3.6 Conclusion.....	100
3.7 Recommendations.....	102
CHAPTER FOUR.....	104
THE RISE AND DEMISE OF THE SECONDARY SCHOOL COMMUNITY EXTENSION PROJECT.....	104
4.0 Introduction.....	104
4.1 SSCEP: A Background Study.....	105
4.2 The Demise of SSCEP: Research And Analysis.....	117
4.2.1 Background to the Hoskins High School Study.....	117
4.2.2 The Demise of SSCEP: Research Objectives.....	118
4.3 Research Methodology.....	118
4.4 SSCEP: Research Findings.....	123
4.5 Student Questionnaire: Introduction.....	146
4.6 Research Findings.....	147
4.7 Conclusion.....	156
4.8 Recommendations.....	156
CHAPTER FIVE.....	164
EDUCATION FOR DEVELOPMENT FOR WOMEN WITHIN THE FORMAL EDUCATION SYSTEM: IDEALS AND DILEMMAS.....	164
5.0 Introduction.....	164
5.1 An historical perspective of female education and the PNG curriculum.....	165
5.2 Change and Attitudes: Can a Curriculum Encourage Change?.....	167
5.3 The Expectations For Change.....	173
5.4 The realities of implementing and applying qualitative changes in the curriculum.....	174
5.5 Conclusion.....	177

CHAPTER SIX 179
CONCLUSION 179

 6.0 Conclusions 179

APPENDIX ONE 192

APPENDIX TWO 203

BIBLIOGRAPHY 204

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Jeffrey David Buchanan

Abstract

This study attempts an analysis of the links between formal education in Papua New Guinea (PNG) high schools with ideology and education for development. Education for development, or education which is considered socially relevant when studied against such Government documents as the Constitution, the Eight Point Plan, the 1991 Education Sector Report and the Philosophy of Education, is the goal to which content in the formal education sector should aspire in order to maximise the development potential of Papua New Guineans.

In Chapter Two a content analysis of two major language texts is undertaken to ascertain whether or not their content aids in development for education. Again, one of the purposes of the study was to ascertain whether or not teaching and learning time is maximised by the incorporation of education for development or relevance content. Eighty five percent of students who leave school between Grades six and ten return to rural areas on completion of their formal studies. One of the aims of this thesis is to ascertain whether or not those students return with knowledge relevant to their post school experience.

In Chapter Three, the study of Literature in PNG high schools and at Goroka Teachers College in particular, is undertaken in order to appreciate how and if the study of literature incorporates the concept of education for development.

Chapter Four focuses on an appraisal of the most innovative relevance education scheme undertaken in PNG since Independence. How and why this scheme, the Secondary School Community Extension Project (SSCEP) failed has not been the subject of research since its demise occurred. Research findings in this chapter aid in an understanding of how and why this scheme failed.

Chapter Five attempts an analysis of how women have fared under the formal education system. Does the formal curricula include issues pertinent to the lives of women or does the education system marginalise women despite the national objectives that women be accorded equal status and opportunities to men?

In the Conclusion, Chapter Six, the underlying reason for the apparent failure or the under maximisation of education for development, is studied. That Melanesian culture and Western culture, so recently pushed by historical imperative into a forced marriage, are at the basis of an understanding of the contradictions and anomalies which characterise the subjects of analysis and discussion in the preceding chapters, serves as the central focus for an understanding of the thesis construct as a whole.

CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction: Theoretical Stance

The history of curricula in the formal educational setting in Papua New Guinea can be characterised as one in which the need for 'relevance to the local needs' is one of the major themes. That there are differences in what 'relevance' means to certain groups and individuals at certain periods in time is more often than not the consequence of the ideological persuasion of those pursuing educational goals specific to their agenda. This is as much a truism in PNG and other Third World nations as it is within the history of curricula studies in the West. A nation's curricula is influenced by political and ideological persuasion.

A definition of ideology is perhaps impossible without its own ideological qualification. "Ideology is one of the most debated concepts within theories inspired by Marxism" (Avalos: 1988, 145). This is by no means a simplification of the issue as the literature reveals. The statement, albeit limited to a Marxist specification of the complexity it inspires, does not pre-empt the fact that a definition of ideology is any simpler if it emanates from any other thought or ideological construct. Louis Althusser, in one of his more lucid comments on the nature of ideology, perhaps neutralises the concept in as much as is possible - and certainly for the purposes of this paper - by stating that ideology will never disappear because it is the very fabric of how humans "live the relation between them and their conditions of existence"(ibid). Within Gramsci's concept of ideology there are similar kernels of lucidity which are appropriate to a definition for the purposes of an analysis and ideological stance on education. Gramsci's primary ideological stance is more suited to a determinist's position on ideology as it determines (or is determined by) the imperative to revolutionary change - which in itself demonstrates the ideological nuance in his definition of ideology. However, just as Althusser's conceptual framework on

ideology is in part useful for the purposes of definition, so is Gramsci's ideological construct or historical conception that "ideology underlines the mass consciousness as a progressive and necessary condition of revolutionary change". This deconstructs into a useful post Marxist definition which will serve as a definition of ideology in this study: "a 'dialectics of consciousness' that is rooted in the phenomenology of everyday life" (ibid).

That every human is bound by some cultural imperative is a given for the purposes of analysis in this study. Culture is tied to ideology as has been noted in the words of Althusser and Gramsci. Culture is inherent in the concept and actuality of nationalism, religion, gender differentials and across the entire gamut of human existence. "The meanings which we attribute to things and their qualities, the knowledge and institutions, values, the rituals...are also included in culture (Lakshmi: 1988, 14). Within this culture there is ideology; "the dialectics of consciousness' translates then into the Gramscian framework of change. It is the aspect of change which is important for is it the imperative of change based on ideology which can lead to conflict? This is a rhetorical question with an affirmative response for, even within the relative tepid nature of curriculum studies, there is debate and anxiety and conflict as experienced in education systems throughout the world. The conceptual nature of ideology as discussed, plays an enormous role in curriculum issues and in education in general.

The nature of curriculum, like the concept of development, is difficult to define. "Just what constitutes a curriculum of high quality and excellent teaching is far from agreed upon - at least among those who have reflected deeply on education" (Eisner:1985,1). Eisner's definition of a curriculum as being characterised as "...a planned and sequential series of steps that lead to ends that are known in advance and that are realised with a maximum of pedagogical efficiency" (ibid:13) is but half the story. That these steps and goals are merely the vehicles to the desired end is to omit that essential nature of the curricula; the content. It is the content of the curricula that shapes the real and most basic aspect of the knowledge being imparted, that is, the

ideological persuasion of the curricula content. The ideological deconstruction of knowledge shows that there is no ideological neutrality within knowledge but only knowledge which is influenced by others' perceptions of reality. This is not to state that there is an ideological slant to presenting students to the fact that Paris is the capital of France. The lines of obfuscation here will be drawn at Popper's concept of "common sense" (Guthrie: 1987, 35). But when the school curriculum - as observed by the author in Kuwait - does not include the information that the State of Israel exists and that that land area of the Middle East is referred to as "Occupied Palestine" or the "Zionist Entity", then there is a recognisable ideological component to that curriculum. This is not to be paranoid and state that there are "reds under the beds" but to state that all knowledge is the repository of influences and factors which may not or cannot represent the realities of others. Therein lies the debate of education and curriculum and what should be taught. Should we teach Grade seven children about the dangers of unprotected anal sex in the age of AIDS? Should anal sex even be mentioned? The decision for and against is influenced by ideological considerations. Even in the age of AIDS, the debate on such matters continues: in Catholic schools in PNG despite the directives from the PNG Education Department that information on the use of condoms and sexual transmission modes of HIV be included in the curriculum.

What then is the most suitable definition of curriculum? Eisner's definition would be appropriate as a beginning in that it demonstrates the scientific realism, the pragmatic equation, in the chain of organisation; but it does not cover the content or how that content is selected. That content, the actual slant, the type of content which appears in text books and on blackboards is the outcome of a political process, whether conscious or unconscious, on behalf of educators. The unconscious nature of the political influence in curriculum can arise through what is known as the "null curriculum" - that which is omitted from the curriculum whether consciously or unconsciously (Eisner: 1985, 27). To extrapolate; it is accepted by all that Paris is the capital of France and that that fact is neutral information. If to that information were

added: "Paris is a magnificent city filled with brilliant French architecture and art treasures" the question as to whether it were neutral information might arise. If it were a French school curriculum teaching this to which was added: "Therefore the Nazi's did not bomb it because they recognised the genius of French design and the fact that they would soon be ruling France from Paris" a decidedly ideological component arrives in the curriculum. For different reasons both a German and a French teacher may decide to avoid that part of the lesson even if it were included in the curriculum. Thus the "null curriculum" albeit in this instance an intentional one. The "null curriculum" is that which is left out intentionally or unintentionally, from a nation's curriculum. It is this concept of the "null curriculum" which is of pertinence to a number of aspects of education arising in this thesis, most notably the English curriculum under study in Chapters Two, and gender issues in Chapter Five.

A more complete definition of curriculum, therefore, would need to encompass Eisner's as a preliminary with the addition acknowledging the ideological component inherent in the very structure of what knowledge is. Therefore, curriculum is "a planned and sequential series of steps that lead to ends that are known in advance and that are realised with a maximum of pedagogical efficiency" and that curriculum contains knowledge inherently subject to cultural, social and political influences and persuasions which can, in many circumstances, be labelled as ideological in nature.

To this end, curriculum plays a most significant role in the shaping of a nation's construct. In this truism lies the interest in which governments and interest groups show their preparedness to manipulate - or fashion - what is contained in the curriculum.

That the promotion of qualitative improvements in a nation's curricula is ideological can be seen through historical analysis of comparative curricula studies. That the National Socialists of Germany who controlled the education system after 1933 saw fit to make qualitative changes which were racist, sexist and ideologically hegemonistic is an historical fact. They were making qualitative changes to their nation's curricula in line with what they perceived as being politically correct. Therein,

from this extreme but all too real example, lies the danger of politics and ideology and the nation's curricula. Does this example serve as an indication that there can be, on the other end of the scale of extremism, a non-ideological curriculum? What could be classified as non-ideological would be to produce a curricula which exhibits ideas and content which would serve no purpose to a particular ideological construct in a culture. Could there be such a thing as a neutral curricula? If it were possible to be ideologically neutral, what would be the purpose of such an invention? Ideological neutrality is perhaps the euphemism for Hidden Purpose or Eisner's null curriculum. Whether intentional or unintentional, the hidden purpose is the hidden content and it can be at worst dangerous or at best an unfortunate misuse of potential. In the former, worst case scenario, a nation's children is brought up educated in a systematic approach to a belief system which is not fully explained. The Japanese history curriculum does not include its nation's recent history of imperialism or the facts surrounding the invasion of China and the sacking of Nanking. Is this intentional? An oversight? A hidden purpose? Is it because of shame? If it is a product of shame, then what are the ideological consequences of the Hidden Purpose? The German history curriculum treats the advent of the Second World War in a completely different way. It exposes in full the German historical reality. Two different approaches to what is the same problem: historical veracity in the nation's curricula.

This short comparative analysis serves to illustrate that curriculum is not and cannot be ideologically neutral. It need not be the vehicle of propaganda and hatred and be used as a conduit to negative influences as in Nazi Germany. On the continuum of one to ten, with Nazi Germany being ten, there are the shades to number one. But there can be no zero, surely, even though in the modern democratic pluralistic state political correctness is at the present time being confused with such. The content in a curricula in the liberal West would surely include such information that homosexuals, women, people of all religions and races are equal to any other group or individual. If the textbooks which included this information were to find themselves suddenly in the hands of a teacher in a *Sharia* (religious school) in Iran, the ideological nature of the

said texts would be abundantly clear and as unmistakably biased as that text from 1930's Germany (or 1990's Iran) is to liberal educators today.

That ideological considerations are either implicit or explicit is something that teachers need to be aware of in both developed and developing nations. Development is a political construct: work, resources, health, food, education are all influenced by the mode of development a nation embraces - or is embraced by (Cooke: Vols. 1-7). The ideology behind the mode of development is either as clear cut as the ideological persuasion of capitalism or communism. Any analysis of the Soviet curriculum and the USA curriculum would ably demonstrate that content reflected the ideological persuasion of each nation. Further analysis of the texts from each nation would demonstrate that they could be placed somewhere on the continuum. A nation's text books hide - intentionally or unintentionally - a political construct (Kaman, 1987).

Developing nations, which have by definition adopted some particular path to development, would therefore demonstrate in a deconstruction of their school curricula that dominant political structure. That ideological content is inevitable is indisputable. When the ideological content, blatant, hidden or null, is such that it has a disadvantageous influence on its recipients, it is time for reappraisal and change.

The prime concern of this thesis is an appraisal of various aspects of the PNG curricula in order to investigate its relevance - and its relevance for whom? Kaman's research shows that the content in PNG social science texts disadvantages the majority of PNG's students in that it upholds a social situation which by its very nature cannot provide for the equal distribution of wealth but, rather, continues to reward the elite at the expense of the rural poor. Kaman determines that PNG's social science texts are based primarily on Modernist theory of development and that in the application of that theory to PNG, social inequality has been exacerbated.

Relevance content is equated in this study with education for development. This study takes as *a priori* that education must serve the purpose of education for development for all and that through a nation's curriculum this purpose can be attempted, if not achieved. To this end, it is also implicit that the term ideology is not

one that is to be confused with propaganda. This study seeks to explore the nature of content in the formal education system and in that to address the problem which appears at the outset, that at the present time the ideological nature of the formal education system does not fully serve the majority of people in Papua New Guinea under the stated Government goals of education for development for all Papua New Guineans.

1.2 Literature Review: The History of Post Contact Education In Papua New Guinea.

Relative to many other developing nations in the world, but consistent with other developing Pacific nations, PNG has had a short history of formal education. An understanding of the history of education in PNG is in order to put the setting of this study in perspective. Although this discussion will limit itself largely to the area of relevance in formal education, what Bock states about the ideological nature of non-formal education is true also of formal education.

Non- formal education cannot be adequately understood by merely examining education *qua* education... There is a decidedly political and social character to non-formal education. (Bock: 1983, xvii).

That the line between what is formal education and non-formal education is often blurred in the debate about relevance education can be understood as being part of the ideological nature of education philosophy and its application in PNG.

Greenfield points to the ideological nature of education: " In essence, all decisions concerning an education system will be political, though not all pressures on it will be generated through government departments" (Greenfield: 1985,126). The history of education in PNG since contact demonstrates this fact. What is considered educationally relevant for the masses, is not necessarily relevant for that same minority who constitute an elite and decide the policy (Weeks: 1985,

99-109). This ideological dichotomy forms the basis for the history of the curricula debate in PNG. If a particular period in history emphasizes a certain educational philosophy, that period is still open to an ideological analysis. Surely it is a truism that educators hold the welfare of their students at heart; but just as *Create And Communicate* - the texts under scrutiny in Chapter Two - can be said to be of an ideological persuasion, so can, for example, any epoch's policy. The well intentioned education policy and practice of the missionaries is a case in point.

The Christian missionaries who established the first schools in Papua New Guinea did so from their desire to educate local people as they felt was their mission. They did so within the bounds of their ideological persuasion:

..the missions enjoyed a virtual monopoly of education, the new knowledge was bound to be thought of as religious knowledge. Education was literacy, was Bible reading, was Christianity, was civilised values, was education. (Swatridge: 1985, 14)

This type of education was based on the needs of the missionaries to impart their particular set of beliefs. That the content of education was a reflection of the times and the educational philosophy in the missionaries' own countries and that of the colonial administration, does not mean that it was not ideological and served the purpose of educating a colonized people to be what that colonial power wished it to be - or not to be (Azeem: 1985, 30-59). Swatridge implies that the nature of the missionary education is "neither to be wondered at nor deplored" (1985,13.). That in itself is an ideological conviction in that it asks for no analysis; in neutrality there is the danger of compliance and acquiescence.

The apparent neutrality of development as a value is widely accepted. Yet this idea is somewhat confusing for it applies agreement about what development means. (Latouche: 1987,134)

In 1929, the Director of Education from Queensland E.J. McKenna, stated in his report: 'It is undesirable to educate natives...Training natives makes them more cunning. (Meere: 1967, 41)

It would be interesting to have McKenna define "cunning". Whether "cunning" meant indigenous calls for political self control or "impertinence" is perhaps a moot point. What it did mean for the actual curricula in PNG during the colonial administration was an emphasis on what was considered appropriate for the "natives" - relevant education as defined by an administration that did not wish to relinquish control of power to an educated indigenous population (Azeem:1979).

Georges Balandier states that the genesis of the state is "...the search for different processes by which inequality is established and by which contradictions appear within society and necessitate the formation of a differentiated organism whose function is to contain them" (Grandstaff, et al, 1974, 85). This could well apply to the colonial era's educational policy. That knowledge is power was certainly not lost on the colonialists. This ideological appraisal of education was reflected in the colonial education policy; relevant meant entirely practical, non-formal education.

It can be argued that the content permitted by the colonial authorities, who relied on the missionaries to educate the population, sanctioned the overwhelming emphasis on "practical" curricula content for ideological reasons.

The general curriculum for girls was centred on "the Western world's homecraft" (Johnson: 1985, 126). Boys were contained by - or provided with - a similar formula for what was considered relevant:

G.T. Rosco, the Director of Education in Papua in 1958, planned a network of Government technical schools in which 'boys will be trained...in the use of simple hand tools...I would like to see a low level course of agricultural training provided... (Conroy: 1976, 144)

What was educationally relevant for the people during colonial times was a reflection of the metropole's philosophy of how it understood gender - labour divisions. Rosco did not take into account that in the colony females were largely responsible for agricultural production. There is a double tragic irony in this instance of determining what was relevant.

The colonial policy of limiting the education of women was at all times reinforced by the attitudes of the administration from Australia which was...one of the most supremacist societies in the world. (Johnson: 1985, 127)

The curricula for females was in accord with this deliberate policy to exclude females from much of the educational process. However, for the main purpose in this discussion, it is evident that what was relevant for females was limited to the stereotype of perceived female expectations and roles: "...Education was teaching health and hygiene..."(ibid). This attitude reflected the metropole's concept of women, but it was ideological nevertheless.

Academic curricula played a small part in the overall educational policy of the colony and it was confined largely to the education of males (Azeem: 1979). This limited academic curricula was sanctioned in order to provide for the indigenous supply of clerks and policemen. Education was not designed for the general population in order that their political aspirations should be fulfilled - or that any political aspirations should be encouraged.

The fact that until the 1950's there were no secondary schools in either Papua or New Guinea (Azeem: 1979) might help to indicate why just twenty years later there was no well educated class from which to draw a managerial base for the tasks at hand at Independence. Education, prior to the rush in the mid 1960's to train a small elite with an academic education to rule at Independence, had been confined to that which barely deserves the term "curriculum" to describe it. The meanness of the ideological nature for such a limited curricula - basic literacy, practical and agricultural skills, is too deeply embedded in the colonial political agenda. What was deemed "relevant" can be deemed paternal and limiting and in the nature of that relationship, repressive.

Until the 1960's Australian policies in PNG were based on the assumption that Australia would remain in administrative control of the territories for a long time to come and little was done to include the indigenous people into the governmental process. (Baldwin: 1977,20)

At Independence in 1975 the legacy of the Australian attitude towards education meant that from a population of 2.2 million Papua New Guineans there was only a "small group of petty bourgeoisie" (Azeem: 1979) able to rule the country. This group who took control were compliant to the former colonial power precisely because of the nature of economic dependence in which they found themselves.

However, what the colonial powers had determined as relevance education cannot, perhaps, be dismissed entirely as being simply a cynical political ploy. Baldwin, (1977: 22) describes Papua New Guinea society at Independence as being largely "neolithic". Aside from the important ideological considerations which determined what was most appropriate for the colonized people, there was surely, amongst educationalists, genuine concern for the type of education which was felt most appropriate for people who were indeed emerging from a "neolithic" age. Further research into primary sources such as missionaries' journals and education policy statements would provide a humanist perspective to the ideological construct of their curricula.

The purpose of missionary presence in PNG is itself a topic of debate. Was it a "negative intrusion" or was it a "fortuitous event"? The answer depends entirely on one's ideological stance. The situation in Africa was perhaps similar to the situation in colonial PNG:

Mission schooling supported imperialism. We should remember not what they gave us but what they took away. Educating children is, in principle, fine and worthwhile. But there is a question to be asked: what were they being educated for? They were being educated for subservience, they were being educated to turn their backs on their own past and their own people. (Mackenzie:1993,46)

From conversations with Papua New Guineans with both formal education and traditional education, the author has reason to believe that the above African example is not uncommon in PNG. Similarly, many Papua New Guineans interviewed on this topic felt that the role of the colonial missionaries had been important and their statements support the following from an African author:

Without missionary schools there would have been no schooling. People would not have learned to read and write. Knowledge is power - it builds bridges, it irrigates fields, it saves lives. Missionary education did not oppress people. It liberated them...(ibid)

MacKenzie distinguishes between various dimensions to the missionaries' motivations in colonial times. The two prominent dimensions support the above statements. "Firstly, the mythology that missionary education was an arm of colonial conquest" (1993:38). He states that the secular administrations were either happy to have the missions supply all of the education which then meant a population educated to manage the minor administrative functions in the colony. This was essentially the case in PNG where there were few subsidies granted to mission schools (Crossley: 1983, 125). Secondly, the mythology that missionary education as an agent of social amelioration. MacKenzie deems these two factors "mythologies" because they represent expressed popular and/or academic archetypes of missionary educator functions and relationships. "They do not purport to encapsulate the gamut of missionary mythologising, but stand as important and valuable areas of debate" (MacKenzie, 1993: 48).

Although cross cultural comparisons are fraught with the possibilities of misrepresentation and inappropriate extrapolation, especially within the field comparative education amongst developing nations (Vulliamy: 1990, 29), it is tempting to suggest that the situation which MacKenzie describes in colonial Africa *vis á vis* the missionaries' role in education, is very similar to that which occurred in PNG. Unfortunately, the literature search did not uncover any such authoritative analysis of the history of missionary education in PNG. However, that the missionary education brought with it all of the trappings of Western thought and experience is as indisputable as it was inevitable. This Westernisation formed the very basis of the curriculum no matter what the actual content whether it be the minimum of academic knowledge with the Three R's or the purely vocational/practical - sewing and Western cooking. Both situations amounted to enculturation through the curriculum. It can also be assumed that the missionary did not come to PNG or any other colony merely to

impart rudimentary education. That was a by-product of the primary motive for moving to an often dangerous and inhospitable region. It was the motive of conversion which prompted missions to be established. The main thrust in missionary education was religious instruction and hopefully conversion. Conversion, the change of religions knowledge and beliefs and principals, formed the base of education in PNG mission schools. A new reality was being constructed. This process could have been an actual collusion with the secular colonial administration as MacKenzie suggests in his "mythology" for Africa. Or it could have been much more random - certainly in the PNG context - but there is little published evidence to suggest what process occurred. Even though education was primarily in the hands of the missionaries (Crossléy: 1983) it would appear that there was a very complex interaction growing between the indigenous population, the missionary and the administrator from the mid ninetieth century in those parts of PNG which had been colonised. It is perhaps safe to say that that interaction, albeit informal, was economically based on behalf of the colonial administration and evangelistic on behalf of the missionaries. This would have led to a somewhat symbiotic relationship between the two colonising agents. Education, both formal and informal was a manifestation of this contact. Azeem makes the point that it was primarily economic and that that was the primary function of all the colonial contact. The informal education in this sense was from the education or enculturation employed upon the plantation workers in their contact with the new culture (Azeem: 1979).

Contemporary attempts to provide a more subtle (not to say sympathetic) critique of the relationship between missionary education and colonial rule are few and far between. In particular, there is a noticeable paucity of efforts in the literature to mythologise the rather simplistic aphorisms (be they negative or positive) which have tended to attach themselves to popular discourse in this area. But what of it? One may argue that these kinds of debates are interesting in an historical perspective, but rather less useful as informants of contemporary educational discussion. (MacKenzie:1993,47)

"But what of it?" Mackenzie asks (ibid). I suggest it is too easy to shrug off a century of missionary education without the careful scrutiny that such a question of history deserves, in fact necessitates. Perhaps MacKenzie is not thinking in terms of the historical imperative of continuity; the Treaty of Waitangi was dismissed by many *Pakeha* New Zealanders as being merely an anachronism because it was a century old and therefore did not properly represent the realities of the late twentieth century. Other peoples' ideology justifying an annulment. Similarly, is it too late to pass judgement on the methodology of Spanish colonialism in Latin America? The enormous amount of publications on this subject from colonial times to the present would appear not to support this question. In particular, there are publications by observers during the time of Spanish rule which negate the ethics of annulment. If, in a particular era under study, there were representatives who analysed the contemporary situation and assessed it to be counter to the majority view or contra to their best interests, then there can be said to have existed the moral imperative which was therefore within the historical realms of possibility. Such was the case, in the Latin America situation, with Bartolome de Las Casas who disavowed the brutality and the collusion between the missionaries and the colonisers in perpetrating genocide on the Mexican Indian (Galeano:1987: Santos: 1988).

The missionaries did offer a certain amount of formal education to a very select group of the population. Groves, writing in 1936, makes this clear but has reservations as to the motives behind formal education:

The education offered by different European agencies to the native of New Guinea, up to the present, has concerned itself largely with the business of formal schooling. The chief aim of the missionary educational system appears to have been to train the natives to read and write in the vernacular, and to teach them the principles and truths of Christian morality. For this purpose, highly selected groups of natives were given advanced literary instruction to fit them for the work as teachers and preachers in the villages. In some cases, the course of instruction arranged for these native teacher-trainees was fairly wide. But always the broader aims of education were of necessity subordinated to the needs of the special religious work...(Groves: 1977,67)

This use of vernacular by the missionaries to disseminate their message was of course the most pragmatic approach to the spreading of their word. Literacy as power; this is the maxim used by such linguists and theorists associated with the 'radical school' of the 1960's who gained ascendancy and influenced revolutionary changes in literacy movements in Latin America and to a lesser extent in Africa (Lankshear: Lawler,1987: UNESCO Publication: 1990) It was that same urge to combine literacy as power which influenced the "more radical recommendations of the reformers" (Crossley & Vulliamy: 1988, 5) in language policy in PNG in the mid 1970's. The ideological perspective of the missionary use of vernacular is one and the same: literacy as power. Only in this case the power was (and still is in many instances) to inculcate religious culture. Language and ideology, political or religious; the methodology is perhaps the same but the ideology is profoundly different.

It is perhaps too easy for an era to deconstruct the curricula of a former era. For example, a society which had a Western styled education system (or any other system) in a pre-Marxist era is of course open to charges that it was unsympathetic to the nature of Marxist class construct. This charge will be greater by Marxists and will be less so the further the deconstructionist is removed from the centre of the ideological persuasion. But applying a Marxist critique of a pre-Marxist education system is specious. Certainly an observation can be made of the particularities of that system, but to incorporate an ideological argument against that system serves no purpose other than to glorify the historical imperative of one's own present persuasion.

Jurgen Habermas representing what might be called neocritical Marxism, contends that contemporary western capitalism presents a situation that cannot be analysed in exactly the same terms that Marx did in the 19th century. He feels that simple class interests are no longer what maintain the capitalist mode of operation....the conflict zone, he feels, is displaced to subcultural groups (racial and ethnic). (Avalos:1988,145)

However, if that particular Western education system, for example, was nineteenth century and had taken no account of the revolutionary changes in eighteenth century social and educational thought by such philosophers as Voltaire,

Diderot, Montesquieu, Bacon and Hume (Gay: 1972), then that education system could be accused of having deliberately continued with the pre-Enlightenment theory of education. Such was the case of the Latin American educational situation where any Enlightenment thought was quashed by the Catholic run education system which sought to perpetuate its own elitist hierarchal and racist system of education and thus the society which reflected that system (Santos:1988, vii-xxiv).

Although no comprehensive study has yet illuminated the ideological content in the PNG church-school curricula during colonial times, it is evident from the pluralistic representation of the Christian denominations that various themes on the continuum from what would now be called progressive to regressive, must have been present. A thorough analysis of the ideological themes within the curricula of the various denominations would prove invaluable to the continuing search for an understanding of education in PNG.

Further to this analysis of the missionaries' influence on colonial education would be a comparative study of the ideological nature of content in the curricula of today's missions. To date, for example, no investigation has been carried out on the Summer School of Linguistics (SIL) whose primary function is to provide literacy training to illiterates. What is the ideological nature of their literacy project? Freire's neo-Marxist concept of education - literacy for development (Freire: 1972) is completely different to that of the prevailing ideology of the SIL group who number some three hundred translators in PNG. SIL's major function is to translate the Bible into as many *Tok Ples* (local language) or vernacular as possible. Rather than being education for political and personal development (through political empowerment) which is the objective of Freireian literacy, SIL's objective is millenarian. On accomplishing this massive translation mission, SIL believe they will be closer to Divine Redemption, the Second Coming. The Christian Messiah will not return until all peoples have been brought to the Christian god and that message is contained in the Bible. Thus the SIL imperative to translate the Bible into as many languages as possible.

This idea of Divine Redemption is not unlike that exposed by the Messianic Jews (Ruether & Ruether:1989, 1-29). The Messianic Jewish concept of Redemption has extraordinary ideological content in that it formed the basis for the rejection of the Jewish people's return to Israel and the continuation of the Diaspora. That belief eventually contrasted with the ideological imperative of the Zionist's. As the history of the twentieth century has shown, the Israeli-Palestinian question is a direct result of the ideological struggle between the Messianic and Zionist ideologies. This discussion is relevant to the PNG situation in that the SIL believes that they must bring the Divine Word to all of PNG's hundreds of language groups (or those groups they understand to have a "linguistic life or sustainability" i.e. over 1000 speakers). It is an ideological belief which can be deconstructed into one which bears the hallmarks of a neo-colonialist quest; one culture's belief which must be imparted onto the others in order for the former to gain. SIL members cannot themselves be redeemed before they can bring others to that point of knowledge.

The ideological content of SIL curricula is pertinent to this aspect of the study. There has been much controversy amongst secular linguists and SIL linguists in PNG over recent years because of the nature of the SIL literacy curricula. Most literacy content was Biblical in nature. Books were written in the vernacular and contained only Biblical themes. A group was made literate in *Tok Ples* and supplied with the only books in existence in their vernacular which gave but one concept to reality in written form. Furthermore, once the Bible has been translated into that vernacular, the SIL mission has been accomplished and their needs have been met: one language closer to the redemption of SIL members and SIL has no further responsibility to that group in terms of publications.

The question faced by all educationalists in PNG has been to determine what is relevant for the target population. As has been seen in the discussion about SIL this can indeed take on certain extremes. Any discussion on what non-secular curricula contains and how it is presented and for what reasons will of course fire debate. For the purposes of this discussion it is perhaps salient to note in conclusion to the

discussion of non-secular education, that there was inevitably an ideological persuasion which matched the times and prevailing thought.

Academic education in colonial times was construed by colonial administrators to be of little importance for the indigenous population. The national colonial policy stressed the importance of not providing academic education for political reasons. And it was Australia's objective to disallow any academic education in order to maintain its hold on its colony. That there was no secondary, state run formal schooling at all until the late 1950's can be the indictment that the deconstructionist of educational and colonial policy uses against the coloniser. Perhaps the Australians had learned from history. The de-colonisation process had begun in West Africa as early (or as late) as 1961 with Ghana's independence. Educated Indians were derided and thought of as being dangerous to colonial hegemony in India. Macmillian's "winds of change" had not been heeded by the Australians who sought tenure on their colony and it would appear that education was one of the main influences on indigenous people's call for independence. The case of Ghana was no exception (Foster; 1965) and Indian Independence was in large part the outcome of the educated elite realising their power (Massey publication, 1990). Ideology and power; education and knowledge, the link is a political one fully understood by the controlling powers (Cooke, 1985, Vol 2: 1)

Curricula in the colony were therefore fully controlled, both by the state and by the churches. The subjects of history, politics, social science would not be useful to a controlling power be it secular or non secular if that power or those powers saw in those subjects the seeds of their own demise. As a result, the nature of the PNG curricula was limited. There appears little in the literature which does not emphasise the pragmatic nature of the curricula as fashioned over the decades to provide a "useful" and "practical" content for a population grappling with sudden emergence from such a "neolithic age" (Conroy;1976).

"Neolithic" is perhaps the key to understanding the very nature of the reticence of allowing the people of the Australian colony an educational system which might translate into something other than what "neolithic" people could use. That the

Australian administration was basically racist is not an issue to be disputed in this review. "Racism is not only just a set of ideas or beliefs, it is a very important economic function"(Cooke: 1985, Vol 1: 33). The denial of education is a part of that political and economic construct. Australia, a nation which until 1992 with the Mabo case, denied its own indigenous people the recognition of pre-colonial, indigenous landownership, could hardly be labelled progressive when it came to that of a colony it saw as its economic reward by mere geographical proximity and historical imperative.

It is perhaps specious therefore to scour the literature looking for signs of a curricula which might negate the larger image history shows us of the paternal and racist education system. In the above discussion I stated as inappropriate the idea of viewing a pre-Marxist situation through the eyes of a Marxist and then passing judgement on that situation using that ideology. However, it can hardly be the case with the Australian administration's role in PNG *vis á vis* education, that no judgement can be levelled in terms of comparing Australian education policy in Australia and PNG. A comparison of Australian aboriginal education with that of PNG education during the years of Australian rule would perhaps provide a more instructive comparison in terms of ideological commitment to minority indigenous peoples on behalf of the coloniser, but it is not within the scope of this review. However, the metropole-satellite dichotomy in relation to white Australia and PNG would suggest that there was little or no evidence of equality in educational provision. In the 1950's "New primary schools were established ... but little attention was given to more advanced provision partly in an attempt to prevent the emergence of an indigenous elite" (Crossley:1983,134).

Education in PNG in the 1960's was also characterised by the need for practical, agricultural education. It is one of the ironic twists of history that the 1960's policy - which was in essence little changed since the establishment of Western education in PNG - was very similar to that envisaged by educationalists who were to emerge with the era of political independence. The difference, or similarity, between the two political groups and eras is that the colonial one used agricultural education

(i.e. non-academic) as an ideological weapon against indigenous aspirations and as a paternal construct for its "neolithic" charges.

...perhaps the most important factor inhibiting the development of a nationalist movement was the absence of a sufficiently large and independent class or group to sustain one. Colonial economic and education policies had not produced, until the 1960's significant social differentiation. (Azeem: 1979, 77)

This deliberate lack of concern to educate PNG people not only affected the political situation at Independence but also the economic and social realities of the nation. For example, when the PNG Government expropriated the plantations after Independence it was often the case that the plantations lost their economic viability. The reason for this lack of commercial success has been attributed to the fact that former plantation owners had never provided training for the locals in any but the most menial tasks (Walter: 1981).

What was to emerge just prior to Independence, and which gained ascendancy in post independent PNG, was a call for practical, rural based education. The ideological persuasion behind such a concept had different motivations but, essentially, the practical application would be the same: vocational schools which met the needs of the rural majority (Weeks: 1983; Vulliamy; 1990).

The need and desire for academic education and the conflict of creating an elite, were all central questions in the 1970's. As will be discussed in Chapter Three on the Secondary School Community Extension Project (SSCEP), these apparent ideological contradictions were, rather, reinterpretations of the same ideological and pedagogic issues of what type of education was most relevant for the PNG population since the very first mission schools in the mid nineteenth century.

Murphy, 1980, MacPherson, 1976, Crossley, 1983, Vulliamy, 1985, Vulliamy 1987, Vulliamy, 1990 - all analyse the educational problems and dilemmas which faced the nation in the post Independence era. Curricula issues are central to their studies and the nature of relevance and the contradictions and ironies inherent in

attempting to address the academic and practical content of the curricula are basic to the argument which endures to the present day. The problems of rural-urban migration, gender, cultural anomalies, Western education versus traditional education, parent and student expectations, are at the centre of this complicated paradigm.

Most of these issues were addressed in the 1972 "Papua New Guinea Eight Point Improvement Plan" (Crossley: 1983: 135). This document demonstrates the concept prevalent at the time that PNG needed to develop its own national consciousness in regards to its development. This document and the following "National Goals and Directives" stress, in terms of education, the need for emphasis on the more traditional "Melanesian Way" and the re-direction of formal Western style education to cater more for the majority of the citizens who were (and still are) rural.

In the 1970's, this emphasis and need for re-direction derived partly from the recent African experience in innovative education. Many newly independent African states were also involved in an ideological reappraisal of the Western institutions which they had inherited. Fafunwa:1968, Foster: 1965, Lungu: 1985, MacKenzie, 1993; Oyeneye: 1980, Sinclair and Lillis, 1980, all discuss the emergence of an African education dialectic in post-colonial Africa. In PNG in the 1970's this dialectic was to influence educational policy in the relevance-education for development debate.

Many influential people were inspired by the precepts of African socialism and notions of self-reliance and were also disenchanted with the impact of modern economic growth and Western lifestyles and instructions on Papua New Guinea society as a whole. (Crossley:1983,.135)

As stated above, the problems and issues have not changed substantially with time. The debate still centres of those inherent in a nation with the cultural make up of PNG. What is central to an understanding to this continuity is that the ideological nature of curriculum content must derive from some agenda, hidden or not. The discussion so far has emphasised that both the colonial administration and the missionaries emphasised the practical and agricultural nature of education. The post

independence political structure also emphasised the same strategies - albeit with a different ideological motivation. What is the commonality, if any, between the two? That Australia denied indigenous people power through the contained nature of its agricultural education programme is a historical reality. What limited academic curricula was provided for the minority was, in reality, censored as Azeem makes clear in his study of the subject. What general academic education which was omitted, such as history and economics, may have been an unconscious event (although a comparative study with metropolitan education of the time would be a necessary litmus test of comparison). Again, Eisner's null curriculum provides an answer; it is what the curricula does not provide which can point the finger. The basic difference in post colonial education is that universal academic education has been provided (as far as possible considering the economic and social constraints on implementing universal education). Similarly, an academic curricula has surmounted the practical one. But the pendulum between emphasis on practical and academic swings constantly. And within the academic curricula the new challenge is emerging; education for what sort of development? (Kaman, 1985).

The nation appears caught by dilemma, albeit a very understandable one. Again, ideology plays its role. PNG is a democratic country in which rights are guaranteed under the Constitution and that Constitution guarantees full participation in the affairs of the country. It is in the ensuing debate about how best those rights should be guaranteed and applied that the dilemmas arise; in colonial times there were no such niceties to consider.

Even as PNG enters the so called modern age, the education debate still centres on what is more relevant in the light of the enormous social disparity and stratification of the country. (Bray and Smith: 1985)

1.3 Contemporary PNG Government Policy and Education for Development: A Review of the Literature

The contradictions inherent in any aspect of development are the practical realities of life in a developing nation. What role education can play in alleviating PNG's multiple problems within the confines of the contradictions and the protestations they arouse in a democracy such as that in PNG are central to understanding the policy surrounding education in the 1990's. It is to a close analysis of Government policy documents that have emerged since the 1980's that this discussion will now turn in order to appreciate the concept of relevance education in the curricula and the problems of null curricula within the education system.

