



Taylor & Francis
Taylor & Francis Group

Ideology, Policy and Educational Change in Papua New Guinea

Author(s): Beatrice Avalos

Source: *Comparative Education*, Vol. 29, No. 3, Special Number (15): Education in the South Pacific (1993), pp. 275-292

Published by: [Taylor & Francis, Ltd.](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3099329>

Accessed: 06-02-2016 14:29 UTC

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.



Taylor & Francis, Ltd. is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Comparative Education*.

<http://www.jstor.org>

Ideology, Policy and Educational Change in Papua New Guinea

BEATRICE AVALOS

Introduction

This article discusses the ideological principles upheld in the Constitution of Papua New Guinea and other official documents, policy principles which underlie the history of educational development and the current educational reform proposals in the country. The focus of the article is on the nature of reform proposals directed towards the improvement of access to and retention of children in the primary (community) schools of the country and toward structural changes in the secondary education system. Prevailing arguments used for and against the proposed measures and the details of their implementation are highlighted, and an attempt is made to indicate their links with ideology and policy principles.

The discussion of reform issues and reform changes in any context (in this case education) to a greater or lesser degree may be related to ideological principles and may acknowledge more or less the history of policy formulation in a particular context. This paper explores the degree to which ideology, policy perspectives and reform proposals are related to each other in current educational reform discussions in Papua New Guinea, and does so by teasing out some issues affecting changes in the primary and secondary system. Conclusions point to the need in any reform to make overt what may be hidden and, therefore, to open for consideration fresh evidence that may alter what is already accepted as 'conventional wisdom'.

The word 'ideology' is used here in its simple dictionary definition as being "a body of ideas that reflects the beliefs and interests of a nation, political system etc." (Collins English Dictionary). 'Policy perspectives' are understood as the set of prevalent views underlying policy decisions about what is important, and what is problematic and how the problematic is to be dealt with. They are not necessarily overtly formulated, but nevertheless can be strongly adhered to. Policy perspectives may be made explicit by examining policy formulations and rationale for particular changes over time (they clearly have a history, but are also amenable to revision in the light of fresh evidence).

Education Development in Papua New Guinea

Ideological Principles

Three statements of principles provide focus to much of the discussion relating to education since the pre-independence period. These are the Eight-Point Improvement Plan approved by Cabinet in 1972, the Preamble to the National Constitution and the Ministerial Report on a Philosophy of Education for Papua New Guinea, known as the Matane Report (1986). The main concepts around which these various declarations converge are: 'Equality', 'Participation', 'Self-Reliance', 'Papua New Guinea Ways' and 'Integral Human Development'. The

latter is a comprehensive concept recognised as the goal of the educational process. In one way or another these concepts constitute the underlying principles which all thoughtful policy-makers in Papua New Guinea uphold as justification for their decisions.

Equality, expressed in two of the principles in the Eight-Point Improvement Plan and in the Preamble to the Constitution is a fundamental principle to which most Papua New Guineans are strongly committed. Seen as part of the Melanesian heritage it became early on a guiding thread for decisions regarding education. In its ideological meaning, equality is related to the right of every individual (regardless of social status, gender or religion) to an education that frees him or her from ignorance and, hence, from oppression and domination in order to take active part in the wider society. However, applications of the principle are embedded in a number of abiding tensions which are part of the concept of equality itself. Consideration, for example, of the principle of 'equality' at the time of self-government led to intense discussion about the appropriateness of having two types of schools, for the 'natives' and for the 'whites' (T and A schools) and eventually not only to the phasing out of the dual curriculum in schools, but also to refuse the funding of an independent (private) system of schools. [1]. The underlying issue of whether or not there should be diversified types of curriculum which could cater both for young people living in a largely agricultural society and also for those who would form part of a society becoming modern remained, however, unresolved (Attwood, 1985). Also not resolved has been the issue of how many young Papua New Guineans should go to what level within the education system. Nor has the issue been settled about what meaning is to be given to the concept of 'quality' or 'standards' in education and whether education of a certain standard should be available for all. Equally undetermined is the amount of effort that should be put into redressing inequalities due to gender or disadvantaged geographical location. The dilemma of whether equal chances of education for all should be entirely supported by the State; in other words, whether there should be 'free' education, also remains as an issue related to equality of opportunities for all Papua New Guineans.

Participation, as indicated above, is seen to go hand in hand with equality. Given equal possibilities of individual development the construction of social life is seen as a communitarian enterprise for which every individual must take responsibility. However, though widely accepted as a principle, because of unequal development opportunities participation finds difficulties in being practically implemented. For example, Papua New Guinea is still far from achieving one of the goals of the Eight Point Plan: that of increased or equal participation of women in all types of social and economic activity (Yeoman, 1985; Wormald and Crossley, 1988; Gibson, 1990). For most of the population the possibility of active participation would require at least basic education leading to literacy and numeracy; yet between 50 and 60% of the adult population is still illiterate, and the opportunity to attend school for the population aged 7–12 is still limited to around 70%. More concretely, limitations to participation in the educational system are increasingly being attributed to the language of instruction in a medium which most children do not understand (Deutrom, 1991).

Self-reliance is an important principle underlying consideration of educational issues. On the one hand, building a self-reliant nation means preparing high-level professionals and administrators to lead the country's development; and this, in turn, means emphasising secondary and higher education, a level largely unattended during the Australian administration. On the other hand, recognising that most of the country still lives in rural areas, education has to assist self-reliance for village rather than for urban life. The question of 'free' education is also tackled as an issue of self-reliance. A popular and current argument against free education is that it encourages a 'hand-out mentality' Parents who do not take responsi-

bility for financing their children's education are seen as developing a dependent attitude which expects that everything will be given to them by the State.

