LAW AND ORDER IN CONTEMPORARY PAPUA NEW GUINEA:

AN EXAMINATION OF CAUSES AND POLICY OPTIONS

BY

GARRY WAKANI SALI

A thesis submitted to the Victoria University of Wellington
in fulfilment of the requirements for a
PhD in the Department of Applied Social Sciences

**Victoria University of Wellington
1996**

ABSTRACT

After twenty-one years of independence, problems of law and order remain the single most important issue on the agenda of public debate in Papua New Guinea. The impression is one of rising crime and social disorder, on the one hand, and an ineffective crime prevention capability on the other. Against that background, this thesis offers an exploratory and illuminative account about the nature of crime and delinquency in Papua New Guinea. A general descriptive analysis of causal determinants of crime in Papua New Guinea is offered, with examination of the prevalence of law and order problems in different parts of the country, and the effectiveness of state responses as reported by youths and government officials in the city of Port Moresby, and also by young people and village leaders in the Central Highlands region of the country. The thesis is unique in that it is the first research of its kind to be carried out by a Melanesian scholar belonging to a tribal group whose explanations for crime and delinquency are also given formal acknowledgement. The thesis concludes that as crime and social disorder in Papua New Guinea is manifest with a Melanesian social and cultural setting, it must be examined as a melanesian social problem that requires Melanesian approaches in addressing it.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Contents	Page i
Dedication	ii
Acknowledgements	iii
Map	iv
Chapter One	
Introduction: Journey to Personal Inquiry and Scholarship.	1
Chapter Two	
A Defense of Methodology and Fieldwork Carried Out in Support of this Research.	33
Chapter Three	
A Review of Political History and an Analysis of Informal Social Structures and Contemporary Policy Reforms in Papua New Guinea.	80
Chapter Four	
Theoretical Review of Crime and Delinquency Causation as Developed in the Western World.	129
Chapter Five	
Modernisation and Urbanisation in Developing Countries with Particular Reference to Papua New Guinea	161
Chapter Six	
The Nature and Prevalence of Law and Order Problems in Papua New Guinea	202
Chapter Seven	
State Responses to the Law and Order Problem.	237
Chapter Eight	
An Integrated Model for Use in the Analysis of Law and Order Problems and to Support Policy Reforms in Papua New Guinea	278
Chapter Nine	
Law and Order Policy Reforms for Papua New Guinea: Some Guiding Thoughts for the Future	315
Bibliography	339
Appendices 1-9	360

DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my brother Frank Kamboa Sali and my beloved parents Sali Tanga and Endea Pindaoan.

They loved my education and their visions were for me to pursue my education to the highest level.

When I have just done that, they have not lived to see their visions become a reality.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I came to Victoria University of Wellington to study for the Masters in Social Work, after successfully completing an Honours programme at the University of Papua New Guinea. I had no intention of converting this Masters programme to the PhD level. It was the view of my supervisor, Professor Leon Fulcher, that I should upgrade my studies to PhD status. We drafted a proposal as to how this PhD study would be carried out. This proposal was submitted to the Victoria University Academic Board through the PhD Co-ordinator for consideration and approval. Upon acceptance of this proposal by the Board, I was given provisional admission into the PhD programme in July of 1993.

After being given the "green light", I was confronted with negative beliefs, doubt and lack of self-confidence. This was not only because of my inexperience in my subject of investigation, but also because of an inner disapproving sentiment of fear of studying at the PhD level. However, as a qualified and experienced Professor of Social Work, my supervisor might have noticed some talents within me which I may have never realised myself. In this respect, I owe a debt of gratitude to my supervisor, Professor Leon Fulcher for his foresight of my capabilities. If it was not for him, I could not have written this thesis, and subsequently removed this negative attitude of fear, which may have undermined my potential.

Professor Leon Fulcher's scholarly supervision has been excellent and I could not have asked for anything better. His continued support and encouragement have been exceptionally tremendous and have motivated me to attain this academic edge. I am indebted to him for his invaluable inspirational and constructive suggestions and corrections. In addition to this, the supervision has been more than a student-supervisor relationship. He is an experienced professor who is able to understand who I am, as a person, my capabilities and limitations. In this respect, words are insufficient to express what I really feel but I extend my deepest and sincere "mambo andake" (appreciation) and "yakapilino" (thank you) to him.

My sincere "mambo andake" and "yakapilino" is also extended to my former lecturer and Honours programme supervisor, Dr Bruce Yeates, at the University of Papua New Guinea. His scholarly supervision laid a strong foundation for my further studies. His continued support and encouragement for me to pursue my studies at higher level are worthy of acknowledgment. If it was not for him, I would not have come to New Zealand for my post-graduate studies.

This study would not have been possible without a scholarship provided under the New Zealand Official Development Assistance (NZODA) Scheme administered by the New Zealand Government. This scholarship is funded under a development cooperation programme between New Zealand and Papua New Guinea. While the scholarship was managed by the International Students' Office at the Victoria University of Wellington, it was funded by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. While appreciating all the institutions that manage this programme, I would especially thank the people of New Zealand (the tax payers) for assisting me financially towards my studies in Wellington.

My parents rightfully deserved my very special "mambo-andake" and "yakapilino". My "mona ania" (dear mum) Pindaoan Ende and my "asua" (dad) Sali Tanga would have loved my education, but never lived to see their son completing a PhD thesis. Words are insufficient to satisfactorily express my heartfelt appreciation but let only my "indebtedness" whisper into their ears where ever they are. They were always caring, loving and concerned parents. I owe a dept of gratitude, not only for giving me motherly and fatherly care, but also for their visions for me in a contemporary changing society and thus allowing me to enrol in an alien school.