Emerging countries are placing great emphasis on education in their development plans. With scarce resources available, they are increasingly concerned that education should be as productive as possible. Accordingly, educational research efforts tend to be directed toward finding practical answers to pressing problems of how to teach more students more effectively. (Guthrie:1982,14)

Guthrie's concerns are pertinent to the philosophy expressed in PNG Government literature from that time until the present. Furthermore, Guthrie's analysis is interesting in that he conducted his research under the consideration that the selection of his topic:

...was based on the evaluation that as an expatriate teacher and researcher in a developing country I should use my skills to promote government policy with which I have no fundamental disagreements that might force me to reconsider my view...(ibid)

This researcher feels affinity with Guthrie's sentiment. The literature now under review appears a sensible and pragmatic approach (as defined by Popper - in Guthrie:1985, 68) to the problems affecting PNG curricula and education in general. The current PNG Government philosophy is also the apparent outcome of decades of theory and practice experienced in attempting to find suitable solutions to the problems the nation faces.

The Education Sector Review, Vol 2: Deliberations and Findings (1991) lists the primary concerns of the National Government on education.

1. Access to education is limited. At present the gross enrolment is estimated to be around 73%.

2. There is an appalling attrition rate between grades 1 and 6, almost 45%.

3. Initial literacy and all education is largely provided in a foreign language resulting in many children leaving school functionally illiterate.

4. Only 32% of children continue their education beyond grade six. There is overwhelming public demand for children to have greater opportunities for continued education.

5. The present Provincial Education High School curriculum is largely academic in its orientation.

6. Of those who enter grade 7, only about 66% complete grade 10.

7. Of those who complete grade ten, only one third are selected for further education or training.

8. In general, the education which the vast majority of children who do not enter the formal employment sector receive, alienates them from the way of life of the people and does little to help them with the knowledge, skills and attitudes necessary to contribute positively to community or national development.

The realities of the social structure of PNG are behind the current, major changes being implemented in PNG education. The recognition of the past failings of education to "deliver the goods" (Swatridge: 1985) is perhaps at the basis of this major reorganization. Because this philosophy of education forms the basis of other similar reports which have emerged from the Department of Education since the mid 1980's, it is worth quoting in full from the following Ministerial Report. "A Philosophy of Education For PNG", (1986: 28) which outlines the need for relevant curricula:

PNG is a rapidly changing society and faces many challenges. To face these effectively, an individual must strive to become an integrated person and, with others, to work to create a better community. The process of integral human development calls for an education system which helps individuals: to identify their basic human needs; to analyse situations in terms of these needs; to see these needs in the context of the spiritual and social values of the community; and to take responsible action in co-operation with others. The needs of individuals, the educational input from different agents, the learning content and the goals of integral human development are inter-related as shown in the following model: spiritual, social, economics, political for liberation, participation, socialization, equality.

The successful implementation and application of such a philosophy into the national school system is indeed desirable. As Chapter Five will discuss in relation to the situation of women and the formal education system, there is much to be done to apply the rhetoric of this above statement and those others which have been published which call for equality and full participation of females. That the above philosophy and the subsequent calls for the implementation of such a philosophy into the school system is not just entirely rhetoric, is confirmed by one recent educational developments in PNG.

Briefly, the reorganization of the school system means that more children will attend school for longer periods of time; thus the concomitant need for better curricula content so that more students with more education have better skills for coping with the realities of the present social system. There is the school of thought that educating more students for a longer period in academic subjects will only increase the social problems. This concept arising primarily from the "human development theory" is not the preserve of the current PNG education philosophy. To deny people who demand education as their right, would be to ask for social problems.

One of the most important innovations means more primary level children will stay in their own communities to receive education in their vernacular. This means that more community based skills will be attained by students with less alienation from their traditions and community. The main thrust for the curricula, and in the light of the apparent failure of the very important SSCEP scheme is that there will be a greater emphasis on vocational training in all schools. Although the Sector Review does not

mention SSCEP and its limitations in that it was trialed and used in only a handful of schools around PNG, the lesson may have been learned that the "failure" occurred precisely because it was not a universal scheme, although the problems it was trying to fix are. For example:

Only 14% of our people are engaged in the formal sector, so only a minority of children benefit from the present system. Today, 50% of our people are engaged in subsistence agriculture and 36% in cash cropping for a total of 86% engaged in rural primary industry. Only 50% of our arable land is under cultivation and of this, only 25% is being used effectively. Primary industry has the greatest potential to absorb the largest number of school leavers. Our student's education has not prepared them for this reality. Therefore, any reform of the education system should ensure that practical/vocational skills are accorded their rightful priority in the curriculum. (Education Sector Review; p.11)

What knowledge the school leaver takes back to the village - or urban squatter settlement where he or she may not find paid employment - is of absolute importance. The pragmatics of the situation call for relevance; this is the essence of the Government literature now under review and its relation to the core subject of English is no exception.

The Education Sector Review, which outlines the philosophy of the actual changes to take place states:

The curriculum would use an activity based integrated teaching approach following the proposal for core curriculum based on recommendations of the Philosophy of Education Report: Language and Literacy, Social and Spiritual Development, Vocational Skills Development and Mathematics/Science. The present large number of subjects would be collapsed into integrated units. (ibid:8)

The dilemma of curriculum developers is how to provide relevant education for the 85% of the children who will grow up to remain in their rural and semi-rural communities. (ibid:167)

The fact that the structural initiatives outlined in this part of the literature review have already been implemented and will be fulfilled by 1995 (Right Honourable Andrew Baing, Minister of Education - personal interview, 10/10/1992)

suggests that the pragmatics - albeit in line with Popper's philosophy of common sense - would support the implementation into the English curriculum of texts which reflect the nature of the called for changes in education.

There is the very real problem that such subjects as agriculture and environment, if integrated into the English curriculum as the vehicle for language acquisition, may "remain mere rhetoric, divorced from the practical realities of everyday schooling" (Vulliamy, 1987. P.11). Vulliamy suggests that implementation of new educational techniques and models are fraught with difficulty especially when "successful examples of curriculum practice are freely generalisable to different contexts..." and that it is important to remember "that the mode of implementation must differ depending on the context of the innovation" (ibid).

Although not speaking specifically of the current educational innovations in PNG, Vulliamy's point is pertinent in the light of the SSCEP scheme and the apparent contradictions inherent in attempting to implement a similar scheme on the very doorstep of SSCEP's apparent failure. Fortunately, Vulliamy's warning in this case may not need to be heeded precisely because it would appear that the educationalists who have planned the present innovations have taken into account the history of PNG education and that of relevance education in particular.

SSCEP was the most important educational innovation implemented in PNG in post independence times. The most important aspect of the learning process from SSCEP may be that the whole education system from pre-school to tertiary level will be affected by the major changes being undertaken as outlined in the Sector Report (1991). That is, if they are all implemented. There is a very real danger that rhetoric will replace the very sound educational philosophy in all of the reports published from the Education Department. That more schools will offer more students education does not necessarily mean, especially in the secondary sector, that more quality will ensue. Chapter Four analyses the demise of innovative teaching within the innovation of

SSCEP - a parallel may occur in the current innovations promulgated in the literature from the PNG Education Department and Ministry.

It is perhaps ironic that the Government proposes changes which are ideologically consistent with a development model as characterised by those necessary for equal development or education for development (Kaman, 1985) but which are unable to be implemented by a system which is often ideologically predisposed towards an academic, Western oriented education system. This is perhaps more an outcome of the conflicts which arise in a democratic system where parents have a say and where what they say is listened to, as is the case with parental views on SSCEP. But the contradictions and ironies are perhaps as much a product of the human condition as, ultimately, the influence of any development paradigm. That PNG follows a mixture of development theories in no way aids the complexity of issues and events in implementing educational philosophy which may be based on sound principles but which is affected each time a change of Government occurs and is left to the vagaries of a bureaucracy which may not be as ideologically zealous as the official promulgations would allow for.

The themes of irony and contradiction cannot be taken lightly; these are prevalent within the social fabric and the rubric of change and education policy. The demise of SSCEP is largely based on the break down between Western and Melanesian cultural constructs. Within this reality is the irony experienced by parents and administrators alike. It is a cultural phenomenon implicit in the attempt to amalgamate the principles of two distinct and strong cultures. This study of the demise of SSCEP has much to offer for the study of education in PNG throughout its history and contradiction and irony are important elements in an understanding of the apparent conflicts which emerge. Relevant education is a concept so fraught with such cultural misconceptions that what appears as "common sense" can lead to complete disaster:

Any attempt at curriculum reform in Third World schools must recognize that parents and students are likely to reject any innovations which do not accord with prevalent routes to high status examination success. This has proved

to be the major constraint on Third World attempts to vocationalize the curriculum (Foster, 1985; Lillis and Hogan, 1983) and to link education with production in self reliance programmes in Tanzania (Saunders, 1982), to promote non-formal education in developing countries (Simkins, 1977) and to relate the school more to the local community. (Thompson, 1983) (ibid)

Such contradictions and ironies are the concern of PNG educationalists: the current compromise is the implementation of integrated subjects with academic and practical application on a universal level. Into this schemata fits the idea (ideal?) of the English syllabus as facilitator and vehicle for relevant content which will suit both the academic and practical needs - as perceived from experience and current social indicators - of the target population.

The task is enormous: the National Objectives asks the Education Department to:

...develop a schooling system to meet the needs of Papua New Guinea and its people which provides appropriately for the return of children to the village community, for formal employment, or for continuation to further education and training. (A Review of the Education System and Proposals for Reform: National Executive Council: September 1991)

This discussion began by placing education in general, and curricula in particular, within the context of their link to ideology. The history of education in Papua New Guinea attests to the ideological nature of education precisely from the political persuasion of any given era and the nature of social construct and its relation to values. The relationship between ideology and pedagogy is profound. It is the purpose of this work to investigate the nature of that relationship within the context of the PNG curricula to determine the level of education for development.

CHAPTER TWO

DEVELOPMENT ISSUES IN THE PAPUA NEW GUINEA GRADE SEVEN AND GRADE EIGHT ENGLISH CURRICULUM: IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATION FOR DEVELOPMENT

2.0 Introduction

All students in Grade seven and Grade eight Papua New Guinea (PNG) high schools study the core subject of English. Grade seven and Grade eight are the first two years of high school. The ages of students enrolled in these classes can vary greatly. There are no figures available on the average age of students in these grades but from observation the author estimates that most are between the ages of twelve and fifteen. It is this researcher's observation that it is also difficult to obtain exact figures for age groups because most students, especially those in rural areas, do not know their exact age.

There are 208 hours devoted to this subject in an academic year. The main text book used in Grade seven is *Create And Communicate Book One* by J.B. Heaton. Book Two of the same series is used in Grade eight. Classroom observations have shown that teachers in these grades use these two texts as their major source of teaching material. Indeed, the books form the basis for the syllabus for each grade.

The series was written for the Singapore High School system in 1977. The series was rejected after two years. The huge stock pile of books was sold cheaply to Papua New Guinea in 1983 with no changes in content: the books were specifically designed in content and approach for the Singapore system. Most of the pictures and most of the content was about Singapore. In 1985, there was a rewrite of the series. The rewrite by curriculum writers at Waigani, in league with J.B. Heaton, attempted to make the series more suitable for PNG. This rewrite was funded by the World Bank, Secondary Education Project (Education Three). It is

commonly accepted by present curriculum writers that this rewrite was not well researched and was done in haste.

That the core subject of English is being asked to play a part in the process of education for development is indisputable. English/ESL is a core subject. Yet this link between ESL and development issues has not been widely stated in PNG (Buchanan 1991, 1992, 1993). Until recently this was a problem common throughout the developing world. It is unfortunate that ESL has been unable to incorporate the needs of the developing world into its pedagogic framework especially in light of the fact that so many developing nations have ESL as a core subject in their education systems. This problem arises no doubt from the fact that the major publishing houses are centred in the First World and publish for that population. There the concern is not with education for development in terms of the Third World. What progressive content there is to be found in such ESL series as do incorporate a socially aware thematic structure is, for the most part, limited to personal development. This absence of ESL courses with development themes is also an outcome of the same ideological situation, or lack of application of appropriate ideological concern, which education has faced in PNG as a whole, an issue which will be discussed further in following chapters.

Fortunately, it appears that new materials are being produced in some Third World nations. A 1993 ESL publication from Mexico written expressly for the Mexican school system addresses environmental problems. The authors note:

We agreed with the premise that learning a language requires much more than the simple repetition of structures to talk about irrelevant matters. Therefore the topics should be one which could provide students not only with a wider view of the world they live in but with the opportunity to learn something relevant and useful. Besides, we were very concerned about the ecological disaster the world is facing, and certain that every one of us can and must do something to stop it. So we decided to take an ecological approach. (López, Santamaría, Aponte, 1993, 12).

An ESL text produced in Senegal and devoted completely to the teaching of English with the content being on AIDS, is now being trailed in PNG by this researcher and other academics at the UPNG- Goroka Campus. That text discusses in detail the many aspects of AIDS: health, social, economic factors of the pandemic. It uses all the format typical of ESL texts: reading passages, grammar, listening, role play and writing. The ESL vehicle with the content characterised as that which the Government is seeking: development education.

From informal interviews with teachers who use both books of *Create And Communicate*, and from my own observations and intensive work with these books over a period of five years, the question arises as to whether the content of the books provides suitable social, economic and spiritual relevance for Papua New Guinean students.

Papua New Guinea is a developing nation with its own share of development problems and dilemmas. The area of education is no exception. Because of the very high attrition rate throughout both primary and secondary school, it is of particular importance to maximise the relevance of content in both core and non-core subjects. The attrition rate between Grades one and six is 45 per cent. Only 32 per cent of that number continue on to Grade seven. Only 66% of that number continue on to Grade 10. Seventy five per cent of all school leavers will not find wage earning employment in the formal sector and will return to their place of origin (Education Sector Review, P. 48) The figures for population by occupation show implications for the application of education needs as outlined in recent PNG educational publications: 13 per cent are employed in the formal sector, 35 per cent in self employment and 52 per cent in subsistence agriculture (Ministry of Education, National Executive Council, P.9).

Because of high rural and urban unemployment, the rural urban migration, high mortality rates from preventable diseases and other social and economic and health problems affecting Papua New Guinea, it could be asked if there needs to be more effort placed on the education system to address these issues. The 416 hours

devoted to the teaching of the English language is a suitable arena for the imparting of content knowledge pertinent to the continued development of the nation.

The following quotations from the 1991 "Education Sector Review, Volume Two" illustrate the current philosophy of the PNG Education Department.

A Vision: The national government has adopted a philosophy of education and goals which contain a vision of an education system which would be relevant to the social, spiritual and resource development needs and opportunities of the majority of our citizens. The vision is the one which accepts the culture of the community as the starting point and builds upon it to develop citizens who are committed to their own personal development, have developed a productive work ethic and value both urban and rural community development activities in a context of national development, are prepared for the realities of life in both communities, strengthens citizens' identification with, rather than alienation from, their own communities, gives value and status back to the appropriate attitudes, knowledge and skills relevant to community development; and, supplements this with a degree of competence in English, mathematics and science....(p. 169).

Existing policy calls for a re-direction of curriculum bias at the secondary level through integrated teaching and renewed emphasis on social, cultural, spiritual, ethical and moral education (p. 43).

The research questions arise from, and are subject to, the stated philosophy of the PNG Education Department as exemplified in the above quotations.

1. How many content hours does the *Create And Communicate* Series devote to the following subjects?

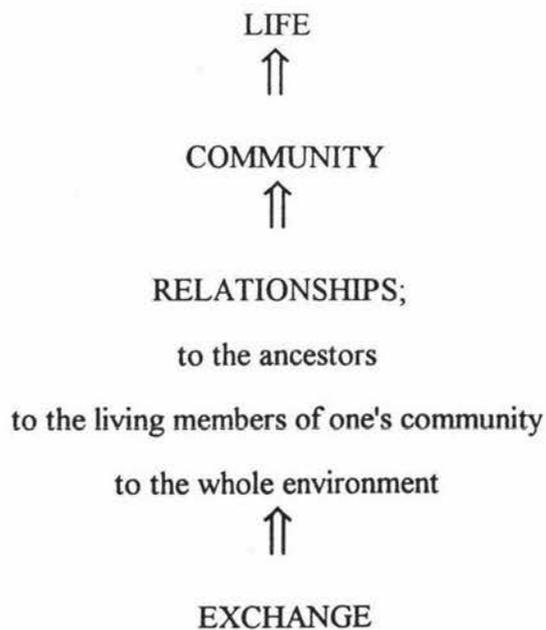
- a: spiritual / moral
- b: economic / business
- c: environment / health
- d: Singapore
- e: gender issues
- f: science
- g: social science
- h: practical skills / home economics

2. Do English teachers see a need for relevant content material in the Grade seven and eight English syllabi?
3. What knowledge do Grade seven and Grade eight students have about common health problems in PNG?

2.1 Definition Of Terms

1) Relevant Education and National Development: For the purposes of this research and the subsequent analysis, the definition of "relevant education" and "national development" will be used as implied and/or stated in the Education Sector Review, 1991, as quoted above. The term "education for development" will be defined as the same as "relevant education".

2) Spiritual / Ethical / Moral: There are no definitions supplied for these terms in any of the Education Department's literature which calls for such values to be implemented into the PNG curricula. For the purposes of this research and the subsequent analysis, I shall use those as defined as the "system of Melanesian values" by Ennio Mantovani (1984: 204) and summarized as below:



2.2 Objectives

The objectives of the research are to determine the following:

1. The number of hours in the series devoted to each of the subjects listed under Research Question One.
2. What English teachers feel should constitute the content of an English text in the light of "relevant education" as defined by the stated educational goals in PNG Education Department publications.
3. What level of knowledge Grade seven and Grade eight students have about common health problems in PNG.

2.3 Issues Raised

The most important issue raised by research question one is to ascertain if the content of this series usefully contributes to the human resources of those who study it.

The most important issue raised by research question number two is to ascertain the level of appreciation of English teachers for the integration of development content material into the English syllabus.

The most important issue raised by research question number three is to ascertain what specific knowledge the students have about health problems which affect their communities.

2.4 Disciplinary Areas Involved

The areas involved are multi-disciplinary:

- a: language / English
- b: curriculum / syllabus design

- c: development studies
- d: social sciences
- e: economics / business
- f: spiritual / religious
- g: anthropology / Melanesian studies
- h: science
- i: health
- j: environment
- k: education

2.5 Research Methodology

Three instruments were used to gather the research data.

- a. A content analysis of the Grade seven and the Grade eight English series *Create And Communicate*.
- b. A questionnaire for teachers who use the series *Create And Communicate*.
- c. A questionnaire for Grade seven and Grade eight students to ascertain their level of knowledge on common health issues in PNG.
- d. An oral interview administered to Grade seven and Grade eight students to ascertain their level of knowledge on common health issues in PNG.

2.6 The Content Analysis

Content analysis is a coding operation used to determine meaning in written or oral communication. The data obtained from the use of the code operation is analysed against the research problem. (Kaman, 1989: 42).

Babbie (1985) states that the two most important factors in content analysis are:

- 1) the conceptual framework
- 2) the development of a coding framework to analyse the data.

In the content analysis of *Books One and Two Create And Communicate*, the conceptual framework is determined by the definition of "relevant material". That

definition is then further categorized into sub-categories against which the content of the books is analysed (see 2.7 below).

In this content analysis, no code number as determined by Babbie (ibid) and applied by Kaman (1989) is employed. Because of the more qualitative nature of this analysis it was decided that a sufficient degree of quantitative measurement could be ascertained by tabulations as defined by the author.

The quantitative analysis limits itself to a time factor expressed as a percentage of the total time possible. The time factor is the number of minutes a student (either under the classroom direction of a teacher or in a homework situation) could spend on any one of the categories as listed. (see section 2.17, Tables 2.1 and 2.2 below). The total amount of time the student spends on each category is sub-totalled. Sub-totals are then combined to demonstrate how much time the student spends on what has been defined as the relevant component of content in *Create And Communicate*. There is a total of 208 classroom hours for the subject of English. This researcher's observation of classroom procedure, which is corroborated by other interested educationalists, shows that a majority of school teachers devote most of their time to teaching from *Create And Communicate*, the contents of which must be taught as part of the syllabus.

2.7 Content Analysis of Book One and Book Two, *Create And Communicate*: Pilot Study

The preliminary content analysis differed from the second analysis of the books. Because of the problems encountered, as discussed below, it was decided to do a second analysis using other analytical criteria. This first analysis could be considered the pilot study.

In the first analysis, every aspect of the content was analysed according to the criteria pertinent to and including the concept of "relevance" as defined above. The

content of the books was analysed to ascertain how many hours per year were spent on each of the following sub categories listed:

- a: spiritual / ethical
- b: economics / business
- c: health
- d: Singapore
- e: PNG
- f: gender / feminist
- g: international
- h: science
- i: social sciences
- j: practical skills / home economics
- k: agriculture
- l: amalgam (defined as content not easily sub-categorized, but of relevance with reference to a number of the sub-categories).

In the first analysis, a major problem encountered was that of overlapping. What could be recorded in one sub-category, could also be recorded in another. For example;

Book One, Page 52.

Title: Asking For Information.
Time factor: ten minutes.
Sub- categories: PNG and social science.

Problem: In order to demonstrate that the content of *Create And Communicate* does have PNG content, it was necessary to add the class time to the time factor under the sub-category heading PNG. However, the content is also social science. If this were not recorded, then it might appear that the bias against the book was such that deliberate measures had been taken to not include obvious social science content. When added together, the time factor for these two sub-categories amounts to twenty minutes. The content would take only ten minutes of classroom

time. This means there is a distortion of the real time factor of ten minutes: one of doubling of the time factor, or overlapping.

The first analysis also revealed the problem of including as time factor that content which holds only superficial substance within the sub-category into which it is designated. For example:

Book One, page 74, Reading And Comprehension.

Title: It Took Me Back To The Good Old Days
Time factor: 40 minutes.
Category: PNG.

Problem: The picture accompanying the reading passage is obviously of a Papua New Guinean. The man is mentioned as being a Papua New Guinean. The story however bears no relation to the fact that the man is a Papua New Guinean. The story line is weak and has no content which can be placed into one of the sub-categories. Does this therefore constitute a justifiable time factor entry of forty minutes under the sub-category heading "PNG"?

This particular reading passage was in the original Singapore edition (Heaton, 1977). The superficial PNG re-write merely changed the character's name from Captain Lee to Captain Laipa. The picture accompanying the text was changed from that of a man with characteristics of those commonly associated with Asians, to those of a person of Melanesian extraction (see Appendix Two).

2.8 Application of the Content Analysis

Because of the problems encountered in the pilot content analysis as outlined, the second content analysis had to be changed considerably but still be consistent within and for the stated goals of the research.

The question of the conceptual framework as outlined by Babbie (1985:276) and as experienced by Kamam (1989), could not be ignored. At this juncture, two issues arose for the researcher:

1. The question of objectivity in educational research. The reading passage titled: "It Took Me back To The Good Old Days" as discussed above, can be regarded as irrelevant for a number of reasons. On the other hand, what is the objective reasoning behind the inclusion or exclusion of this passage from any new text which could replace the one under question?

Objectivity is a topic fraught with conceptual danger, particularly in a field of inquiry such as education which draws on a wide range of philosophical, historical, and social scientific traditions...(Guthrie, 1982: 68)

The researcher felt that in the pilot study, his quest for objectivity and fairness and his unwillingness to subjectify by personally held opinions on the research question, led him to the problems encountered. How then to reorganize the conceptual framework and take into account the many variables which led to the problems encountered without being considered "subjective"?

The hoped for solution to this dilemma was the research findings from the teacher questionnaire. This teacher questionnaire will be discussed below but it is necessary to mention briefly that the teachers' responses would perhaps allow some justification for the decision made by the researcher as to Dunkin's and Biddle's statement : "Much educational decision-making is based on educators' 'plausible beliefs or ideological commitments'" (quoted in Guthrie: 17, 1983).

The researcher felt that the second content analysis would take the form of a much pared down criterion based analysis. Criterion based, as opposed to criteria based, in that the one question would be asked for each segment in the texts under question: "Would this section be suitable for inclusion into a new edition of an ESL book based on the perceived needs of students in PNG who were to be given content based on that defined as relevant?"

Because all education is at its base ideological (Bock, 1983: xvii) the quest for complete objectivity had to be seen within the context of the following statement:

Action - oriented education research is likely to be at its most useful and convincing if the development and research teams take full account of the realities of the classroom situation. This implies in turn that pedagogical knowledge and experience are as important in the genesis and conduct of such enquiries as are the behavioural sciences themselves. (Wall, 1970: 249 - quoted in Guthrie, 1982: 67)

Therefore, the questionnaire applied to the teachers asking their opinion of the content in the two texts under scrutiny, would help verify the validity of the common perception of the content under analysis and therefore validate what might be considered by detractors as an ideological bias in the content analysis.

Certainly, the appeal for more systematic classroom research is sound, but the binary logic of this narrow scientism oversimplifies the nature of science by excluding research techniques not closely derived from researchers' own social constructs. (Guthrie: 1981, 69)

McNamara would support this researcher's contention that pragmatism eventually lies at the base of education action research:

..there seems to be no articulation between the teachers' common sense perception of classroom events and their everyday knowledge and educational researchers' conceptual schemes and their consequent interpretation of classroom behaviour. (McNamara, 1978: 32)

The single question as stated above was therefore employed for the purposes of this content analysis: albeit that question arose from much detailed examination of the question and the content was still subject to classification. But the approach was justified by McNamara's sentiments and supported by Easton: "...concepts are neither true nor false; they are only more or less useful" (Guthrie: 1981, 71).

The second content analysis therefore evolved from the process outlined above. The question is worth re-stating here: "Would this section be suitable for inclusion into a new edition of an ESL book based on the perceived needs of students in PNG who were to be given content based on that defined as relevant?"

The decision on a particular section had to be conclusive. All criteria had to fit before any time factor was allocated. The section under discussion above resulted in the second analysis as follows:

Title:	It Took Me Back To The Good Old Days
Time Format:	forty minutes.
Category:	PNG (superficial)
Content in light of the research question:	Negligible
Outcome:	not included in a text revision

2.9 Limitations

The study of the *Create And Communicate* series was limited to *Book One* and *Book Two*. Because of time limitations it was decided not to incorporate *Book Three* and *Book Four* in the study. *Book Three* and *Book Four* are thought by some to be of a higher standard in quality, both in terms of ESL content and relevance content. This is a highly debatable issue and is worthy of further investigation but is not within the scope of the present study.

The study had to limit itself in terms of what number of sub-categories would be included. Such possible sub-categories as: race, literature/fiction and development paradigm bias, were omitted although implicit meaning was incorporated into other sub-categories where appropriate.

The sub-category of Gender is not a feminist critique of the content although the researcher recognizes that this would be a worthy study in itself. "Gender" refers to issues in which women feature as positive role models or where issues specific to women are dealt with. The study does not include an analysis of issues related to men because from even a casual glance at the books, the material is male dominated and that aspect of the content would deserve further research in itself.

Further, the study does not undertake to study the ESL content and its appropriateness to the Provincial High School system even though that content and its suitability of level is also under question. This would make an interesting

study in itself in light of the question of language and national development. That national resources are spent in procuring these texts with questionable ESL worthiness is a development question worthy of further analysis but is not within the scope of this paper.

2.10 Teacher Questionnaire

The Teacher Questionnaire (see Appendix One) was trialed on Second Year Language and Literature majors at Goroka Teachers College. There appeared to be no problems with the pilot questionnaire and it was then administered to 58 teachers of English in high schools throughout PNG.

2.11 Design

The questionnaire is in two parts. Part One asks the teachers to decide on the level of relevance of fifteen reading passage topics. The topics in Part One are similar in nature to the topics actually found in the texts under analysis. The fictional topics were written to reflect the hypothesis that the nature of the content in the texts ranges from very relevant to very irrelevant.

Part Two of the questionnaire asks the English teachers to choose from the same scale for topics actually found within *Book One* and *Book Two*. Part One seeks to validate the findings of Part One in that both parts have parallel themes; Part Two is based on actual topics from the text.

In Part two, teachers are asked to explain their answers.

2.12 Statistical Methodology

Responses were tabulated for the gender subsamples and recorded in graphs under gender and total. No statistically significant differences in gender were calculated for the following reasons:

1. The combined total response was thought to be of more significance for the purposes of the research. It was not considered significant to have differentials for the purposes of the research objective.

2. The limited sample would preclude significant differentials and this relates to the above in that an application of the research objective would make gender differentials irrelevant.

3. There were five options and thus a high number of degrees of freedom in the questionnaire for the sample to respond to. These options were not collapsed in order to demonstrate fully the teachers' options which have thematic value for the research objective.

No thematic analysis was done on the open ended questions but further analysis would prove worthwhile for ongoing research.

2.13 Student Questionnaire

The student questionnaire was administered to 443 students: 227 Grade seven and 216 Grade eight students in seven high schools throughout PNG. The main objective of the student questionnaire was to ascertain the students' level of health knowledge.

The pilot study was administered in two Southern Highlands high schools. The pilot questionnaire was written in Tok Pisin and proved valuable in pointing to a number of anomalies and problems which were rectified for the final questionnaire which was written in English. The problems with Tok Pisin included:

a. Discrepancies in the use of Tok Pisin. Several people were consulted on specific health terms in Tok Pisin and there was little consensus.

b. It appeared that regional variations would also be an impediment in a national survey.

c. Tok Pisin is not widely used in Milne Bay where the questionnaire was administered.

The questionnaire was re-written in English, trialed and found to be suitable.

2.14 Student Questionnaire: Statistical Methodology

Although the variables of Community school location, parental education category, religious denomination category were obtained, for the purposes of this paper only the variables of gender and grade were analysed. Those variables not used would be useful for further research.

Responses to questionnaire items were collated for the whole sample and expressed as percentage frequencies. Analyses of variation were carried out to determine sample homogeneity for total scores with reference to grade level and gender. Contingency tables were then used to determine sample homogeneity for responses to individual items with reference to these two items.

2.15 Student Oral Interview

At the same time as the pilot questionnaire in Tok Pisin was being applied in two Southern Highlands schools, an oral interview was conducted with different students from the same classes as those who had been given the questionnaire. Six females and six males were randomly selected from each grade. This oral interview acted as a corroborative pilot study with the questionnaire.

The pilot study ascertained the appropriate level of question for the questionnaire. Health topics not included in the oral interview were included in the questionnaire. However, parallel content questions in both the questionnaire and the oral interview were employed to determine response discrepancies. In other words, would the students be able to validate their knowledge in the parallel questions in both the open ended and multiple choice items? (see section 2.17 below).

During the pilot study of the oral interviews, it was discovered that girls and boys had to be separated in order to encourage confidence. The oral interviews were conducted in either English or Tok Pisin or a mixture of both, depending on the circumstances.

The oral interview was administered to a total of 174 students: 84 boys and 90 girls in seven high schools nationally.

2.16 Student Oral Interview: Statistical Methodology

Grade levels and gender were the only variables used in the statistical methodology for the oral interview. The percentages were illustrated in graphs. Because boys do not study the subject of home economics, it was decided to do a gender analysis rather than a combined sample. Because the questions were open ended, inferential statistics were not employed.

2.17 Results

2.17.1 Content Analysis of Create And Communicate: Book One

2.17.1.1 Ranking of Sub-Categories: Book One

Table 2.1		
Ranking of Subcategories: Book One Create and Communicate		
subcategory	minutes	percentage¹
Social Science	200	1.6
Spiritual and Ethical	185	1.5
PNG	175	1.4
Health	115	<1
Science	100	<1
Economics and Business	85	<1
Practical Skills / Home Ec.	50	<1
Environment	10	<1
Gender	10	<1
Agriculture	0	0
total time allocation	15.5 hours	7.5%

¹ NOTE: Total Time Possible, 208 hours.

2.17.2 Content Analysis: Book Two Create And Communicate

Table 2.2		
Ranking of Subcategories: Book Two Create and Communicate		
subcategory	minutes	percentage¹
Social Science	570	4.6
Economics and Business	345	2.8
PNG	320	2.6
Spiritual and Ethical	310	2.5
Practical Skills / Home Ec.	40	<1
Health	20	<1
Environment	0	0
Gender	0	0
Science	0	0
Agriculture	0	0
total time allocation	26.75 hours	13%

¹ NOTE: Total Time Possible, 208 hours.

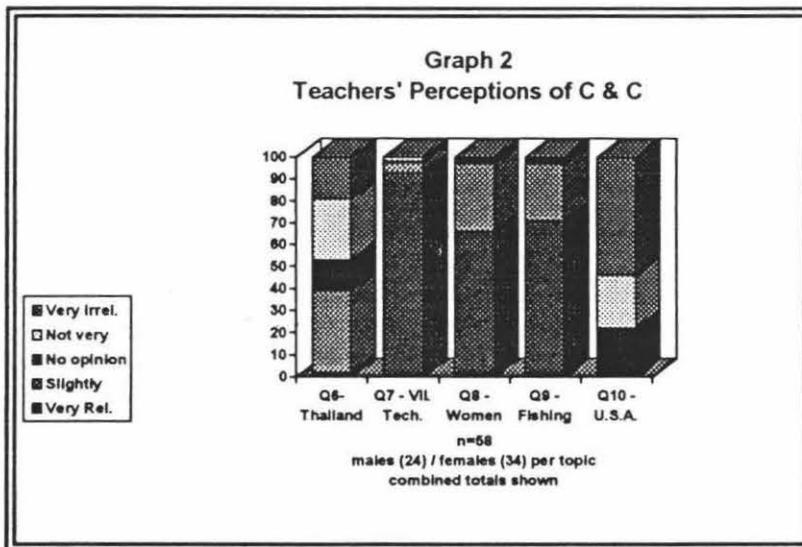
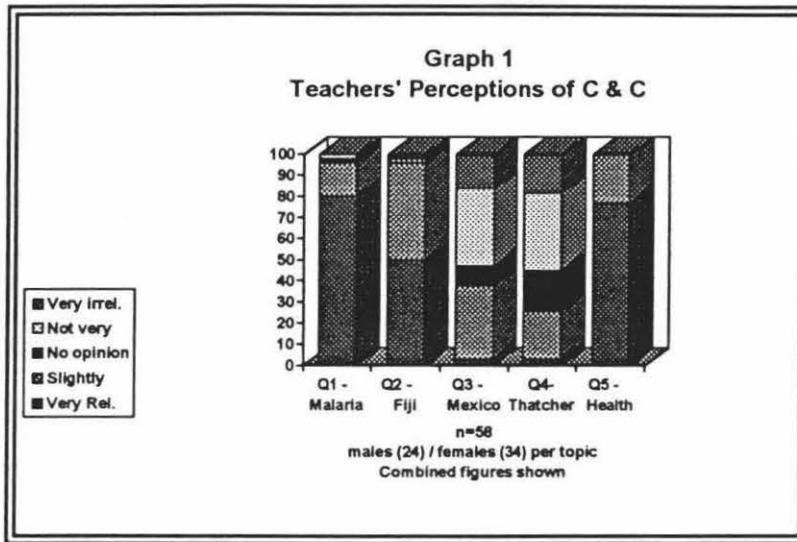
Both Tables 2.1 and 2.2 rank the sub-categories in the content analysis of *Create And Communicate Book One* according to the amount of time (expressed in minutes) that is devoted to each sub-category in the text. The percentage expresses the total amount of time devoted to each sub-category from the total amount possible, which is the 208 hours programmed for the school year for the core subject of English.

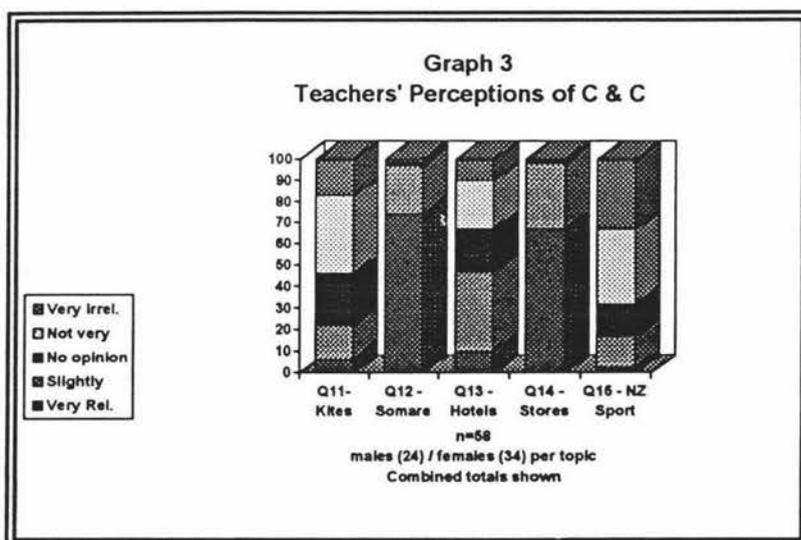
In Table 2.1 three sub-categories, those of social science, spiritual/ethical and PNG, score between 1% and 2% of total time possible. When combined with the other seven sub-categories out of the total time possible for the combined subject specific material, the percentage total is 7.5% of the 208 hours of class time. Six sub-categories score less than 1% of the total time possible. Agriculture features no time factor allocation and hence no percentage of total time possible.

Table 2.2 indicates that three of the sub-categories score between 2.5% and 4.6% of total time possible. When combined with the other seven sub-categories, the combined total is 13%. Two sub-categories, Health and Practical Skills/Home Economics score less than 1%. Four sub-categories do not feature time factor allocation and hence no percentage of total time possible.