Papua New Guinea ways represents a forceful statement of the country's duty to develop and uphold its identity in the face of many possible external influences, especially the modernising influence of Western Society. This is a complex concept already tackled by the colonisers as they asked what type of education would be relevant for the territory. The 'blending of culture' concept advocated by Williams (1935) was supported by W. C. Groves, the first Director of Education appointed in 1946 by the Australian Administration. While providing for Australian type schools that fitted their 'standards', Groves advocated that vernacular schools be developed around local communities with a curriculum appropriate to the activities of such communities. The policy statement reproduced below from Charles Julius, Research and Curriculum Officer for the Department of Education in 1950, illustrates the rationale for the policy (in Smith, 1975, p. 44):

In Papua New Guinea, we hope, of course, to do a great deal for the further education of the parents, but it is certain that we can only add to their earlier education, and cannot replace it, even if we so wished. They will remain individuals formed by an earlier process of training, with some skills -reading and writing, for instance, added. In doing this, we shall have to relate such new skills to the daily life of adults, and it seems likely that the complete education of a village will be most successful if the outlines of educational work among children and of that among adults, are generally similar. If we take out to the adults a sense of the importance of such skills as reading and writing, we should bring into the school an appreciation of the value of such skills as canoe-making and gardening. It is on such an appreciation, both inside the school and in the village outside the school, of the value of both the old and the new skills, that not only the material progress of the village, but also its present social harmony depend.

A different concept of educational relevance lay behind G. T. Roscoe's (Director of Education appointed in 1959) advocacy of 'universal primary education' in a system of education without a rural bias. It represented, in fact, Roscoe's realisation of the difficulties of putting the 'blending of cultures' concept into practice. The difficulty was later acknowledged by K. McKinnon (Director of Education from 1966) when he said it was for the educational system to present options in the form of ideas and values, and for Papua New Guineans themselves to examine the way in which they would wish to blend cultures (Smith, 1975). The complexity of interpretation of 'Papua New Guinea Ways' as the concept affects the education system is illustrated by the forcefulness with which the Groves and Roscoe perspectives are being reformulated in the current discussions of educational reform in Papua New Guinea. This includes a renewed discussion on the value of vernacular teaching in the early years of school and a strong probability that this may become a reality through a revival of the 'village school'; but also the concern to retain English as a medium of instruction in the school system. Equally, discussions are conducted on the need to reform the high school so that it serves more closely the needs of the agricultural majority, while recognising that education for leadership and replacement of expatriate expertise needs a modern, 'western' type of education. Seen from a broader perspective, Narakobi considers the issue as one of finding new ways of conceptualising tradition and modernity. In his address to the 12th Extraordinary Meeting of the Faculty of Education at the University of Papua New Guinea, Narakobi (1991, p. 25) pointed to the need to try and "transcend, to live a little bit outside one's tradition and to examine the role of tradition in a new and modern society".

Integral human development is an enveloping concept, which in its original formulation in the Constitution embodied the notion of liberation for individual and social development. Liberation is linked to becoming free from various forms of oppression, but above all from the oppression of ignorance, a process of “liberation, among other things, of thoughts which impede and obstruct our construction of a better society and a better people” (Narakobi, 1991 p. 25). The concept of integral human development is very much at the heart of discussions about educational policies because of its place in the official philosophy of education as expressed in the Matane Report (Ministerial Review Committee, 1986); often, however, it is interpreted more in the sense of individual spiritual, moral or religious development, linked to the strong Christian heritage in Papua New Guinea, and less in the sense of human growth and freedom to be a full participant and agent in the country’s development.

Policy Perspectives

The conflicts underlying interpretation of the ideological principles that Papua New Guinea upholds are evident in what we might term the policy perspectives that have prevailed in the years since independence. At this stage, we will only mention three perspectives that appear to stand out. In the next section we will examine these in relation both to key educational reform issues and to the ideological principles examined above. The three perspectives are the following: gradualism, standards and relevance, and selectivity.

Gradualism represents the view that desirable targets have to follow a neat developmental path, where one level is secured firmly before the next one can be attempted. The policy of gradualism was part of the philosophy of social change held by Australia (Weeks & Guthrie, 1984) and expressed early on by Hasluck, the Minister for Territories in 1955. His priorities, which dominated the development of the system at the time, were to broaden the primary education base as much as possible and leave the development of secondary education for a later stage. The last Director of Education before Independence also expressed the view that caution should be exercised in relation to changes in the education system for which it might not be prepared: “a slower less efficient but more socially responsible system may be necessary even though economic development may be impeded” (McKinnon, 1972, p. 89). Later, Philip Foster, speaking at the University of Papua New Guinea’s Waigani Seminar in 1974, reaffirmed this view, and argued for caution in the expansion of education and for a “small, high quality, public secondary sector of education”. Foster also advocated caution in the development of an elaborate technical education system (Foster, 1975).

The *standards versus relevance* dichotomy is expressed in the often heard view that while, when thinking of change, all efforts should be made to ensure a ‘relevant’ education, this should not be at the expense of ‘standards’. The meaning given, however, to standards is at the very least, an equivocal one. It varies from success in examinations (the grade six national examination for example) to the formulation found in the current Education Sector Review (1991, p. 169) of standards as quality:

... the National Government defines quality basic education as an education which:

- 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.

The conflict inherent in the discussions of quality and standards in Papua New Guinea has been explored by Attwood (1985). In noting, for example, the current Deputy Prime Minister, Sir Julius Chan's, remark "that there is no 'Melanesian Way' to fly an aeroplane", Attwood suggested that this opinion is "a reflection of the dominance of an Australian or Western yardstick of standards in PNG" (p. 34). Discussions at the University of Papua New Guinea also often reflect the concept of 'standards' as a form of international yardstick.

Selectivity or elitism. Closely related to the belief in gradualism and the support for maintenance of standards, is the policy concept that there is a long way to go before education of quality can be offered to all Papua New Guineans. The effect of this policy perspective is evident in the way in which educational opportunities have remained closed to a large sector of the population and particularly evident in the delay to decide and implement provisions for adult literacy and education for the disabled. While this policy perspective is related to the view that the country (in its present stage of economic development) cannot afford to provide the amount and types of education that might be ideally desirable, it also has to do with underlying beliefs about who are and who are not the groups of people upon whom priorities for education will be placed. In this sense, adult illiterates and disabled children have been considered in the past a low priority compared to the need to educate a growing population of 7–12 year-olds, a view which clearly is in conflict with the principles of 'integral human development' and 'equality and participation'.

Educational Reform Issues and Proposals

At the start of the 1990s, the Government of Papua New Guinea (in a very short period of time) initiated an examination of the education system (Education Sector Review, 1991) [2], and agreed on changes of policy to affect fundamentally the structure of the system. Currently, it is exploring modes of implementing these policies through a number of Task Force committees at central and provincial level. These committees are widely representative of administrators, teachers, education professionals and academics throughout the country.