2.18 Teacher Questionnaire: Results

2.18.1 Part One: Teacher Questionnaire



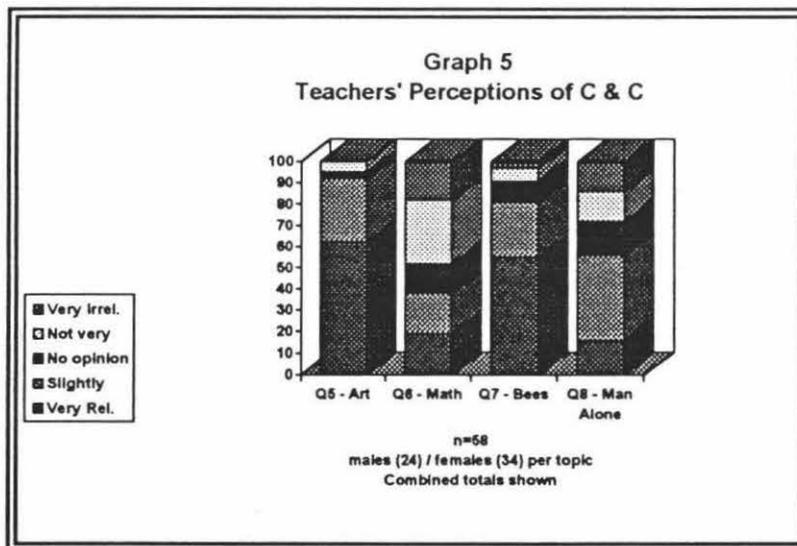
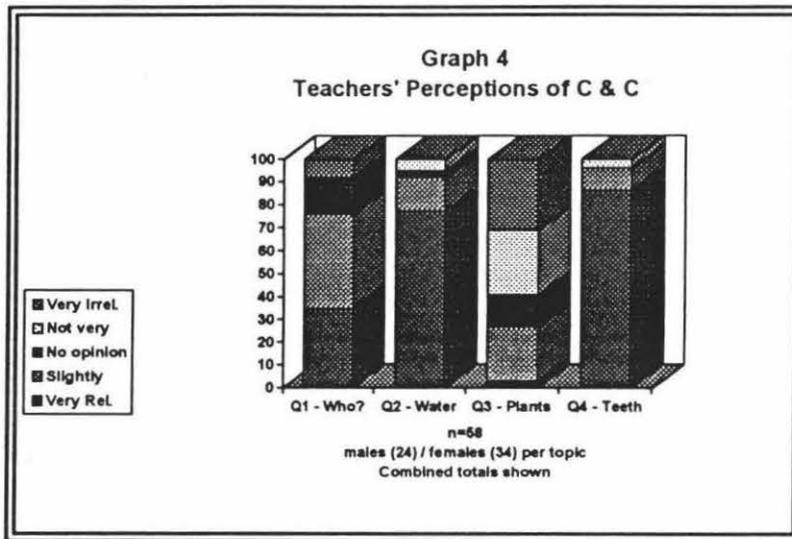


Graphs 1, 2 and 3 present teachers' responses to the items in Part One of the questionnaire (see section 2.19 for a summary of the questionnaire). The results feature only the combined response total.

Items 1, 2, 5, 7, 8, 9, 12, 14, which are defined as representing relevant content, have a mean response rate of 72% for the "very relevant" option. When combined with the 22% mean score response for "slightly relevant" the mean response is 94% for affirmation of the items.

Items 3, 4, 6, 10, 11, 13 and 15, which do not represent relevant content items, have a mean score of 3.7% for the "very relevant" option. Items 11 and 13, the only two of the above which include "PNG" in the item heading, score the highest mean response for the "very relevant" option at 6% and 10% respectively.

2.18.2 Part Two: Teacher Questionnaire

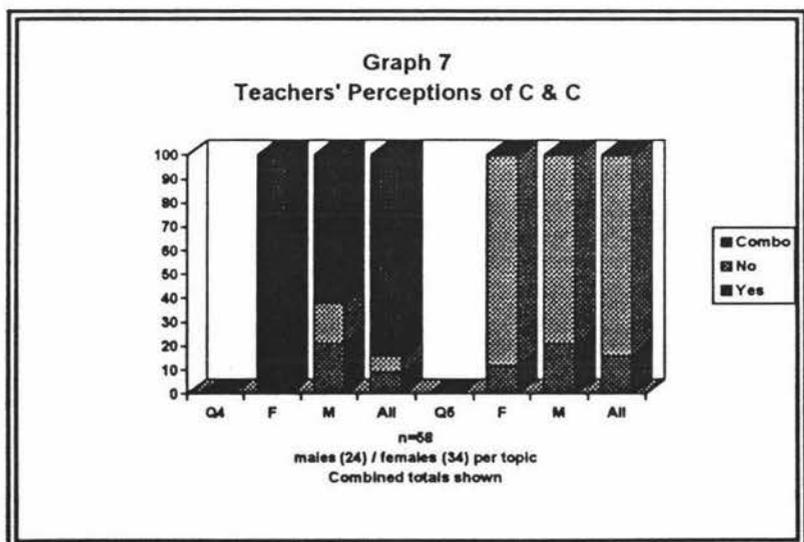
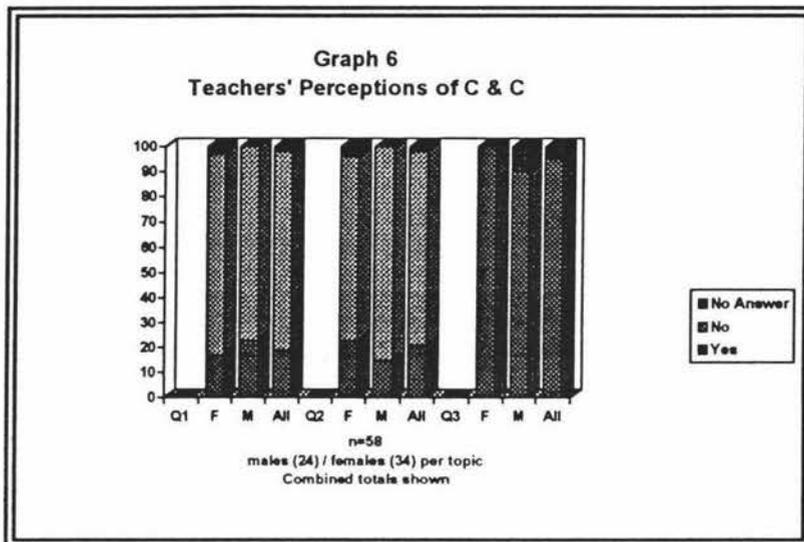


Graphs 4 and 5 present teachers' responses to the items in Part Two of the Teacher Questionnaire. The results feature only the combined response total.

Items 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, which represent relevant content issues, have a mean response rate of 63% to the "very relevant" response category. When combined with the 24% combined response for the "slightly relevant" category, the mean score response for both categories is 87%.

Items 3, 6 and 8 which are items considered not relevant according to the definition of terms, have a mean response of 13% for the "very relevant" category.

2.18.3 Teacher Questionnaire: Open Ended Questions



Graph 6 shows the response to questions 1, 2 and 3 of the open ended section of Part Two of the Teacher Questionnaire. In response to the question: Is the present English syllabus relevant to the needs of your students? a total of 77% of

the teachers indicated that it was not suitable. 17% thought it was. 6% did not respond.

76% of the sample indicated that the English syllabus is not suitable for both rural and urban students. 96% of the sample indicated that development issues should be included in a new English series.

Graph 7, indicates a sample response rate of 84% in favour of a combination of PNG and international content in a new English series. In response to question 5, 84% of the sample indicated that they are not satisfied with the present *Create And Communicate* series.

2.19 Student Questionnaire

The following table represents the statistical findings on research conducted on 443 Grade 7 and 8 high school students to ascertain their level of health knowledge.

Table 2.3
Percentage Response Rates for Whole Sample (N=443)

Item	Option (1,2,3)	b	c
Hearing Impairment	4	23	73
Visual Impairment	11	33	56
Typhoid	6	86	7
Influenza	4	1	95
Kwashiorkor	32	68	0
Contraception	7	85	8
Gonorrhoea	90	2	7
Hepatitis	34	13	51
Tuberculosis	74	12	13
Abuse of Women	14	0	86
Diarrhoea	25	9	65

- notes: 1. calculated to nearest whole percentage
 2. non-response not tabulated
 3. correct answer in bold type

Table 2.4
Significant Differences between Subsamples on Total Scores

GRADES	n	Mean ¹	Standard Deviation	f
Grade 7	227	7.48	1.49	
Grade 8	216	7.89	1.67	7.36 p<0.01

note: ¹ Maximum attainable score = 11

Table 2.5
Significant Differences between Subsamples for Response Frequencies to Items (% response 1,2)

Subsample	n	Item	a	b	c	X ²
Grades						
Grade 7	22 7	(1) hearing	7	22	70	
Grade 8	21 6		1	23	76	10.68 x ² = p<0.01
		(6) contraception	10	80	10	
			3	90	6	10.49 x ² = p<0.01
		(7) gonorrhoea	87	2	11	
			94	3	4	7.93 x ² = p<0.05
Gender						
Males	18 7	(1) hearing	7	27	66	
Females	25 6		2	20	78	10.77 x ² = p<0.01
		(2) sight	13	40	47	
			9	29	62	10.73 x ² = p<0.01
		(3) typhoid	7	89	3	
			6	84	10	7.13 x ² = p<0.05
		(5) kwashiorkor	37	61	1	
			27	72	0	6.70 x ² = p<0.05
		(9) tuberculosis	65	16	18	
			80	9	10	12.7 x ² = p<0.01

note: 1. to nearest whole percentage 2. correct answer in bold type

Table 2.3 presents percentage response rates to the questionnaire items for the whole sample. Items 3 (typhoid), 4 (influenza), 6 (contraception), 7 (gonorrhoea) and 10 (abuse of women) were responded to correctly by 85% or more of the sample. Items 1 (hearing impairment), B (hepatitis), 9 (tuberculosis) and 11 (diarrhoea) featured modally correct responses but also significant minorities displaying a lack of awareness or comprehension about the issues invoked. Items 2 (visual impairment) and 5 (kwashiorkor) featured modally incorrect responses.

Table 2.4 presents statistically significant differences between the subsamples of Grade seven and Grade eight. The mean of 7.89 (72%) for Grade 8 students was significantly better than that of 7.48 (68%) for the Grade 7 subsample.

There were no statistically significant differences between the mean scores of boys and girls.

Table 2.5 presents statistically significant differences between response frequencies of Grade level and gender subsamples. Grade 8 students outperformed Grade 7 students for items 1 (hearing impairment), 6 (contraception), 7 (gonorrhoea).

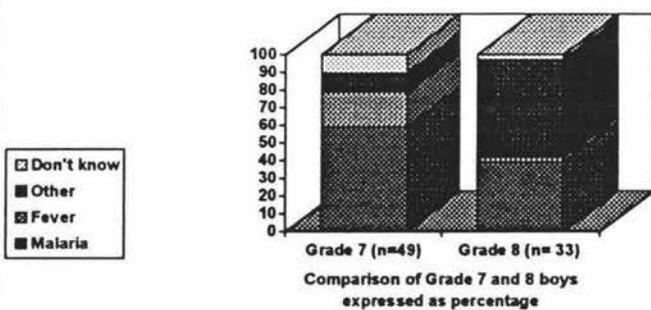
While there was no significant difference between boys and girls with regard to mean scores, boys outperformed girls for items 2 (visual impairment), 3 (typhoid) and kwashiorkor, while girls outperformed boys for items hearing impairment and tuberculosis.

2.20 Student Oral Interview

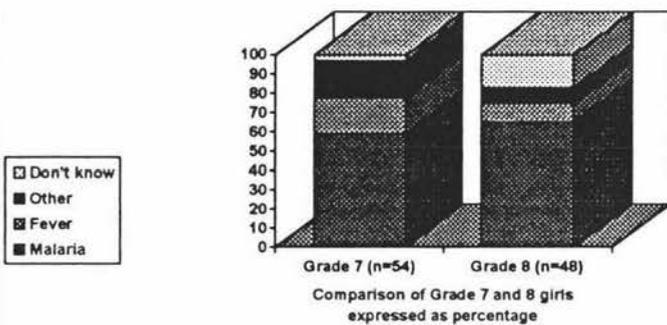
The graphs below indicate the results of the oral interview administered to Grade seven and Grade eight boys and girls.

Graphs Eight through Thirteen indicate responses to questions of similar content as those posed in the student questionnaire in questions 1, 2, and 11 respectively. These graphs appear below.

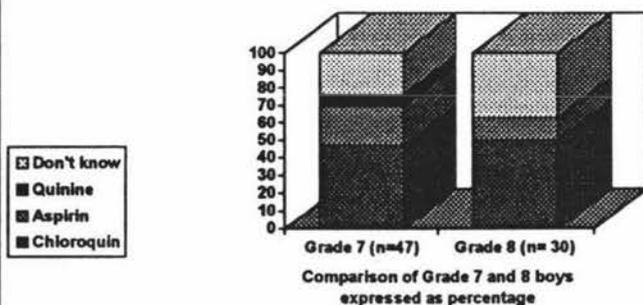
Graph 8
Students' Questionnaire
Ability to identify symptoms of Malaria



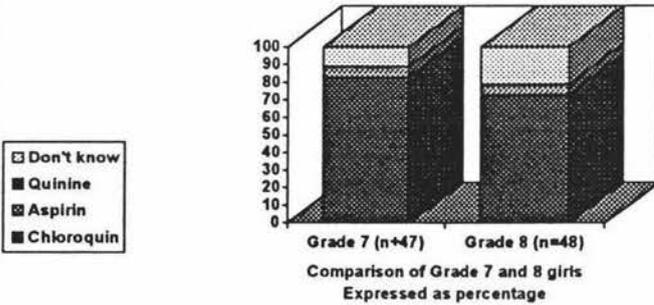
Graph 9
Students' Questionnaire
Ability to identify symptoms of malaria



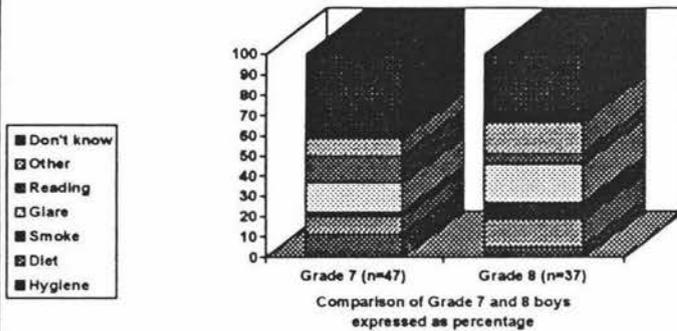
Graph 10
Students' Questionnaire
Ability to name Malaria Treatment



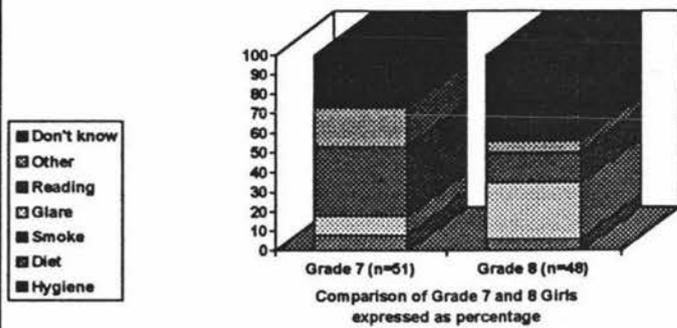
Graph 11
Students' Questionnaire
Ability to name Malaria Treatment



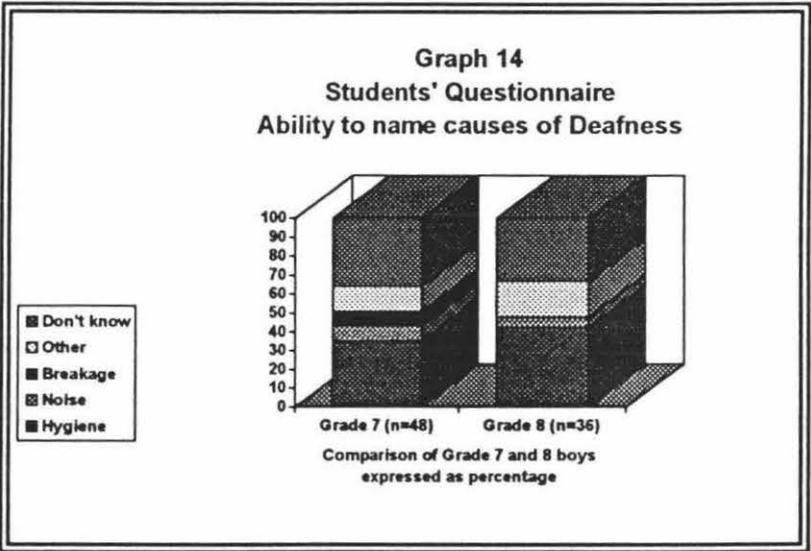
Graph 12
Students' Questionnaire
Ability to name causes of Blindness

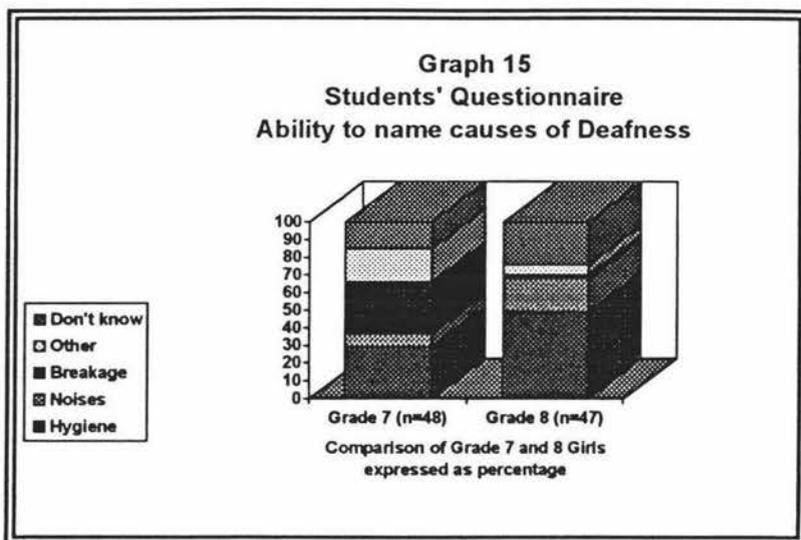


Graph 13
Students' Questionnaire
Ability to name causes of Blindness

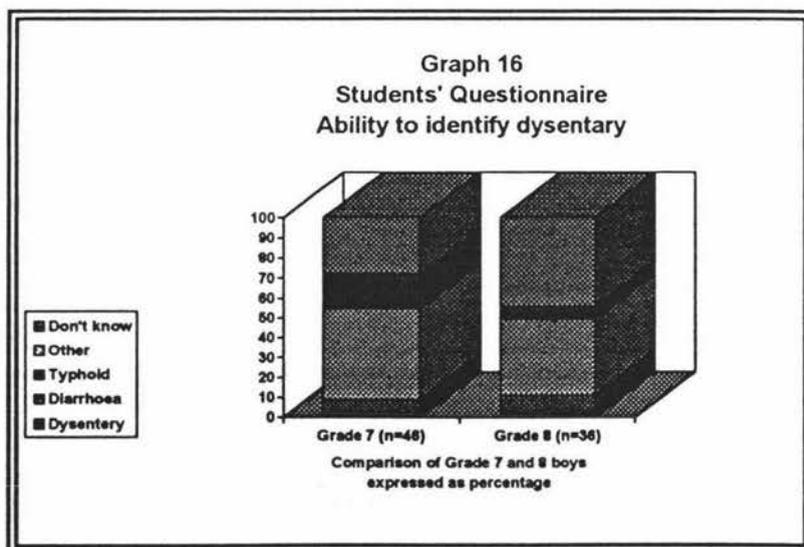


Graph Thirteen indicates that girls have no knowledge of the relationship of hygiene and infections to the cause of blindness (0% correct response rate). The result from the student questionnaire item on blindness (see Student Questionnaire Results: Table 2.5) shows that the correct response rate for the combined sample of females is 29%. There was only one lower correct response rate for the combined female subsample (see Table 2.5). Similarly, the relatively low correct response rate of 40% for the combined subsample of boys to the issue of sight impairment in the student questionnaire is corroborated by the low combined correct response rate of 4% in the oral interview.

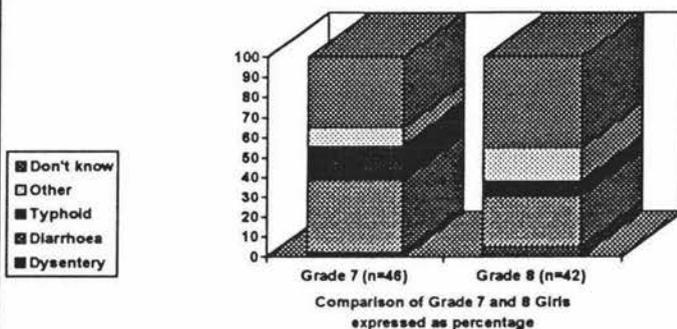




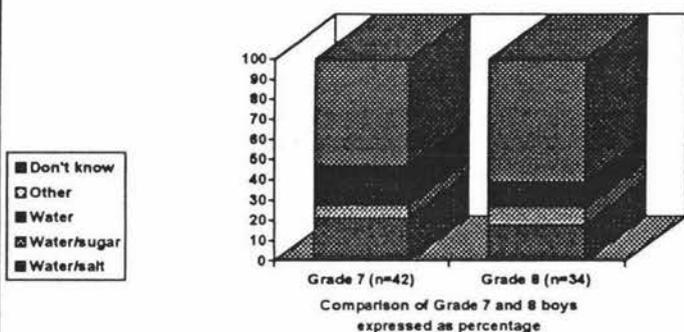
Graphs Ten and Eleven illustrate the subsamples' ability to identify the causes of deafness indicate the same corroborative trend with the student questionnaire as outlined above. Although the significant statistical gender differential as indicated in Table 2.5 is not as pronounced as that of the sight impairment item differential, the corroborative pattern indicated by the results of the oral interview remain. The mean correct response score in the oral interview is 39% and for the questionnaire, 73% (see Table 2.5).



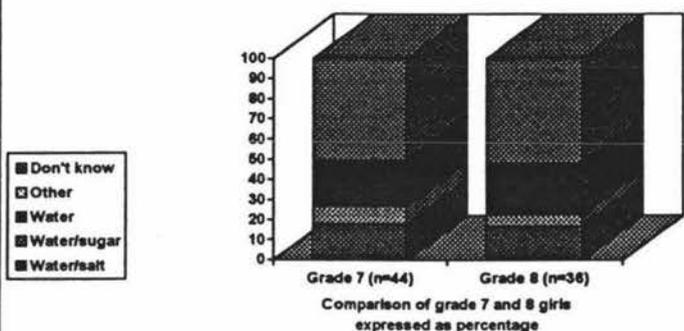
Graph 17
Students' Questionnaire
Ability to identify dysentery



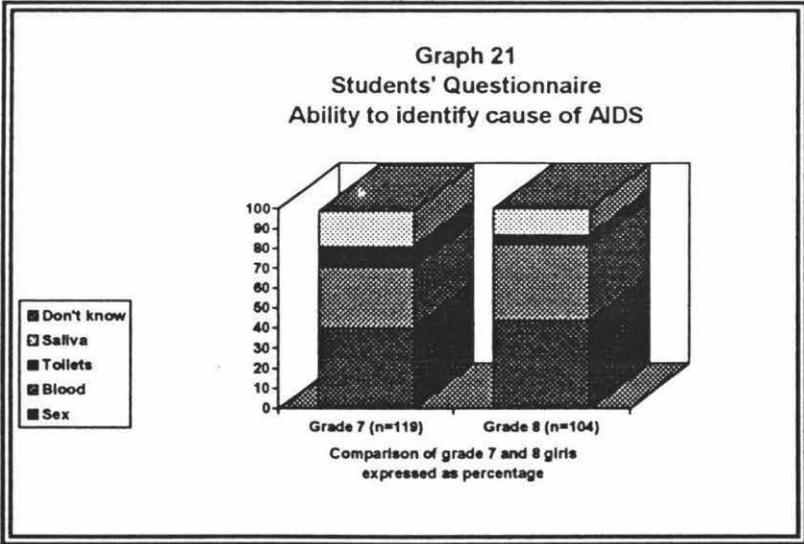
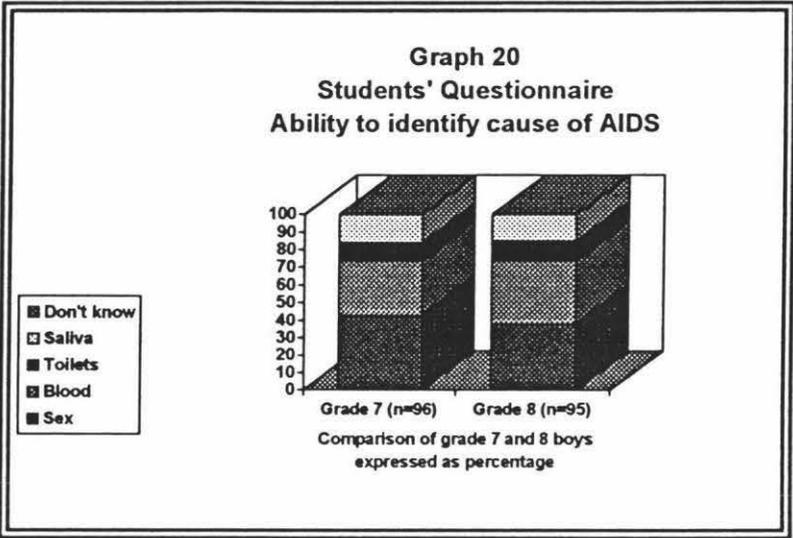
Graph 18
Students' Questionnaire
Ability to identify cure for dysentery

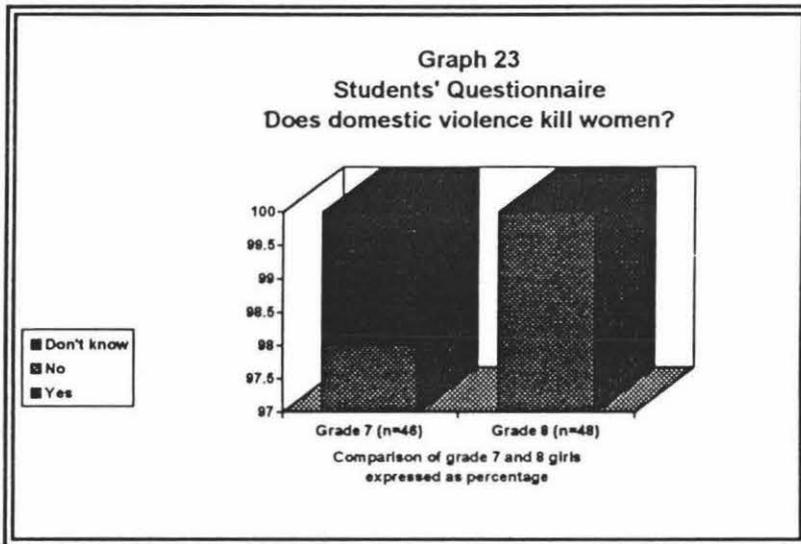
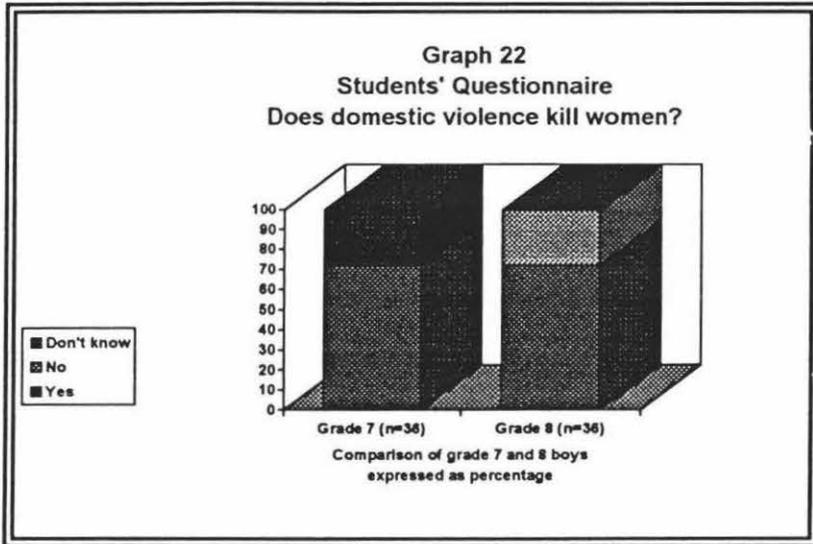


Graph 19
Students' Questionnaire
Ability to identify cure for dysentery



Graph Twelve which represents response rates for the only other similar content item between the oral interview and the student questionnaire displays no similar pattern as do Graphs Eight and Ten.





2.21 Discussion

2.21.1 Content Analysis

The content analysis of *Book One and Book Two, Create And Communicate* (see Tables 2.1 and 2.2) show a combined total of relevant content of 7.5% and 13% respectively.

Social science is the sub-category with the highest percentage subject time. This is partly explicable in that any area of possible subject overlap in the categorization process would occur within this sub-category. Social science is the sub-category most able to absorb the general subjects deemed an amalgam of others and

thus the relatively high percentage rate for this subject. That in both Tables 2.1 and 2.2 the sub-category of spiritual/ethics scores 1.5% and 2.5% respectively in total time possible, points to a similar question of interpretive analysis in the content categorization as with Social science as discussed above.

It is worth noting that only economics/business receives a >1 score within the sub-categories such as agriculture, practical skills and health which cannot be considered as generic in the same way as social science and spiritual/ethics can be.

It is perhaps to state the obvious that the total percentage time for relevant content material in both texts - 7% and 13% respectively, should not be seen as in any way a positive finding, but rather as an indictment against the books' lack of suitable content material.

2.22 Teacher Questionnaire

This research sought an understanding of teacher perceptions on relevant content in the ESL series *Create And Communicate*.

That 84% of the sample felt there should be a combination of both PNG and international content material in a PNG ESL series is interesting. What appears to emerge from the figures is a pattern which shows that the content associated with the PNG or international topic is more important than the country itself. This is partly explicable in the teachers' response to question 2, 3, 6, 10, 11, 13, and 15 in Part One. The statistical analysis on question 11 (Flying Kites In PNG) and question 13 (Luxury Hotels in PNG) indicates that teachers do not feel it sufficient to include content for the sole reason of it being set in PNG. The low positive response in these items to "very relevant" suggests, that the deeper construct is more important in the choice.

Question 6 (The Tourist Industry In Thailand) and question 13 both score at 37% for "slightly relevant" which may indicate that country is not as important

as the associated content of the hotel business. That 10% of the sample respond to the "very relevant" choice in question 13 could perhaps be a reflection of the topic being on PNG; this could be corroborated by the respective figure of 2% for the Thai question. However, in question 11 (Flying Kites in PNG), only 6% of the total sample chose "very relevant" and 16% "slightly relevant". It may appear that the topic of kites is the overriding decision factor for such a low response rate which supports the idea that the most important element is the deeper construct of the topic. The combined totals in questions 2 and 7 of Part One would tend to support this hypothesis.

The lower mean response to relevance items in Part Two (items 2, 3, 4, 5, and 7) is partly explicable in that teachers were responding to items with which they are very familiar as they are titles taken directly from the texts. However, in Part Two, items 3, 6 and 8, which are items not considered relevant according to the definition of relevance, have a mean response of 13% for the "very relevant" category. This contrasts with the 3.7% mean score response for analogous items in Part One. This is perhaps explicable in that teachers have isolated certain themes in these readings with which they are familiar. Anecdotal evidence supports this. For example, question 6 (A Mathematical Genius: An Indian woman with an incredible ability to solve mathematical problems) is a topic some teachers felt had relevance for female students in that it gave a positive view of women. The figures show, however, that most felt the topic was not ultimately worthy of being labelled "relevance content".

On the question of whether or not the texts are suitable for both rural and urban students, the anecdotal evidence from the open ended explanation in the questionnaire would suggest that the 11% who answered affirmatively did so because they believe rural students should not be denied content thought relevant for urban students. Question three in the appendix of Part Two shows that 96% would appreciate the inclusion into new texts of such development issues as health, law and business. This result would corroborate the general findings which indicate that teachers are concerned with the apparent lack of relevant content in the texts.

The 17% of the sample who indicated their satisfaction with the text may have done so due to other factors such as pedagogic usefulness, an aspect of the texts not approached in this research but which are important when one understands that before the series, there was no set text which teachers could rely on.

A further analysis of the open ended questions would further explain teachers' reasons for their response patterns to questionnaire items.

2.23 Student Questionnaire

The objective of the student questionnaire was to ascertain what level of knowledge Grade seven and Grade eight students have on common health problems.

Table 2.1 shows that five out of the eleven items on the questionnaire were responded to by the combined sample with correct response rates at or above 85%. These items represent issues which are apparently well known and comprehended by Grade seven and Grade eight students. That there appears to be no common link amongst the health issues to which students responded correctly, suggests that these issues have been covered in the curricula or that knowledge is gained from other sources.

That the hearing loss item featured a modally correct response but with a significant minority displaying a lack of awareness, would contradict the above assumption that students responded correctly to the items in which they had received instruction. Causes of hearing loss is in fact included in the Grade seven Home Economics syllabus. Table 2.3. indicates that 66% of the combined sample of boys scored correctly on the hearing loss item as opposed to 78% of girls. While the response rate for girls could be interpreted as being relatively acceptable, the question arises as to how the boys scored as they did without the instruction offered the girls. Home Economics is not generally offered to boys. Cameron High School (still a SSCEP school at the time the research was conducted) was the only high school in the study where home economics was offered to males-a fact which would does not

explain the findings of males having greater knowledge than females on home economic subjects.

Item 5 on kwashiorkor poses the same dilemma in that boys displayed a greater knowledge of the malady than did girls. Again, kwashiorkor is a topic in the Grade seven home economics.

Table 2.2 provides significant differences between the subsamples of grade and gender. Within the grade subsample it is perhaps clearer to ascertain a link between students' knowledge on certain items. That Grade eights have a greater understanding of the issues involved in items 6 and 7 (contraception and gonorrhoea) indicates an increasing maturity and awareness of issues related to sex, an idea corroborated by the findings in the oral interview. The role of the school in imparting this knowledge is questionable. Anecdotal evidence indicates that there is little or no sex education in schools.

2.24 Student Oral Interview

An interesting aspect of the oral interview response is the difference between the amount of knowledge displayed on health issues to that demonstrated by the student questionnaire. Students were less able to identify health related issues in the oral interview than they were in the written questionnaire. Although this comparison is not one in which significant statistical differences are employed, the assumption which can be made is that the very nature of the questionnaire and interview format mitigate against any results which will be of a similar quantitative nature. Boys and girls were separated in the oral interviews in order to minimise the embarrassment characteristic of mixed groups when discussing most subjects least of all sex and health issues. It was noticed by the researcher however that there was a reticence to give answers. There are a number of reasons why this could be so not the least being the fact that they were being asked to divulge in groups facts about sex and health. That the researcher was a stranger to the students could act as another

inhibiting factor in the same way as the researcher's nationality may also have had such an influence. Also, it has been noticed when collecting data from students in such situations, that there is peer pressure not to appear clever. These contributing factors, then, would possibly explain in part why there was a differential between the oral and written responses.

However, the most plausible reason for the differential must lie in the nature of multiple choice testing. The written format of the questionnaire, plus its three choices presented to the sample, means that the correct answer is present and more immediately identifiable as opposed to the procedure presented by the oral interview. If students appear to know more about health issues from the results of the questionnaire than from the results of the oral interview, the question arises as to how much the students would be able to apply when actually confronted with a situation such as the need to apply rehydration techniques. In the oral interview, 18% of Grade seven girls and 21% of Grade seven boys answered correctly on the question on rehydration. 65% of the combined sample answered correctly in the student questionnaire.

This question of the application of knowledge is of paramount importance to the educators in PNG. There appears to be very little practical health education in the high schools. From observation in many health classes, this researcher has noticed an overwhelming tendency on behalf of teachers to teach such issues through "chalk and talk". This has the very real result in making the whole health issue abstract. Avalos *et al* (1986) link such poor teaching methodology as one of the prime reasons for student failure and discontent. As a result of such methodology, there appears in the minds of students no more imperative to understand the necessity of application of health knowledge than there is the need or the possibility of applying geographic information. A student can hardly apply, for example, such information as "the capital city of France is Paris" and yet this information is taught in the same way as health issues. Rehydration can only be really comprehended by Grade seven students when the application is demonstrated in as practical way as circumstances allow. That the

demonstration should be practical rather than theoretical assumes, of course, that the teacher includes it in his syllabus or that he has sufficient knowledge about the subject himself. Both of these preconditions are not always met when it comes to disseminating health subjects in the schools, a fact the researcher understands from observing such classes and from discussions with teachers.

In order to make such health knowledge relevant and accessible, such aspects of health education as rehydration, need to be placed into the same format as that which science education purports to practise, through practical demonstrations in which students participate. That the science syllabus is presently under review (Vlardingbroek, Buchanan, 1993) with the intention of incorporating health issues and their practical application, is a demonstration of the seriousness of the situation in health education in PNG and a positive step towards its amelioration on behalf of education and health authorities.

The teacher training and pedagogic implications in the results demonstrated by this research are wide reaching. Avalos' study of the inadequacies of teachers points to a very strong link between the success and failure of knowledge intake and application and it is this researcher's contention that a very similar situation to that which Avalos *et al* discovered in Latin America, is occurring in PNG high schools; a break-down between theory and practice.

In the oral interview, that the most recognizable ability of both subsamples to identify the causes of AIDS, even when the anecdotal evidence suggests that there was little or no in-school instruction, may indicate the students' interest in sex and the results of public awareness campaigns, albeit that such community projects are limited in number. Students in both rural and urban areas showed a similar ability in identifying the causes of AIDS. That students knew so much about a subject on which there had been little or no formal instruction within the school setting indicates that there is a very successful "underground method" for disseminating health knowledge. This "method" would make a perfect study in that it may shed further light on the deficiencies of the formal education system. That there is a

successful, informal networking "method" in AIDS awareness became evident during this research. Such a network would be excellent for the dissemination of other health knowledge. One factor which does speak strongly for the success of this apparent high level of AIDS awareness is that the link between sex and death is a potent motif which speaks strongly and in ways that are not the domain of formal education systems.

It should be mentioned here that there has been very little evidence of AIDS education in PNG generally other than a limited number of radio programmes. Education in schools has been ad hoc. If research conducted by the author in 1993 at Goroka Teachers College is any indication of application of knowledge, we could assume that teachers have not been taking the threat seriously. Ninety percent of trainees answered correctly to all the questions about HIV transmission modes. Yet only forty percent believed there was a problem in PNG which they needed to heed for their safety and the safety of others. Males were most likely to demonstrate bravado in the face of such dire predictions and facts as are supported by the World Health Organisation on AIDS and PNG. What, then, do male and female teachers in PNG know or care about AIDS? This is in itself an interesting question and more research needs to be done in this area of AIDS education.

Although knowledge of AIDS is certainly of immense relevance and importance to Papua New Guineans, the fact that students were unable to answer with such authority on the questions about infant mortality due to dysentery, or on the questions about malaria, has implications for educationalists and certainly for the health system and the health of the people in PNG. Deaths from dysentery due to lack of rehydration, and malaria combine to be major causes of preventable deaths in PNG (Gillet 1990).

The high correct response rate by all subsamples on the question of domestic violence may be a result of the empirical evidence. In fact, the question posed was: "Have you seen women being beaten? Do you know of a woman who has been killed by domestic violence?" Violence against women is endemic in PNG. Chapter Five of this thesis deals in greater detail with this aspect of PNG culture, but it needs to be

noted here that again, as with the AIDS issue, the potent symbols are important: male-female, sex, power and death. Donna Guy (1990) in her study of the links between gender, violence, sex and prostitution deals with this subject of how the symbolic nature of this paradigm sensationalises the issues. AIDS and domestic violence; the realities (if not the issues) are very well perceived by Grade seven and eight PNG students.

That the students were able to answer most correctly on questions of health which are known not to be part of the school syllabi, while those questions they are least able to answer correctly are a part of the syllabi, is a source of concern which deserves further research.

2.25 Conclusion

Thus, when the issues raised by the research are considered it can be said:

1. That as expected there was a very low percentage rate of relevant content material in both *Book One* and *Book Two* of *Create And Communicate*. Thus, it can be assumed that the students who study these books are not usefully maximising the time they spend in the core subject of English to further their knowledge on such issues as those defined as being relevant to their needs.

2. That as expected teachers of Grade seven and Grade eight English support the integration of relevant content into the English syllabus and support the introduction of a new ESL series which does this.

3. That as expected Grade seven and Grade eight students display a varying degree of knowledge about common health problems which affect their communities.

That the findings show that *Book One* and *Book Two*, *Create And Communicate* suit neither the needs of the Grade seven and Grade eight students,

nor the aspirations of the teachers who use them, should indicate to the authorities who issue the books that there is an immediate need for change.

The findings of the questionnaires on the students' level of health knowledge indicates that there is a need for students to know much more about such issues in order for them to usefully contribute to the well being of their communities. The findings which indicate that students have a poor knowledge of health issues despite that information being part of the curriculum says more about the nature of pedagogy in PNG schools than it does about students' cognitive abilities. Avalos' study (1986) of four Latin American schools showed that teachers were often responsible for poor student performance. It was the teachers who had either poor content knowledge and/or poor methodological skills. Thus, knowledge was not efficiently imparted and students did not learn.

In one home economics health lesson that this researcher observed at the SSCEP school of Cameron in Milne Bay Province, there was a good indication of this problem of teacher inefficiency. The teacher was late for class and was disorganised once she arrived. The objective was to teach ear and eye diseases. The teacher used a chart of the ear and the eye both of which were situated at the back of a large dark classroom. The teacher did not ask the students to get up from their seats but told them to turn in their seats and look as she pointed at the various parts of the body. There was little attempt to gain the students' attention other than by the tedious "talk and chalk and point" method so favoured by many teachers in PNG. The teacher had little knowledge about the health issues involved. She ended the lesson by telling the students to always clean their ears with cotton tips, a commercial product beyond the scope of most rural children and a piece of advice health workers would not generally recommend. Had she been a trainee teacher who was being observed for assessment reasons using the usual assessment criteria, she would have failed. This unhappy occurrence is not an isolated event and speaks of why the students are poor in health knowledge. In graph three, students displayed a dismal knowledge of reasons for blindness, a problem prevalent in PNG. The lack of teacher content knowledge and the

often concomitant lack of appropriate methodology skills is a major reason for poor student performance and accounts, no doubt, for the reason why such dignitaries as the PNG Minister of Education sends his child to boarding school in Australia.

Health is but one area in which Grade seven and Grade eight students need to receive a maximum level of expertise while they have the chance. Environmental matters, business, ethical and spiritual issues are also important areas in which students need wide exposure. The texts under scrutiny in this research do not provide such information. This demonstrates a major failing in the education system and points to areas which need serious attention in the light of the reforms called for by the National Government in relation to the implementation of relevance education.

Further issues arising from this study on relevance content in the curriculum are discussed in the final chapter.

2.26 Recommendations

In light of the above findings, the following research needs to be undertaken:

1. How and from where do students gain most of their knowledge about health issues?
2. Why do students appear to score worse on questions of health knowledge about which they have been taught in school, to those about which they have not been taught?
3. What level of health knowledge do boys who study Home Economics at SSCEP high schools have?
4. What percentage of the syllabi of subjects taught in PNG high schools is devoted to relevant content?
5. What would a content analysis uncover in Books 3 and 4 of *Create And Communicate*?

6. What role does the teacher play in the poor results of students' content knowledge and how can the teacher improve on his performance?

Further recommendations include:

1. That the requisite education and Government authorities take a more consistent stand on implementing changes and that those changes are applied universally within PNG and do not remain pilot projects for more than a limited period of time.

2. That the Department of Education fund teaching staff who are both experts in pedagogical methodology and specialists in their field as it relates also to education for development. These staff would then tour the high schools giving in-service work shops in order to disseminate knowledge on the links between the two stated criteria for better education.

3. That teachers' working conditions be improved because there is a definite link between poor performance and poor rewards.

4. It is further recommended that teacher training institutes in PNG place greater emphasis on development for education in all syllabi and in teacher training institutes. The incorporation of relevant education into syllabi in teacher training institutes is of vital importance if the trainees are to appreciate the efficacy of such information.

This recommendation should not be department specific, but should be interdepartmental in that the integration of content would then reflect the national objectives as stated in the Government literature calling for such a process.

There is much published literature on the need for teacher trainees to be taught in their training institutes in the same way as they are to be expected to present material in their respective high schools. To this end, the academic nature of the tertiary institutes should incorporate communicative methodologies so that trainees appreciate the realities of the otherwise largely meaningless theory on creative

methodology. Creative methodology has been the catch phrase for education for the past two decades. There is a the constant contradiction in this in that for the most part, it would appear that tertiary level educators don't practise what they preach. This translates into the same problem in the high schools. The lack application of knowledge is one of the major factors behind many of the inconsistencies and problems which this research has uncovered. Many of the solutions to these problems lie squarely with the teaching profession.

CHAPTER THREE

THE ROLE OF LITERATURE IN EDUCATION FOR DEVELOPMENT

3.0 Introduction

Literature is just one expression of a group's cultural wealth. Like dance, music, painting, body decoration and other manifestations of culture as expressed in art, literature performs a function in that group's self awareness and expression and idealisation of self. These ideological implications which arise from awareness of self in the particular culture or cultures in which one operates in response to class, sex, sexuality, age and other determinants, can be influenced negatively and positively through that culture's art. Literature as art and culture; the political and ideological nature of these constructs and their influence on and for literature are profound. Understanding the nature of literature as education for development is the main objective of this chapter as it pertains to relevance education within the formal curricula.

Literature is taught in PNG high schools from Grade one through to Grade twelve, the last grade in high school. Literature is taught in the nation's University system. Within the realm of the above stated objective, this chapter will attempt an understanding of the nature of literature as it is taught in PNG high schools generally and with particular reference to the teaching of literature in the nation's only Government run Secondary Teachers Training College - Goroka Teachers College (GTC). In the course of this chapter the type of texts studied will be analysed with a view to an understanding of whether or not they provide content relevant to that as defined as education for development and as expressed in Government policy on curricula content as outlined in Chapter One, 1.3.

3.1 Literature in the High Schools

Although it is stated above that literature is taught in PNG schools, in many cases this is in theory only. This researcher conducted a study of sixty high school teachers in 1989. The objective of the study was to ascertain what sort of literature was available in the schools and how it was being taught. Teachers were asked if they taught poetry, folklore, the novel and the short story. These are aspects of literature included in the high school English syllabi. Eighty four percent of the teachers did not teach poetry; seventy percent of these teachers stated that they did not because they didn't know how to teach poetry. A similarly dismal result was recorded in the question relating to PNG folklore. An average of fifty three percent of teachers from Grades 7 to Grades 10 taught the novel and the short story. However, the teaching methodology for both genre was largely restricted to "extensive reading" whereby teachers allowed the children to read which freed up the teacher to do marking in class. Literature was not considered literature in that it contained content which was relevant for the student's personal and intellectual growth. The research showed that teachers had very little awareness of what literature was, why it was in the curriculum and of how to present it to their classes. The novels, stories and graded readers found (but not often employed) in the schools were of a content standard which corresponded in general with the standards met in the previous chapter in the discussion of content in *Create And Communicate*.

The findings from this survey acted as a basis for recommendations to the Department of Education the National Curriculum Unit suggesting areas for change to address the above problems. The results of this will be discussed in 3.6. Changes in the Language Studies Department at Goroka Teachers College were also a result of the research conducted.. The Department's name was subsequently changed to the Department of Language And Literature to reflect the new status accorded literature in that Department and, hopefully by extension, to the high schools.

The nature of many of the changes which occurred in the Department of Language And Literature - namely the introduction of a compulsory course in Third World Literature for all language teachers, is also a major focus of the research component as it relates to the set objectives of this chapter on literature as an aspect of education for development.

3.2 Background to the Study: Literature and Ideology

Ideology is an integral aspect of literature. As a construct of language and culture, the actuality of literature is a potent political and social force. For the purposes of this discussion, literature is defined as either a written or oral form of expression in which ideas are subjected to a systematic process of organisation as a form of cultural expression.

That language is a powerful ideological tool or weapon is manifested in myriad ways throughout the world and throughout history. That literature as a construct of language is symbolic of that power is an understatement. Literature is a power so forceful that throughout history, there has been a struggle between those of differing ideological persuasions to control or expand the use of certain aspects of literature.

History is replete with examples which highlight the link between literature and ideology. The most published book in the world is the Christian Bible. The ideological content of this book and the ensuing effect on world history has been, to state the obvious, profound.

Stalin banned Dostoyevsky's books for being "morbid". Brezhnev banned Solzhenitsyn's works; both dictators had ideological reasons for not permitting their people to read those writers. The individual reasons are not necessary to enumerate here but act as an illustration of the power of literature and the fear and suspicion that those writers aroused. Literature as a political tool or weapon; the Russian leaders who banned the two authors used censorship as their own political weapon. A study of

the political history of literature in Russia affords an understanding of that conflict which has continued for centuries.

The link between literature, ideology, colonialism and education is one of the main themes in the current discussion. This paradigm is exemplified in its most extreme by the events of Spanish colonialism in Latin America.

Colonial authorities did everything in their power to efface all vestiges of the indigenous past. When the Aztec and Mayan capitals were razed, thousands of pages of historical pictographs were burned, including entire libraries of painted books....Occasionally this amputation of history, coupled with a rigid censorship, was successful in 'colonising the mind'....(Santos:1988, xiii-xiv)

Santos' statement runs through each step in the above paradigm. All of the colonial powers understood the nature of the written word. Censorship, like illiteracy, is a major social manifestation of control and subjection. Although it is not the object of this discussion to enter into the fray surrounding the links between ideology and literacy, the analogy is clear: deny people the power to read and write and you have a perfect (almost) system of denying them access to much of their culture. Oral literature is of course the problem for a controlling power. There are many examples in history which demonstrate that even oral literature can be banned: Franco banned the use of Catalan in public. Catalan was the language in which the Catalan people's cultural expression was most potently expressed. There is both documented and anecdotal evidence of Christian missionaries in PNG deliberately destroying traditional song and oral literature. For the purposes of this study, however, the written manifestation of literature as it links to the above paradigm, is of more immediate concern.

Just as the Spanish destroyed the Aztec and Mayan nation's written and pictorial literature in order to consolidate their new order, those same authorities, later in their colonial experience, used the power of their religion to help enforce their colonial hegemony. "Fiction's infinite potential for subversion was not lost upon the

Inquisition, which forbade in the Spanish colonies the reading and writing of works of the imagination" (ibid).

"Language becomes the medium through which a hierarchical structure of power is perpetuated, and the medium through which conceptions of 'truth', 'order', and 'reality' become established" (Ashcroft *et al*: 1989, 7). This statement has enormous implications for education in colonised areas. The manipulation of various language constructs for ideological reasons was a major weapon in colonisation. The 'hierarchical structure' manifested itself in literature in colonial institutions as a political and social tool - weapon. The nature of ideology and political power through literature in educational institutions in colonial India is evidenced in the following statement:

British colonial administrators, provoked by missionaries on the one hand and fears of native subordination on the other, discovered an ally in English literature to support them in maintaining control of the natives under the guise of liberal education. (Viswanathan, 1987:17- quoted in Ashcroft *et al*: 1989,3)

The Kenyan novelist and essayist Ngugi wa Thiong'o highlights the links between colonialism and culture in his essay "Decolonising the Mind".

The real aim of colonialism was to control the people's wealth: what they produced, how they produced it, and how it was distributed: to control, in other words, the entire realm of the language of real life. Colonialism imposed its control of the social production of wealth through military conquest and subsequent political dictatorship. But its most important area of domination was the mental universe of the colonised, the control through culture, of how people perceived themselves and their relationship to the world. Economics and political control can never be complete or effective without mental control. To control a people's culture is to control their tools of self definition in relationship to others. (1979:478)

In the case of Papua New Guinea, the role of colonialism and the advent of Western style schooling, primarily through the missions, is a classic case of what Ngugi points to in his analysis. The missionaries brought the Bible; the Bible is literature. Most education was conducted in English - the language of the colonizer. The realities of Melanesian culture were changed for those who were brought to a mission station

and given an education; a new language, a new god, a new pantheon of spirits, a new ideology. Those realities have been changing for most of the PNG population ever since. In 1993 it is possible to talk of the level of deconstruction of Melanesian culture. If a continuum of deconstruction can exist, then it is perhaps safe to say that the level of change as recorded on that continuum must be tipped to the high scale. To expect there not to have been change would be quite simply, preciousness. All cultures, especially when subject to imperialism, change and adapt or perish. Papua New Guinea's cultures can perhaps be characterised as having endured aspects of all three categories: change, adaptation, destruction. Colonialism, education and literature have all played their part in this process.

The political and ideological nature of literature, therefore, cannot be dismissed as being insignificant. This researcher takes the assertion that the Bible is in fact a literary construct in the same way as are the novel or the short story or other forms of fiction and myth. The Bible is an invention of stories and events in written form. This literary construct formed the basis of change in Papua New Guinea. The nation's Constitution enshrines Christianity as the official religion and the nation is officially a Christian country. The Department of Education reiterates this ideological persuasion in its published materials (UPNG-GTC: Programme For Graduation, 1993). Ideology, colonialism, literature and education; another people's literature acting as a major force in the demise of cultures as evidenced in Papua New Guinea.

3.3 The Study of Third World Literature At Goroka Teachers College: Research and Analysis

3.3.1 Objectives of the Research

The main objective of the research was to ascertain the views held by forty eight final year students in the Department of Language and Literature on the subject of the reading and teaching of Third World literature in Papua New Guinea.

The research also sought to ascertain the level of understanding that the students felt they had gained about social, geographical, historical and political aspects of Third World nations.

3.4 Research Methodology

A questionnaire (see Appendix One) was administered at the end of the academic year in 1992 to twenty six students and the at the same period in the 1993 academic year to twenty two students. The students had completed their course in Third World Literature, a course designed and taught by the author. The questions were both discreet and open ended.

Informal oral interviews were also conducted with the students throughout the two years in order provide feedback for the author on the students' reactions to the course. The researcher also felt that in order to minimise the possibility of students answering in a way in which they perceived their lecturer would expect or desire, he should conduct the oral interviews in such a manner as to hopefully ascertain their true feelings on the subject. It is also pertinent to state here in relation to the reliability of the research findings, that PNG tertiary students are not unwilling to express how they feel about their subjects and the content of courses. The researcher feels that the students felt under no compulsion to agree - or disagree- with their lecturer on matters arising in the research. Interviews were conducted more in the manner of conversations and mostly at times when the students were not in the classroom or office and were more relaxed. Such questions as:

"Where would you most like to visit of all of the countries you have studied in literature?" and "Why would you like to visit that country?"

"Do you know any sorts of people like Obi?" (the main character in Chinua Achebe's *No Longer At Ease*)

"So you think there are lot's of people like Obi in PNG?"

"Do you think there are many PNG men like Obi's friend Christopher? I mean the way they treat women, sex and all that sort of thing?"

"What sort of books do you read?" and "Did you read the sort of books we read in class before you began the course?"

"Does your family read books? What one book would you read to them?"

These questions elicited a more "social response" but corroborated with the general and specific findings in the questionnaire. These student impressions have been recorded along with the findings from the questionnaire in 3.5. below.

During the literature classes, the students were given the opportunity to formally debate such topics as: "Third World Literature is Propaganda" and "It's better to teach a of mix of Western and Third World literature." The students were therefore aware of the issues involved from a pedagogical viewpoint: when does literature become propagandistic and an ideological weapon? In the nature of the literary theory which was an aspect of the course, students had also been made aware of the historical background to the period of each author, the author's biographical and philosophical history and the like. These facts were then linked to the ideological persuasion of the author and the level of didacticism was discussed in order to appreciate that subjectivity and objectivity are important features of literary theory and important in pedagogy.

The students had also been involved in making their own critical content analysis of such texts as *Create And Communicate*. This meant, therefore, that they were skilled in the various aspects of critical analysis by the time this course was offered.

During the academic year and concurrent with their studies in Third World Literature, the same group of students were also required to study the English For Teachers course. A major component of this course was extensive reading. Novels selected by the researcher for the students to read included numerous novels by European, Australasian and American authors. Student opinion concerning the nature of Western literature, as gleaned throughout the year, also corroborates with findings from those in the survey on Third World literature presented in 3.5.

3.5 Research Findings

Question one which asked the students to decide if they had learned about the processes of politics and society in their own developing nation by studying those processes in the literature of other developing nations elicited a 100% positive response. 62.5% strongly agreed with the question, 37.5% agreed in part. An interesting pattern which continued throughout the questionnaire emerged in question one: females were more likely to answer in the "agree strongly" bracket than males. Males tallied significantly higher in the "agree in part" category. An understanding of this pattern could arise from any number of reasons. However, it would be unwise to extrapolate too broadly on such suggestions as gender and attitude for the actuality of this differential in the responses. That PNG males are more critical than PNG females would merely beg the question: Critical of what? Critical - or less critical - of their lecturer? Critical - or less critical - of their place in the Third World which might be a signal of their dissatisfaction? The perambulations of such analysis defies definitive analysis and would need to be the subject of a much greater study in itself on gender and attitude. For the purposes of the current research, the gender differentials as have emerged, will not be the subject of further analysis or speculation.

Written responses to this question draw out the differences between those who chose "strongly agree" or "agree in part". The views are represented in the following examples:

- I strongly agree because in any society or country, the political and social processes differ. In studying Third World literature we see and compare these things and so develop an understanding of such situations....We can then judge where we stand. (female)

- (strongly agree) That literature and history cannot be separated. That the world shares common struggles and disasters.(male)

- (agree in part) The things that happen in those countries changed most lives and some are similar to mine, but not all. (female)

- (agree in part) In a way it reflects on some of the type of problems that are similar to PNG (male)

PNG literature was not studied in this course. PNG literature is the subject of an entire course in the first year level. Pacific Literature is the subject of study in the second year. It is therefore interesting to read statements such as the following from female students who agree strongly with question one:

I never understood the PNG political and social processes until I did the literature course.

Through this course I've learnt to listen, read and analyse political, social and economic issues of PNG (past and present) instead of just listening to just one sided talks. And also this course has helped me realise that our problems exist outside of this nation too and that there is such a thing as cynicism as I thought before this course that all things could be solved.

It has been the experience of this lecturer that students often complain about the nature of teaching in their various classes at GTC. One of the more frequent comments is that lecturers "preach" a method discouraged in teacher trainees at a training college but one used, as the students note ironically, by the methodology lecturers themselves. Such comments as those quoted by the second female student (but by no means limited to her alone) may be indicate that they are making comments about the process of teaching in GTC as much as any other comment arising specifically from the question at hand. That this course taught them issues about PNG when it wasn't a course with specific PNG references and no PNG literature is interesting also in that they have been able to extrapolate situations and issues. What it does evince in a more worrying light is that there could be a correlation between the lack of political and social insight from a development perspective in the first and second year literature courses. Of course, this would beg the issue of ideological bias and/or commitment on behalf of the respective lecturers. This is an issue hotly debated from both a pedagogic and literary standpoint. The research findings do point, however, to a vacuum in the knowledge of students who appear to have reached year three level without a, perhaps, deeper ideological understanding of politics and society as they relate to PNG and the Third World.

Question two reads:

There are many themes in Third World literature such as poverty, political struggle, political repression, rural/urban differences, corruption, which are issues that people in Third World countries need to be exposed to through education and literature is a suitable way to do this: How do you feel about this statement?

All of the respondents either strongly agreed (77%) or agreed in part (23%) to this question. Responses which indicate the general feeling include the following:

- (strongly agree)a suitable way because maybe it will educate our future leaders on how to rule our country (female)
- (strongly agree) Literature helps us to think critically. (male)
- (agree in part) Because a majority of the population is usually rural based and few get educated. It usually happens that these educated don't try to go and educate the ...vast majority. That means some other ways should be found to tell the whole population. Otherwise this is not so bad. (female)
- I agree in part due to the fact that the Third World nations need to know about these problems so that they know how to address them and through ed/lit that can come about. (male)

That there are no literary devices mentioned in the question which represent the less ideological such as those pertaining to character, plot and theme does not reflect the nature of the course as a whole. One of the aspects which arose during the course was that literature encouraged reading and that enjoyment was a part of learning, even about such "heavy subjects" and that students should be encouraged to find reading enjoyable. Several respondents thought that literature was appropriate because, in the words of one student:

Students should learn about the Third World and then educate others about it. Also, that was the best way to learn about the Third World because it was fun and enjoyable.

Another interesting aspect which arose from the questionnaire, as exemplified with the above respondent, was the number of respondents who indicated that students

take knowledge back to their homes and educate the people. Whether or not this dissemination of knowledge was deliberate or unconscious, belies the fact that it appears to be a common occurrence, as was indicated in the findings to various questions in this survey. It was not the intention of the questionnaire to seek this information; therefore the questions were not constructed to elicit whether or not the GTC students deliberately disseminated knowledge in their communities. It is school students to whom these GTC respondents refer.

As a result of this finding, several GTC students were asked if they deliberately disseminated knowledge or if indirectly they could account for the dissemination of school/College learned knowledge. Allan a year three student from Gulf Province stated:

In my case I do talk about books and things in my village and to my family. My family is not educated. If we are talking about corruption, sitting around the fire and that topic comes up, then I would say I'd read this book about Africa. A good book. I would go through the whole story making it interesting. *Mi laik stori. Ol laik harim disela kain stori**. And so yes corruption would come into that story and it would be a good story for the leaders and whoever to listen to because they like stories. I'm going to tell them about that story with Wang Lung and how the peasants had to flee and the Revolution and how the wife found the jewels and they got rich. Those vicissitudes as you told us but I won't say 'vicissitudes' with them because they'll never understand that word....

* I like stories. They like to hear this kind of stories.

When asked if a Grade eight or Grade ten students would be able to relate their knowledge into community setting without the prejudice of being thought of as "big heads" or "know alls", the respondents said that this was difficult to answer as it was a generalisation that parents thought their school children were "*maus wara*" (bullshitters, people who boast or show off their knowledge). This question was asked in response to the common theme in published material which suggests that parents do not wish to have teenagers "preach" to them (see Chapter 4, 4.5. for a more detailed discussion on this subject).

Question three asks the following:

Has studying Third World literature given you personally NEW INSIGHTS into how your society functions? yes / to a certain extent /no

Fifty four percent answered "yes" they had received "new insights". Forty one percent answered "to a certain extent" and four percent said "no". At first glance this question may appear to be perhaps too similar to question 1. The inclusion in capitals of "NEW INSIGHTS" was meant to elicit what the students have been taught to understand as 'deeper thinking'. The students have had much work in critical thinking. It was hoped that by asking this question, the deeper, critical nature of the question would elicit a corresponding type of answer. This was not universally the case. Students tended to repeat what they had answered in question one.

Question four reads:

Has studying Third World literature helped your understanding of history, geography and social science? yes / to a certain extent / no

All respondents answered in the two affirmative selections: 58% replied "yes" and 42% replied "to a certain extent". It is a common criticism at GTC that students have poor general knowledge about those subjects listed in the question. One of the reasons why the Third World literature course was instituted at GTC was to hopefully increase the student's general knowledge. This "common criticism" is not an idle observation. It comes from a good representation of the academic staff, all of whom must observe teacher trainees on the annual Teaching Practice. It is also an annual complaint that, after observing dozens of lessons the academic staff feel that the trainees have a limited general knowledge of the outside world. Trainees have a tendency to be fluent only in the content of the text book in use in the school and are unable to extrapolate knowledge beyond that level. There are a number of reasons for this apparent lack of knowledge but which are not the focus of attention in this study. But what this question does attempt to ask the students specifically, is if they feel that they have gained more knowledge in the areas listed which they might otherwise not have had access to at GTC. It is also worth noting that of the Language majors who are the subject of this study, 35% were also social science majors.

This question does not and cannot act as an indication of how much the students learned as there was no test or measurement administered at the beginning of the course which would indicate the level of general knowledge. It is largely anecdotal evidence -albeit evidenced on a wide scale - which tells GTC educators that there is a low level of general knowledge.

Two short tests was administered to the students involved in this study in both 1992 and 1993. In the class which preceded the introduction of the Latin American component of the course and again at the beginning of the Middle Eastern component, the students were given a map of each area and asked to indicate where certain countries were situated (Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Venezuela, Panama, Costa Rica and Mexico) For the Latin American test they were also asked to name the capitals of the above mentioned nations. Each test was graded. The results showed that 90% of the students failed the Latin American test. In the Middle East test, other than having to fill in the names of certain countries on a map (Turkey, Lebanon, Israel, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Iraq) the students were asked to write the capital cities. The results were again in the same order as that with the Latin American test, 92% of the students could not score above 30%.

This sort of knowledge may appear to be, ironically for the purposes of this study into relevance education, a perfect study in what appears to be irrelevant. But when linked to what teachers are forced to know in their teaching careers and when evidenced against the misinformation and lack of information presented in high schools, it is generally accepted amongst educators at GTC that such content acquisition would go a long way in alleviating what does appear to be a sorry state of knowledge about the world.

In relation to what the students didn't know about the Middle East and as that lack of knowledge pertains to ideology, the students displayed an interesting but perhaps predictable bias towards Israel. Israel was universally perceived as being the innocent nation surrounded by Arabs who were intent on its destruction for no other reason than that they were Arabs. Conversations with the students revealed that they

had limited or no understanding of the nature of the Arab-Israeli conflict. This ideological bias is perhaps linked to the Bible. In conversations and informal quizzing in class, it was evidenced that students knew about Biblical history in great detail. They were able to name which king followed David and so on down the line of royal history; they knew who Tziporah was and to whom she was married. They knew who the Cannonites were and how they were different from the Hebrews and other ethnic groups in the Old Testament. They knew Sumaria and Judea and where the cedars came from. They knew where the Jews were banished to and when and what allowed their return to Israel. Yet the students did not know to whom modern Israel was aligned ideologically and why. No one knew the meaning of Zionism or the historical reasons for the rise of Zionism. There was an overwhelming feeling amongst the students that Palestinians were no more than terrorists who had stolen the land from the Jewish people. They had no understanding that the Palestinians had in fact been continuously in possession of that area for some fifteen hundred years.

That there is a link between the students' lack of knowledge about the legitimacy of Palestinian nationalism and their thorough knowledge of the Bible is an indication of the power of ideology of one culture's literature imparting its own knowledge or version of history on another. Even if the Bible does relate an exact version of events, it does not discuss the issues relevant to a contemporary understanding of the realities of history. Yet it is this ancient history which is the most commonly known and accepted by PNG students.

"The Arabs should be pushed into the sea" was how an American missionary addressed a GTC mission evening in late 1991. The bias displayed therefore by the GTC students towards Israel is understandable considering the nature of their education. But what it does speak of is an incompleteness in that education which leads to an unfair bias towards one group over another. This trend is reflected in PNG politics: PNG has refused to acknowledge the legitimacy of the PLO despite Australia having official representatives and despite visits by PLO representatives to PNG. The trend is interesting and speaks of the themes in PNG education from mission times to

the present and certainly of ideological bias, the main threads of which might emanate from a biased education system.

There is a link between teachers' lack of content knowledge and the apparent failure of the education system. Beatrice Avalos's ethnographic study of four high schools in Latin America (Avalos: 1986) links high push-out and drop-out rates to teachers' level of knowledge. What Avalos finds is that there is a link between teachers' lack of knowledge both in pedagogic methodology and in content and that this reflects on the whole school system. Students drop out when they get bored. They get bored when they are not challenged. Teachers who teach only from the text bore their students. These are all common facts which both the literature and anecdotal evidence indicates to educators. These indicators act as a motivation in teacher education to improve on levels of content knowledge.

In question 4, students were asked to give an example of what they had learned in each of the categories: history, geography and social science. The following remarks act as an indication of the answers received:

History:

- I didn't really know the history of this land but when studying Third World literature, similarities and comparisons were also made and referred back to PNG so I got the idea.
- I now know a lot about historical events in both Latin American and African history.
- Chinese history/Manchu dynasty

Geography:

- When people talk about these countries, I now know exactly where they are.
- Capital cities and countries

Social science:

- The political situation and how people have to survive, especially in Africa.
- Political instability, the different life styles of different cultures. how people live other than just in PNG.

Question 5 states:

PNG high school students would benefit from a course in Third World literature if it were linguistically suitable for their level: How do you feel about this statement?

Forty one percent of respondents agreed strongly with the statement. Fifty four percent agreed in part and five percent disagreed. At the present time, the books variously described as literature which feature in the classrooms of the PNG high school system, range in content from simple love stories to heroic deeds to themes of political and social struggle. Although no formal research has been done on this subject by this researcher, a familiarity with many book storage rooms in the English Departments in PNG high schools indicates that the majority of books do not fall into the category of "education for development." The researcher understands the limitations and problems of providing only "politically correct" books for children to read. But there are also the converse limitations to what should be accepted and not accepted in terms of educational enlightenment under the focus of education for development. In numerous school storage rooms and at GTC, there are class sets of *King Solomon's Mines* by Rider Haggard. Of Rider Haggard, Ngugi wa Thiong'o states:

But obviously it was worse when the colonial child was exposed to images of his world as mirrored in the written languages of his colonizer. Where his own native languages were associated in his impressionable mind with low status, humiliation, corporal punishment, slow footed intelligence and ability and downright stupidity, non-intelligibility and barbarism, this was reinforced in the world he met in the works of such geniuses of racism as Rider haggard...(Ngugi: date unavailable, 465)

Of *King Solomon's Mines* Ngugi writes:

....the Kenyan writer and scholar Professor Micere Mugo related how a reading of the description of Gagool as an old African woman in Rider Haggard's *King*

Solomon's Mines had for a long time left her in mortal terror whenever she encountered old African women. (ibid)

A more detailed discussion of the realities and status of literature in the PNG high schools will be presented in the concluding remarks in this chapter.

Below is a selection of student responses:

Agree strongly - Because they need to know what's happening around them socially, politically, economically, and be prepared to accept changes and other things that come up.

Agree in part - Literature can be linguistically suitable but the interest shown in the presentation can or cannot benefit. It depends on the methods used.

Disagree- They should concentrate (sic) and understand more of the PNG literature first.

The first answer is representative of the majority view and speaks of the same need for moderation in presenting any one form of material. The ideological implication in this is clear and mirrors the stand taken by the majority of teachers in their opposition to a new series of *Create And Communicate* being either all foreign content material or all PNG content.

The second answer is included here even though it was mentioned by only a few of the respondents. It makes the important point that the teaching of literature in schools will only be successful if the methodology employed is such that the students learn an appreciation of literature and don't grow to hate it because of a poor methodological approach. Anecdotal evidence from high school teachers and students alike suggests that the reason for such antipathy towards literature is that it is "boring". From research conducted amongst teachers and from five years of experience in teaching the methodology of literature presentation, this researcher feels that the teachers are generally lack confidence in how to present literature in a stimulating way. This has major ramifications on the presentation of literature no matter what the content be it Rider Haggard or Chinua Achebe.

The third example is the only one in the entire sample which asks for a PNG only selection. That the students have come to appreciate the importance of an international outlook is interesting in that, from conversations with teachers who have been in the teaching profession for many years and who did not receive any formal training in literature or in the methodology of literature presentation, there is a general feeling that PNG content is more appropriate. This would suggest that what is relevant to PNG high school students must come necessarily from their own immediate experience. One of the problems which is evident from this approach is that the students are never challenged with new material. They are presented again and again with the same material. This is one of the fallacies of "relevance education". What may be termed relevant because it is known to the students is in fact tedious precisely because it is known. Tests and exams can often be considered invalid because they ask students about knowledge which is generally "known". Teachers feel "safe" with knowledge which is known but the effect is to bore students and the links between this and drop-out levels is, as Avalos demonstrates, something of considerable concern in education and has implications for the development of a nation.

There are deeper implications on this subject for relevance education and parent-student reactions in the agricultural programmes set up in the Secondary School Community Extension Project (SSCEP) the subject of Chapter Four. This is not to admit that PNG literature should not be taught. Students need to know of their own culture and as the research on both *Create And Communicate* and Third World Literature indicates, there is no general belief that students should be denied either a local or an international outlook. The content of both act as a stimulus to the students achieving an understanding of processes which will provide that which is useful in their personal and social development.

Question six asks:

Papua new Guineans should learn about Latin America, Africa, Asia and the Middle East.

Fifty six percent agreed in part with the statement. Thirty one percent agreed strongly and ten percent either disagreed or disagreed strongly. Again, these figures represent very closely those findings from the research conducted on similar themes about the nature of *Create And Communicate*. It must be remembered that these were two different sample groups involved in the two different research projects. Again also, this question mirrors somewhat that of question five and therefore acts as a corroborative finding. There is a ten percent differential in the shift from positive to negative between the two questions, not a large margin. But that margin and the greater number of those who responded in question six to the "agree in part" would indicate a greater uneasiness to the study of foreign material. It would appear that the general observation of many tertiary, expatriate educators at GTC that PNG students do not feel entirely comfortable with teaching about foreign cultures is being corroborated here even though these students in this sample are perhaps those most familiar at GTC with content about other cultures. This lack of ease could stem from the lack of confidence many feel about presenting that which they are not familiar with, an understandable reaction but one which further education seeks to alleviate.

It is a common observation amongst academic staff at GTC that trainees are unwilling to study or incorporate material relevant to a class which does not come from the text book from which they are teaching. This apparent lack of confidence is ambiguous: does the lack of confidence arise from an unwillingness to delve into knowledge with which they feel inherently unsafe such as the history of Kenya for a Kenyan novel? Or does it indicate that the trainees do not feel it necessary to delve into such issues and, furthermore, that any information not in a set school text is not necessary for the students? Whatever the reason, the result is the same; less knowledge about the processes which affect lives, whether that knowledge be advanced knowledge about PNG or even basic knowledge about other societies.

There is also the ideological nature of internationalism/cosmopolitanism versus nationalism. It is perhaps a link too broad with which to make a serious comparison to PNG teachers, but to return to the history of Russian literature introduced at the beginning of this chapter; there is a very strong ideological component to the divide between foreign and local content in a nation's curriculum. In pre-Marxist Russia there was the struggle between Slavic and non-Slavic content, an ideological divide which incorporated potent ideas of nationalism and patriotism and was used by the political structure in the nineteenth century as a political weapon. A content analysis of just two Russian writers of the time would illustrate this clearly: Dostoyevsky and Tolstoy both employ the dichotomy, contradictions and conflicts of ideology and nationhood in their works. These themes were continued into the Soviet era. An analysis of Stalin's purges is replete with the ideological battle between "pure Slavic" and that which smacked of treachery, that is, foreign influence, known officially as 'Cosmopolitanism.'

In informal interviews with GTC literature students over the past five years, this researcher noted on many occasions such comments as:

- What do we need to know about Argentina for?
- What about all that political repression in Central America and all that liberation struggle?
- Africa is much closer to our society. Why should we be worried about dictatorships in the Middle East?

The above comments were made in relation to remarks made by the researcher to stimulate discussion in order to find out what the students really thought about the nature of the course in Third World literature being offered. Argentina, Central America and the Middle East are all areas covered by stories, poetry and novels in the course under discussion. It must be admitted by the researcher that these comments were recorded in the first two years of the course when the links between PNG and other Third World nations were not made as explicit as they have been in subsequent years. It was the original intention to allow the students to draw their own conclusions between their nation and other nations. It was also the idea that an expatriate lecturer

should not involve himself in the political analysis of the host nation. This feeling arose from the sensitivity of the issues including the Bougainville crisis. It was also the express desire on behalf of the lecturer to allow for critical thinking. These considerations were revised in order to help direct the cognitive responses of students who had not been trained in critical thinking in a way which allowed for direct links between one culture and another. What an educator from the West may assume is a universal was not necessarily the case as was made evident from the reactions of PNG students studying Third World literature.

That there was always a more obvious dedication to African literature on behalf of the PNG students to that of literature from any other Third World nation/area (excluding the Pacific) posed interesting questions as well. What were the links between African culture and PNG culture which allowed the students more of an empathy for attempting an understanding of that region's literature and cultures? One reason may be that the novels of Chinua Achebe are in most of the schools and so students were already exposed to African literature. A shared Anglo Saxon colonial period may be another instance of commonality, Achebe being from Nigeria. However, other African novels from Francophone nations are also enjoyed by students. It is not the express purpose of this chapter to explore these issues but what it does point to is that with pedagogic input and redirection, students can be trained to focus on commonalities with the international community rather than to neglect them, a mistake as far as this educator is concerned.

The students in this sample had therefore been trained to look more carefully than students in previous years for the links between their nation and those their colleagues had hitherto characterised as being "irrelevant". An illustration of this is Argentina. After a thorough look at Argentinian political and social history, the students were able to appreciate the implications of political instability and dictatorship and the national desire for a "strong leader" *caudillismo*. The theme of *caudillismo* was pursued in the literature class and linked to stories from Argentina and the novel *Imagining Argentina*. It is a common statement in PNG that "what we need is a strong

leader". The first PNG Prime Minister has often been quoted for stating that what PNG needs is a "benevolent dictator" a position he has been quoted as saying he would willingly take. The implications from Argentinian history and literature, when applied against the local reality, were therefore made much more manifest to the students. PNG students are allowed the luxury to demonstrate. In the Latin American literature, stories of students who were disappeared for political reasons were linked to the reality of *caudillismo*, the strong man. Similarly, Palestinian literature which focussed on the desire for self determination, led to links between that same struggle being exercised in PNG/North Solomons. The following statements clarify the general opinions held by the sample group about question six:

Agree strongly - Because they are all Third World countries and they almost have the same politics and kind of leadership.

Agree in part - So that they could compare the other Third World nations with their own and decide if they are the same problems.

Agree in part - Help us solve some of our problems by seeing how others do it. Social and political and those in order to compare and understand us in their eyes.

Agree in part - This would broaden their scope of knowledge on other nations instead of keeping to this nations itself.

Disagree - Maybe we should look at our own problems first.

Disagree strongly - This won't be of any help because most PNG people never seem to have anything to do with these countries but if they look at the problem of these countries including PNG and the way they function and comparing of them putting more emphasis on PNG it would be very helpful .

Question seven asks students to chose the novel or set of short stories they most enjoyed and to explain their answer. A gender analysis of these findings would prove interesting but for the purposes of this study the main point of interest comes from the students themselves in that they show how their appreciation lends itself to the theme of education for development through literature:

Imagining Argentina - Because I'd heard about the wars in Latin America but didn't know what really happened during this time and *Imagining Argentina* clearly showed me these things.

The Good Earth - This book taught me a lot about Chinese culture which was new and interesting to me.

No Longer At Ease - It very much reflected what was going on in my society.

Middle East, Short Stories - Brought out similar themes like prostitution which is a problem in PNG and also culturally it (the act) contradicts our traditional practices.

-Knew nothing about these Palestinians and now I see their side.

Question eight asks: Rather than studying Third World literature, it would have been better to have studied British, American and European literature in Year Three.