The main issues addressed by the reform proposals are closely related to the implementation of 'Education for All' policies (agreed by Papua New Guinea at the international meeting in Jomtien, Thailand in 1990) particularly at the basic education level, and to the broadening and diversifying of educational opportunities beyond that level. The agreed proposals will mean a change in the basic structure of the system and will seek to address among others the following two issues:

- (1) in relation to 'universal primary education', the need to broaden access, to ensure retention for at least 9 years of all children entering school and, consequently, the need to improve the quality of teaching and learning;
- (2) in relation to 'secondary education', the need to specify the purpose of this level, widen its coverage and alter its structure to serve changes in purpose and scope.

In what follows, this article highlights some of the reform proposals that address the above issues, and examines not so much the particular characteristics of the change proposals, but the tenor of discussions related to these. The purpose is to bring together the

TABLE I. Enrolment targets and enrolment figures under different planning strategies (primary level)

Year	Planned	Achieved
1976–1980 Plan		
1980	342,743	284,089
1985	492,485	353,703
Education strategy 1986–1990 (5.6% p/a expansion)		
1986	367,361	371,327
1987	387,934	382,093
1988	409,658	395,442
1989	432,599	415,974
1990	456,824	413,089

consideration of ideological and policy principles outlined above with the reform issues themselves.

Universal Primary Education—education for all

As indicated earlier universal primary education was a goal aspired to by the Australian Administration and one that has been continuously reformulated by the government of Papua New Guinea at various stages. However, despite such intentions pre-independence targets for the development of primary education set out for the years 1955–57, 1957–60 and 1960–66 were never reached (Smith, 1975); nor have the more modest ones agreed by the Papua New Guinea Government been reached, as shown in the Table I.

An important factor affecting, over time, the achievement of universal primary education has been a lack of decisiveness to mobilise the country's resources to this end. Despite the early commitment to universal primary education of the authorities during the Australian administration, in independent Papua New Guinea policies of gradualism and caution have prevailed. Preoccupation about costs, the concern for standards, and the need to develop the secondary and tertiary system have led to the repeated statement that universal primary education is not a goal that could be implemented until well into the 21st century (Neuendorf, 1981; Research and Evaluation Unit, 1989; Education Sector Review, 1991). Hence, gradualist perspectives that were originally applied to the development of secondary education were, in fact, extended to primary education.

In assessing the accuracy of the gloomy predictions about education for all in Papua New Guinea the status of three components of the concept of universal primary education have to be considered. They are the access opportunities offered by the system, its capacity to retain pupils for the entire 6-year cycle and the quality of its teacher training procedures.

Access. In relation to access, the reform proposals attempt to deal with serious problems of coverage of the educational system. The current gross enrolment rates (GER) are only around 70% (with some provinces having over 90% GER and others being as low as 64%) while the average for developing countries with comparable income is 90%. Access of 7-year-olds to the first year of a primary school in 1988 was around 24% according to a survey of first grade enrolment by Ross (1989). The participation of girls in primary education compared to boys average (indexed as 100), is around 86 while in comparable developing countries it is 91. Factors contributing to lack of access are described as the

following: availability of schools and teachers; distance of rural schools to the places where the children live; conditions of service of teachers that hinder their wish to work, especially in remote rural areas; parental commitment to education; fee structure and other hidden costs to parents; and staggered intake of some rural schools. Experiences elsewhere and policies as suggested in national documents (See, for example, the Education Strategy 1986–1989) show that to a certain extent a number of these problems could have been overcome through actions involving structural adjustments to the system. An example would have been the introduction of multiple grade teaching in the rural areas and of yearly intakes in schools where these did not exist; as well as increases in pupil/teacher ratios and multiple shift schooling in crowded urban areas [3]. Better conditions of service for teachers might have influenced greater commitment of teachers to the improvement of the communities where they work and thus encouraged more parental support for schooling. Engaging community support for the building and maintenance of schools rather than the existing fee structure might have been a better way of getting children into school.

It has taken time for some of the above measures to be seriously considered but, in the light of the proposed new structure, they now seem closer to being implemented than they ever were before. The introduction of elementary schools catering for the first 3 years of a child's schooling, and scattered throughout the rural villages and urban settlements could be largely supported by the communities, so that schools of this type would emerge even in very remote areas. The precedent for such schools is found in the existing *tok ples* preschools which in turn had pre-independence forerunners operating in many parts of the country (See Zinkel, 1971). These preschools have attempted to provide children with initial literacy and numeracy skills in the language which they speak and within the culture of their communities. It is being considered that the elementary three year schools within the system will fulfil the same role as the *tok ples* schools and that they will ease the transition into the more formal 6-year primary school. It is also being considered that teachers for these schools be sought primarily from among persons with some education within the communities and that they be specially trained as multi-grade teachers. The chances of enrolling all 6-year-olds within a community serviced by an elementary school are undoubtedly much greater than the chances offered by the current primary school system.

One of the important matters related to access to primary education has been the policy that parents should pay for their child's education. Although there is only circumstantial evidence that what deters parents from sending their children to school is inability to pay fees, questions have been raised, following the principle of equality of opportunities, about the appropriateness of continuing to charge such fees. In a repeat of the early 1980s (Bray 1983), the issue took on political character in the last elections as opposing parties stood on one side of the fence or the other. Judging from letters to the newspaper at the time of the elections there was little public support for the concept of 'free education'. The arguments presented were that free education would favour a 'hand-out mentality', thus running against the principle of self-reliance, and that it would be too expensive for the country to afford. Little reference was made, however, to the constitutional principles of 'equality' and 'integral human development' that uphold the right of every person to education. If fees could be proved a deterrent to school attendance then the policy would need review in the light of these constitutional principles. Although no carefully conducted research is available on the effect of fee-paying over non-school attendance in Papua New Guinea, what is known is that the average cost of a community school child's education is K200 (US\$ 192) per year which is higher than for countries with comparable GNP *per capita* [4], that fees vary from an 8% of real costs per student to 35%, and that at secondary level the fees are much higher. This would indicate that families with the Papua New Guinean average of five children, all of

whom might be in community or secondary schools could find it very difficult to pay the fees required.

The discussion on how 'free' education can be may not have been settled (Papua New Guinea Teachers' Association, 1993), but the new government which took office late in 1992 is implementing a policy of free tuition fees for all primary schools, and substantial fee subsidies for students in secondary schools, secondary distance education and vocational schools (Wingti, 1992). Places in Higher Education (colleges and universities) are free, but there is considerable discussion as to whether a form of cost-recovery should be established at this level.