Forty six percent of respondents disagreed with the statement and forty percent strongly disagreed. Fourteen percent agreed in part or agreed strongly.

Literature from the First World was taught in the Year Three English for Teachers (EFTS) class, which was a compulsory course for all of the respondents in this study. Such texts as: *Lord of the Flies*, *Wuthering Heights*, *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovitch*, *The Go Between* were not so much unpopular as they were not seen as being of particular relevance to the students. Nor was it the case that the language construct was, generally, any more difficult for them than was the language in the literature from the Third World. Level of difficulty in reading texts is always a major point as to whether students do or don't enjoy a book. Further research would show whether or not the students felt that the Western novels were more difficult and therefore less popular.

The following student comments represent those expressed by the sample group:

Disagree strongly- These countries have no similarities with regard to economic, political, and social problems. It's better learning about our own shortcomings so we can work towards improving them.

Disagree - I disagree because all of these countries are developed countries and their literature would vary a lot from the type of literature of the Third World countries. Since PNG is a Third World country, it is better to study such literature so that we can understand better the things that made countries like PNG into Third World countries.

Agree in part - I think that it would be better to study about how they function differently from Third World countries.

Agree strongly - I hated *Wuthering Heights*.

However, it must also be recognised that some - but not all - of the respondents are also active readers of novels which they choose on their own volition. The most popular authors, from close observation on behalf of the researcher, are different for males and females. Females choose such authors as Nancy Drew, Sidney Sheldon, Barbara Cartland. Males are more likely to read Nicholas Monserrat and Len Deighton and such authors of books which are not usually classified as "literature" so much as "popular fiction".

The division between what is "popular fiction" and "literature" is a controversial subject in that it enters the field of literary theory and raises questions of ideology. The *a priori* assertion of this author is that, in relation to maximising the time in the classroom for education for development, it is best to include those works which amply demonstrate the realities and processes of life in the Third World. To that end the works of such figures as Achebe do this as opposed to such authors as Deighton, no matter that the latter sets his novels in such places as Mexico. But what is of interest here *vis a vis* student reactions is that students are not *per se* disinterested in Western fiction. However, they have made the differential between what they see as pedagogically useful and relevant and what is irrelevant but interesting and fun. This points to the perhaps healthy sign that they are not ideologically committed to one particular genre but see the benefits behind the various constructs that fiction provides. For the purposes of literary education in PNG, this is, from the standpoint of education for development, a welcome sign.

3.6 Conclusion

The research findings indicate the level of understanding gained by the students on the subject of literature as it links to education for development. Furthermore, the research findings support the contention that PNG teacher trainees, if provided with the correct pedagogic stimuli, will understand the notion and the importance of education for development from a critical and reasoned standpoint. What the findings from the 1989 research also point to is the need for further training for in-service teachers in literary methodology.

One of the main and most worthwhile criticisms levelled against the concept and actuality of education for development or relevance content, especially in literature, is that it can easily slip into political correctness. Perhaps in the past, political correctness was translated as didacticism, a charge universally abhorred by teachers. Whether or not this differential is merely a question of semantics is a moot point; where the danger lies and what the danger is, is still the same issue. Taken to its extreme, didacticism-come-political correctness is certainly the most obvious manifestation of ideology chasing its tail in the issue of education for development. Two extreme examples arise to illustrate this point.

Firstly, to return to Russian literature and education. That the education system in the Soviet system had to conform to Marxist dictates is a well known fact in education history. If in the deconstruction of fiction a Marxist analysis was not the only accepted methodology, then it was the only one which would ultimately prove the most expedient. Ngugi wa Thiongo's example of British colonial education's incorporation of English literature into Kenyan schools is perhaps less a dire circumstance (to a Western educated English speaker who enjoys English literature) but it is strongly ideological in nature nevertheless (Ngugi: 1979, 459).

There is also the example of political correctness in relevance education in liberal states such as Papua New Guinea. There are examples to be found in this country of educational materials being of an unnecessarily biased, ideological

construct of some sort or another: literacy programmes which print only Biblical stories. Opposing literacy projects which print only health messages. This policy has the very real and very ironic effect of boring people and turning them away from reading altogether; everything Biblical, everything diarrhoeal. That the World Bank withdrew funding from an education project in Pakistan adds sobriety to the last example. The Pakistani Education Department had written and printed books for their formal school system to be used in their English classes. This "literature", a series of stories, was all about how to avoid dysentery and diarrhoea. Also in the same series of literature texts were stories about hook worms and bilharzia. The effect was to stymie the students' interest in reading and thus, presumably, in heeding or knowing about the health issues involved (Veerspoor, GTC Seminar, 1993).

This problem could be addressed in two ways. Firstly, the health issues can be incorporated into the curriculum in a more disguised form - from home economics to English - but they must not be didactic. Secondly, by using literary texts which have a general nature and which carry their message through a story which children will enjoy. The message is then less likely to be perceived as being "preachy" a common enough charge heard from students. That the general fiction books such as Achebe's works which are popular with school children in PNG are useful in health issues even though they do not specifically deal with such issues *per sé* is that they provide the ideological and moral framework to aid students in an understanding of how and why such health issues arise: corruption, inefficiency, education issues, urbanisation, economics. These themes underscore the structural problems and remedies which surround such health issues as hook-worm and dysentery. In essence, reading, especially in a literature class, must be fun and stimulating and children will reject that which is not.

The state of literature teaching in this country at the present time can only be described as poor in both relation to education for development and from methodological perspectives. Teachers should be able to incorporate information on

health through the information which surrounds such books as *No Longer At Ease*, a popular African novel already in the curriculum but which is used very badly.

Not all is static in the area of literature and its link to education for development in PNG. The recognition that literature in the language classroom will contribute to both qualitative changes in ESL and content knowledge has been accepted by the requisite authorities. At the end of 1993, a substantial redirection in literature had already been instituted. Four new novels for each grade from Grade seven through to Grade twelve had been ordered for distribution to all schools in PNG and paid for from funds the Curriculum Unit. These twenty new titles were decided upon in recognition of the stated goals of the PNG Government's call for meaningful education which addresses the theme of education for development. What this fortunate occurrence also demonstrates is that, in spite of the failed "major" attempts of reform such as the SSCEP, the subject of the next chapter, the formal curriculum can institute change for relevance education from within a purely academic framework. The secret, when compared to SSCEP, is apparently to learn from the past and to use the formal system for the ideological purposes that the conservatives did not intend and about which the progressives did not realise.

3.7 Recommendations

1. In light of the above, positive changes in the direction of literature in PNG high schools, it is now incumbent on the requisite authorities to improve the poor teaching approaches that, generally speaking, high school teachers currently demonstrate in the teaching of literature. The recommendation is that qualified teachers who have a demonstrated skill in the teaching of literature be hired to visit schools to give workshops in how better to approach the teaching of literature. The findings from the research conducted in teacher methodology and understanding of literature (see 3.1) would support the need for the implementation of such a scheme.

2) That schools be instructed to discard books which are considered not suitable for students to study in class. Such class sets as those of King Solomon's Mines which are demonstrably sexist and racist in attitude, should be withdrawn.

3) That further research be conducted on both tertiary and secondary students to ascertain behavioural and psychological determinants in gender differentials in learning strategies, performance and appreciation of content. This research could shed light on not only those issues discussed in 3.2. but provide an increased understanding of why men mistreat women in educational institutions in Papua New Guinea.

Further discussion and recommendations arising from this study are found in the final chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR THE RISE AND DEMISE OF THE SECONDARY SCHOOL COMMUNITY EXTENSION PROJECT

4.0 Introduction

Academic or practical-relevant education for Papua New Guinean students? This question, which has been at the focus of educational debate throughout the history of Western education in PNG, finds its post independence apotheosis in the now defunct Secondary Schools Community Extension Project - (SSCEP).

It is the purpose of this chapter to:

1. Examine the historical and conceptual background to SSCEP.
2. Analyse the demise of SSCEP.

Information in 4.1 is derived primarily from PNG Education Department reports and published sources and serves as a literature review of that formative period. Documents acquired by this researcher at the Curriculum Unit, Waigani and at Hoskins High School, George Brown High School and Cameron High School are used. Information in 4.2 was acquired by both qualitative and quantitative research methods, the nature of which are discussed in 4.2.

The primary reason why SSCEP is devoted a chapter in this thesis on relevance education is precisely because in its very concept and nature, SSCEP was the embodiment of what education for development in such a complex nation was meant to encompass. It was an innovative programme and was to take into consideration - and hopefully solve - the expectations and limitations arising from that old but unavoidable debate surrounding the nature of high school curricula: relevant education, academic education or a combination of the two? A thorough analysis of SSCEP is also pertinent for the following reasons:

1. It serves as a contemporary example of a well conceived and well planned innovation of "education for development" which failed.

2. No recent study of SSCEP which encompasses the final years has yet been made. This analysis may, in part, address some of the issues which arise from the history of the project. This is important because there are still the same calls for relevance education coming from all sectors of the PNG population. That one of the major causes of the demise of SSCEP was a lack of commitment on behalf of successive Governments appears lost on current educationalists and politicians alike. It is therefore a sad and somewhat worn irony that we hear in the PNG press and from politicians that Western education bears little relevance to the needs of the nation and requires reform. Western education is still the key element of PNG formal education and it appears that the same series of events as described in 3.1. are repeating themselves. Certainly, at the end of 1993 as free education is about to be introduced which will allow tens of thousands of more students access to schools, the lessons of SSCEP are pertinent. Similarly, thousands of more students are being given the opportunity to graduate from Grade twelve but will have little chance of securing formal wage employment. As the information in the following study will indicate, history is repeating itself.

4.1 SSCEP: A Background Study

It had become apparent by the late 1960's that completing high school did not automatically guarantee a paid position commensurate to one's formal qualifications. In 1962 when the United Nations Visiting Mission argued that Australia must increase the educational opportunities for Papua New Guineans, there were only seven provincial high schools. By 1975 there were seventy eight high schools (Crossley; Vulliamy, 1988, 3). That this expansion in formal education had the

effect of increasing the numbers of unemployed graduates was by 1977 a problem which Alkan Tololo, the Director of Education felt was serious enough to state that:

...high school leavers are already exceeding training and employment requirements. An increasing proportion of grade eight and grade ten leavers will be underemployed or unemployed, and the Department shares responsibility with parents, the community and other agencies to ensure that these school leavers also become useful citizens. (Swatridge: 1985, 116)

Conroy recognised that this was a problem long before 1977: "Since 1967 when I first became aware of it, the 'school leaver problem' in Papua New Guinea has changed in status to something at which educational administrators scoffed to a major object of public concern,"(Conroy, 1976, xi).

The fear factor of social instability arising from the unemployed school leavers was a strong motivation in attempting to tinker with the curriculum in order to encourage students to return to the village after graduation or after failing to advance into higher classes. The numbers of youths remaining in urban areas was noticeable. Their disaffection is widely demonstrated in the short stories, drama and poetry which comes from that period. The main component of PNG's national literature comes from the period immediately after independence and any analysis of this literature would have to include as a major theme, the social dislocation resulting from Western education. On this theme, one must distinguish between the dislocation caused by contact; ideas, technology and beliefs and the dislocation caused by formal education. This is so precisely because on a close analysis of the degrees of dislocation evident from a reading of PNG literature, it becomes clear that there are various levels and types of dislocation. This is not the venue to explore the depths of this observation, but the role of formal education on the characters in PNG fiction is more than subtly different from those characters who did not enjoy the formal acquisition of Westernization in an educational institution.

In *The Flight of the Villager*, by August Kituai (Grecius: 1976) the protagonist flees the village for Goroka but finds no work there. His form of alienation is not one

which we could term as being existential and characterised by a disturbed interpretation of his surroundings which leads to negative behaviour. Negative behaviour here is not to mean that sort as typified by Conroy who feared civil violence as a result of economic deprivation. Rather, the protagonist in *The Flight Of The Villager*, who has no formal education, experiences a wonderment at the Western ways of Goroka. Following this initial exuberance, the wonderment turns to an analysis of what town and country mean for someone without an education. The story is positive in that there is not the automatic inclination to turn to violence as the sociologists of the time were predicting. August Kituai does not automatically characterise Westernization as *a priori* bad but defines it in terms of a contrasting set of values which need not be seen as something necessarily detrimental to the realities of life in a society under the enormous flux of change which 1960's Highlands PNG was characterised by. The most crucial aspect of this story for the purposes of this analysis is that the protagonist was not formally educated and had none of the expectations that those who have received Western education have had inculcated in them through formal education (Swatridge:1985).

In the story "City Lights" by Siuras Kavani (Powell: 1987) the main character is also a young man straight from a remote area of the Highlands who arrives in the big city, this time Port Moresby. There is no negative faith predisposed in him from formal training which leads the author to characterise the young man as alienated. He may be seen by some as naive, but that is to be expected for someone in the big city who hitherto had never even been in a boarding school. Neither is this young man alienated in an existential way. Rather, he is set to succeed. His expectations are simple; a labourer's job, to see the sights. He still has his traditions and he holds no prejudices; an innocent waiting to be destroyed perhaps, but he expects nothing other than the most basic requirements. It is notable that these two stories, and other with uneducated characters who go to towns in search of work, are not the ones who cause problems. They are always treated as innocents who have bad things done to them. Only in the stories with educated youths, do the self inflicted problems arise once they reach

town. Is the fact that they have greater expectations, the feeling that society owes them a job and a permanent house, the cause of their discontent when they do not receive what 75% of educated PNG post Grade six leavers do not receive- salaried employment?

It is in the stories that deal with educated youths - always males, never females, - that we begin to see the pattern of alienation and discontent with which the sociologists and educationalists of the period have the most concern. In Benjamin Umba's novella, *The Fires Of Dawn*, (Grecius: 1976) the young man who has received a formal, religious education and returns to his very remote area, is culturally alienated from his own culture. Consequently, he is dispossessed by his clan of all traditional rights because he unwittingly demonstrates that alienation. Eventually he is murdered and his death is the price he must pay for his education and, significantly, his alienation.

In *Portrait of The Odd Man Out* by Russel Soaba, the protagonist, Gwadi, is a university student who is so alienated by his Western education that he becomes a public nuisance:

Gwadi opened his eyes and saw them all standing around him, looking down at him and laughing loudly. Nice, clean students they were. Clean clothes, white shirts, baggy long pants which they thought were good, and new shiny shoes. And all Gwadi wore were a pair of inferior-looking grey shorts, and a blue T-shirt. And they laughed at him - the odd-man-out- and he smiled back at them also, and cursed them aloud from his inside - 'Yer pack of copyists, yer pack of black and white, brown, coffee-coloured, bourgeois pigs!' Then he felt a hard kick on his chest from the tough-looking student and he closed his eyes with pain. (Soaba: 1976)

This story illustrates that even when someone did squeeze through the education system which allowed only a minority through to the top, there was the possibility of disaffection and social alienation. This was attributed to the sudden Westernization of those educated in a system which failed to address the problem of transition from one form of society to another.

The fact that the curriculum has, according to so many educationalists and members of the public alike, not served the purposes of a society as complex as that of

PNG's, is not an accusation with implications that can be borne entirely by those who don't scrape through to Grade six or Grade ten. It is the uneducated in towns and the semi-educated, the push outs and drop outs who are stigmatised as being the negative results of a poor education system and urban migration. (push out/drop out: these terms are used in the literature as legitimate references to those who are, as the terms suggest, pushed out or who drop out of school; they are now terms fully integrated into PNG English and Pidgin - researcher's note). It is they who bear the brunt of the accusations of social misfits. The pace and type of development which have occurred, are characteristics which are reflected in the education system as Kaman's study of the PNG social science syllabus indicates (Kaman: 1987). Gwadi is also a victim of an education system which left him bereft of a traditional home and beliefs; that institution the boarding school which was the repository of the formal Western education system with its Western curricula and syllabi and enculturating influences, was the home for the students who did make it to school.

When Conroy (1976) and other sociologists and analysts (Bray:1984: Swatridge: 1985) interpreted the education system's effect on the school leavers and characterise those school leavers as potential problems, they omit the very real problem of alienation of those who are ostensibly successful in that system. The fact that wife bashing is more prevalent amongst educated people may indicate the seriousness of the problem of Westernization and the alienation of the educated elite (PNG Education Department Publication: Domestic Violence: 1988) from their traditions as much as any push out from Grade six.

The anthropological data available on the consequences of Western contact in PNG are numerous, but what the essence of such studies demonstrates is that the complexity of issues arising from just one aspect, that of education, would demonstrate that the perceived irrelevance of the curriculum affects those who go through to the very end and gain Doctorates as well as those who are characterised as being "unsuccessful".

"There are those who have said that the development of PNG has been too rapid andwas bound to be traumatic" (Swatridge: 1985, 143). On the subject of social and cultural alienation resulting from the experience of years of Western style schooling, Nelson Giraure(1979) writes;

So we left high schools - students with a new way of life: students with little in common with the old village ways. We went out into the world armed with our new education to challenge life and seek jobs.....Because of economic factors, higher education became available to only a portion of school children. The result of this was that thousands of children, dissatisfied with village life, invaded the towns to seek jobs which they felt were their right. Other children returned to the villages having little in common among whom they were to live. The result was and still is chaos, both in the towns and the villages.

The drop out rate between Grade six and Grade ten in 1975 was 31.4% (Bray:1984, 6). The social ramifications were obvious; greater numbers of people moving to towns where there was no formal employment. Conroy agonised that such a population would "have politically destabilising consequences" and his book *Education, Employment and Migration in Papua New Guinea* gives ample evidence to support such anxieties. Bray, writing well after the implementation of SSCEP in 1978 notes a similar, perhaps obvious, point:

Most planners would also like to reduce drop out rates in order to reduce social inequalities. The amount of formal education people receive is closely linked to the types of jobs they can get and to their wealth and status. Those who never go to school are likely to stay at the bottom levels in society, and those who drop out at an early stage will not be much higher. (Bray, 1984, 2)

The point is that such problems as were created by the combination of formal Western education and the lack of formal employment which could absorb those trained for such is one of the further ironies in the history of developing nations - and increasingly of developed nations. The irony in PNG's case was that the Australian colonial policy was to largely omit the provision of secondary, formal schooling. When forced to provide such education by the United Nations in the mid 1960's, they did so

with very little or no vocational or relevance content included in the curricula. The rapid increase in formal education amounted to a complete change of policy from colonial times when it was thought appropriate to provide basic, practical education for "native" people. But by the late 1960's, more education for more people and the type of education it provided, led to an expectation amongst the people that education would always pay. Thus the disappointment for the thousands of Grade tens each year who do not receive the cargo. Swatridge (1985) is best in his analysis of the PNG education system when he focuses on education as cargo, or automatic reward for having received Western education. In the late 1970's when SSCEP was being planned, it sought to address this problem because:

It has been estimated that by 1981 there will be about 6,700 students graduating from Grade ten, but only 3,600 places for employment and further training. The trickle of Grade ten unemployed will become a flood. (Stanton: 1978, 63)

Although one of the major themes to emerge from the research on relevant and practical education programmes in the developing world is parental rejection or suspicion of such second best education, Swatridge states that by the mid 1970's a pragmatic, more realistic approach - or resignation - was occurring on behalf of parents. Parents were at that stage ready to accept that the "cargo cult" mentality of formal education would not necessarily deliver the goods of paid employment. The calls for greater relevance to rural concerns in secondary education was not merely coming from the intelligentsia who were following the African, post independence models of non-Western education but that:

Parents had seen enough of the wastage at the conventional high schools, to appreciate that if their sons and daughters had no alternative but to return to the village - even after Grade ten - it was better that they come armed with useful skills, than they should think village work beneath them, or that they should play a "rascal" in town. (Swatridge: 1988,142)

From the research conducted by Crossley and Vulliamy on the subject of parental expectations, it would appear that the above quote from Swatridge would be consistent with the sometimes generalised or hyperbolic nature of his findings or, rather, assertions. That Swatridge sees parents coming to terms with the inevitability of wastage does not afford a view consistent with other research of the time, certainly not on behalf of parents in the research on parental expectations which was conducted specifically for SSCEP purposes.

Parents have to find large amounts of money for school fees; 85% of the population earns its income from subsistence farming. Cash for children's school fees which does not bear profit is seen as a waste. As will be pointed out later in further evidence collected by this researcher on the issue of parental concerns about education, parents see their children's education as economic potential earned within the formal sector. Sunema Kulupi's research on parents attitudes in the Southern Highlands area near the Kagua SSCEP school showed that parents wished their children to secure wage earning employment on graduation (Kulupi, 1984).

Certainly, from a close reading of the various SSCEP planning reports, there is a strong emphasis on this notion, or very real fear, that parents would not accept their children receiving a second best education. Second best education is one which was equated with a curricula which emphasised practical skills and minimised academic education.

While some influential Papua New Guineans were arguing for a more relevant, community oriented style of schooling, there is little doubt that most parents viewed schooling as a passport to formal sector jobs and, as Tololo recognized, (1976:221) would resist attempts to reorient the academic nature of education. Thus, for example, plans for a SSCEP school in Simbu Province were vetoed in 1977 by the province's premier, who many years earlier had made the celebrated remark to an expatriate Director of Education at a primary school opening: 'We want our children to be exactly like you'. (quoted in Standish, 1981:297)

Perhaps the major ideological impetus behind the debate of what and for whom *vis á vis* relevance education occurred, naturally enough, in the policy planning division of the National Department of Education and amongst educationalists in general. "This

polarisation of views amongst Papua New Guineans was mirrored by a debate at the academic level that was highlighted at the Waigani Seminar of 1974" (Crossley; Vulliamy, 1988). This debate was centred on whether or not the school system should be community oriented or academic. It was out of this debate, the polarisation of ideals and ideology, that the SSCEP was first conceptualised. Crossley states that the 1976-1980 Five Year Plan for education emerged to be essentially less ideologically in line with the desires of the reformers - those who advocated full community based education. Crossley notes, however, that much of the actual work of planning and implementing SSCEP fell to the so called reformers so that their ideological imperatives influenced both the planning and direction of the scheme. "The result was a pragmatic attempt to steer the kind of educational middle path" (ibid). The more 'radical' aspects of the reformers were not instituted. For example, the language of instruction was to remain in English rather than to change to *Tok Ples* or Pidgin.

It is interesting to note that the same debate on language still occurs. That the first two years of community school education are now, in many regions, in *Tok Ples* is one of the 'radical' ideas of the mid seventies, then rejected, but which is now common practice in pre-schools and community schools. The ideological impetus behind the language question must surely have arisen from the Independence era when colonial rule was ending but with much of its legacy remaining, not the least amongst it being English. That the language of education is a political tool or weapon was not lost on some educators in PNG. It is not the purpose of this paper to discuss in depth this particular aspect of the educational innovations and proposals of the time. However, as an aspect of the changes called for by those whom Crossley labels 'radical', there appears an indication that the ideological reform was influenced by such universally acknowledged radical pedagogists as Freire. If this is the case, then it is an indication of the ideological standpoint of those calling for such innovations in PNG. A return to indigenous languages, such as was the case with Swahili in Kenyan education, was as much a political statement as it was a sensible one from a pedagogic point of view; children learn better in their own language.

That the debate on rural versus academic curriculum was polarised in PNG was symptomatic of a similar debate in other developing countries. The debate in many newly independent African nations on what type of education most suited the population became a similar debate in PNG: all aspects of culture as it related in its components to formal education came under scrutiny, language issues included. The following extract was as applicable to the PNG situation which led to the compromise with which Crossley characterises the inception of SSCEP, as it was to the African situation to which the extract below directly relates.

In recent years there has been much talk of both ruralising the curriculum and ruralising education. There are, however, different issues. Ruralising the curriculum exists in perhaps three forms; revising the existing curriculum so that in Form A everything in the curriculum is somehow associated with work on the school farm and what might loosely be called agricultural science (or science crafts). Form B places moderate emphasis on this and Form C concentrates on reading, writing and arithmetic, and some social studies (embodying nutrition and health education) and some general practical work. Which form is desirable is strongly debated in many countries. (Postlewait: King: 1975,2-3)

However, as Crossley and Vulliamy strive to emphasise in their numerous studies of the SSCEP: "SSCEP'S aim was always one of teaching the existing academic curriculum in a more relevant way (Crossley: Vulliamy: 1988, 1). In the following Project Paper sent to all SSCEP schools in 1984 outlining the main points of the innovation the emphasis of academic content is clear:

SSCEP aims to:

- teach practical skills useful in rural life
- maintain academic standards
- promote positive attitudes to rural life
- develop personal attributes such as independence, self reliance, confidence, leadership, citizenship

The main aspects of the programme are:

- normal subject studies
- core practical subjects
- integration of subjects and projects
- new assessment procedures
- outstation experiences
- community involvement

(PNG Education Department: FilePP3-2-2/84/220P)

It appears from all of the literature surrounding the planning and implementation of SSCEP, that there was an almost obsessive preoccupation that 1) the academic component of SSCEP should be maintained and strengthened and that 2) this academic component should be stressed to both schools and parents.

This preoccupation of stressing the academic component of SSCEP had its roots in both the theory and practice of PNG education in the late 1960's when the Government had again begun to stress the need for vocational training for students who had been "dropped out" or "pushed out" of the formal school system. The vocational centres which the Education Department set up did not teach academic subjects. By the beginning of the 1970's, these institutions had proved less than successful. Reeves (1981) states:

In 1977 an evaluation found that centres tended to provide rural youths with a means to escape from the village: ex-trainees migrated to the towns in search of employment, while even those who did return to the villages were seldom productively employed, and thus they did not utilise the training they had received. (Crossley: Vulliamy;1988, 5)

The vocational schools were perceived as being less than satisfactory by parents and students alike. After so many years of expensive formal education to "end up" in a vocational school and not in a university or well paid white collar job was thought to be demeaning and a waste. A popular concept of vocational training in the 1990's - especially of agricultural training - is "why do we have to learn how to grow kaukau?" (This researcher's findings on speaking to high school students who study agriculture in school). A similarly innovative rural based programme in the late 1960's and early 1970's - Skulanka - also failed. Why the vocational centres and Skulanka failed is a multifaceted and complex problem which is beyond the scope of the current investigation. However, one or two points are highly relevant for an understanding of why SSCEP stressed the academic aspect of its programme and how SSCEP learned and adapted from the above, unsuccessful programmes.

Firstly, students in the Vocational Centres and Skulanka had been primarily push outs or drop outs from Grades six through ten. By not pushing out 40% of all students at the end of Grade seven, as was the case in the early 1970's (Bray: 1984), but keeping them in a SSCEP school until the end of Grade ten, the students would be more mature and have more chance of applying their practical knowledge on their return to the village. In fact, in order to guarantee that students were older and more mature and therefore able to apply their knowledge on leaving school, SSCEP was not to start in Grade seven, the first year of high school, but in Grade nine - Grade ten being the final year.

Secondly, so much faith was instilled in parents and students alike in the benefits of formal education, that any school which did not offer academic education would see an exodus of its students to schools which did offer academic classes leading to the all important Grade ten exams which were, for an absolute minority - the entry to the higher world of National High Schools. SSCEP still had to supply the lottery tickets for that gamble in formal education. Vocational schools and Skulanka had not provided any academic education and were therefore considered second best. The compromise for parents and students was to combine academic and practical education and therefore hope to cover all bases. It was a compromise situation for parents and students as much as it had been for those policy makers on the ideological continuum who had sought educational alternatives in the early 1970's.

Would such pragmatism succeed? Would this compromise affect the change that society was calling for? Indeed, the Government's concept of equal opportunity - which can be characterised as being ideologically "progressive" in its post independence zeal, surely had the issues in perspective in relation to its development goals as stressed in the various promulgations and manifestoes of the time. For example, the PNG Constitution was based on that of Tanzania's, one of the most progressive in the independent African nations. PNG's "community approach" Eight Point Plan would surely have been the litmus test to the correct ideological path for education. Having studied the failure of former PNG relevance programmes and come

to a compromise with SSCEP, all of the components for a successful innovation were in place. From nobody's point of view would the project appear 'radical' -something policy makers nor parents were keen to embrace. It was merely a divergence from the strict formal school system instituted, ironically, by the Australians from the ashes of their practical curricula of colonial schools. SSCEP was a pragmatic combination of the two: practical and academic.

Cameron and Manggai High Schools became the first two SSCEP schools in 1979. Other schools joined in the pilot study and by 1983 there were seven SSCEP schools. It appeared as if all PNG high schools would follow the successful examples. But this didn't happen. In 1993 of the seven schools which had been involved in the programme, only Hoskins High School remained with a SSCEP profile, and that had been modified.

4.2 The Demise of SSCEP: Research And Analysis

4.2.1 Background to the Hoskins High School Study

In 1993 Hoskins High School, West New Britain, was the only SSCEP school left in PNG from the seven which had been initiated from 1979 on. Hoskins' original SSCEP programme had been modified primarily by the fact that it no longer had an outstation, a point which will be discussed in the research findings but which illustrates here that a study of SSCEP in 1993 brought with it limitations

It should be noted here that Hoskins High School no longer referred to itself as being a SSCEP school. It had changed its title to Curriculum Extension. This name change was to reflect the fact that certain modifications and changes had occurred over the years which the administration felt necessitated a change of name. (For the purposes of this study, the SSCEP appellation will remain) The changes were not considered so substantial as to make the present study irrelevant. Indeed, one of the characteristics of the SSCEP since its inception in 1977 was that it was flexible. What

Crossley (1988) states about the nature of flexibility as it relates to SSCEP is pertinent to the present discussion:

A careful study of the development of SSCEP from 1977 to the present serves to illustrate a number of important points. In the literature of educational innovations it is often assumed that policies, once formulated, remain static, and justice is rarely done to the shifting variety of perspectives that are implied in any one policy. Much of the apparatus of traditional input-outcome approaches to evaluation takes for granted the fact that initial aims and objectives also remain unchanged throughout the lifetime of a project. (p.1)

4.2.2 The Demise of SSCEP: Research Objectives

The objective of the research at Hoskins High School and at other locations was to:

- a) discover causes behind the demise of SSCEP which had not arisen in previous literature surrounding the subject.
- b) corroborate information which had appeared in previous literature as possible reasons for the demise of SSCEP.

4.3 Research Methodology

Two research approaches, those characterised as being qualitative and quantitative, were used in locations around PNG to gather data to aid in an understanding of how and why SSCEP failed.

The following research was conducted at Hoskins High School:

1. Interviews with teachers and administrators. Interview questions were such that they would aid in outlining the history - successes and failures - of SSCEP, both at Hoskins and throughout PNG. The theoretical assumptions were based on published material - primarily that of Crossley (1983, 1984, 1986) and Vulliamy (1986, 1987, 1990) - which had discussed SSCEP's potential problems and those which it had actually encountered. Their assumptions and observations had in turn

been based on previous experiences in PNG in relevance education and in projects with a similar philosophy and history in Africa.

During these interviews, I asked if I could take notes. I also sought permission to quote verbatim in any report which might ensue from the interviews and was granted permission on each occasion. Respondents are referred to as Informants A, B, C, etcetera.

2. Written questionnaire responses from Grade ten Hoskins students: this questionnaire was part open ended and part discreet (yes/no).

3. Documents from the school's considerable file on SSCEP history were collected and used as background information for questions and for further purposes of this study.

The information gathered at Hoskins High School and presented in the findings is combined with information gained from teachers, headmasters, administrators and students in various parts of PNG - all of whom are referred to as Informants. It is not the specific objective of this report to use Hoskins High School as an in-depth case study. What specific and general circumstances arise from the SSCEP experience at Hoskins are related to the PNG SSCEP experience generally, except where stated in the findings.

For the purposes of this report, I had wished to do as much qualitative research as time and circumstances would permit. At Hoskins, I had only a total of five days. Concurrently, I was on a work assignment for the University of Papua New Guinea - Goroka Teachers College (UPNG-GTC).. This work involved observing teacher trainees present their lessons. These observations, an average of six per day, had to be followed by an in-depth conference. Because of the ensuing time constraints, a number of limitations were placed upon the researcher and thus this study does not include the following aspects of research which would have been valuable additions:

1. In depth interviews with a larger sample of teachers to ascertain their views on the SSCEP programme.

2. Classroom observations with SSCEP teachers to ascertain if the teaching materials employed were primarily those used throughout the formal, secondary education system or whether they were Hoskins produced, relevance materials incorporating the practical subjects into the academic subjects. Such materials were meant to play a major part in the practice of SSCEP schools. Research did include a survey of relevance materials produced by the school for use in academic classes.

3. Informal interviews with the students to whom the questionnaire was administered. This would have been valuable in order to corroborate whether or not the students' written replies would correspond with their oral answers. Such interviews would have also been useful in soliciting information not easily elicited from written responses.

The most useful and appropriate research procedure for this study was, I felt, to be found in the formative work by Beatrice Avalos *et al* in her study of school systems in Latin America (1986). Like Michael Crossley and Graham Vulliamy who had both done in-depth studies of SSCEP from the late 1970's to the late 1980's, Avalos' research procedure was formulated primarily by the special circumstances of researching education in a developing country. Both Crossley (1983) and Vulliamy (1990) make extensive clarification of their qualitative, ethnographic research methodology in relation to the needs particular to developing countries.

The ideological influence of a methodological approach is, like curriculum itself, never neutral, or free of bias. Certainly the social scientist and researcher knows that personal influences play a role in any research:

Recent developments in research methodology indicate that "methodology" involves a consideration of research design, data collection, data analysis, and theorizing together with the social, ethical and political concerns of the social researcher...(Burgess:1984, quoted in Vulliamy, 1990, 3)

As was stated in Chapter One, this research was, in part, motivated by a concern to appraise the status of relevance education in PNG as set against

government policy. An aspect of that motivation arose from a prior understanding that the PNG Government had a sound policy of education for development and, to quote Guthrie (1982, 14),

...was based on the evaluation that as an expatriate teacher and researcher in a developing country I should use my skills to promote government policy with which I have no fundamental disagreements that might force me to reconsider my view...(ibid)

This commitment explains the theoretical and ideological stance that would have been the main influences in the research design *vis á vis* that which Burgess states is inevitable in his above statement.

Avalos *et al* conducted their ethnographic study in sixteen schools in four Latin American countries. Even for the purposes of this considerably more limited study, I felt that their methodological approach was most suited for a school setting. Also, having spent five years in education in PNG, I felt that the "macroethnography" that she describes, was appropriate to the subsequent analysis.

The practice of ethnography as applied to schooling ranges from the observation, description, and interpretation of singular microevents, such as linguistic interaction in the classroom to what Ogbu (1980) calls macroethnography. Macroethnography seeks to explore the relationships between the single social event and other social factors and institutions. (Avalos:1986, 24)

Avalos linked the assumptions of her ethnographic study with a consideration of the larger social factors: economics, social milieu, politics and culture. She states further that such a link is part of the greater plan in such methodology for which the researcher employing such an ethnographic system of data collection needs:

....an 'ethnographic imagination', a good working theory of the social structure of the school and of the wider community in which the school is located. His study should be "holistic" i.e. it should show how education is linked with the economy, the political system, local social structure and belief system of the people served by schools. (ibid)

One of the limitations of my study, when set against that of the methodology used by Avalos as described above, was that I had not had sufficient time to gain "a good working theory of the social structure of the school and the wider community..." as it related to Hoskins High School and the wider West New Britain community. Although, as mentioned above, I had had five years of working in PNG High schools, including former SSCEP schools, I realised I was having to extrapolate my knowledge of the PNG education system to that of the Hoskins situation and, because the former SSCEP schools were now defunct, to those institutions as well. From having done wide reading on the subject of relevance education in PNG and from having read widely on SSCEP leading up to the last SSCEP school in 1993, I felt that I was able to overcome the problems that Avalos envisaged. Besides, this was not a study *per sé* of Hoskins, but a study of various aspects of the one remaining SSCEP school from which I could extrapolate to the findings from other researchers' work on the subject. The research conducted at Hoskins serves as a microethnographic study, one school from the seven. However, it does not purport to act as a definitive study of SSCEP in that it speaks for the conditions and history of each of the seven schools. Different factors influenced each school and the following discussion focuses on the many factors which arose around the country. As Knauft states about the "... frequently occurring general problem of comparative analysis: features that appear adequate for a broad comparative analysis become inadequate as the scale of analysis is reduced and patterns of local variation are considered more closely"(Knauft:1993). The fact that the interviews I conducted were with SSCEP administrators and teachers from different SSCEP schools and backgrounds also meant that a more global study of the SSCEP experience in PNG would be achieved.

Another limitation in this study of SSCEP is a self imposed one: it is not possible in the current study to cover all of the myriad facets - either in number or in depth - which contributed to the demise of the project. The researcher has limited himself to those issues which he felt played the greatest role in the demise of SSCEP.

4.4 SSCEP: Research Findings

One of the most important factors in the demise of SSCEP was because parents perceived the project as being, ironically, irrelevant. The role of parents in the success or failure of innovative school programmes in PNG is well documented (Conroy, 1976; Crossley, 1983; Vulliamy, 1987; Weeks, 1984) just as it is in other developing nations (Sinclair & Lillis, 1980; Lockhead & Verspoor, 1991). That the evidence presented by the above authors on PNG points generally to the negative attitude that parents held towards the SSCEP is supported by evidence from both students and administrators interviewed for the purposes of this study. However, in the absence of either detailed quantitative or qualitative published evidence supporting this generalised perception of the negativity of parents towards SSCEP, it is interesting to note 1984 research on two SSCEP schools (Kulupi: 1984).

The evidence presented in Kulupi's unpublished report supports the concept that parents are not entirely negative towards SSCEP. The same evidence may indicate that the nature of the evidence hides parental ambivalence. The evidence needs to be analysed closely to ascertain if:

- a) the research methodology points to contradictions which are not fully clarified:
- b) the contradictions are so multi-faceted that generalisations cannot be as easily applied to the issue as some literature would indicate.
- c) that other authors have over generalised the role of parental negative attitudes towards SSCEP.

Kulupi conducted a survey of parents who had children at the SSCEP school of Kagua in the Southern Highlands Province and at Karkar SSCEP High School, Madang Province. "Findings from the two methods (*of research: interviews and questionnaires-author*) indicate strong support of the project. More parents and leaders think SSCEP is a good idea and they want it to be continued at the present

high schools and extended to other provincial high schools". Kulupi's research methodology may help explain the positive support for the project that he found differentials between the questionnaire and the oral interview.

Both Kagua and Karkar tend to have stronger negative views and attitudes to specific aspects of SSCEP project (sic). For example, Kagua showed a high (62% in the interview and 34% in the parents' questionnaire) negative response rate to the question on whether all grade 8 students continuing on to grade 10 was a good idea. Similarly, both Kagua and Karkar showed higher (52% and 43% respectively in the interview form and in the questionnaire 16% and 37%) response rates to having dislike for certain SSCEP projects that the students were involved in...(ibid.)

The differentials in the interview and the questionnaire are supported by this researcher's findings in the Hoskins students' interviews. Even though the interview sample of fifteen students was small, the differences in attitudes towards SSCEP related issues supports the same theme found by Kulupi: more negativity was displayed in interviews than in written questionnaires. This is puzzling but may in part be explained by the fact that people feel they can be more expressive or honest orally than in the more problematical area of writing. Kulupi does not explain how he got written responses to his questionnaire in a region which has one of the highest rates of illiteracy in PNG. Perhaps the 'sacredness' of the written word in a nation with approximately 70% illiteracy is that the person filling in the questionnaire has a greater disposition for fulfilling the anticipated or desired response on behalf of the researcher.

Be that as it may, the differentials mean that there needs to be caution in interpreting the results of parents' responses. This is particularly so in the case of over generalisation; the research conducted showed a penchant for contradictions: this arose partly, I feel by the inherent contradiction in the SSCEP itself. That is, parents saw the SSCEP as being valuable if their child were not able to get a good job or go on to higher education - rather the Pascal's Wager of relevance education. The nature of the problem is so complex that the asking of a limited number of questions on parental perceptions to SSCEP proved insufficient to generalise; or that the generalisation must

be accorded the status that it inspires. The fact that the evidence points to PNG parents as having a negative attitude towards SSCEP needs careful analysis. There are myriad aspects which contribute to the contradictory nature of this issue : gender, economics, culture, regional variations are but a few which would support a greater understanding of the generalisation that parents do not favour SSCEP.

Informant E, a Papua New Guinean and former SSCEP teacher, stated that: "Parents wanted their children in a school, not a half school where the kids went into the village to do chicken projects." This statement that parents want no half hearted measure, supports the Simbu politician who did not want a SSCEP school in his province (and never got one) because he said "We want to be like you" meaning Western educated (Crossley: 1986: quoted in Standish 1981, 297). The concepts expressed by Informant E and the Simbu politician have implications encompassing both the cultural and economic perspectives arising from the parental perception of SSCEP. It needs to be stated early on in this discussion that in none of the problems facing SSCEP is there any clear cut and definitive reason for the decline. The parental attitude is as contradictory as any. All of the expatriate informants said that parents were in favour of the SSCEP or, at least, showed ambivalence but not completely negative views. PNG informants said that parents thought SSCEP a waste of time or that there was confusion or ambivalence.

The cultural aspect as it applies to parents' perception is complex and again validates the complexity inherent in the application of Western education to a culture (or cultures) as which exist in this nation of approximately 800 language - culture groups. Informant F, a Papua New Guinean who has done extensive studies on the nature of traditional knowledge in Papua, points to the culture conflict of past knowledge bases and those of the present as exemplified in Western education:

There was disappointment in SSCEP. It was going to provide work, something like the cargo we expected. It is related to the past. In the past there were men's houses in which all the men lived and you learned certain behaviours. When you came out you were a man and mature and you took your place in society and became a leader. You were something, someone. Then these schools

arrived. A boy went to one of those, disappeared and then came back with cigarettes and calico and everyone was happy. And the ones coming from the men's houses still had traditional knowledge but not the goods. So which one?

This points to the cultural conflict arising from a clash of cultures and it translates into the education system in PNG today - innovation programmes or not. Parents are caught in a dilemma arising from the dual expectations: they want their children to obtain a white collar city job but they often also understand the anomalies surrounding the acquisition, opportunities (or lack of) and application of Western education. Potentially, a child's education acts as a parent's major economic base. The same informant adds:

Sago is more difficult to make than getting a packet of rice. Education is seen as the soft option. We can buy rice with the money we make from work and you need education to get good work to buy stuff with. The whiteman brought these things and confused us culturally.

One clear example of the complexity involved in the culture aspect, arises from the link between culture, parental attitudes and economics and the problem of applying SSCEP knowledge; this paradigm is here made an issue because it links to the cultural perspectives of this researcher attempting an analysis through his own culture - the suggestion that people invest for capital development. Informant F stated that children did learn technological and agricultural innovations at SSCEP. But when the children returned to the village, they were often unable to apply the innovations, such as a piggery with a concrete floor because "there would simply not be enough money for a concrete floor". When asked why the villages did not save up to buy concrete as people might in other cultures in order to make a capital investment, the informant said it was not only that there was not the money but that there was the unwillingness to find it: "People did not have the faith that an innovation would work out and were unwilling to invest in potential failure rather than potential profit". This seemed, amongst other factors, to indicate a continued faith in traditional methods; we will raise pigs in the way we always have. The informant reiterated that the major problem here was that

SSCEP failed because the people did not apply the knowledge they or their children had learned in SSCEP schools.

One of the major cultural reasons for this non application of knowledge is that, generally speaking, throughout the myriad PNG cultures, young people are not given status in a village community.

Culturally, a sixteen or seventeen year old, especially a female but males also, must just shut up and do as they are told in the community. They have no power. To boss older people around and say 'we need a concrete floor, our teachers showed us about concrete floors' isn't appropriate. This goes against our cultural norms. Then the kids get frustrated and just go into town.

This researcher can corroborate this fact from his experience in Miaru Village, Gulf Province where there were several young men who had attended either Mainohana SSCEP school or other non SSCEP secondary schools. One evening while sitting with the men and eating dinner, a discussion arose amongst the big men about the nature of climate. The big men made references to wind and rain which had no bearing on the realities of accepted Western knowledge of weather patterns. I later asked the young men if what the big men had said was based on local knowledge systems to which they replied in the negative. When one young man, a Grade ten leaver politely added his piece to the discussion, he was reminded vehemently that he was nothing, that he was "just a boy". What the youth said was about the El Niño Effect, something he later told me he had studied at school. When I spoke to the youths later about this incident they said that it was wrong for the boy to have included himself in the conversation because it had 'shown up' the big men's apparent lack of knowledge in front of the 'white man'. They added that the big men did not listen to what they had to say and that basically they were separated by the generations. This separation was very noticeable in Miaru Village; at night the groups were divided by gender. Women sat together in groups in which age differentials appeared to be of no importance; old with young. But the men were divided into distinct generational groups. During a feast I attended, only the old men stood to deliver speeches.

I also observed that even though personal hygiene and the building of latrines is a part of the syllabus in all PNG high schools and something which is stressed in SSCEP syllabi, most people still defecated on the beach at night. At sunrise the women and young children wash their dishes in the sea water. These observations in the village setting in which a number of the villagers present were Grade ten leavers from a SSCEP school perhaps indicates that the strength of cultural traditions are a major aspect of determining the success or failure of the application of knowledge in the community setting.

The cultural anomalies and ironies arising from the SSCEP relevance programmes appear, however, not to be totally lost on the parents of SSCEP children. Informant F explains:

In community schools they learned about Western time and Western ways and then when they went to SSCEP they learned how to do things in a Melanesian way, things relevant to the village. So why go to school in the early years just to learn the Western way and then unlearn it at SSCEP? It's funny. Parents knew this because they have to find the school fees to pay for it. But SSCEP was good too though. It taught the kids to relate back to the community because inevitably they do go to school but in community school they lose those clan ways. But then SSCEP taught only money matters - I mean related money matters in a Melanesian way. But is that possible? It's all mixed up. But you can't blame SSCEP for that because people want money and if they don't get it they're unhappy too and SSCEP was trying to answer all things.

I had noticed at Hoskins High School that weaving baskets was a large part of the application of practical knowledge. Informant C, an expatriate teacher explained that the students then sold the baskets and that that money was then reinvested into the school. They learned therefore to weave and to market the goods and to reinvest. This practical knowledge was incorporated in various ways into the academic subjects of maths and commerce and English. I checked the English materials and found that there was abundant evidence to support the informant's point that "Hoskins has an excellent reputation for producing relevant academic content materials which relates to the practical side of things here."

I mentioned the learning of weaving baskets to Informant F, an expert on traditional systems of belief in PNG. It should be noted that I did not preface this with the fact that the Hoskins informant had stressed that their SSCEP programme incorporated practical into theoretical or vice versa:

The elders in the village said about these schools which do the practical things 'don't teach them weaving'. But when the kids go away to these schools, away from their community, they have to learn about traditional things because they are removed from the community. But then parents say things like this when the kids come home:

'Oh good, you learned weaving' or

' You can't earn any money from that weaving' or

'We could have taught you that stuff here'

On this last point about learning to do weaving at home, well that may not be the case. Elders don't teach the kids that stuff because they're too busy making sago or betel nut growing or gardening to get cash to pay school fees and all the other things. So the kids have to learn how to weave in a Western style school which says it isn't Western because it's relevant or something.

Informant G, a Papua New Guinean community school teacher and now a university tutor, observed in Community Schools in the mid 1970's that:

Culturally things had changed. In the old days, people did things for the betterment of the community. Now they do things for the betterment of themselves. That's Westernisation for you. Individualism. I'm not saying that's bad. It just is. But parents translated that into thinking like Westerners when it came to money making and kids and schools so they didn't want their kids to go to schools where they weren't going to maximise their money making - those individual ways. SSCEP was like the opposite of what they saw school should be.

Informant G relates the story of his time at a community school in Central Province in 1974.

We started this fishing project which was for the kids to learn how to act like a community. This is in a school. We went out fishing and everyone loved it, the villagers who helped us and the teachers and students. But then after a few times there were squabbles and the direction, the urge was lost. 'What am I getting out of this?' some asked. And that infected the whole group and then they all felt like that. Traditionally, that group would have been one clan, one village, not a whole bunch from different places. That's the problem. This

false community feeling didn't work. For what? For them? For me? And that project collapsed and we went back to just teaching the ordinary syllabus. There were lots of stories like this.

Much of what SSCEP taught in its agricultural programmes was idealistic and ultimately unworkable. Parents and students soon saw this. Informant B states:

The duck project turned out to be something of a failure. The kids weren't allowed to do it because the parents weren't used to the idea of ducks and ducks were expensive. Parents couldn't afford the feed and isolation was a problem. how could they buy duck feed? It was SSCEP's fault though. In the pilot years there was lots of money and these sorts of projects were subsidised. All the kids saw at school was a successful project but they didn't know it was all Government money, the feed and everything and when we gave them two ducks to take home to start a project there was no money like there was at school and they ate the ducks. After a while the kids who went back refused to take ducks, they had seen the pattern which had emerged. A pattern of failure. There were some successes but not many.

The contradictions and problems arising from the apparent culture clash are evident in the manifestation of educational practice and the subsequent appraisals by the parents. Even behind the pragmatics of economic gain there is the cultural perspective to remind us that culture is divisible but only at a price; it appears that the price with education and cultural values in PNG is that there is no real compromise which will work to satisfy the enormity of both the macro and micro social, economic and cultural aspects that are inherent in the composition of social make up.

The cultural aspect of the problems facing SSCEP in the eyes of parents was extended to the issue of gender. Informant E stated that parents of SSCEP boys were expected to go to the towns and get work just as any other boy from the ordinary high school system was expected to do. "It was economic. Boys had to work and parents often had ill feelings about their sons coming back, but girls who came back, that was different." The informant explained that parents generally were of the opinion that girls were biologically weaker than boys. Girls were also susceptible to rape and violation. "Girls are weaker than boys, or so parents in PNG feel," he added. "So they were not told to go out to the towns and look for work if they didn't want to."

When asked if girls held economic potential in that they would fetch bride price and whether this fact meant they could stay in the village until marriage, the same informant concurred that that too was a possibility. One female teacher had indicated this to the researcher. When prompted on subsequent interviews, interviewees thought that this economic-cultural aspect to a girl's economic potential through bride price was a reason why parents would allow their female children to stay in the village more readily than the boys. All of the students interviewed concurred that girls, especially educated ones, brought in bride price and were therefore treated more indulgently upon leaving school and staying in the village. It could also be cultural in that girls do more agricultural work than boys and are therefore seen as productive members of the community. Also, in West New Britain, there appears to be ample work in palm oil and logging, so the problems usually associated with gender and work, could be less an issue in areas surrounding Hoskins where cash work is more readily available than elsewhere in PNG. Further research would need to verify these hypotheses. However, bride price is certainly a major feature of a girl's economic potential and schooling plays a part in the price. The following example of the profitability of female bride price comes from a village woman in Enga Province and was related to the author by an Australian novelist, Inez Baranay, who worked for the Enga Women's Council:

The Grade ten girls don't care about passing the exam. It's enough to have reached Grade ten. They'll get a higher bride price. They all want to become the second or third wife of a politician and ride around in a car.

Informant B, the expatriate headmaster of a former SSCEP high school said that SSCEP was an excellent innovation because it prepared students for their return to the village after graduating. This was a view concurrent with most of those interviewed. But all of those interviewed also concurred that the students didn't necessarily want to go back to the village - another complication in the paradigm. The students themselves had had their eyes opened to the "City Lights Effect" as one teacher at Bundrahei High School in Manus Province stated.

Bundrahei High School which is acknowledged as the most isolated in all of PNG, showed videos three nights a week. When questioned about the cultural suitability of the videos shown, the PNG teacher said that it was precisely the Rambo type movies that the students liked the most. When questioned if videos were an effective way of presenting material to students to help them learn, he replied in the affirmative: "Yes, of course, students learn from videos which is why we bought the video machine, but they also like good movies like these (Rambo One and Two)." In the two week period I was at the school, six videos were shown. All of the videos glorified violence and were set in foreign, urban locations. Racial and sexist stereotypes were portrayed and the common response when violence was metered out was great hoots of delight from the assembled students. When questioned about the educational calibre of the videos, the headmaster said that the students wanted that sort and enjoyed them the most and because they were expensive to buy he didn't want to waste money on other sorts of entertainment films but sought to give the students what they wanted. The headmaster also noted that the Rambo movies were "...not educational so that's why we show them at night time."

The City Lights Effect is perhaps one of the most important elements in the lack of application of SSCEP principles and knowledge - in precisely that many students don't go to the village after leaving school. This assumption appears to contradict the figure stated earlier that 75% of all children return to the village after school. Those figures gathered by Bray in 1984 are those used in all of the publications and need, in 1993, to be studied once again to see if they hold. However, assuming that most students do return to their rural communities (or increasingly to their urban areas) on completing school, there are still thousands who do not. The rural-urban curriculum is important here for the curriculum is also favours urban concepts and life styles, a charge not unfounded when the content analysis of *Create And Communicate* is studied (Chapter Two). Certainly, one major reason why thousands of students would not apply SSCEP innovations is precisely because they go to urban areas. Agricultural programmes were meant to be the "carrot" as Crossley (1986) described them, to keep

students in the village after school. No research has yet been done to ascertain if more SSCEP students did/do go back to the village or the towns. Certainly no research has been done as a follow up on SSCEP students to see if they have either applied their SSCEP knowledge in the village or to see if it advantaged them in finding urban work. However, one of the reasons why Cameron High School stopped the SSCEP was because of its close proximity to Alotau, the capital of Milne Bay Province. Informant B explains:

When Cameron started SSCEP in 1979, we had mostly rural kids. But by 1991, I'd guess that sixty percent of our kids were urban and the parents didn't see the sense in educating them for the village, which makes sense. And so many of the students were mixed race. They had no affinities to villages. And there was no emphasis on or redirection to urban practical skills. SSCEP died partly because of these reasons. And kids, well, they're largely urban in Alotau.

The same informant concurred with another SSCEP headmaster that employers liked taking on SSCEP graduates because they had learned more skills specific to the workforce, both urban and rural. "Hidden aspects like problem solving, make our students better in the formal workforce. They've learned responsibility because they run a trade store here at the school," was how one headmaster described the benefits accrued by SSCEP students.

The Hoskins produced English materials which I studied had integrated the academic and practical subjects into the English syllabus. This indicates that such SSCEP graduates would have more experience in official letter writing, stock-taking, business English, minutes taking and such subjects from commerce and home economics which would make them more experienced in both language and work skills. These skills would also be more useful for seeking paid employment in urban centres. Hoskins SSCEP graduates are also issued with an official certificate, something the employers take seriously, this researcher was informed.

Other administrators concurred that students wanted to go to towns to see the things they had heard about - a major concurrence to the "City Lights Effect". As Informant E also stated, life in towns was generally believed to be easier than life in

villages. One headmaster noted, however: "The results of SSCEP are down the track, when the kids realise they have to go back to the village to claim land or when things don't work out in town. Then they'll apply that knowledge."

However, Informant E stated simply: "Most kids just want to go to town."

In her novel *Rascal Rain* (publication forthcoming) Inez Baranay states her impressions of Port Moresby:

All over the city signs said *sori nogat wok*. In spite of unemployment and in spite of the subsequent crime and in spite of most Papua New Guineans having access to land and the food they could grow there, people still migrated to the capital from all over the nation.

Vulliamy's research noted that PNG children have a much greater propensity to remain in villages than children in other developing nations (1987). However, there is anecdotal evidence to support that many students are attracted to the perceived benefits of town life: work, pleasure and facilities. The trend towards urbanisation in PNG may not be based entirely on economic incentive. The headmaster of a former SSCEP high school may have struck a lateral connection on this cultural reality when he stated that PNG teachers did not like to go to the SSCEP outstations. An outstation was a farm some SSCEP schools set up where students were sent for up to ten weeks at a time to gain experience in agricultural and related work.

There was no running water or electricity. The school was forty miles from town and they couldn't come back for several weeks. The expat teachers, usually volunteers, loved it out there but the PNG teachers didn't. They didn't want to go. It was this sort of lack of commitment which helped make the project a failure. We wanted to prepare the students for village life. It was good. There was no rigidity in the running of the place and they could live like they did in the village.

The link between "City Lights", education and research may help in establishing links in the complicated themes which run parallel in this analysis. It is pertinent at this point, to quote in full from Avalos on the interpretation of ethnographic research:

On the whole the commonsense interpretations of the material were accepted and no specific effort was exerted to analyze the conversations reported with the specific interest that a sociolinguist such as Stubbs (1977) might have to explore: 'the problematic relationships between what is said and what is meant.' However, in an indirect way, the analysis of the ethnographic data did lead, almost inadvertently, to concerns about the actors' 'definitions of situation.'

The former SSCEP headmaster observed that national teachers by and large did not like going to an isolated outstation but that foreign volunteers did. This can perhaps be interpreted from a cultural perspective. Avalos is correct in her statement about the inadvertent but inevitable deconstruction of ethnographic data. Volunteers from abroad have volunteered surely because they are enthusiastic about going to "an exotic and interesting country". Certainly in my experience in teaching orientation work-shops for volunteers new to PNG, I have observed their zeal and commitment to the process of reform and development. Many of these volunteers are ideologically committed to an understanding and application of goals which can only be described as being zealous in their pursuit of "cultural purity". The American Peace Corps volunteer who would not go to the one and only restaurant in Goroka because he felt that would not be consistent with the spirit of Melanesia ("Papua New Guineans serving Western food to Western experts"), serves as one of the extreme examples of ideological commitment witnessed by this researcher. However, on the ideological (and hardship) continuum, volunteers, understandably, might be more committed to enjoying such perceived deprivations as were generally rejected by the PNG teachers. People with such an ideological commitment are not adverse to staying for weeks in an outstation. PNG teachers however, have their cultural imperative for resisting this experience. Freireian ideology (You liberate the oppressed and they become the oppressors) might corroborate with both the SSCEP headmasters' perceptions of the PNG teachers' lack of commitment to the SSCEP experience. This lack of commitment to social change, something which may appear as a selfish and ironic indifference to the plight of one's own countrymen, is itself, in interpretation, possibly a cultural construct. It is certainly a phenomenon experienced in similar innovative relevance projects throughout the developing world.

Informant C commented: "Not all, but most of the PNG teachers did not like to go to the station or they refused to go. But we had volunteers who loved it. Right now the PNG teachers don't like working on our school gardens. It fell into disrepair but as soon as our English volunteer arrived, he got it back into shape and loves it and its a success again. "

Without an analysis of why the PNG teachers and foreign volunteers react differently to one of the main SSCEP principles - the outstation and the village-stays - there is the danger of the rhetoric collapsing into a negative cross cultural misunderstanding.

Some expatriate administrators and teachers felt that:

- "National teachers have a public service mentality. I don't mean this pejoratively in so much as they just do. It's their culture. You stop work at 4:06 and that's public service for you, like the social welfare mentality, a dependence sort of thing. 4:06 and that's it for the day."

- "There was a definite lack of commitment to social change."

- "I don't know what the answer is, but it didn't help SSCEP to make us expatriates do all the work. I mean, boarding duty and the like because the PNG teachers didn't show up or something."

"It was the rural aspect. They (the PNG teachers) weren't committed enough to it. The fishing trips too. They didn't really want to do it and would just do the academic work, even out in the outstation where it was all set up for practical work."

What may appear as - and what may be - a lack of ideological commitment to SSCEP on behalf of PNG teachers, is in fact an aspect of the cultural construct which is at the very heart of an understanding of why SSCEP failed. The City Lights Effect is at the heart of this. The SSCEP-educated students, like any other PNG school leavers, have had their expectations raised and their cultural horizons changed (foreign curriculum content; foreign videos). They want to go to towns and enjoy the amenities of town life that an urban centred curriculum has - directly or indirectly- encouraged them to do. That the PNG students love their cultural traditions and the idea of a quiet

village is not disputed; conversations with PNG students and teachers reveals this. But it does not exclude the fact that they are also dedicated to the idea of new experiences in new places, namely towns.

PNG teachers have been through the same cultural experience as their students have; village to school to higher education to higher expectations about what society owes them and what they can get from it. To be educated may result in the somewhat disappointing Friarian analysis towards ideological commitment to development, but it is also entirely understandable from a cross cultural, human level. From a cultural perspective, one must be aware that even the term 'disappointing' has cultural intent. Disappointing to whom? The relatively well paid, expatriate headmaster who is ideologically committed to education and development may well be disappointed at the apparent lack of enthusiasm shown by PNG staff towards the outstations. The ideological commitment that a person from another culture carries with him or her is entirely understandable. It could be that the foreign educators have a cultural background which includes the liberal philosophy of the nineteen sixties - a commitment to social change based on all manners of ideological backgrounds from Marxist to Marist. Here it is difficult and dangerous to extrapolate and guess, but there is an ideological component to all aspects of the education field, cultural attitudes of the educators being not the least of them. The motivations of those educators who move to remote areas of PNG to facilitate relevant agricultural programmes is prompted, as already stated, presumably by an ideological commitment. But their commitment does not necessarily mean that in this stage of its development, PNG is producing educators with the same values.

It is undeniable that the philosophy of SSCEP has an ideological construct and that to effectively carry out that philosophy, staff have to be equally committed. But the main point here is that whose philosophy? Whose ideology? Do PNG teachers, like parents, consciously or unconsciously, feel that the main thrust of education in their country is to produce development which has a development perspective equated with the evident realities: modern, Western, formal, copy-cat? The PNG Minister of

Education, Mr. Andrew Baing, stated in an interview with the researcher in 1993 that "The Melanesian Way for whom? That's an old fashioned concept and we have to get away from that. We're a modern nation. We're allowed to be a modern nation too."

The contradictions and inherent anomalies are evident. For example, the PNG teachers have come through an enormously difficult system and don't necessarily feel that they have to repay anyone by committing themselves to isolated areas which by the very nature of their success they feel they have been acquitted of. The term 'elite' in PNG does not have the perjorative connotation for teachers as it does for politicians. A socio-linguistic analysis of this term is interesting in that it relates to the feelings that PNG teachers have about themselves; they are an educated elite and they know it. "As an educated elite" is a term of pride and they will often address themselves to an audience using this as an introduction. To have reached that status has taken an enormous effort. And as such they feel they deserve rewards. One form of reward is comfort. More comfort is found in towns than in villages. From anecdotal evidence there appears to be no need to associate hardship with social commitment. A cynic - and there are many - might say that there is little social commitment amongst PNG teachers; that what we have in place now in PNG education is a largely uncaring elite which is the result of a Western and elitist education system: twenty three percent of the education budget is spent on those three percent who are in tertiary institutions (Baranay: 1994) But the reality may be that PNG teachers just don't enjoy what some teachers from other cultures enjoy. The other reality is that most PNG teachers do teach in rural areas precisely because most schools are in rural areas. That teachers hold similar views about rural education may be, obviously, because as Papua New Guineans they have a common, essential, understanding of how they feel about the topic of rural/relevance and especially practical education.

Similarly, in a nation with hundreds of cultures there is also evidence to suggest that there is a lack of ideological commitment to people from another culture or region; allegiance to the one cultural group yes, but not to the more amorphous multi-cultural group, the nation.

The subject of the perceived lack of commitment to social change on behalf of PNG teachers would need to be a research subject in itself. But what these comments from PNG and expatriate educators do point to is the evident cultural differences and lack of mutual awareness of the intricacies of each others cultural perspectives and realities. This is illustrated on another theme surrounding SSCEP which emerged in the study on factors contributing to its demise. Informant C and A both commented that PNG staff were unable to write "decent" course materials which could be used in the SSCEP programme. These informants felt that there was a lack of ability and willingness to write such materials. This feeling was, in effect, an accusation. In effect, it has been this researcher's experience that PNG teachers do show a limited ability to write resource materials. The problem is not confined to those materials needed in SSCEP programmes. The subject of literature is another area in which teachers generally show an inability to be able to either effectively teach or write materials. But the teachers are the first to admit this:

"We can't teach literature. We give the students a novel and then a work sheet, that's all." is how one experienced PNG teacher described her feelings about this to the researcher. For eleven years at GTC there were no literature classes within that department which should have been providing them. Teachers, therefore, had no training on how to teach literature or how to write suitable materials for literature classes. Now that the education directives insist on the teaching of literature, there is fear and lack of confidence amongst teachers. This unfortunate situation is not unlike that which affected SSCEP staff. About the writing of SSCEP materials, Informant E stated: "We were never trained in it. Then we had to write so much and we couldn't do it."

If one of the reasons why SSCEP failed was because a SSCEP school staffed primarily by PNG teachers couldn't effectively write its own relevance materials, it is more than likely that the teachers did not receive sufficient training in how to do so. Initially, SSCEP received sufficient financial support for materials writers and training staff. This money was withdrawn after the pilot years (Crossley:1986). Most of the

teachers who taught in SSCEP schools were graduates of Goroka Teachers College which until 1990, gave only two years of training. There were no courses provided at GTC in such specialised areas as Relevance Material Writing. There was in fact sufficient course work available in how to write materials *per se*. The reason why GTC is now introducing a four year degree programme for its trainees is precisely to address this problem of lack of training for trainees generally. Teachers generally in PNG stay slavishly to a text book, a problem noted in Chapter Two. Why it should have been any different for SSCEP teachers who had not been adequately trained is central to this question. But what it does point to is the reality that when the expatriate teachers and those PNG teachers who did have abilities to write materials, left the SSCEP schools, those schools did go into decline.

The writing of SSCEP materials was a constant problem. It was originally planned that most SSCEP materials would be written by the teachers to suit the local needs. But when it became evident that teachers were not trained or willing to do this, materials had to be written in the Waigani offices. This led, according to one informant, to the irony of having irrelevant relevance materials.

"We just didn't have the training - or the time to do it," Informant E stated.

The comparisons that the expatriate teachers make between their abilities to write materials and the lack of ability on behalf of their PNG colleagues, arises as much from their frustration of being overworked and disappointed in their colleagues, as does the Papua New Guineans' sense that something is amiss. But what these differences of opinion and frustrations do point to is the lack of mutual understanding or comprehension of each others motives, insecurities and perspectives.

Most expatriate teachers and certainly those in the higher echelon, are holders of Masters Degrees and teaching diplomas. Most Western teachers have in their cultural background a love of reading. Reading novels and books and newspapers is something generally inculcated in Westerners. Reading, a wide general knowledge and writing (all in their own language) - these all add up to an attribute which is culturally

significant in why expatriates are able to more quickly and more efficiently write materials than many of their PNG colleagues.

What can be understood as a cross cultural misunderstanding in this one instance, does not act as a defence to the problems which, undeniably, do exist in the PNG school system: teachers who do not do their work, drunkenness, corruption, *wontokism*, waste are issues common to the PNG school system but not of immediate concern to the issue of materials writing and the demise of SSCEP.

However, as this issue links to culture, one aspect already mentioned briefly is important. Expatriate teachers write in their own language. English is not their second or third language. Similarly, they don't have the problem of being, in a sense, in an institution which is alien to them. A secondary school is first and foremost a Western construct in which Westerners have been fully trained. They have entered it as children in a Western setting and have been inculturated with Western values: time, commitment, efficiency, work ethic and achievement. These are cultural values specific in detail in different ways to different places - Melanesia included. The issue of culture as a major factor is a subject I shall return to in the conclusion of this chapter in order to seek a deeper analysis of the demise of SSCEP

Returning to the question of the outstations, economic factors were also central to the perceived lack of commitment on behalf of SSCEP teachers towards them and SSCEP in general. These are the very real concerns that teachers all over the world express about incentives and working conditions. No PNG teacher or administrator interviewed mentioned the fact that expatriates are paid up to three times that paid to PNG teachers and administrators. But about the economic conditions for national SSCEP teachers, Informant E explains:

Teachers were given no incentive to be in SSCEP. It was really hard work producing all those materials and SSCEP was much more work than the ordinary system and then they expected us to go off with sixty kids to the bush or the village or the farms and just work there for weeks and then we got no extra pay. Nothing. The SSCEP co-ordinator got an extra sixteen kina a week that's all but we got nothing. So why bother? We had constant meetings. SSCEP this and SSCEP that and all that travel back and forth from Manggai High to the villages

where we had these projects and the parents thought we were crazy coming in and doing these practical things and they said 'Go and teach them in school where they belong' and so we got discouraged and gave up.

Informant F concurs with the above sentiments. He notes that the enthusiasm was high in the first few years of SSCEP, perhaps until 1980. Certainly this differs from school to school. The following statements aid in coming to an understanding as to why SSCEP failed:

But the good teachers at the SSCEP schools got taken out to go into policy. Or because they were good teachers and had been especially selected for SSCEP in the first place, they were given awards and went off to study overseas and the new teachers coming in...well, what we saw was a loss of momentum and continuity. You look and see how many ex SSCEP teachers there are now teaching in the Universities. Lots. They left. The best. SSCEP schools? They were initially chosen because they were good ordinary schools. So they had the best teachers anyway and then those teachers went. They got disillusioned too. Disillusionment was high. Money or lack of -that was also important because they didn't get paid enough because SSCEP - all those new materials and this and that they had to do...

We worked really hard and then what did we see? We saw the big boys in SSCEP coming around doing studies on us and then they went and did big degrees from what they found out and they went to present their findings all over this globe and then we got nothing. So we went too when we could, to do a B.Ed or something. (Informant F)

A lack of commitment on behalf of teachers is the main problem. We get a new teacher and train them in SSCEP ways and then they leave. They like to go to new places or there is family reasons. We have a core of excellent PNG teachers but by and large they move they change schools too often and this creates the serious problem of commitment and lack of continuity. (Informant C)

We had so much trouble in the latter years with the outstations. When a student died out there from malaria there was a lot of worry. It was a terrible time. Fraught. We had to do something and this was the moment. There was a lack of money and commitment. We had to close it. Closing the outstation was very sad but I guess it had to happen. (Informant A)

Mainohana is a case in point. It was SSCEP and it had a very well run practical education programme. It was run by brothers and the teachers were very committed. The students went out to villages and did a lot of work and then the parents saw the practical side of things was good after all. The boys liked it. Yes,

there was a feeling of optimism. Then in 1987 we joined with the nuns - Our Lady Of the Mission school. They were much more academic. I think SSCEP lost its impetus after that, became more academic. (Informant D)

Basically SSCEP just fizzled out. We worked hard at it and it lasted till 1992. It was a good idea. The outstation was very popular with the kids. What happened to SSCEP? A number of things but in the end it just fizzled out. (Informant H, PNG Cameron High School teacher)

That the cultural and economic contradictions and problems surrounding these outstations played a large part in the fortunes of SSCEP should by now be apparent. However, a further contradiction about this aspect of relevance education on an outstation or in SSCEP village community projects arose with the attitudes of the students. The students themselves indicated that for the most part they enjoyed the outstations. But students also had reservations about the outstations and village-stays. One of the reasons why the outstations served as an ambivalent experience was that by the time the all important Grade ten exams were about to take place, both students and parents became nervous about passing the exam. Without a good pass in Grade ten, one could not go on to tertiary education. "In reality, SSCEP gives more time to core, academic subjects because it is integrated into practical work." A SSCEP headmaster, Informant A, is here challenging the common concept that SSCEP students were being unfairly disadvantaged by practical work in relation to their potential to pass or fail the Grade ten exam. But the feeling of unease is testified to by students who were on the outstation.

A former SSCEP headmaster reiterated that this commonly held fear on behalf of students and parents alike was, in reality, unfounded:

We kept up with the national average in Grade ten exams. The figures prove it. We did better than a lot of other academic schools in our Grade ten exam results. But it was a matter of perception. There was no drop in academic standards but parents were often unwilling to believe this and thought we were deliberately holding kids back from the chance of going to National High School just so we could get them to go back to the village to practice what they had learned in SSCEP.

It was the problem of assessment and the Inspectorate which also contributed to the downfall of SSCEP. Although this is a complex and important subject, it will not be treated comprehensively in this discussion other than in how it relates to the demise of SSCEP from an ideological perspective. According to Informant B:

The Inspectorate, especially after the initial pilot years, did not support us. They put too many limitations on us. They made us increase academic work to bring us into national guidelines. It suffocated us. We got little or no support from expatriate and national inspectors alike. A lot of money was withdrawn and the number of specialised support staff fell. We lost huge sums after the pilot years finished. From 1983 on we got very little in comparison to the heady pilot days. It was lack of administrative commitment to us on both the national and provincial level..

We were told to close down, to finish SSCEP, by the Inspector on his last visit here. We won't, but it makes it difficult without administrative support.
(Informant A)

This attitude on behalf of the Inspectorate and the National Department of Education and the provincial education offices points to a lack of ideological commitment to social change through relevance education. The entire premise of SSCEP as those documents from the SSCEP headquarters in the late 1970's and early 1980's point out, was for relevant education to serve the needs of the rural population. All of the informants said that it was the administration who added to the demise of SSCEP by not supporting it financially or administratively. There is no literature to support that the Government had a concerted policy to stop SSCEP. The unwillingness of the Inspectorate to cooperate is a complex issue and has much to do with forthcoming structural changes in PNG education, but it does show that there was a lack of respect for the SSCEP philosophy and, ultimately, a lack of concern with the ideological construct which brought the programme into effect. As one informant stated about the lack of commitment to increase the number of SSCEP schools and thus add legitimacy to the whole programme:

If the parents didn't like it, it was because there were only seven schools. If the whole country had been put into SSCEP type education, it would have had more validity.

This researcher found that the headmasters and other administrators connected with SSCEP agreed that, finally, there was just indifference towards SSCEP on behalf of the Government:

It was not so much a rejection, a deliberate policy to stop SSCEP, but it just got forgotten, new faces in the bureaucracy and they well, were indifferent. At least that's the case with the Government agencies, but the Inspectorate didn't like SSCEP and they tried to close it down. (Informant D)

There was nothing wrong with the idea of SSCEP. I think it just got lost. I mean, there were lots of problems and each school had its own approach to SSCEP which was good because there was flexibility. But the inspectors didn't like it. They were...well against us, the administration generally. Do you understand PNG? The new governments and the ...we just can't seem to have continuity and it all just died down. (Informant I, PNG teacher, Tusbab High School)

A big shame. It was a great idea. It should have worked. (Informant J, expatriate teacher, Hoskins High School)

It boils down to the human dimension. (Informant B)

The economic factors involved in the demise of SSCEP did not elicit a great deal of information from the informants as witnessed in the above statements as they relate to administrative indifference. That economic factors were an aspect of the lack of administrative will and commitment must surely be an important aspect in the demise of SSCEP. Indicators point to this but, simply, as Informant B pointed out in an interview, SSCEP cost too much money.

This was a problem of inflated costs and it was evident from the very beginning of the scheme. Because of the large numbers of expatriates who, because of their expertise and training, were employed by the scheme, the cost was high. The logistics

and details of the programme cost much more money than ordinary schools also - another fact not reported in what literature there is on the demise of SSCEP. For example, as Informant B states: "There was generalist teaching in the 1970's. One teacher to cover all the subjects. That was a SSCEP principle. But it cost too much money and was collapsed (sic)".

It appears that initially there was a lot of money, because of the possibilities that SSCEP promised for the alleviation of the problems which it sought to solve. In the end it cost too much. Informant B states: "SSCEP cost too much money so money was pulled from the scheme by the Department."

Financial considerations are one reason why the administration withdrew its support. That there was an ideological component to this lack of support is undeniable; one could dig about for the construct to support such a contention. However, economics was just another factor in the contradictory and problematic nature of SSCEP which the cultural imperative mitigating against its success was unable or unwilling to overcome.

4.5 Student Questionnaire: Introduction

The questionnaire (Appendix One) was administered to forty Grade ten students at Hoskins High School. The average age of the students was seventeen.

It had been the intention of the researcher to interview students individually as had been the case in the research conducted with students regarding health issues (see Chapter Two). Time constraints prohibited this occurrence. It was also hoped to conduct interviews in order to ascertain more clearly if students had replied in order to please the researcher. This is thought to be a common occurrence in research (Chambers:1988; Vulliamy 1990). However, as will be discussed in more detail below, the nature of the response and the pattern of contradictions, would suggest that the

students were not attempting to please the researcher with answers which they might consider he wished to hear.

4.6 Research Findings

Questions one through six asked the students to list their favourite subjects in descending order and to explain their answer. The results proved interesting in that 95% of the respondents listed academic subjects as their preference. Only two students listed one of their preferred subjects as being agriculture. Their other two preferred subjects were academic. Agriculture is a non-core, practical subject (with a heavy academic emphasis). The fact that 38 students listed three academic subjects as preferred subjects and included no practical subjects may indicate that:

1) the term "subject" as used in the questionnaire encouraged the students to think that the practical subjects of home economics, agriculture and practical skills were not "valid" in that they do not fall under the term "subject" as do the academic core subjects of English, mathematics, social science and science. It is accepted jargon in all PNG schools to refer to practical subjects as, indeed, subjects. The two respondents who listed "agriculture" might indicate that there was no confusion over terminology.

2) the students see academic subjects as the most valid. If this is the case, then it would corroborate the general pattern of parental concern as expressed by the administrators in 3.2.3 above. Research indicates that parents see academic content as the most valid form of education. This contention, as it pertains to the students' response about subject preference, says much in relation to the perceived needs and expectations of the students who attend Hoskins.

In the open ended part of each question where the student is asked to explain his or her reasons for selecting that subject as first, second or third preference, there are a number of variations in types of response. These range from the perhaps predictable:

"I like maths because it's easy" to being more pertinent to the theme of this research- such as the following examples from different students:

A) First choice English: "English is my favourite because if I go to a school or college I would speak other language it is English only would be spoken(sic)".

B) Third choice science: - "I am interested in knowing how weather changes and how things work like electricity and aeroplanes."

C) Second choice, agriculture - "Because it is the only subject that I'm thought about to apply the skills at home (sic)."