Retention. Retaining a student for the full primary school cycle is the other component of the concept of universal primary education or education for all. In the Papua New Guinean situation this remains a serious problem. In common with other developing countries, the greater number of drop-outs occur between grades 1 and 2, and between grades 5 and 6. Ross' (1989) survey of first grade enrolment found that on average 14 out of every 100 children enrolled at the beginning of the year (February) had dropped out by the time of the survey (November), and that this figure was close to the number of children who are denied entry to first grade every year. Again, the exact factors that affect retention have not been carefully studied. There is evidence, however, that poor teaching may be partly the cause. The generalist Papua New Guinea teacher has to cover all subjects of the community school curriculum whether or not he or she understands them well; and until recently was being trained, after Grade 10, in a 2-year course where little more was possible than to emphasise basic skills in language and maths, and subject teaching methods. That teachers of community schools have a poor understanding of the subjects they have to teach has been shown in a number of studies (reviewed by Avalos, 1991), with the consequence that rote learning has prevailed in many school situations. The use of an alien medium of instruction, especially in the first years of the primary school, is also seen as a cause of frustration and subsequent drop out. Lack of material support from parents (mostly monetary) has been identified as a cause for dropping out, as for example, in the Southern Highlands province (Kari, 1990); and also the vast age differences found in any one class of the community school which affects the ability of teachers to reach the individual pupil and identify those with special needs (poor hearing, for example, appears to be a widespread problem among Papua New Guinean rural children).

To some extent, the proposed new structure attempts to deal with the issue of retention. On the assumption that many children drop out of Grade One because of the use of English as a medium of instruction, the establishment of elementary vernacular classes to initiate them into schooling should provide a remedy. Changes to the curriculum are also being proposed, from an over-charged subject-centred and fragmented one towards an integrated curriculum in at least the first 5 years of education. An important reform of initial teacher training is currently underway. Its aim of preparing teachers to understand better the content of what they have to teach and to be more skilful in identifying individual pupil differences should enable teachers to feel greater confidence in attending to the learners needs, and less slavishly reliant on the structured outline as provided in teacher texts and guides. In practice, this represents a shift in the philosophy of teacher training from one which emphasises the 'skilful technician' or formalistic teaching (Guthrie, 1990) to one which favours the 'reflective practitioner' (Schon, 1983;) or 'meaningful teaching' (Beeby, 1966).

A key issue in discussions about the reform is the manner in which concerns for quality can be reconciled with the need for retaining children in the system and upholding the principle of equality. In defining retention, the Education Sector Review (1991) expressed

clearly that Universal Primary Education means "that every child who enrolls in Grade 1, completes this level of education and achieves a satisfactory result" (p. 48). The implicit definition of 'satisfactory result' is still, however, success in examinations, including mastery tests at the end of the elementary school and midway through the primary school (Task Force, 1992b). It is being proposed that these tests determine whether or not a child needs to repeat a grade. Thus, in discussing the implementation of what is recommended in the Sector Review the introduction of grade repetition is being considered as a viable policy for ensuring learning at the primary school level (Task Force, Minutes of 3rd Meeting, February, 1992c). In other words, the willingness to institutionalise grade repetition is an indication of how strong the desire for 'standards' still remains, and also of how limited perceptions are, about options other than grade repetition which could aid the achievement of standards.

In relation to grade repetition there is enough evidence worldwide to indicate that grade repetition does not improve quality if other factors contributing to poor learning are not dealt with; and that more often than not, grade repetition is the direct cause of drop-outs. Furthermore, in financial terms grade repetition raises the unit costs and, therefore, diminishes the chances of other children to enter the system. Indeed, Colclough & Lewin (1992) in their proposals to the Jomtien Conference for improving retention and quality learning in the primary school, within a policy of cost savings, advocate the introduction of automatic promotion policies and reduction of grade repetition where it exists.

Grade repetition in a situation of poor quality of teaching means that a child sits for 2 years in a classroom hearing the same things, with diminished motivation to learn, and increased chances of refusing to attend school and eventually of dropping out. Seen from this perspective, grade repetition is a form of disregarding the child with learning difficulties by assuming that such difficulties are dealt with by a repeated version of what he or she did not understand in the first place. It attempts something, in fact, directly against almost all the ideological principles valued by Papua New Guinea.

Uniformity or diversity in the practice of teaching. In relation to teaching and teacher training contradictions are emerging in the Reform discussions between the ideological principles upheld in Papua New Guinea, the educational needs of the people and the reform policies advocated. These are particularly evident in the proposal that all the curriculum of the primary school be taught by generalist teachers (Task Force, 1992a, b) and that all teachers at the elementary level be trained in a modular, short-course form; a policy formulation apparently representing the effort to uphold 'equality' among teachers working in the system. In so doing, however, the issue of teaching quality is side-stepped and the relationship between improved teaching quality and the success of 'education for all' policies is ignored. Furthermore, by continuing the current policy of generalist teaching in a longer and different kind of primary level requiring a higher degree of specialised knowledge, the right to quality knowledge (theoretical and practical) of all youngsters who attend a government school may also be negatively affected. Thus, a policy of 'equality' which, in fact, is more akin to 'uniformity' may end up in direct contradiction with the right to 'integral human development' and the principles of 'self-reliance' and 'participation' in the construction of social life.

Seen from the perspective of the teachers themselves, the policy of 'uniformity' in teaching background places over their shoulders an impossible burden. In fact, it would not seem reasonable to expect every teacher with a single training background to be responsible at the same time for the quite diverse tasks involved in integrated, multigrade teaching at the elementary level; and the learning of basic knowledge and skills needed both for productive life in the community and for further education.

TABLE II. Grade Six to Grade Seven transition rates

Year	Student numbers	Transition rates
1981–1982	35,091–13,021	37.1
1985–1986	41,260–14,667	35.5
1988–1989	46,592–16,461	35.3
1989–1990	48,216–16,366	34.0
1990–1991	47,862–17,112	35.7

Secondary Education: for whom and for what?

The above heading is not just posing a rhetorical question for which there might be an easy or ready-made answer. It was and is an abiding policy issue in Papua New Guinea.

Secondary education began late in Papua New Guinea and as a result of pressures from external sources. In 1961 there was only an incipient secondary education sector in the form of secondary classes attached to primary schools or as teacher training. It was not until the visiting United Nations mission in 1962 criticised the Australian administration for its neglect of secondary and higher education, that action was taken to develop the secondary and tertiary stages of education.