A pilot study and/or follow up with interviews may have been able to shed more light on the possible research anomaly which has arisen with the above results. However, from the very strong, positive results to all of the related questions in the questionnaire, it may be that this trend which identifies "academic as best" is a part of the real view that students have towards academic subjects; overall results from this survey point in that direction. However, it is interesting to speculate on what appears to be a clear delineation between actualities and perceptions in all of the responses to the questionnaire. This speaks broadly of the whole conceptual framework, so full of contradiction and complexity, under which an analysis of SSCEP, must labour. This delineation straddles that line between academic and practical; the whole divide of SSCEP surfaces at the response to such questions and gives the researcher an understanding of the clear separation of that divide. That is, academic is best but practical may prove useful. It is the Pascal's Wager Syndrome which is discussed in more length in the conclusion.

There was a 100% positive response to question 7: Do you think high school students should do farm work and learn practical things about agriculture? Yes/No: Explain. Typical responses to this question include what appears to be the pragmatic acceptance of post school possibilities - should a professional job elude "them". Examples:

-When they graduate they can be able to start small agricultural projects at home.

- Because some of them would go back there.

-They can benefit from it in future.

These responses appear to indicate clearly that there is an acceptance - or resignation - to the fact that "they" and "them" will return, will have to return, to the village and therefore "they" and "them" may as well have some skills. In not one of the explanations is the first person "I" used. Not one : When I return to the village.... This use of the third person "they" may be more appropriately answered with a socio-linguistic analysis; students don't see themselves or wish to see themselves as potential failures. Their hope is still intact. To use the first person would be a recognition of that possibility; that possibility is assigned to "them" and "they". It is perhaps the "it can't happen to me" syndrome.

There was a 100% positive response rate to question 8: Do you learn agricultural skills which you think are useful to life in the village? Yes/No: Explain.

This question elicited very interesting results when studied from a sociolinguistic analysis: of the thirty five students who responded in writing there were only four who used the first person "I" and two who used the first person plural subject pronoun "we". The rest were all couched in the second person "you" or in such a way that attempted a neutral personal response: Examples:

- Digging the soil before planting.

- How to farm crops in a proper way.

- Because when you leave school without jobs you would use those skills at home.

What was also of significance in terms of the contradictions, or perhaps more kindly, the allowance of options in regards to post school employment, found three of the students who replied to question 8 in the first person singular or "we" also grouped in that minority who answered that they would not be happy to go back to the village after graduation (see question 12, below).

In the open ended response to question 9 there is perhaps further evidence to support the analysis which emerged from questions 7 and 8: the lottery has not yet been

drawn. Grade ten exams have not yet been held. I still have my dreams. The question reads:

What occupation do you want to follow when you leave school?

The following responses were recorded, expressed in percentages.

Teacher -	35%
Farmer -	15%
Aircraft engineer -	12%
Nurse -	1%
Accountant -	5%
Technician -	5%
Other (professional)	12%

Only 15% of respondents chose to be farmers. However, two of those respondents put (DPI) in parentheses next to this answer which would indicate that they want to be trained to work with the Department of Primary Industry. 70% chose professional positions. Yet statistics show us that 85% of all grade ten leavers will not find salaried employment (Bray, 1985). That the majority of students chose professional careers and not practical ones, is at the very heart of an analysis of SSCEP and its relation to the whole question of education in PNG. Although this question of education will be analysed in more depth in the conclusion, it is worth noting here that the real aim of formal school, as evidenced through the answers to question 9, is to find salaried employment. Even those people who want to work in some capacity on the land, wish to do so through the auspices of the Department of Primary Industry. To not assume that these would be the responses would be to perhaps show the ideological bias or cultural proclivities of the researcher. Again, the researcher who is surprised at these answers may be assuming that Papua New Guineans have, in 1993, some elemental bond to the earth, some "noble savage" inclinations which would place them firmly and irrevocably in some Rousseauian (the painter) interpretation of rural bliss. This is a very dangerous assumption to be made on behalf of people who are characterised as being

from rural, poor countries with an apparently strong traditional background. The famous ecologist David Suzuki visited PNG in 1992 at the invitation of the Goroka Teachers College and astonished educated Papua New Guineans and expatriates alike with statements such as:

- If indigenous people are shown an area which has been severely logged, they will not want to log their own area.
- I have been in Papua New Guinea for five days and I can see that they have the same problems as the Amerindians.
- They don't need formal education. I doubt if they even want it. They have their own medicines, their own traditions.

(statements recorded by this researcher)

Question ten continues the trend of 100% positive response: Will you need a formal education for your occupation?

75% of the respondents in question 10 answered using the first person "I" or "we". They appear to equate formal education and their reality with self as opposed to the reality expressed in questions 7 and 8 with other. Typical responses are as follows:

- Because we need formal education to get a job in town.
- We need knowledge.
- Because my occupation needs a formal education.

In response to question 11: Does your family live in a village or rural area? 85% responded that their family is rural based. Hoskins high school is situated some forty kilometres from the nearest and only sizeable town in West New Britain which could not be described as a "station". Those 15% of students who indicate they are from urban families may be boarders at the school whose parents work in the local palm oil industry or logging industry but originate from urban areas.

In response to question 12: If you are from a rural area, are you happy to return to your village and work on the land? 10% of those whose parents are from a rural area replied that they are not happy to return to such an environment: the following negative responses were amongst those recorded:

- Because if I go there I will be left with no land because other people will get the land.

- Because I didn't want to stay in one place only

- I don't want to go to the village because I don't like it.

The majority of respondents from rural areas answered affirmatively about returning to the land. This is interesting in that it shows there is no open animosity to a return to a rural area. It supports Vulliamy's (1987) contention that Papua New Guinea is different from many other developing countries because a large number of its school leavers and young people are happy to stay in or return to their rural areas. Whether or not this is a contradiction or a complementing factor within the wide and complex cultural perspective which all of these findings are surrounded by is of course part of the analytical conundrum. Perhaps the apparent contradiction rather complements the point that Papua New Guineans are attached to their land and culture and that they are pragmatic in the face of the possibility that they will in fact be required to think of their land as an alternative to salaried employment. Whether the research shows conclusively that the desire for urban salaried work/living is quantitatively greater than the expressed 'alternative' would require more research to fully determine such a proposition.

In response to question 13: Would you like to get a white collar job in town? 75% replied in the affirmative.

Here the anomalies and contradictions remain obvious. For example, 80% of those students who opted for a professional career replied that they were happy to return to the village and work on the land. The student who replied she wanted to be a lawyer was happy to return to her village to work because: "The land is the most valuable resource for my family and I can't leave another person to own my land." The issue of land ownership is in fact not limited to this one student. 15% of students stated that they were prepared to return to their land because of fear of loss of ownership. It would be interesting to make an ethnographic survey of students in order to ascertain if their age and family status influenced this decision which appears as a contradiction.

Avalos is correct in her remark that an ethnographic survey needs to include

factors exogenous to those of immediate or apparent concern. However, it is one of the limitations of this study that such in-depth research was not possible. The question of land ownership influencing, ultimately, the post school decision, is evidently of importance in a full understanding of students' answers. These findings from Hoskins corroborate with the evidence given by the two brothers in Miaru Village. They were happy to obey their fathers' wishes that they stay on the family land in order to secure continued tenure - despite having Grade ten and Grade seven education. It is worth noting here also that both brothers spoke of their contentment to not be in Port Moresby - a feeling based on their previous negative experiences in that city.

The perceived anomalies however, extend to the Hoskins students who wanted to be farmers: All of them wanted to get a white collar job in town on completing their formal education - despite having listed their preference for farming work. Again, a back up study of these students would have aided in discovering the real intentions of the students and if there were a problem with the questionnaire. One explanation for the contradiction is that these teenagers are ambivalent about their future options and that as an expression of their confusion about the expectations placed on them, they have opted for both possibilities. What the results from the potential farmers indicate is that they represent a minority group. Within that minority group they express doubts about their choice. Furthermore, the fact that a relatively high percentage of students expressed fear of losing their land and were willing to return to secure it, may suggest that there is much pressure on those with formal education to abdicate the privilege of land ownership to those who have no such attributes as formal education. Students who wished to take up professional careers but who also knew they would lose their land to uneducated siblings, are faced by a obvious dilemma.

Question 16 asks :Do your parents think you studying fishing, gardening and other non-academic subjects is good? Yes/No/they don't care.

25% replied in the negative. 10% replied that their parents did not know or care. 25% chose not to answer the question. No other question was left unanswered by such a large number of respondents. This high number of non-answers may indicate a

negative response or that the students didn't know how their parents felt because the subject had not arisen. Overall, the large negative response to this question goes against the positive trend from all of the other questions in the survey except for question 17. This negativity supports the widely held belief that parents do not see the wisdom behind the SSCEP programme of practical/relevant education.

Question seventeen asks: Would it be better if you only studied academic subjects like commerce, social studies, maths and English? Yes/No

Responses to this were equally split - 50% replied in the affirmative, 50% in the negative. This points to the same ambivalence felt by parents towards relevant education and, if these figures are an indication, it would appear that the students also feel ambivalent about the supposed worthiness of non-academic subjects. It would not indicate that they feel ambivalent about the worthiness of academic subjects considering the positive response to feelings about such as expressed in other responses. The response to question 17 also points to the contradictions which appear inherent in attitudes towards SSCEP. In questions 7 and 8 there is a majority view that practical education is a necessity.

These contradictions and ambiguities appear more clearly when the written responses are studied. For example, the student who wishes to be an electrician and doesn't want to return to the land to work, feels that academic skills should not be studied to the exclusion of practical skills because: "Other jobs like if you want to become a farmer it uses agriculture skills." This response may again indicate the third person "they" attitude. This attitude could be construed as being altruistic. His concern is perhaps directed towards others who will need such skills.

The only clear response which fully shows the bias of the student comes from that student who wants to be a farmer and who does not want to have a white collar job. He feels that it would not be good to study only academic subjects because: "How will I know about crops, etc?" This somewhat refreshing attitude- in that it involves no contradictions- is not reflected in the responses by the other Grade ten students who

continue to demonstrate that they are betting on a professional career but realise (except for the linguistic circumventions) what the future may indeed hold for them.

In response to question 18: Do you like school? 100% replied in the affirmative. The fact that there are no negative responses indicates that the students are not unhappy or confused by the inherent contradictions which appear to this researcher. There are multi faceted reasons why a Grade ten student would state that she or he likes school. It is considered a privilege in PNG to receive an education. Grade ten students have made it to a high position despite all the odds so they are the "elite" and enjoy that status. They also know that this is conceivably their last year of school and so may as well enjoy the benefits of good food and socialisation. Also, Hoskins is an excellent school and lacks no facilities and this would be a strong indicator of why the students responded so assertively in the positive. It is not this researcher's experience to find such positive equanimity amongst Grade ten students in other PNG schools; often there is much angst and unhappiness with school. That this fact may appear to contradict the first three general statements in support of why the Grade ten Hoskins students are happy gives added strength to the positive influence of Hoskins High School as the major reason for the students' universal contentment.

The final question, number 19: Did you come to Hoskins High School especially because it is a SSCEP school? This question elicited a 100% negative response. All of the written replies indicated that the students either had no choice in the matter or that they were unaware of it being a SSCEP school. From further investigation it became clear that students are selected according to their proximity to the school. The next nearest high school, Kimbe, is some forty kilometres away and students who attended that school were similarly selected for their proximity to Kimbe. Some open ended replies to question 19 may elucidate the situation:

- I came to get educated so that in return I can help my parents.

This response comes from the girl who wants to be a lawyer and have a white collar job and is willing, on the other hand to return to the village. It is her response to question 17 on her preference for academic or non academic subjects which is

illuminating in that it supports the Pascal's Wager Syndrome: "Suppose I fail, then I don't have ideas on how to start my adult life: eg. starting a farming project." It is this phenomenon, the Pascal 's Wager which emerges as the most prevalent, the most symptomatic of all the trends which emerge from the research conducted about the nature of SSCEP.

4.7 Conclusion.

There are many reasons for the demise of SSCEP. Those most pertinent to this study on aspects of education for development have been studied in the preceding discussion. They are all important and all of them have their ideological component. Such reasons as a lack of administrative will to see SSCEP succeed and lack of finances are both important. The perception by parents that their children were receiving a "second best education" and that they wanted their children to make the most of a Western style urban life played a part. A lack of training for national staff so that they did not feel confident or willing to perform the huge demands placed upon them by a curriculum designed by highly trained, highly paid expatriate and national educationalists is also significant. There are ironies and inconsistencies and all of these added together amply demonstrate that, as Informant F stated: "All of the little factors contributed to the collapse of SSCEP. There was no Big Bang effect."

However, there was an underlying reason which brought about the demise of SSCEP: culture. The conflict, albeit unconscious and not openly antagonistic, was the main reason for the demise of SSCEP. This idea will be discussed in full in the concluding chapter.

4.8 Recommendations

1. That a follow up study of ex-SSCEP educated students be conducted in order to ascertain their current employment and socio-economic status. The study should also

seek to ascertain whether or not and to what degree SSCEP influenced their lives subsequent to leaving school.

2. That a study of ex-SSCEP and current SSCEP teachers be conducted in order to ascertain their ideas on the SSCEP programme. Their opinions have not been adequately assessed in previous literature on SSCEP.

3. That a study of the economic factors which influenced the relevant administrative policy as it affected the demise of SSCEP be conducted as the previous literature does not attempt an understanding of this important factor.

4. That a comparative study be conducted on Hoskins High School, West New Britain and Kimbe High School, West New Britain to ascertain whether or not there are significant differences in student academic achievement and aspirations. A comparative, ethnographic survey of the two schools should also be conducted to attempt an understanding of the qualitative differences and similarities between the schools and how those findings relate to the issues in PNG secondary education as a whole.

4. That a complete history of SSCEP be undertaken and published in order for future educators and policy makers to have such a resource to aid in their understanding of the SSCEP programme so that future innovative programmes in education can be judged on past experiences.

conclusion from SSCEP chapter

as Informant F stated: "All of the little factors contributed to the collapse of SSCEP. There was no Big Bang effect."

That there was no Big Bang effect does dismiss a dominant factor in the demise of SSCEP. There was a slow, inexorable, underlying factor which limits or undermines the success of so many of the development programmes, both micro and macro, in Papua New Guinea. It is the factor of culture. Every development programme is Western in concept and ideology. These programmes are being applied to a culture which is composed of some eight hundred non-Western cultures. The ensuing and inevitable culture clash is characterised by its incorporation into the social construct, not as a direct clash which leads to immediate destruction, but as something indirect, inexorable.

By an indirect clash I mean that for the most part Melanesians have accepted the whole development process as an *a priori* necessity in order to bring them out of their "primitiveness". That this is their ostensible decision is not the subject of debate here; but what it does point to is that in the nature of their apparent acceptance, and apparent haste to change (despite the rhetoric) Papua New Guineans have largely relinquished the legitimacy of their own cultural institutions and much of their traditional belief system. But the replacements have not worked entirely; under the apparent success of many of their adopted institutions there is this inexorable tugging at the hem of Westernization; there is conflict and contradiction and these phenomena translate into all aspects of society.

SSCEP is no exception. The formal education system doesn't work to address the realities of present day PNG any more than it did in the past. Tinkering with the formal system did little to ameliorate that greater underlying problem of culture clash. SSCEP was not some miraculous and unique concept which could overcome the underlying conflict of cultures attempting to merge. Melanesian culture which is bruised but not dead, acts as a destabiliser to any wholesale adoption of Western methodology. Melanesian culture is the underlying cause of failure or instability in anything which attempts to replace it.

Hoskins High School acts as an illustration to this point in as much as it represents the idealised version of the way a school ought to be run. It is well

organised. The objectives are set. Money is wisely spent. The grounds are spotless. It is rational and pragmatic and with its nine expatriate staff - a significantly high number in a PNG school, it could be a campus in provincial New Zealand. But the school would be all of these even if it weren't a SSCEP school. The reason for Hoskin's continued and much lauded success is because there are a high number of expatriates who administer the school in a manner which is undeniably one not commonly found in PNG educational systems. What is the difference between Hoskins in 1993 and a missionary school in 1923? Both are highly practical. Both teach reading and writing. Both are run by expatriates. Both have an ideological zeal about them. Why was it that the two SSCEP schools to survive the longest and to be the most ostensibly successful, were both run by the same expatriates from their very inception?

There are many reasons for this not least of all that the expatriates were highly trained, well disciplined people with the ideological commitment to change. They ran their schools in the same way that well run schools in their home countries are run, with a rigid efficiency based on the concepts of education and organisation which arise from a myriad of historical aspects from Western culture. That rigidity managed to contain the decline of SSCEP in the same as expatriate style efficiency inaugurated the scheme and in the same way as the mission schools manage to enforce Western style schooling by the very force of commitment to ideology. Western style schools run by Westerners. They have managed to weather the influences of this cultural clash by their sheer determination and doggedness in the same way many Western institutions did under the force of colonial administration. The decline of many Western style institutions in post colonial PNG does not necessarily point to a negative; it is perhaps merely the logical outcome of the cultural imperative. Perhaps the positive outcome; the merge of Western institutions with Melanesian ways. Kimbe High School has many PNG teachers there who couldn't stand the perceived rigidities of the SSCEP-Hoskins situation. Yet Kimbe High School is a relaxed, efficient, clean school with a high standard of education. Yet the different feel between the schools are palpable. The current PNG headmaster at Kimbe was the last headmaster at Cameron High School

and he saw the dismantling of SSCEP there. He didn't believe in it. There are indications that SSCEP was a Western construct as much as formal education is. PNG parents didn't like SSCEP, so why should PNG teachers?

Definitely, PNG is not a Western culture; fixing Western institutions to it will not necessarily bring cultural assimilation anymore than it will schools and institutions which function as they do in Western countries. Expecting that to happen would be an absurdity. Western hegemony did not make Maori or Aboriginal people into Anglo Saxon types. There have been mergers and reconstructions but underneath both indigenous cultures there is that strain and constraint which is self preservation.

Ideological commitment. Change. Education. Development. These are all admirable goals and Papua New Guineans appear to have taken to them whole heartedly. They are qualities that Western expatriates have aided in developing in Papua New Guinea and it is certainly not the objective of this writer to undermine the well intentioned and hard working Western administrators who have dedicated years to education in Papua New Guinea -to do so would be an absurdity because the author falls under that category himself. But the questions must be asked of those who institute these projects: Whose ideology? Whose education? Whose type of commitment? For what purpose?

The Minister of Education may be dismissive of the Melanesian Way. It does not function in education for the modern needs of the people either and he knows that. He is not a sentimentalist but a pragmatist. In the face of the problems he is surely on the popular ideological side where sentimentality is dismissed precisely because it is equated with failure; a hundred years down the track of cultural imperialism and colonialism, the Melanesian Way doesn't stand much of a success rate. But what is the amalgam to be? What shape would it take? The inherent contradictions, insurmountable it appears, arise each time this question is faced.

The PNG informant, a specialist in traditional belief systems, suggested that the fundamental problem with SSCEP was that the curriculum was imposed from top down.

"They should have done it from bottom up. Gone into the villages where Mums and Dads are and said: "Here we are. What do you want?" That's how we are we Melanesians. Do it together. Do community work together."

One expatriate administrator said that to take the students into the villages for practical work was impossible.

Conflict.

One wonders what the parents would have thought of the schools emptying into the villages. One wonders what the ideology was behind the administrator's remark. But both speak of a vanquished possibility. There is no ideological purity in the PNG education system; the Cambodians attempted to return to a mythical past and Maoism failed to alleviate the exigencies of "cultural contamination" in Chinese society with the Cultural Revolution. It would appear that Melanesian culture is not strong enough to combat the effects of a dominating culture. And yet it is not so weak that it has been abandoned. The result is the conflict which manifests itself time and time again in the mix up of social realities. These apparent confusions are reflected in the research findings. The need for survival, however, is very strong. Papua New Guineans who have been subjected to perhaps the most enormous and profound cultural changes in the shortest period of time in history have become in the face of such realities, realists and pragmatists.

As was noted in previous chapters of this study, ideology is a key component in any understanding of the advent and application of various aspects of education. Ideology and culture; two potent forces. One ideology attempted to place its hegemony onto another. It appears from the evidence gathered in this study on SSCEP, that that ideology succeeded. Culturally, formal education in PNG has been enormously successful. This does not mean that that success is manifested by a product which reflects the high sounding accolade just bestowed on it. Rather, what the colonial and post colonial (which is neo-colonial when education is concerned) authorities managed to do so convincingly was to bestow a system which is inherently unfair, inappropriate and cruel upon a system which functioned smoothly until the advent of Western

education. The pragmatists say that there is no use crying over spilt milk. There may be much truth in that statement. Indeed, it is too late to put the milk back into the bottle and start all over again. Pragmatists and sentimentalists understood the dichotomies and the problems; they spoke of a need to compromise. SSCEP came about. Parents (even while grumbling) and students largely accepted the compromise situation for a number of years. They bet on both horses: relevance and practical.

Pragmatism in the face of the odds. Parents and students all know that the goods for survival are available in the chemist shops and doctors surgeries and trade stores. If you have the money, you can buy the medicines and the trade store goods. Western education and the paid employment which it is supposed to ensue, guarantees a higher standard of living, a greater chance of survival. If you come from a community which has a life expectancy of 45 years, you can increase that life expectancy with Western goods and medicine. Education is the access to that success. It is common sense to access that availability. Crude and unfair capitalism it may be but it is a challenge the people of Papua New Guinea have been forced into and it appears, have accepted.

The Pascal's Wager Syndrome is symptomatic of that pragmatism. If you believe in God and he exists, there will be no problem when you die. If he doesn't exist, then you have lost nothing by belief. To extrapolate further on this not so outrageous analogy, if the person who professed belief were then told by God that he or she was not genuine because it was essentially an insincere and second best belief, then we may be able to understand the role of such insincerity, certainly the contradictions, towards practical education and the demise of SSCEP. The students and parents have a shallow belief in the efficacy of practical education and such scepticism is reflected in the inevitability of such a construct failing.

The question of culture and how it relates to the assimilation of Westernization in Melanesia is evidenced in the question of religion. For example; where are the traces of pre-Western belief? Why did Christianity so quickly and so whole heartedly wipe out Melanesian religion? This is a question which deserves much research, but for the

purposes of this discussion it acts as a parallel to the seeming acceptance, in fact cry, for academic education. Like Western religion, Papua New Guineans have seemingly accepted the Western role of education. It would be specious to say that relevance/practical education as taught at Hoskins does not have much positive benefit. Yet the national system of such education failed and it seems clear that parents played a large part in that downfall. Is that apparent need by parents for pure academic education symptomatic of the cultural imperative they feel generally which is evidenced in their acceptance of everything Christian? Virtual repudiation of their religions. An embrace of Western education, whether or not for pragmatics.

Perhaps this interpretation is too fraught with the researcher's own cultural imperative and bias; that he sees there should be some reason for the people to accept the traditional and openly court it. This in term might suppose that there is still that which is so utterly traditional that it could be labelled as "unchanged". Some people wish to see PNG as something which is static, traditional, wholly Melanesian. Do we treat Papua New Guineans preciously if we hold this opinion? A first year teacher trainee from a very remote area castigated the researcher when the researcher congratulated him on coming from a society which "still retains its traditions like bush medicine". The student was upset that I had presupposed there were medicines which were so effective or ubiquitous that they were the people's salvation and therefore had no need for modern medicine.

That is why I am coming to be a teacher so that I can teach my people about health. Just things like not to shit near their house and let the pigs inside and the contamination. We don't have things to cure malaria. Some little things for dysentery which doesn't work and we don't even have salt. The elders make salt from bark and only let people use it for special occasions. That's rehydration, I know. Salt and water. But they don't know that and we have a very high infant mortality rate. The elders all die at forty. I want an education so I can go back and be a politician and help them get progress.

CHAPTER FIVE

EDUCATION FOR DEVELOPMENT FOR WOMEN WITHIN THE FORMAL EDUCATION SYSTEM: IDEALS AND DILEMMAS

5.0 Introduction

"The political and social reality of women in Papua New Guinea is subordinate to that of men" (Kelly: 1988, 44). This is an opinion which is not disputed in the contemporary literature dealing with gender issues in PNG. However, the fact that women held an inferior status and position in both pre-contact and colonial society was recognized in the calls for the "equal economic and social participation of women" (Preston and Wormald: 1987, 50) in the 1972 Eight Point Improvement Plan, the 1975 National Goals and Directives Principles and the 1975 Constitution of Papua New Guinea. These three documents are unequivocal in their call for the raising of the status of women in all aspects of society to that of equality with men. The ideological commitment for the full participation of women in the PNG education system and in the broader societal sense is well documented in PNG official promulgations.

This chapter will focus on the question of whether the formal education curriculum in PNG reflects the rhetoric of the above mentioned constitutional and national development plans which call for equal participation and reward for women. The topic under discussion will be limited to the issues of the curriculum in high schools and how the curriculum has served or has failed to serve the aspirations of females to participate in the development of their nation and in their own personal development as individuals. That there is little available literature on the links between women, development and curriculum is perhaps indicative of the emphasis of women's education as a whole in both pre and post independence PNG. The absence of information on this important issue points to the need for

further research and literature on the history and content of the curriculum in PNG and how it relates to women. It is the intention of this chapter to review the current situation by using the available literature on the subject.

5.1 An historical perspective of female education and the PNG curriculum.

It is argued that the transition from simple to complex forms of social and economic organization, if mediated by institutions which themselves are predicated on the inferior status of women, is not conducive to the promotion of gender equality. (ibid, 52)

That PNG was a colony of three European cultures which are themselves based on highly institutionalized and patriarchal religious and social organizations and beliefs leaves little doubt that the inheritors of such culture and institutions would not also inherit a male dominated system which is not predisposed towards equality for women. The history of Western education in PNG bears out this hypothesis. However, females have been disenfranchised from full participation in the inherited Western style education system in PNG not only because they have mirrored female disenfranchisement in the metropolitan countries but because they themselves are from, with but few exceptions, male dominated societies.

...women's roles in both traditional and colonial society were defined differently from those of men and women had unequal access to opportunities and services. (Nakikus: 1985, 38)

The combination of colonial attitudes towards the status of women as equal partners and the inheritance of a similar legacy from traditional cultures is apparent in the figures for female school enrolments during colonial times. "... until the early 1960's female enrolment in the primary schools was still very low compared to male enrolment, and was even lower in secondary schools" (Martin: 1985, 110). It is also interesting that in none of the literature surveyed for this study were there any figures for female enrolment in the formal, colonial, school system. This vacuum is

somewhat understandable in that mission schools educated females until the 1960's when a limited number of females entered the formal government school system; but again no separate figures are provided.

That the general curriculum for girls was centred on "the Western world's homecraft" (Johnson:1985, 126) is perhaps to be expected from missionaries. But it is the content of the curriculum in the 1960's that the situation becomes more cynical in that "the obvious and unstated intention was to create a male leadership...and that despite the pre-independence expansion of education, the education of girls was still seen as a luxury" (ibid). The syllabus and its accomplice the curriculum were designed when the education of females was considered to allow for only a narrow range of "female" occupations such as nursing and teaching and secretarial studies.

In 1975 37.3% of the total enrolments in community schools were females. Of that total only 28% were admitted to high school (Nakikus: 1985, 41). This disparity was an inheritance both from Western perceptions of the worthiness of education for females and from the traditional view point that males should take precedence over females in education. "Parental resistance to changes in women's cultural and work roles was often blamed" (Martin: 1985, 110). This was a similar situation to that in the West, "...from the nineteenth century when universal education was introduced, enrolments favoured males" (Flaherty:1989,10). Education in the colony mirrored that in the West because, until the last two decades:

...discrimination based on subject specialisation was most evident at the secondary stage. Females were often deprived of the prerequisites to enter non-traditional tertiary courses such as engineering, law.....And the curriculum offered would be in accordance with society's occupational role expectations or stereotypes...(ibid)

G.T. Rosco, the Director of Education in Papua in 1958 planned a network of Government technical schools in which "boys will be trained..in the use of simple hand tools...I would also like to see a low level course of agricultural training provided..."(Conroy: 1976, 44). Girls were, it is to be assumed, not to be included in

either of the schemes even though agriculture was (and remains) in most PNG cultures the traditional preserve of the female. Here the syllabus demarcated not only against females joining in what was perceived as a male preserve but they were also denied entry into what is traditionally a female occupation.

The colonial policy of limiting the education of women was at all times reinforced by the attitudes of the administration from Australia which was... 'one of the most male supremacist societies in the world'. (Johnston: 1985, 125)

The curriculum for females was in ideological accordance with this deliberate policy to exclude females. "Education was teaching health, hygiene and Western domestic skills" (ibid).

5.2 Change and Attitudes: Can a Curriculum Encourage Change?

This question needs to be seen in light of the above mentioned national and constitutional goals which have made legal since Independence the need for equal opportunities for females in the process of personal and national development. That education should and does cause change is a question for debate itself. Can, in fact, the school curriculum bring about significant changes in both male attitudes towards women and women's attitudes about themselves? Kelly, (Kelly: 1987, 480) speaking about the optimism of education for change in the 1960's to bring effective change in economic, social and political thinking in the Third World states: "We were quick to assume that a change in attitudes signalled changes in behaviours or institutions or in those who participated in them."

This philosophy from the 1960's is perhaps a reflection of the optimism encouraged by the simplistic Modernization Theory. In relation to the women in PNG and the curriculum they have worked with since Independence, there is no easy answer to this question of how much qualitative change has been brought about by education. The question is also evident as to whether there have been

sufficient and suitable changes in the curriculum which would enable change to have taken place. Casual observation would not support the contention that there has been sufficient change. Certainly, when the national goals are held against the actuality of change which enhances women generally and females in the school sector in particular, there is the danger of not recognising what changes have occurred. The cultural imperatives against change are enormous, yet the national goals call for complete equality. In the eighteen years since Independence that admirable but difficult task has not come to fruition. In so far as the formal curriculum is concerned, the answer, as supported in just one instance by the evidence in Chapter Two, would not uphold the contention that females have anywhere near the level of representation in the nation's textbooks: zero percent of the issues in *Book One of Create And Communicate* addressed female issues.

Nor would it appear that females' particular problems and issues are being addressed in such a way as to activate the slow process to equality in general let alone in curricula concerns. Culturally, much mitigates against the general adoption of equality in women in education let alone in the broader sense. The example in Chapter three of Engan girls wishing to enter Grade ten (but not necessarily to complete it) in order to marry a politician would not satisfy a Western feminist critique of the usefulness of formal education. But the motivation displayed by Engan girls may go in some way to explain their cultural imperative for a formal education; wealth through marriage, the traditional meeting the modern for an Engan synthesis. Again the problem of lack of research which would more fully answer the questions raised, is here the issue. "Rare are the studies that ask how education has affected the relations between men and women in the family and community..." (ibid). Although Kelly is referring to the Third World as a whole, this is a situation which definitely relates to PNG.

Perhaps this is a situation where the curriculum which has emerged to address this gender imbalance has been one of mere tinkering with a system of inequality. What literature there is on this issue skirts the problem at hand (Yeoman: 1987,

Martin: 1985; Bray: 1984). What appears from an overall glance of the curriculum across the subject syllabi, is that the change has been superficial and would fail in a feminist analysis which is what this area needs when one considers the promises of the three documents calling for such profound changes. Again, the problem from a cross cultural perspective is that the Western feminist movement had a century of activism before the liberalism of the mid twentieth century allowed for a growing equality in educational institutions in the West. PNG, and in this case the Highlands specifically, only came into Western contact in the 1940's. The issue here then is perhaps to ask, in relative terms, how so much positive change for women came about so quickly? The other question is how can there be qualitative changes of the nature called for in the status of women in such a short period of time when there are such complexities and diversities in traditional culture? This is particularly important when such change is fraught with such issues as "mind colonisation" as Ngugi wa Thiongo would label the imposition of another's cultural imperative on other cultural identities - Western feminism included. Evidence demonstrates that since the tentative emancipation of women in traditional PNG society, the breakdown of traditional barriers against the abuse of women have suffered. To have the moral imperative to apply Western feminism to PNG women and traditional societies is to ignore the strong cultural dimensions of female societal constructs which gave them their place in society. To assume that that place was always negative and mitigated against women's happiness and feeling of worth would be to ignore the ample anthropological data that demonstrate that one culture's ideology is not necessarily counter to another's - despite the ostensible differences. To draw an analogy with the Indian caste system before its cohesion was destroyed by British imperialism. Everyone was guaranteed a place in society; that some of those places were subordinate to others was accepted under the cosmological and societal conditions intrinsic to Indian society. That this system may have run counter to British ideology (the class system?) did not mean that the reality of Indian culture was ideologically invalid. Similarly with the place of women in pre-contact PNG society. It would be specious to argue that women were treated as

equals under contemporary Western analysis. But women did have their place in the world and that place, even if subordinate by Western definition, did not exist merely in waiting for Western colonialism to disentangle it any more than the Indian caste system did.

In any comparative measure against the PNG constitution, the constructs which protected women in traditional society might appear weak. But it is precisely this comparative analysis, in both traditional and modern terms, which causes some unease in regulating the continuum. Again, as in all of these chapters dealing with the sensitivities of a multi-cultural context when set against Western, idealistic goals, the realities make the present appear bleak. Many questions arise. Is the poor state of health for women a result of women's place in society? There is ample evidence to suggest that this is so and it is the function of the formal education system to help ameliorate this situation. But, as in the question of education being the solution to all social ills, unemployment included, that goal, as evidenced in former chapters, cannot be placed entirely upon the shoulders of the education system. As Papagiannis states: "The school is powerless to institute such reforms in the absence of major structural transformations in the political economic sphere"(Vulliamy:1990,185).

Nevertheless, in 1993, there are cultural imperatives which necessitate the changes that the official documents request. The deconstruction of traditional society which had over centuries allowed for the place of women in society to be protected from men in such instances as violence and rape and which placed women firmly in the centre of a positive reality, has occurred. The status of women is perhaps worse now than before contact. Research must be conducted to formalise this commonly held opinion. The confusion of attitudes and information and perspectives in a nation of eight hundred linguistic-cultural groups defies an easy analysis in which Western rationalism and ideology is placed as the common arbiter.

To return to the narrower confines of this discussion, the formal curricula and women and how women are served by the education system. Indeed, in 1993 women are disadvantaged in society by health, law and education and attitudes. Attitudes are

not easily changed. Attitudes are not the same as teaching facts: the capital of Enga is Wabag is not the same as the issues inherent in changing perceptions and attitudes which subordinate women and have been thousands of years in the making. This is assuming a well designed curricula exists and that change can be so rapid as to ameliorate the subordinate position of women in a nation where it is only the minority who graduate with formal education qualifications. But the statistics available on this subject are surprising if one believes change does come from education and, similarly, if one assumes that there has been qualitative change in the PNG general curriculum which should have changed for example, male violence patterns against women. In 1988, statistics showed that in Port Moresby "56% of the wives of low income earners have been beaten, and 62% of elite wives" (Law Reform Commission: 1988, 257-268).

To a considerable extent the answer to this question of whether change is possible through education is fraught with the difficulties posed by the literature which purports to address it. That the ideological bias of the researchers carries through to their findings and is therefore a methodological exercise in proving one's ideological stand is reflected in the literature available. Preston and Wormald, for example, find it unjust that the Eight Point Improvement Plan:

...maintains that the policy rapidly (sic) to increase the equal economic and social participation of women is incompatible with the intention that development should take place primarily through the use of Papua New Guinean forms of social and political organization with the family as the fundamental social unit. (Preston and Wormald: 1987, 50)

The authors do not see change coming from the 1972 nor the 1975 Plans precisely because such plans, which are based on a Western development policy and use as their base the nuclear family, will but perpetrate the inequality under which Western women have always existed:

It is argued that the ideology of development reduces the status and dynamism of traditional indigenous culture, which, though rooted in gender inequality, gave women an important sphere of influence and fosters the

further subordination of women through the shift away from subsistence agriculture that it promotes. (ibid)

This line of argument would therefore even preclude the enrolment of PNG females into the imported formal school system and it demonstrates a patronising obsequiousness towards the idea that all forms of traditionalism must be better than anything imported. The authors' research and argument is in complete variance to that of the Papua New Guinean author Dr. Naomi Martin whose research has lead her to state that women:

...performed certain specialised tasks such as home maintenance and subsistence farming which were vital to the life of society. Hence, the argument goes, women could not be regarded as a dominated and insignificant group, but rather as partners of men in the system. This is to confuse the material with the ideological....This view of complementarity obscures or denies the patriarchal forces that mitigate against the emancipation of women in a patriarchy. (Martin: 1985, 109)

These authors all see emancipation of women as the goal but their research does not lead them to the same conclusions of how women can be emancipated and this has direct bearing on the topic in that change through education means different things to different people depending on their experience, research methodology and ideological leanings (Kelly: 1987, 477- 490).

From the literature which takes the question of change and it's possibilities - or lack of - for affecting change in attitudes, there emerges the very strong feeling that ideological manoeuvrings are playing with the very real problem of people's very real lives and expectations. On the question whether an organization such as an education system with its syllabi and curricula can effect change there is of course the need for debate. The literature which tackles this issue is legitimate and fundamental. However, the business of education goes on.

Few contest the findings that the extension of education has failed to eliminate the inequalities that persist in most of the world. What is disputed is the conclusion that, because inequality persists, schooling does not benefit the poor, minorities, and women and that, therefore, extension of education to these groups changes nothing. (Kelly: 1987, 482)

Change is affected by education or else the education system would have ceased centuries ago to be a reasonable place to go to every day for years if one were given that opportunity. "The persistent and strong demand for education from the poor, women and minorities exists because, from their perspective, despite the fact that education may not provide equality, it does change the quality of their lives"

5.3 The Expectations For Change

Women cannot expect to be liberated from centuries of subordination in the space of eighteen years without major structural and revolutionary movements of the sort which PNG is not ideologically able to effect even though its directives necessitate them. If people are "to free themselves from every sort of domination or oppression" as the National Goals and Directives of 1972 call them to do, then it is unfair to place this burden on the PNG school curriculum. But women should expect qualitative change and the education system should have by this time proven itself worthy of instituting significant changes for the amelioration of women's traditionally subordinate role. However, the eighteen years since Independence has also seen a change in the philosophical expectations of education's ability to change society. In 1976 Conroy wrote:

Perhaps because the education system in Papua New Guinea has become the focal point of mass aspirations, and because educators have been convinced of the central role of the school in modernization, there has been a tendency to consider educational policy *in vacuo* rather than as part of an integrated and coherent set of policies designed to achieve national objectives. (Conroy 1976, 195)

Conroy is rightly saying that the education system, let alone one of its components, cannot be made responsible for a lack of progress in women's issues nationwide. Papua New Guinea has a constitution which calls for the respect of traditional values and at the same time for adherence to Christian principles. Gough describes this situation as "complex and rather confused, full of contradictory

pressures" (Gough: 1985, 167). It is from this stand point, that the nation cannot put the full burden for change on the education system, and that PNG is full of "complex interrelationships" (Conroy: 1976, 155) that we can now assess why there has not been a major qualitative change in the formal school curriculum which reflects the needs of the nation's women.