Elitism and a strong orientation to academic goals enshrined in varying policies of selection, has been a noticeable characteristic of secondary education. Gradualist policies alluded to earlier have also guided the development of secondary education. As shown in the Table II transition rates from primary to secondary have remained more or less the same in the last 10 years. This is not just because there have not been enough eligible students to move on to secondary school, but because of a lack of available school facilities and teachers, and the conviction that development of this sector should progress slowly.

The limited progression from primary to secondary schooling has resulted in the view held by many parents that primary education has little to offer and in the personal frustration of young people who do not manage to enter a secondary school. The following statement made 20 years ago represents a still widely held view about the value of primary education:

Secondary selection has had the most far-reaching social and educational consequences. Primary education is not seen as a phase of education in its own right, but merely as a pre-requisite for admission to high school. Those successful at the Standard Six examination who are not selected for high school tend to be regarded as failures by themselves, their peers and their families. Those who fail, and those who pass but are not admitted to high school, either remain in the village—where they frequently do little else but sit around, wondering why the world refuses to owe them a living and causing trouble and concern to the elders of the village—or drift to the towns to compound the problems of unemployment, poverty, over-crowding, crime and misery existing there. In either case, the student's education has not fitted him for either the old life or the new (Thomas, 1972).

The only novelty in relation to the above perception is that much the same thing can now be said of the student who begins, but does not complete secondary education (about 30%) and even of the student who finishes lower secondary. Possibilities beyond Grade 10 are limited, as National High Schools select only 10% of the Grade 10 leavers, the acceptance capacity of technical education has decreased in the last decade and other forms of tertiary education and opportunities in the employment sector are still limited.

In view of the above situation, one of the most important changes related to the

educational reform as it is now being discussed, is the shift from policies emphasising selectivity to policies emphasising widening access (at a much faster rate) and eventually a 'secondary education for all' target (Task Force, 1992a). This has resulted in decisions, long overdue, that expansion of secondary education need not be through the building of the same type of expensive national high schools, but through modification of many existing lower secondary (provincial) schools and where possible the setting up of day and not boarding schools. A programme of expansion is now being worked out and two new upper secondary schools established from existing lower secondary ones commenced activity in 1993. Plans for retraining secondary teachers to teach in the upper classes are also under discussion.

In analysing the issues confronting the reform of secondary education several aspects need to be considered: the purpose of a reformed cycle of 4 years instead of the current structure of 4-2 for lower and upper secondary, the integration within this sphere of vocational/technical training, the extent of selection and the question of 'standards', especially in relation to the requirements of tertiary education. These are looked at below.

The dual purpose of secondary education. In 1984, Bacchus (p. 107) described the purpose of secondary education in Papua New Guinea as being to produce:

- (1) "a relatively small cadre of individuals who would be educationally well-prepared to man the formal sector of the economy",
- (2) "a much larger group who would be equipped with the attitudes, skills and knowledge which would better prepare them for their inevitable return to the rural areas to earn their living outside the formal sector".

The Education Sector Review (1991) still recognises this dual purpose of secondary education with lower secondary embodying the more general purpose of personal fulfilment and the capacity to be a useful and productive member of society; and upper secondary specifically preparing academically able candidates for higher education. However, looking towards the future the Sector Review suggests that perhaps "a less narrow secondary academic school, with more attention to ability and interest differences, might be a better form of providing school leavers prepared for tertiary education or for other employment opportunities" (p. 92).

The question about how to restructure the system to enable the fulfillment of the dual purpose of secondary education is still a subject of discussion as implementation of the new educational structure is considered. On the one hand, there is the popular conviction that a reason for increased 'rascalism' (delinquency) in the country's urban areas is the number of Grade 10 leavers without jobs who have not developed values of honesty and citizenship or useful skills to undertake productive activities if not employed in the modern sector. This has resulted in calls for a core curriculum in the first 2 years of the secondary school centred on broad subject areas: life-education (religious/moral education and other citizenship concerns), academic subjects (English, maths, science and social science) and vocational training. Discussions at present revolve around the time distribution of these subject areas, which also include as an area of 'enrichment', the expressive arts and physical education.

On the other hand, there is still the traditional concern about 'standards' and about the appropriateness of the proposed curriculum to prepare selected pupils academically for upper secondary study and for higher education. An illustration of the conflict between relevance and standards is the strength of the controversy about whether or not there should be a science laboratory for science teaching in the Grades 9 and 10 (lower secondary).

Related to 'standards' is the question of who and how many will be able to proceed to

secondary education. As indicated, policies of selectivity are being replaced by the view that secondary education should eventually be open to all. However, the question of an-end-of-primary school examination is also being discussed. The suggestion at present is to have a sort of aptitude test at the end of the primary school. Also the proposed rate of expansion of secondary education is slower than the one recognised as needed by the National Higher Education Plan (Commission for Higher Education, 1990). Instead of 5000 upper secondary graduates, the projected expansion proposed by those discussing the reform is to just below 4000 by the year 2000. Therefore, selection will still continue to be an issue in the transition from the current Grade 6 and from the current Grade 10. More worrying in this respect is the 'fee issue', as it is being suggested (Task Force, 1992b) fees be increased to higher levels than what is currently charged by National High Schools. This statement, however, may also be altered in view of the new government's promise to reallocate funds from lower priority expenditure areas, to actively utilise donor assistance and to increase revenue from mineral reserves in order to subsidise more heavily every student attending a secondary school (Wingti, 1992).

Technical-vocational education The proposed restructure of the system attempts to grant secondary status to vocational education by incorporating a vocational component into the lower cycle; and by recognising the Pre-Employment Technical Training Courses (known as PETT courses now offered in one year programmes at Technical Colleges) as a stream of upper secondary, with academic and agricultural training being other streams. It is unclear, however, whether the vocational training centres will continue to exist in their present form or whether they will be brought into the mainstream by having to adhere to the core curriculum proposed for Grades 9 and 10. At present, a German-aided project is being developed to upgrade a number of existing centres in different locations and experiment with a programme more relevant to preparation for productive work in the rural or modern sectors.

In deciding the future of vocational and technical education the findings of the Sector Review carried out by a German team will have to be considered. The Report (Janisch, 1991) indicates a series of problems affecting technical and vocational education. One of them is the isolation and lack of support for vocational training centres and the urgent need for qualitative improvement if they are to continue to exist in their present form. Another is the low quality of graduates from vocational centres and lower level technical college programmes which are perceived as inadequate by employers; more precisely put, these programmes and resulting qualifications are not responsive to market needs. Lengthening and qualitatively improving the skill preparation in pre-employment technical training programmes is therefore considered a priority for the reform of technical education. Equally, the preparation of technical college and vocational centre teachers needs to be addressed as is also the establishment of clear job descriptions, certification systems and examination regulations.

In essence, the proposals for reform of technical education contemplate pilot improvement projects for vocational centres and qualitative adjustments of technical colleges. Whether or not these purposes will be served by the proposed alterations to the education structure is yet to be discussed. What, in any case, needs more attention than is being given to it is the experience of the last 20 years of secondary vocational-technical education in other parts of the world. As is widely known, the earlier enthusiastic recommendations of the World Bank to include technical training in secondary schools are now being drastically

revised and the conclusion as now summarised by Gannicott (1990, p. xvii) is:

that specialized technical skills will be taught more cheaply and effectively within where the equipment and expertise are already on hand, and where the identification of needed skills is driven by production requirements (World Bank, 1988). Schools are institutions for imparting general skills: reading, writing, mathematics, and scientific understanding; for teaching widely applicable skills such as bookkeeping and typing; and for inculcating general occupational skills such as attitudes to work, punctuality, and discipline.

Conclusions

Having reviewed some of the issues that are central to contemporary education reforms in Papua New Guinea, and having indicated the manner in which values and principles considered as important are interpreted in these discussions, it is now possible to develop a concluding synthesis. With this purpose in mind four areas related to the reform are considered: the concept of gradualism; effects of the social context; costs and finance; and finally, and only incipiently, the issue of the ownership and management of knowledge.

Gradualism

It is quite possible that adherence to policies of gradual change would have continued to dominate decision-making in Papua New Guinea, had there not been, in 1990, a World Congress on Education for All, and had the country not been asked to re-examine its system in view of the Declaration of which it became a signatory. Funds received from the United Nations Development Programme further allowed a Sector Review to be undertaken using expertise residing mainly within the country.

Confrontation with the harsh reality of figures in the Education Sector Review also helped produce a shake-up. Over the years the National Department of Education had released a number of surveys supporting universal primary education, but looking back over 15 years since independence, Weeks (1991), speaking at the University of Papua New Guinea's Waigani seminar, could argue that: "the government had never been serious about universal primary education; resources had never been made available and dropping out of school had never been confronted". The proposed changes thus represent a very big step in the process of universalising basic education.

That the association with gradualist policies has not altogether disappeared is increasingly noticeable as the reform discussions proceed. There will not be an overnight overhaul of the system, but a gradual phasing in of the latest changes. When specific plans develop, it will be possible to see the extent to which commitment to change remains a paramount consideration. Given the decentralised administration of the education system it is already clear that some provinces will push further ahead of others in such areas as widening access to secondary education (as Weeks indicates elsewhere in this Special Number, Manus Province has already pioneered secondary expansion and it has also set out a 'secondary school of the air'), or instituting 'free' education (Simbu Province has done so). A crucial issue, therefore, for a country still concerned about doing things with care and method will be to maintain the momentum of reform without sacrificing careful planning. Above concerted effort in itself.

The Social Context

One powerful deterrent to new policies, especially those relating to the expansion of secondary education, is the fear that lack of employment opportunities in the modern sector will increase the level of frustration of young educated people and thereby of urban criminality. There are, however, many questionable assumptions behind these views. One is that education can be used to bring people 'back to their villages'. This argument is fallacious, as the Secondary Schools Community Extension Project (SSCEP) demonstrated, if lack of infrastructural development in the village affects the ability of youth to put their skills to work, leading them instead to 'opt out' in passive or aggressive ways, depending on circumstances (Crossley, 1984).

Another questionable assumption is that educated, unemployed youth are inevitably potential criminals [5]. Few statements have been made that attempt to counteract this perception. Both the rich and the poor, the educated and the uneducated commit crimes against property and people, but the rich, educated and employed have more opportunities and resources to do so, and they often have the power to create structures that enable them to be successful in crime without being prosecuted. In the city settlements, whether or not they are criminals, young males will be suspected. This is not to suggest that more education as such leads to unemployment and crime, but that a societal structure, often supported by the rich and educated, can help to create conditions for crime. An appropriate conclusion is not that more education leads to crime, but that more or fewer educational opportunities may increase or lessen the chances to alter the power structures that protect crime. That is why it is argued here that education should not be restricted. This view, of course, runs counter to what interestingly enough the Australian Director for Education (McKinnon 1972, p. 89) was recommending some 20 years ago: the restriction of education in the interest of social tranquility:

The more effective schools are the more students are likely to question and to probe, to wonder about the reasons for features of society that have never previously questioned. The better they are the more likely there is to be a crisis of authority between generations with unpredictable results. A slower, less efficient but more socially responsive system may be necessary even though economic development may be impeded. The cost of economic development is too high if it produces such tensions in society that increased national wealth is more than absorbed in the cost of police, prisons and welfare.

The latest census figures in Papua New Guinea, indicate that there is a definite urban drift with a 3.72% p/a increase in population compared to 1.75% in rural areas. Equally, the number of places classified as urban has increased from 58 to 79 in the last 10 years (National Population Census, 1990). The greatest increases in population are occurring in main cities, so that in fact it is here where expansion of school facilities will have to occur. On the other hand, the provinces with lowest educational provision and school enrolment cover areas with the largest rural population of the country (the Highlands) and these require very special attention if their people are ever to catch up with other regions in their educational levels. Much of the population in these provinces lacks essential communication infrastructure, health services and other facilities that could make rural life attractive to the school leaver who might return to work in the land. The simple dictum then, voiced by many, that education must guide people 'back to the village' may not work in practice unless rural infrastructural conditions are improved; and this may be difficult at a time when the economic sector with least evidence of growth is agriculture.

Some care also needs to be taken in interpreting what are thought to be high unemploy-

ment figures for school leavers. A recent survey of 133 companies in the Lae region (Janisch, 1991) indicated a sizeable number of vacancies (807) in the field of qualified technicians (technical college training), and predictions by these firms are that over the next 5 years employment opportunities will increase by just over 40%. The real issues, therefore, seem to focus upon the quality of school and technical colleges graduates, rather than upon the numbers they are producing.