5.4 The realities of implementing and applying qualitative changes in the curriculum

"Attempts to change the social content of the curriculum cause the most controversy" (Crossley and Weeks: 1986, 2). Because most people do believe that change does come from the school curriculum there is inevitably much debate about what should be in that curriculum. The major debate affecting women and what they learn in the formal school system in PNG since the 1960's has centred on the rural versus urban centred curriculum. That is, should the curriculum be geared towards academic or community based content? On this subject there is much literature although as it relates to women specifically is negligible despite women being the main food producers in the country. Presumably females are expected to tag along with what is good for the males. This is in fact one of the major indicators to the lack of qualitative progress in curriculum change: that the curriculum is still not geared towards females, although research is badly needed to give exact perspective to this problem area. This problem of the curriculum being male in orientation but delivered to females nevertheless is a universal problem which feminists may rightly point to as being ideological in nature (Flaherty 1989 pp 6-9). The rural versus academic curriculum debate in PNG points to the subordination of female needs even within the "noble" concern for changes in the curriculum to make it more relevant for rural youth. It is the change towards "relevant education" which is the issue and again it appears that lack of research on the needs of females is the case. Females have again been lumped together with males as those in need of an

agricultural based curriculum. The agriculture-practical curriculum debate is the subject of Chapter Four. Here that general debate it is not so much the issue; rather, that the system is debating the change without qualitative thought for whether it would benefit females as a separate group. The literature available, such as curriculum meetings and minutes and work shop evaluations, almost always point to the consideration, without question, that the change to an "agriculture based" curriculum is suitable for all students without differentiation of needs for either sex. Again, lack of research points to the ideological and pedagogical problems.

"New indigenous elites can be seen promoting agriculturally and practically relevant curricula for rural youth, while securing more prestigious academic studies for their own children" (Crossley and Weeks: 1986, 3). It appears that those in favour of rural based education are often those who have the benefit of an academic education. Bray and Smith (1985, 115-146) add to our understanding of how PNG elites educate their children in academic subjects. Academic education is the road to social mobility. This process has not been lost on the parents of rural youth as the preceding discussion on SSCEP indicated. That the curriculum was made "relevant" for both females and males in that it addressed the rural based issues of agriculture education, was not what the parents necessarily wanted.

Parents were also ambivalent about where the change ought to occur. While disillusionment with the rewards of education were wide spread many stated that they did not want the emphasis on the curriculum changed to include more community skills. (Yeoman: 1987, 127)

Conroy corroborates this: "This history of education in Papua New Guinea shows that rural people will resist any attempt to impose what they regard as a 'second best' curriculum upon them" (Conroy: 1986, 214).

"What do females need from formal education?" This is an enormous question and central to the debate and one which, so the literature largely points out by its very failure to do so, does not ask. But in answer to the corresponding question of what do females get from the curriculum in formal education, 37% of the

parents who were asked this question supplied the answer that females get "big headed" (Yeoman: 1987,125). Yeoman's research tells us that females have been affected by the Western style curriculum and that they desire more than what the traditional community can provide for them. Females who express dissatisfaction and are thus pulled out of schools are therefore in a double bind: the figures show that most of this "pull out" occurs before the all important grade six (Bray:1984,1-65). Females therefore cannot use the advantage of high school training and yet presumably, because they are "dissatisfied big heads", they cannot easily re-enter the traditional way of life. But here again other attitudes are important; here not so much the attitudes of the females who have had their expectations raised but those attitudes of the parents who expect their female children to go to school in the hope they will make it through the system and become "economic". This is at the root of the problem as much of the literature does point out; that if the curriculum is to be either academic or rural is entirely "academic" because there are not the jobs to employ graduates of either strand.

Yeoman also discovered in her research that female students dropped out because the curriculum was boring. Bray also found this to be a truism. It would be interesting to know if Yeoman's and Bray's findings of the "boredom" element were based on the academic or rural component of the curriculum. Be that as it may, Conroy is correct when he states that if the society cannot provide the employment, then the education system is not the one which has failed.

There are indications that the formal education curriculum has attempted to incorporate the needs of females in the content of the schools' syllabi. But the debate is fraught with the contradictions of how much and in what way this should be done. It is basically an ideological struggle being fought half heartedly within the country. That it is half hearted is demonstrated by the fact that Grade ten females are still being taught Western aspects of deportment in home economics. There is little qualitative information of male-female inter-relationships in any of the text books. As the research on health knowledge in Chapter Two indicated, Grade seven and eight

females have little knowledge of the health problems which most affect them despite the fact that by the end of the Grade ten year, most of them will have returned to their communities where they presumably need basic health knowledge. The idea of development, as in national development and women's role in this process is not widely addressed. In the core subject of English there are no issues which deal specifically with women's issues in any of the four core books. High school students spend 1000 hours studying English between Grade seven and Grade ten. But their four books show scant content on issues which would help women's self esteem or development both personally or developmentally (Buchanan: 1988). Yet this is the perfect medium for "relevance education". (Buchanan, 1991; Yeoman: 1987, 122)

Incorporating development issues which include gender issues into the core subjects would be much more beneficial than a specific Women's Studies programme which Dr. Martin calls for (Martin: 1985,107). As it stands now, PNG's school curriculum does not address women's issues and it is the curriculum as a whole, the message inherent in all aspects of the curriculum, which is important rather than the decompartmentalisation of a subject.

5.5 Conclusion

In the eighteen years since the documents calling for radical changes in women's status were issued, the education system has failed miserably in even attempting reasonable qualitative changes for the amelioration of women's continued subordination by men. Tinkering has been the policy; a little bit in home economics and a little bit in science and social science and here and there a sprinkling of issues pertinent to women (Lorne:1980; Ministry of Education 1985; Williamson: 1983). This is an issue which goes above the academic versus rural curriculum debate. When one looks at the health issues and the obvious inequalities affecting women in Papua New Guinea, one understands that these are issues which are basic to human rights. Tinkering with the curriculum is not sufficient and only concerted and

profound changes in the formal education system and its curriculum will make reality of governmental rhetoric in so far as the aspirations and rights of PNG women are concerned.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

6.0 Conclusions

This thesis has attempted an analysis of the current status of education for development in the formal curricula of Papua New Guinea's secondary school system with consideration to the ideological issues involved in such an analysis. Such areas as the English syllabus, the role of literature as education for development, the innovative SSCEP scheme and how formal education serves women have been looked at in order to ascertain if they meet the needs of the population as called for under various seemingly progressive promulgations from the various Government departments.

It must be admitted from the out start that there is an inherent problem in attempting to compare a nation's realities to its official goals and aspirations. The very nature of political promulgations is to encourage an ideal, is to enshrine that ideal, as are the noble sentiments and aspirations in the PNG Constitution and various directives outlined in Chapter One. It is in the comparison that the inevitable realities are to be exposed. It is not cynical nor pessimistic to note that the realities often compare unfavourably with the ideals. This is the stuff of human nature and it is the basis of any system to be reliant on human nature and its ability to successfully or unsuccessfully interpret and apply those more noble sentiments of the human construct - its aspirations. What emerges in the case of Papua New Guinea, when each particular segment of the current scrutiny awaits final analysis, is that the system, because of an incredibly complex set of historical and cultural and ideological reasons, appears to be filled with contradictions and anomalies. This final analysis does not dispute the very real fact that PNG has emerged from one culture as defined by some as "neolithic" to that of a modern state. But it is within this comparative analysis, like any comparative analysis, that the problems of whose realities emerge. PNG is a sovereign state but what its history tells us is that its political and cultural reality is one which defies a neat

and clear picture of any of its particularities, especially that of its education system as it relates to the objectives at hand.

Eight hundred cultural groups in one nation. A resource rich nation characterised by illiteracy, widespread disease and increasing political instability: An English syllabus largely imported from Singapore. National goals and directives which call for equality. Whether or not that English syllabus can aid in the delivery of the stated goals against the problems which beset the nation: this is a tall order. It is a general tall order to place on the entire education system in any of the aspects currently under scrutiny. But when the various aspects, such as the English syllabus, is placed under these necessary exigencies of worth and value, I find that they are lacking. Even without comparing them to the stated Government goals and objectives, I find that they do not maximise the potential that education has to aid in the development of society.

From a purely pragmatic point of view, it is simply both enough and not enough to point the finger and state that more has to be done: a new English syllabus. A new Literature syllabus which would incorporate the best of methodology and content in order to fully utilise a resource well known for its pedagogic values.

SSCEP is a similar case in point: from the ideological perspective outlined in the very beginning of this thesis, it would be simply sufficient to institute directives which would overcome the bitsy problems the scheme encountered. But there is an overriding problem which largely mitigates common sense and pragmatics; it is the human dimension spoken of by the various informants in Chapter Four, and by the very characters themselves in the novels which would best suit a new literature syllabus: the human and cultural dimension as they mitigate against the idealism expressed in the objectives against which this thesis has been largely established. In order to understand how these mitigating circumstances function, it is perhaps best to now turn to a final analysis of the demise of SSCEP and its relation to Melanesian and Western culture. In its relation to circumstances which mitigate against successful implementation of goals and objectives, SSCEP acts as by no means the only example from those components chosen to represent aspects of education for development in this study. However, the

underlying reason for the demise of SSCEP is that same underlying reason for the problems which women face in PNG society and which have mitigated against their fuller participation in for the education system and this pseudo-Western society generally.

"All of the little factors contributed to the collapse of SSCEP. There was no Big Bang effect," was how Informant F characterised the demise of PNG's most innovative, post Independence educational scheme.

That there was no Big Bang effect does dismiss a dominant factor in the demise of SSCEP and the successful implementation of syllabi and reforms generally. There is a slow, inexorable, underlying factor which limits or undermines the success of so many of the development programmes, both micro and macro, in Papua New Guinea. It is the factor of culture. Every development programme is Western in concept and ideology. These programmes are being applied to a culture which is composed of some eight hundred non-Western cultures. The ensuing and inevitable culture clash is characterised by its incorporation into the social construct, not as a direct clash which leads to immediate destruction, but as something indirect and inexorable but palpable nevertheless in the increasing angst and disillusionment and petty violence.

By an indirect clash I mean that for the most part Melanesians have accepted the whole development process as an *a priori* necessity in order to bring them out of their "primitiveness". That this is their ostensible decision is not the subject of debate here; it is their right. But what it does point to is that in the nature of their apparent acceptance, and apparent haste to change (despite much of the rhetoric) Papua New Guineans have largely relinquished the legitimacy of their own cultural institutions and much of their traditional belief system. But the replacements have not worked entirely; under the apparent success of many of their adopted institutions there is this inexorable tugging at the hem of Westernization; there is conflict and contradiction and these phenomena translate into all aspects of society.

SSCEP is no exception. The formal education system doesn't work to address the realities of present day PNG any more than it did in the past. Tinkering with the

formal system did little to ameliorate that greater underlying problem of culture clash. SSCEP was not some miraculous and unique concept which could overcome the underlying conflict of cultures attempting to merge. Traditional Melanesian culture, which is bruised but not dead, acts as a destabiliser to any wholesale adoption of Western methodology. Melanesian culture is the underlying cause of failure or instability in anything which attempts to replace it.

Hoskins High School acts as an illustration to this point in as much as it represents the idealised version of the way a school ought to be run. It is well organised. The objectives are set. Money is wisely spent. The grounds are spotless. It is rational and pragmatic and with its nine expatriate staff - a significantly high number in a PNG school, it could be a campus in provincial New Zealand. But the school would be all of these even if it weren't a SSCEP school. The reason for Hoskins' continued and much lauded success is because there are a high number of expatriates who administer the school in a manner which is undeniably one not commonly found in PNG educational systems. What is the difference between Hoskins in 1993 and a missionary school in 1923? Both are highly practical. Both teach reading and writing. Both are run by expatriates. Both have an ideological zeal about them. Why was it that the two SSCEP schools to survive the longest and to be the most ostensibly successful, were both run by the same expatriates from their very inception?

There are many reasons for this not least of all that the expatriates were highly trained, well disciplined people with the ideological commitment to change. They ran their schools in the same way that well run schools in their home countries are run, with a rigid efficiency based on the concepts of education and organisation which arise from a myriad of historical aspects from Western culture. That rigidity managed to contain the decline of SSCEP in the same way as expatriate style efficiency inaugurated the scheme and in the same way as the mission schools manage to enforce Western style schooling by the very force of commitment to ideology. Western style schools run by Westerners. They have managed to weather the influences of this cultural clash by their

sheer determination and doggedness in the same way many Western institutions did under the force of colonial administration.

The decline of many Western style institutions in post colonial PNG does not necessarily point to a negative; it is perhaps merely the logical outcome of the cultural imperative. Perhaps the positive outcome; the merge of Western institutions with Melanesian ways. Kimbe High School has many PNG teachers there who couldn't stand the perceived rigidities of the SSCEP-Hoskins situation. Yet Kimbe High School is a relaxed, efficient, clean school with a high standard of education. Yet the different feel between the schools are palpable. The current PNG headmaster at Kimbe was the last headmaster at Cameron High School and he saw the dismantling of SSCEP there. He didn't believe in it. There are indications that SSCEP was a Western construct as much as formal education is. PNG parents didn't like SSCEP, so why should PNG teachers?

Definitely, PNG is not a Western culture; fixing Western institutions to it will not necessarily bring cultural assimilation any more than it will schools and institutions which function as they do in Western countries. Expecting that to happen would be an absurdity. Western hegemony did not make Maori or Aboriginal people into Anglo Saxons. There have been mergers and reconstructions but underneath both indigenous cultures there is that strain and constraint which is self preservation. On the continuum, it could be that there is room for more assimilation, that PNG is well on the road to a total assimilation of all Western institutions and that the evident problems which arise with Western style efficiency and the like are merely, like evolutionary processes, manifestations of bumps on the road to total adaptation. It would be interesting to witness Anglo Saxon institutions in a setting such as New Zealand had they been colonised by Sepiks and had New Zealanders undergone such a change in cultural patterns as those undergone by Papua New Guineans: religions, belief systems, village technology, art: the list is long. How would New Zealanders be faring in Sepik culture? Assimilated? Alienated?

Ideological commitment. Change. Education. Development. These are all admirable goals and Papua New Guineans appear to have taken to them whole

heartedly. They are qualities that Western expatriates have aided in developing in Papua New Guinea and it is certainly not the objective of this writer to undermine the well intentioned and hard working Western administrators who have dedicated years to education in Papua New Guinea - to do so would be an absurdity because the author falls largely under those categories himself. But the questions must be asked of those who institute these projects: Whose ideology? Whose education? Whose type of commitment? For what purpose?

The Minister of Education may be dismissive of the Melanesian Way. It does not function in education for the modern needs of the people either and he knows that. He, like the metropole, is a beneficiary of the advancement of Western structures and wealth. He is not a sentimentalist but a pragmatist. In the face of the problems he is surely on the popular ideological side where sentimentality is dismissed precisely because it is equated with failure; a hundred years down the track of cultural imperialism and colonialism, the Melanesian Way doesn't stand much of a success rate. But what is the amalgam to be? What shape would it take? The inherent contradictions, insurmountable it appears, arise each time this question is faced.

The Papua New Guinean specialist in traditional belief systems, Informant F, suggested that the fundamental problem with SSCEP was that the curriculum was imposed from top down.

"They should have done it from bottom up. Gone into the villages where Mums and Dads are and said: 'Here we are. What do you want?' That's how we are we Melanesians. Do it together. Do community work together."

One expatriate administrator said that to take the students into the villages for practical work was impossible.

Conflict.

One wonders what the parents would have thought of the schools emptying into the villages. One wonders what the ideology was behind the administrator's remark. But both speak of a vanquished possibility. There is no ideological purity in the PNG education system; the Cambodians attempted to return to a mythical past and Maoism

failed to alleviate the exigencies of "cultural contamination" in Chinese society with the Cultural Revolution. It would appear that Melanesian culture is not strong enough to combat the effects of a dominating culture. And yet it is not so weak that it has been abandoned. The result is the conflict which manifests itself time and time again in the mix up of social realities. These apparent confusions are reflected in the research findings. The need for survival, however, is very strong. Papua New Guineans who have been subjected to perhaps the most enormous and profound cultural changes in the shortest period of time in history have become in the face of such realities, realists and pragmatists.

As was noted in previous chapters of this study, ideology is a key component in any understanding of the advent and application of various aspects of education. Ideology and culture; two potent forces. One ideology attempted to place its hegemony onto another. It appears from the evidence gathered in this study on SSCEP, that that ideology succeeded. Culturally, formal education in PNG has been enormously successful. This does not mean that that success is manifested by a product which reflects the high sounding accolade just bestowed on it. Rather, what the colonial and post colonial (which is neo-colonial when education is concerned) authorities managed to do so convincingly, was to bestow a system which is inherently unfair, inappropriate and cruel upon a system which functioned smoothly until the advent of Western education. The pragmatists say that there is no use crying over spilt milk. There may be much truth in that statement. Indeed, it is too late to put the milk back into the bottle and start all over again. Pragmatists and sentimentalists understood the dichotomies and the problems; they spoke of a need to compromise. SSCEP came about. Parents (even while grumbling) and students largely accepted the compromise situation for a number of years. They bet on both horses: relevance and practical.

Pragmatism in the face of the odds. Parents and students all know that the goods for survival are available in the chemist shops and doctors surgeries and trade stores. If you have the money, you can buy the medicines and the trade store goods. Western education and the paid employment which it is supposed to ensue, guarantees

a higher standard of living, a greater chance of survival. If you come from a community which has a life expectancy of forty five years, you can increase that life expectancy with Western goods and medicine. Education is the access to that success. It is common sense to access that availability. Crude and unfair capitalism it may be but it is a challenge the people of Papua New Guinea have been forced into and it appears, have accepted.

The Pascal's Wager Syndrome is symptomatic of that pragmatism. If you believe in God and he exists, there will be no problem when you die. If he doesn't exist, then you have lost nothing by belief. To extrapolate further on this not so outrageous analogy, if the person who professed belief were then told by God that he or she was not genuine because it was essentially an insincere and second best belief, then we may be able to understand the role of such insincerity, certainly the contradictions, towards practical education and the demise of SSCEP. The students and parents have a shallow belief in the efficacy of practical education and such scepticism is reflected in the inevitability of such a construct failing. That the content of the English syllabus in no way serves their needs, even within the realms of it being fully academic, their apparent choice, the belief is still intact.

The question of culture and how it relates to the assimilation of Westernization in Melanesia is evidenced in the question of religion. For example; where are the traces of pre-Western belief? Why did Christianity so quickly and so whole heartedly wipe out Melanesian religion? This is a question which deserves much research, but for the purposes of this discussion it acts as a parallel to the seeming acceptance, in fact cry, for academic education. Like Western religion, Papua New Guineans have seemingly accepted the Western role of education. It would be specious to say that relevance/practical education as taught at Hoskins does not have much positive benefit. Yet the national system of such education failed and it seems clear that parents played a large part in that downfall. Is that apparent need by parents for pure academic education symptomatic of the cultural imperative they feel generally which is evidenced

in their acceptance of everything Christian? Virtual repudiation of their religions? An embrace of Western education, whether or not for pragmatics?

Perhaps this interpretation is too fraught with the researcher's own cultural imperative and bias; that he sees there should be some reason for the people to accept the traditional and openly court it. This in term might suppose that there is still that which is so utterly traditional that it could be labelled as "unchanged". Some people wish to see PNG as something which is static, traditional, wholly Melanesian. Do we treat Papua New Guineans preciously if we hold this opinion? A first year teacher trainee from a very remote area castigated the researcher when the researcher congratulated him on coming from a society which "still retains its traditions like bush medicine". The student was upset that the researcher had presupposed there were medicines which were so effective or ubiquitous that they were the people's salvation and therefore had no need for modern medicine.

That is why I am coming to be a teacher so that I can teach my people about health. Just things like not to shit near their house and let the pigs inside and the contamination. We don't have things to cure malaria. Some little things for dysentery which don't work and we don't even have salt. The elders make salt from bark and only let people use it for special occasions. That's rehydration, I know. Salt and water. But they don't know that and we have a very high infant mortality rate. The elders all die at forty. I want an education so I can go back and be a politician and help them get progress.

All of those factors which contributed to the demise of SSCEP are important. Perhaps if the PNG Government had forced the hand of provincial and national administrators to support SSCEP and institute it nationally, it would have worked because of its universal application. But that didn't happen and it may be that it didn't happen precisely because the Government authorities didn't believe in it any more than many parents did. It is interesting to note that many politicians including the Minister of Education, send their children to boarding schools in Australia.

Innovations have not ceased with SSCEP. The new innovations currently being piloted in some PNG high schools mean that Grade seven and Grade eight will now be

taught in community schools. Parents are already withdrawing their children from those grades if they happen to be in community schools. Parents do not want their children to be in community schools when they could be enrolled in those grades in high schools. Parental perceptions; they want the most out of academic standards like parents the world over. Community schools have a poor reputation (23% of the education budget is spent on 3% of the school population- tertiary students) because they receive relatively little money and high schools are perceived as having better trained teachers. Is this impending failure a replica of SSCEP in so many of the factors which, in this first year of the new innovations, they promise to be? Is there also in this impending failure a similar cultural and ideological construct which the author put forward as the underlying reason for the demise of SSCEP?

It would appear so. Parents want their children to be well educated in academic institutions. They want their children to be able to get salaried jobs - and an extra two years on a fully academic curriculum in a community school is a perceived threat to this goal. The fact that the Government wishes to have children stay longer in the *Tok Ples* community at a community school and thus have more chance in retaining community values is not an issue parents appear to be concerned with. It would appear to be the opposite; send the children to boarding school at a secondary institution where he or she can get the most out of an academic education.

It would appear that the lamentations arise only when the lottery of education, that Pascal's Wager, is lost. Then the old adage "You don't know what you've got till it's gone" rings true for hundreds of thousands of school graduates. The cyclical nature of education and ideology; those now calling for reform in the academic curriculum are those who are educated sufficiently to write weekly columns in the national newspapers - that elite calling for changes to address the problems of the educated grassroots. Or those who have not benefited from ten years of formal schooling with a salaried position and so write their frustrations in letters to the newspapers.

It is only on losing the wager that the complaints about the nature of the education system arise. In the final position then, it is not SSCEP that is to blame, but

the people themselves who are unwilling to understand the present realities of Papua New Guinea which, for multitudinous reasons, is unable to provide the sort of life that the people seemingly so urgently desire. Cultural constructs; it is in the deconstruction of such that the human dimension cannot be ignored as the major basis for failure.

Perhaps one of the major problems with any study that sets as its goal the promulgations of an idealistic government as is the case in the chapter concerning women and formal education, is the fact that realities and rhetoric are not easily matched. What the chapter on women's educational gains - or lack of - does point to, is that again culture plays an important role in determining what half of the population will be denied despite the rhetoric. The lot of females before the introduction of Western culture and institutions cannot easily be analysed by a Western feminist critique without the problem of confusing cross cultural dialectics: pre contact Papua New Guinea and post structuralist feminist critique: there is danger in applying such a methodology. However, what the pragmatics of observation in 1993 allows the researcher to state is that, on the evidence at hand, the formal education system serves females in much the same way as it does men. The overriding problem is that it is a man's curriculum; within that paradox, therefore, women are treated as sideline objects. The cultural constraints against the equality of women are enormous as is evidenced in the daily observations of the deference women must pay to men and how men abuse them. There is so much of ancient Melanesian culture which underlies the modern calls for equality that, like the other imported ideas, this one is struggling for recognition. Set against the calls in the PNG Constitution, there is evidence to suggest that progress has been made. It is with who interprets that progress and who gives it the quantitative results that the ideological nature of the argument again turns. Gender and ideology and education in Papua New Guinea within the formal education system: the balance in favour of men is much in evidence.

At the 1993 Graduation ceremony at Goroka Teachers College, some one hundred and fifty graduands celebrated their new status as secondary school teachers. As part of the ceremony, a play was acted, described in the Programme as follows:

In a legend from the Marshall Islands, a magician turns his sister into a bird after she accidentally burns his magical *diwai* (wood). However, she becomes a powerful eagle and attacks him. Again he uses his magic to defend himself. We present this legend as a symbol of change.

The sister defends herself against the evil magic by stating: "Are you strong enough to change, or will I destroy you?" The woman wins the battle over pettiness and male domination. The play was acted by students from all over Papua New Guinea. It was performed in English. Musical instruments employed in this Pacific myth were both traditional and Western. It appeared from the ceremony that the symbol of change intended by the concert organisers did represent the actualities of those present at the ceremony: a highly educated and cosmopolitan elite. The symbol of a new nation. But was it the symbol of the whole nation? The real comparison still lies in the statistics of inequality which were presented in Chapter One.

What those new Papua New Guinea teachers were asked to do by the Attorney General, Sir Charles Maino who spoke after the play, was to enforce the principles of the PNG Constitution and those very directives which the teachers of these new graduates would have had instilled in them when they graduated: the combating of inequality, the defence of traditional dignity and Melanesian ways against the forces of economic greed and corruption.

The education system was being asked to overcome the problems of society. The Literature and English syllabi, the innovative programmes and the formal education curriculum as it affects women are all part of that construct which the Attorney General implored the graduands to implement in order to overcome major social problems. Education can play its part in this process; it has been playing its part and it is to the credit of the PMG education system that it remains a largely dynamic and ever changing system which still looks to the principles laid down at Independence in 1975. Much work has been done. There is a new English syllabus about to replace

that characterised by *Create And Communicate*. An entire new literature syllabus will be in place by mid 1994 which emphasises the goals of education for development.

The rural sector and women are still under-represented in the efforts and application for change - although change is occurring. But what cannot be expected and what cannot come to pass is that the education system alone should be burdened with the onus of changing society. The symbol in the graduation ceremony was a symbol only, not a reality. Papua New Guinea is still afflicted by the health and social problems outlined in Chapter One and those graduands represent an elite and not the millions who are illiterate and semi-subsistence farmers.

If major changes are to occur then it is the ideological power base, at government level, which must institute it. As Papagiannis states; "The school is powerless to institute such reforms in the absence of major structural transformations in the political economic sphere" (Vulliamy.1990).

There are methods of instituting change, of ameliorating some of the problems in the curriculum such as working at changing syllabi. The formal curricula need to be analysed and changed to reflect new realities as is now the case with the English system. But is this sufficient? Is this merely tinkering and *ad hoc*? It is the opinion of this researcher that this is so. Major changes are needed which arise from a sophisticated and humanitarian ideological viewpoint. They must be implemented with the full and consistent backing of PNG Government services, finances and directives. This may sound idealistic but it reflects the idealism written into the PNG Constitution and the other official documents upon which this thesis is largely based.

Until such changes occur, the nature of change and social advancement will remain within the small elite groups which have characterised Papua New Guinea society since Western education arrived with the missionaries in the mid nineteenth century.

APPENDIX ONE
STUDENT QUESTIONNAIRE:

Please answer all the questions below. If you have any problems understanding questions or ideas, please raise your hand.

Please write your answers.

Male/Female Age _____ Grade: _____

Which subjects do you enjoy best at school?

1. My favourite subject is _____
2. Why is this your favourite subject? _____

3. What is your second favourite subject? _____
4. Why is this your second favourite subject? _____

5. What is your third favourite subject: _____

6. Why is this your third favourite subject? _____

7. Do you think high school students should do farm work and learn practical things about agriculture? Yes/No.

Explain your answer _____
8. Do you learn agricultural skills which you think are useful to life in the village?
No/Yes
Explain your answer _____
9. What occupation do you want to follow when you leave school? _____

10. Will you need a formal education for your occupation?
Yes/No
Explain: _____
11. Does your family live in a village or rural area? Yes/No
12. If you are from a rural area, are you happy to return to your village and work on the land? Yes/No

Explain your answer. _____
13. Would you like to get a white collar job in town?
Yes/No

14. Does SSCEP provide you with a good education?
Explain _____
15. Your parents' education:
What grade did your father complete? _____
What grade did your mother complete? _____
16. Do your parents think you studying fishing, gardening and other non-academic subjects is good?
Yes/No/they don't know or care.
Explain: _____
17. Would it be better if you only studied academic subjects like commerce, social science, maths and English? Yes/No
Explain _____
18. Do you like school? Yes/No
Explain _____
19. Did you come to Hoskins High School especially because it is a SSCEP School?
Yes/No
Explain: _____

Thank you

STUDENT ORAL INTERVIEW

Grade 7 and 8 small group interview: prompts

Use six students in each group: 6 girls/6 boys

Name of school _____

Group's grade _____

Province _____

Urban/Rural _____

1. If your skin is hot and your bones feel sore and you have a headache - what kind of illness do you have?
What kind of medicine do you take for that illness?
2. In PNG many children go blind. How do children born with good eyesight, eventually go blind? How can you avoid letting a child with good eyesight go blind?
3. In PNG most children are born with excellent hearing. Eventually many children go deaf. Why? How can you avoid letting children go deaf?
4. If you have a small brother or sister - and you are looking after them and you notice that they have blood in their pekpek, what illness do they have?
What can you give them to help them get better?
5. Health workers are worried about a disease called AIDS.
Have you heard of this illness?
Is there a cure?
How can you catch it? Blood? Sexually transmitted? Saliva?
Toilet seats?
How can you avoid catching AIDS?
Did you learn about AIDS from your teachers?
6. Do you know any women who have been severely beaten by men?

Do you know any women who have been killed by men beating them? Do many women die like this? A few? None?

TEACHER RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE

Please answer the following questions.

1. Name of school _____
2. Are you a trained English language teacher? Yes/No.
3. Are you a trained high school teacher? _____
4. Are you a trained community school teacher? _____
5. Year you graduated from training college _____
6. Are you an Advanced Diploma graduate? Yes/No
7. Male/Female
8. Home Province _____

Instructions: In Part One you are asked to choose which reading subjects you think would be relevant for a Grade Seven and Grade eight English series for PNG students.

Tick ONLY ONE of the boxes.

- One = Very relevant for PNG students
 Two = Slightly relevant
 Three = No opinion
 Four = Not very relevant
 Five = Very irrelevant

Example:

a. Building a chicken coop.

(You think it is very relevant, so you mark the box as shown below)

very relevant	slightly relevant	no opinion	not very relevant	very irrelevant
1	2	3	4	5

PART ONE

Instruction:

Read the list of titles for possible inclusion into an English text book series suitable for Grade seven and Grade eight students. Tick the box with the number which best corresponds to what you think is relevant for PNG students.

1. Malaria Control

very relevant	slightly relevant	no opinion	not very relevant	very irrelevant
1	2	3	4	5

2. Fiji: Our Melanesian Neighbour

very relevant	slightly relevant	no opinion	not very relevant	very irrelevant
1	2	3	4	5

3. Mexico's Amazing Pyramids

very relevant	slightly relevant	no opinion	not very relevant	very irrelevant
1	2	3	4	5

4. The Biography of Margaret Thatcher

very relevant	slightly relevant	no opinion	not very relevant	very irrelevant
1	2	3	4	5

5. Eating Green Vegetables For Health

very relevant	slightly relevant	no opinion	not very relevant	very irrelevant
1	2	3	4	5

6. The Tourist Industry In Thailand

very relevant	slightly relevant	no opinion	not very relevant	very irrelevant
1	2	3	4	5

7. Traditional Village Technology in PNG.

very relevant	slightly relevant	no opinion	not very relevant	very irrelevant
1	2	3	4	5

8. Women and Education In Developing Nations.

very relevant	slightly relevant	no opinion	not very relevant	very irrelevant
1	2	3	4	5

9. Fishing: An Important Industry For National Development.

very relevant	slightly relevant	no opinion	not very relevant	very irrelevant
1	2	3	4	5

10. Why Americans like to Drive long distance

very relevant	slightly relevant	no opinion	not very relevant	very irrelevant
1	2	3	4	5

11. Flying Kites in PNG

very relevant	slightly relevant	no opinion	not very relevant	very irrelevant
1	2	3	4	5

12. The Biography of Sir Micheal Somare

very relevant	slightly relevant	no opinion	not very relevant	very irrelevant
1	2	3	4	5

13. Luxury Hotels In PNG

very relevant	slightly relevant	no opinion	not very relevant	very irrelevant
1	2	3	4	5

14. Setting Up A Trade Store: One Man's Success Story

very relevant	slightly relevant	no opinion	not very relevant	very irrelevant
1	2	3	4	5

15. New Zealand's Favourite Sports

very relevant	slightly relevant	no opinion	not very relevant	very irrelevant
1	2	3	4	5

PART TWO

Instructions:

Read the following eight titles from the reading Comprehension section in Create And Communicate, Books One and Two.

Each title has a brief summary of the reading from Create & Communicate.
Tick ONE box only.

Briefly explain your choice.

1. Title: Who did it? The missing jewels.
Summary: A man is incorrectly blamed for stealing jewels in a Port Moresby jewellery store.

very relevant	slightly relevant	no opinion	not very relevant	very irrelevant
1	2	3	4	5

Explain: _____

2. Title: Water: The most precious thing on earth.
Summary: Why water is so necessary to human beings.

very relevant	slightly relevant	no opinion	not very relevant	very irrelevant
1	2	3	4	5

Explain: _____

3. Title: Talking to plants
Summary: Why British people like to talk and play music to pot plants.

very relevant	slightly relevant	no opinion	not very relevant	very irrelevant
1	2	3	4	5

Explain: _____

4. Title: Keeping our teeth

Summary: How to protect your teeth and keep them healthy.

very relevant	slightly relevant	no opinion	not very relevant	very irrelevant
---------------	-------------------	------------	-------------------	-----------------

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

5. Title: Traditional or Western art?

Summary: Should PNG music and art incorporate Western influences?

very relevant	slightly relevant	no opinion	not very relevant	very irrelevant
---------------	-------------------	------------	-------------------	-----------------

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

Explain: _____

6. Title: A mathematical genius

Summary: An Indian woman with an incredible ability to solve mathematical problems.

very relevant	slightly relevant	no opinion	not very relevant	very irrelevant
---------------	-------------------	------------	-------------------	-----------------

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

Explain: _____

7. Title: Starting a bee project

Summary: How to produce and market honey.

very relevant	slightly relevant	no opinion	not very relevant	very irrelevant
---------------	-------------------	------------	-------------------	-----------------

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

Explain: _____

8. Title: A man alone

Summary: Lord Chichester, the British adventurer, sails around the world by himself.

very relevant	slightly relevant	no opinion	not very relevant	very irrelevant
---------------	-------------------	------------	-------------------	-----------------

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

Explain: _____

Please answer these questions:

1. Is the present English syllabus relevant to the needs of your students?

Explain: _____

2. is the English syllabus suitable for both rural and urban students?

Explain: _____

3. Would you like to see Create And Communicate rewritten to include more issues such as health, law and business?

Explain: _____

4. Should all content in a new English series be about PNG?

Yes/No/a combination

Explain: _____

5. Are you satisfied with Create And Communicate, Book One and Book Two the way they are now?

Yes/No

STUDENT QUESTIONNAIRE

Grade Seven and Eight Questionnaire

Please supply the following details:

Grade _____ Sex _____ Age _____

Religion _____ Name of your high school _____

What is your home province? _____

Was the community school from which you graduated rural or urban? _____

Please circle the highest level to which your parents were educated:

Father: no schooling/grade 1 2 3 4 5 6
7 8 9 10 / above grade 10

Mother: no schooling/grade 1 2 3 4 5 6
7 8 9 10 / above grade 10

Please circle the answer which you think is correct;

1. The main reason why children in PNG become deaf is because they
 - a. get insects in their ears.
 - b. listen to loud music.
 - c. do not clean their ears.

2. Most eye damage among PNG children is caused by
 - a. looking at the sun.
 - b. catching infections.
 - c. reading by bad lights.

3. People who do not wash their hands after going to the toilet may spread.
 - a. measles.
 - b. typhoid.
 - c. malaria.

4. Someone who has a cold or influenza should eat plenty of
 - a. red meat.
 - b. white sugar.
 - c. fresh fruit

5. If a child aged one or two years has a miserable face, very thin arms, sores, swollen legs and cries weakly, he should eat mostly
- fish, eggs and milk.
 - greens, kaukau and fruit.
 - sugar, flour and salt.
6. A woman can avoid becoming pregnant by
- taking one chloroquine tablet after having sex.
 - asking the man to wear a condom before having sex.
 - not having sex during the full moon.
7. Gonorrhoea is the most common STD (Sexually Transmitted Disease) in PNG. A man who has gonorrhoea will
- feel pain when he urinates (pispis).
 - not pass faeces (pekpek) for several days.
 - develop a bad cough with a lot of mucus (kus)
8. Hepatitis A is the most common form of hepatitis in PNG. People who have hepatitis A.
- want to eat a lot of sugary things.
 - can give AIDS to other people.
 - have a yellow colour in their eyes.
9. A person who often coughs and spits up blood from his lungs could have
- tuberculosis
 - meningitis
 - appendicitis.
10. Many healthy PNG Women die because
- their blood is no good.
 - they do not go to church.
 - men beat and hit them.
11. The best thing a village person can do for a young child with diarrhoea (pekpek wara) is
- feed it plenty of boiled kaukau and take it to the clinic or hospital as soon as possible.
 - give it two aspirin tablets and take it to the clinic or hospital as soon as possible.
 - let it drink only water and take it to the clinic or hospital as soon as possible.

APPENDIX TWO

F Reading aloud

Now practise reading aloud the dictation passage, paying particular attention to the sounds of the letters in bold type.

Sound takes three seconds / to travel one kilometre. // Stand a long way from a friend. // Take it in turns / to make a loud noise / like banging a drum, / clapping your hands, / beating a gong / or ringing a bell. // You will see / the noise being made / before you can hear the sound. // This is because the sound takes a short time /getting from your friend to you.

3 READING AND COMPREHENSION

It took me back to the good old days



Captain Laipa did not want to be far away from the sea and ships. Consequently, when he retired from his job as the captain of a tourist boat, he bought a house in a port. Every-day he put on his captain's uniform with its gold braid and his peaked cap and went down to the wharf. He liked to chat to the members of the crew of any ship that tied up there. He enjoyed waving to the seamen on the bigger ships as they put out to sea. He watched with great interest as boats came alongside the wharf.

One day, however, the old man's love for the sea got the better of him. "May I go on board to have a quick look round?" he asked a seaman who was standing near the gangway of a ship which had just finished loading.

"All right, but don't be long," the seaman replied.

Once on board, the old captain made his way to the bridge. There was no one else there, and so, just for fun, he called to the crew below. "Cast off!" he shouted. "Let go of the mooring lines!"

The crew looked up at the bridge. They saw the old captain's uniform and mistook him for the real captain. Slowly the ship left the wharf.

As soon as the ship started to move, the old captain realised in alarm what he had done. He did not want to cause an accident, so he quickly rang the bell for engine power and took hold of the ship's wheel. Although he had never been in charge of such a large ship before, he handled it expertly and manoeuvred among the small boats in the harbour. Then he rang for full steam ahead and made for the open sea.

Behind him on the wharf a horrified figure stood watching. "What's happening to my ship?" shouted the real captain, who was just returning from a visit ashore.

Eventually the police boarded the boat. It was taken back to the wharf.

"My order from the bridge was only a joke," the old captain explained. "I was horrified when the crew obeyed. When the ship started to move, I had to do something. I didn't want to hit any boats, so I had to steer it between them and head for the open sea."

The real captain was still very angry. The police did not know what to do.

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