The Costs and Financing of Educational Expansion

One of the constant arguments levelled against too rapid an expansion of the education system, and more recently against free basic education, has been that the country cannot afford it. One of the church's most articulate spokesmen on public issues eloquently made the case for a reform of the educational system. But right at the end of his article he also said:

Universal primary education in this country is still a dream. Past target dates have not been met and it seems unlikely that we will meet the new target date of 2000 without a good deal more effort. In particular, we will need more trained community school teachers to cope with the expansion. We probably also need to accept that we cannot afford to make education both universal and free (Paul Richardson, *The Times of Papua New Guinea*, 18 June, 1992).

How valid is this assertion that free education would have a prohibitive cost? A number of proposals have been put forward on how the expansion of the system could be financed. Weeks (1991) noted that cheaper types of school buildings would go a long way in reducing costs, as would day rather than boarding school at the secondary level. He further added, that if only a proportion of the benefits from the new resource development projects (in gold, gas, oil and timber) were channelled into education the problems of funding the extra number of teachers would be substantially reduced. Curtin (1991) has also indicated that, in the last 10 years, budgetary allocations to education have decreased, and that only 5% of the public investment projects financed either by special national funds or aid money have gone to education. The high unit costs at present at all educational levels would be reduced if controlled expansion were to occur, if unemployed teachers were to be retrained for the expansion, and if better use were made of existing school facilities. Equally, less emphasis on urban development schemes and large scale projects financed by overseas capital as, for example, the projected Burns Peak Tunnel freeway for Port Moresby (Frank Kolma, *Post Courier*, 12 June, 1992) would save the equivalent of millions of dollars. Thus, even with respect to the financing of expansion, there is room for a re-examination of policy options and a reassessment of possibilities.

The Ownership of Knowledge

At a much deeper level is the issue of how knowledge is to be distributed, who will have access to what kind of knowledge and who will not. In his reflections on pre-independence education Smith (1975) noted this issue in historical terms and referred to the prevalent philosophy in colonial times that only education of a certain type and amount would be appropriate for the indigenous people of New Guinea. In contemporary Papua New Guinea, with the best of intentions, the cry for 'relevant education', meaning education that prepares for return to the village (courses in agriculture and other practical skills), if unreflectively incorporated in the curriculum may carry with it the inherent danger of limiting the quality and amount of knowledge which most people will receive. The quotation below is taken from

Sir Hubert Murray, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Papua region in 1909. It is insulting when read today, but there is a sense in which the same message can be detected in current discussions on selection and the development of curriculum policies which could bar people from the tools that widen access to knowledge and power:

My own opinion . . . is that the best Papuans are superior to the worst Europeans, but that Europeans as a whole have an innate superiority over Papuans. As for the possibility of higher education among Papuans one must admit that, if a Papuan can qualify for the priesthood there is no reason to suppose that another Papuan could not qualify for medicine or law . . . however, it would be unwise to give the Papuan a first class education unless the way to advancement is to be fully opened to him . . . and to give them the same opportunities as we give to Europeans would, under present conditions, be out of question. (My emphasis, in Smith, 1975, p. 8.)

If relevance is not to be second rate education for the majority, while the élite are able to afford a first class education in international schools, then the concept must be demythologised and people must reflect more seriously on the kind of knowledge and learning processes with which they wish to engage. Elsewhere, it has been argued that:

the guiding principle for an education that is relevant is the degree to which it enables the learner, on the strength of development of competencies and practical understanding, to act in ways which will further such changes in his or her environment as are personally significant for his or her people. . . . Schooling that is relevant is one that should not deny opportunity for learning the contents and processes which have been the privilege only of the well-to-do in society . . . relevance needs to be seen as quality education, not as a watered-down version of élite education nor simply as activities which settle people 'where they belong'. (Avalos, 1992a)

In conclusion, what this last section has attempted to do is to accentuate the need, in any process of reform, for the critical examination of assumptions which may have a historical origin, but which no longer may be valid, and to consider new evidence which might indicate a different way of orienting policy and change. As indicated by Narakobi (1991, p. 28) the Papua New Guinean people must not let themselves be enslaved by thought processes and assumptions that are taken for granted; for if they persist in the "particular perception of what a pot should look like and take the clay and shape it into that image, then in a short time they will find that it will not be able to contain the water needed to nourish our society".

NOTES

- [1] Evolution of the A school curriculum and administration gave rise to what is now the permitted (private) school system, administered by the International Education Agency (Smith & Bray, 1985).
- [2] For an outline of the main proposals of the reform see Avalos (1992b).
- [3] Colclough and Lewin (1992) have indicated by means of a simulation model the extent to which in countries with similar indicators to those of Papua New Guinea but with overall less income, a series of nine reforms could go a long way towards expanding access and increasing retention of children at primary level. Among these reforms are the introduction of double-shifting, increase in class size by five pupils per class, reduction of primary teachers unit costs by 10% over a 10-year period by increased use of self-study, teaching assistants and community helpers. Retention could be considerably increased by quality enhancing measures such as reducing repetition rates and favouring automatic promotion.
- [4] Unit costs per primary level primary student in Papua New Guinea as proportion of GNP are around 0.23 which is equivalent to developed countries and higher than a country with similar GNP such as Zimbabwe (Tsang, 1988, pp. 20–21, tables 2 and 3). Unit costs for secondary students in Papua New Guinea would appear to be exactly double those of Zimbabwe.

- [5] In terms of the relationship between crime and education, Booth's (1991) analysis of persons arrested for 1980 and 1985–86 showed that more than half of those arrested were less than 25 years of age, that 43% had no schooling and 41% had only primary schooling. A third of all convicted males were aged 10–20, had no schooling or only primary education, and a further fifth aged 21–25 had no schooling or only primary education, totally 54%.

REFERENCES

- ATTWOOD, N.J. (1985) Qualitative educational planning in Papua New Guinea, in: M. BRAY (Ed.) *Education and Development in Papua New Guinea. Issues for Planners* EDC Occasional Papers, No 8 (London, University of London Institute of Education).
- AVALOS, B. (1991) Contexts, training theories and teaching practice, *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 7, pp. 169–184.
- AVALOS, B. (1992a) Education for the poor. Quality or relevance, *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 13, pp. 419–436.
- AVALOS, B. (1992b) The need for educational reform and the role of teacher training, *International Journal of Educational Development*, 12, pp. 309–318.
- BACCHUS, K. (1984) A Review and Analysis of Educational 'Needs' at the Secondary Level in Papua New Guinea. ERU Report, No 48 (Waigani, University of Papua New Guinea).
- BEEBY, C.E. (1966) *The Quality of Education in Developing Countries* (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press).
- BOOTH, H. (1991) Papua New Guinea: A Statistical Profile on Men and Women (Port Moresby, The Pacific Mainstreaming Project, Joint UNDP/UNIFEM Project).
- BRAY, M. (1983) The politics of free education in Papua New Guinea, *International Journal of Educational Development*, 2(3), pp. 281–287.
- COLCLOUGH, C. & LEWIN, K. (1992) *Educating All the Children* (Oxford, Oxford University Press).
- COMMISSION FOR HIGHER EDUCATION (1990) *National Higher Education Plan* (Waigani, Commission for Higher Education).
- CROSSLEY, M. (1984) Relevance education, strategies for curriculum change and pilot projects: a cautionary note, *International Journal of Educational Development*, 20(2), pp. 533–540.
- CURTIN, T. (1991) *The Economics of Investment in Education Papua New Guinea*. Occasional Paper No. 1, Faculty of Education, University of Papua New Guinea.
- DEUTROM, B. (1991) Literacy for the nineties, in: B. AVALOS & L. NEUENDORF (Eds), *Teaching in Papua New Guinea. A Perspective for the Nineties* (Port Moresby, University of Papua New Guinea Press).
- EDUCATION SECTOR REVIEW (1991) *Vol. 2: Deliberations and Findings* (Port Moresby, National Department of Education).
- EDUCATION STRATEGY (1986–1990) *Sector Report of the Education Sector Committee* (Port Moresby, Ministry of Education).
- FOSTER, P. (1975) Dilemmas of educational development: what we might learn from the past, *Comparative Education Review*, 19(3) pp. 375–392.
- GANNICOTT, K.G. (Ed.) (1990) *Education for Economic Development in the South Pacific*. Pacific Policy Paper No. 3 (Canberra, National Centre for Development Studies, Australia National University).
- GIBSON, M.A. (1990) *Equity for Female Teachers. A national Survey of Employment, Training and Promotional Opportunities for Community School Teachers in Papua New Guinea* (Port Moresby, National Research Institute, Division of Educational Research). (draft)
- GUTHRIE, G. (1990) In defense of formalistic training, in V.D. RUST & P. DALIN (Eds), *Teachers and Teaching in the Developing World* (New York, Garland).
- JANISCH, P. (1991) *Sector Study: Technical and Vocational Education in Papua New Guinea. Final Report on the Project of Technical Cooperation in the Field of Vocational Training* (Cologne, Germany).
- KARI, S. (1990) The feasibility of universal primary education in the Southern Highlands, unpublished B.Ed. (Honours) Dissertation, University of Papua New Guinea.
- McKINNON, K.R. (1972) Priorities in education in Papua New Guinea, *Papua New Guinea Journal of Education*, 8, pp. 78–107.
- MINISTERIAL REVIEW COMMITTEE (1986) *A Philosophy of Education for Papua New Guinea (Matane Report)* (Port Moresby, National Department of Education).
- NARAKOBI, B. (1991) Education and development, in: B. AVALOS & L. NEUENDORF (Eds) *Teaching in Papua New Guinea: a perspective for the nineties* (Port Moresby, University of Papua New Guinea Press).
- NATIONAL POPULATION CENSUS (1990) *Preliminary Figures: Census Division Populations* (Port Moresby, National Statistics Office).
- NEUENDORF, A. (1981) Limits to expanding formal education, in B. ANDERSON (Ed.), *The Right to Learn. The Neglect of Non-formal Education* (Port Moresby, Hebamo Press).

- PAPUA NEW GUINEA TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION (1993) Free education in Papua New Guinea (A Papua New Guinea Teachers' Association analysis), *The Times of Papua New Guinea*, Jan 21.
- RESEARCH AND EVALUATION UNIT (1989) Universal primary education in Papua New Guinea, working paper for the Provincial Ministers of Education (Port Moresby, National Department of Education).
- ROSS, A. (1989) *National Grade One Enrollment Survey—1988* (Port Moresby, National Department of Education, Research and Evaluation Unit).
- SCHON, D. (1983) *The Reflective Practitioner* (New York, Basic Books).
- SMITH, G. (1975) *Education in Papua New Guinea* (Melbourne, Melbourne University Press).
- SMITH, P. & BRAY, M. (1985) Educating an elite: Papua New Guinean enrolment in international schools, in: M. BRAY & P. SMITH (Eds) *Education and Social Stratification in Papua New Guinea*. Melbourne, Longman Cheshire.
- TASK FORCE (1992a, b, c) *Emerging Consensus*, unpublished working papers (Waigani, National Department of Education).
- THOMAS, E. B. (1972) Social consequences of educational change in Papua New Guinea, *Papua New Guinea Journal of Education*, 8, pp. 153–160.
- TSANG, M.C. (1988) *Cost Analysis for Educational Policymaking: A Review of Cost Studies in Education in Developing Countries*, Bridges Research Report, Series No. 3 (Cambridge, MA, Harvard Institute for International Development).
- WEEKS, S. (1991) Strategies to achieve UPE, paper presented at the *Waigani Seminar on Population, Health and Development* (Port Moresby, University of Papua New Guinea).
- WEEKS, S. and GUTHRIE, G. (1984) Papua New Guinea, in: T.R. MURRAY & T.N. POSTLETHWAITE (Eds), *Schooling in the Pacific Islands* (Oxford, Pergamon Press).
- WILLIAMS, F.E. (1935) *The Blending of Cultures: an essay on the aims of native education* (Port Moresby, Government Printer).
- WINGTI, P. (1992) *The Government's Policy Statement by the Prime Minister to the Fifth National Parliament* (Port Moresby, SalPress).
- WORMALD, E. and CROSSLEY, A. (Eds) (1988) *Women and Education in Papua New Guinea and the South Pacific* (Port Moresby, University of Papua New Guinea Press).
- YEOMAN, L. (1985) Universal primary education: factors affecting the enrolment and retention of girls in Papua New Guinea schools, report presented at the UNESCO Regional Review Meeting. Thailand, November.
- ZINKEL, C. (1971) Pidgin Schools in the Highlands, *Papua and New Guinea Journal of Education*, 7, pp. 52–57.