Nambanya yangoa (my brother), Frank Kamboa Sali deserves my extra special thankfulness for all his financial commitment and his valuable advice. He was someone so special and more than just a brother to me. He loved my education and his vision for me was to pursue my education to the highest level. When I have just done that, he has not lived to see his vision become a reality. "Yangoa! (brother), wherever you are, let my most heartfelt thank you whisper into your ears. I owe you so much".

If there was anyone who equally shared my sad feelings of a tragic family episode, she is my only sister Lyn Nangapingi Sali. We have lost a loving and caring mother and father, and a brother. I understand that the same pain, grief, tears and bitterness which confronted me were felt by my sister. We shared the most gloomy and depressing periods after the passing of our beloved parents and a brother. There is no better way that I would have expressed together our sadness. But this will at least give us some relief and comfort although it may not fully eradicate our deeper sorrows. Thanks are due to her for her ability to cope with life, which gave me the courage to continue my studies. I also would like to extend my thanks to her boy friend, Sande Bill Miname, for his understanding and accepting who she was. They have been of good help to me and I acknowledge them here.

I am indebted to my long line of relatives and friends who have been helpful and supportive throughout my education career. Kelly Kilyali deserves my special heartfelt "thank you". Comparatively, "thank you" alone would not sufficiently compensate for what he has done for me. I owe him so much, not only for accommodation, food and financial assistance, but most importantly for understanding me as a person and who I was. His continued support and words of personal advice and encouragement are praiseworthy. I owe a debt of gratitude to my cousin, Ken Nangan for his initial support while I was struggling to obtain my scholarship from my government in Port Moresby. I am also indebted to him for his visit from Newcastle in Australia, while I was admitted to Wellington Public Hospital. Thanks are due to my long time school mate and a friend Don Misikali Tamandi. His family's support and encouragement are worthy of acknowledgement. My thanks are also due to all other individuals and families who have liked and applauded me for my education, but whom I cannot name here.

Commendations are due to my long line of tribesmen and women for their continuing support and encouragement while I was a student. They are too numerous to list but to name a few: Pano Karatu, Sanga Timbu, Minabenge Ambo, Joseph Kala, Minakaso Pyarambun, John Ambe and others, like village councillor Nge Londakaia have regularly been interested to know how I was

progressing. The fact that my Tangaip tribe observes education as an important part of them, it gave me courage to work with determination to complete my studies at the highest level. What I have written is not only for myself but also for my Tangaip tribe.

I wish to thank my interviewees for their understanding and accepting me and their willingness to be included in my interviews. The youths in particular, despite their anger and frustration over the inability of the state to meet their needs, understood me as a student. They responded to my questions well. Most of the academics and policy makers were helpful to me. They made constructive suggestions and comments. I am indebted particularly to Dinnen Sinclair for his detailed response during the first phase of my fieldwork. Thanks are also due to Ms Angela Gris when she was in the Papua New Guinea High Commission Office for her photocopying materials needed for this thesis. If it was not for kind assistance from those who helped me during my fieldwork, situations could have been hard for me.

I am thankful to Emily Mckenzie for her time in helping the editorial feedback on my English corrections.

Mambo andake yaka-pilyamini

Garry Wakani Sali (Nalea)

CHAPTER ONE

JOURNEY TO PERSONAL INQUIRY AND SCHOLARSHIP

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is not only to introduce the thesis but, most importantly, to examine its genesis. In order to serve its purpose, we divide this chapter into five manageable sections. The first examines my genealogical ancestors, my family background and my identity as a member of a tribal people. The second explores my educational background. This begins from my primary school days through to high school, college, and universities, both home and overseas. The third section looks at a tragic family experience, which has influenced my thesis topic. The fourth section examines how crime has become an emerging social problem in Papua New Guinea. I discuss my perception of the crime problem in my country that influenced my becoming interested in the study. Finally, I introduce the following chapters, examining the structure of the thesis.

This chapter intends to qualify myself as a legitimate Melanesian¹ scholar from the Kompam District of Enga Province, Papua New Guinea.² I was born in a rural and isolated village and raised in a traditional Melanesian life style. The Western form of education introduced to my District was an alien concept, unfamiliar to me and my family. But I had the courage and support to carry on. I firmly believe that, my "traditional and customary ways" are powerful and

---

¹Melanesia is an abstract construct loosely employed to identify the island of New Guinea and its lesser islands, the Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, New Caledonia, Fiji and the Torres Strait Islands. This terminology was introduced by a French navigator Dumont d'Urville in 1832, meaning "black islands", or in this case "islands of black people". In broader usage, Melanesian was used to refer to all the dark-skinned, frizzly-haired peoples of Oceania (Keesing, 1982:3). Papua New Guinea falls within this broad category of Melanesia and is viewed by outsiders as a Melanesian country.

²Kompam lies in the north-east direction of Wabag, a Provincial Headquarter for Enga people, and this province lies in the interior of the mainland.

indispensable. With this in mind, the underlying aim of this thesis should be conceptualised as a "throw of a boomerang" in that the finale must be curved and tied to its beginning. Thus the whole dissertation is centred around the notion that the problem of crime and civil disorder commences from a Melanesian social setting and, therefore, it is a Melanesian problem and, in this respect, requires Melanesian approaches in addressing it.

I applied action-based research techniques that were guided by grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). I was of the view that our interpretation and explanation of the crime problem should be drawn from collected data and information. The research materials gathered alone should help us to develop a theory or an understanding of the law and order situation in Papua New Guinea. It is with this view in mind that I opted for action-based research.

NAMBANYA YUMBANGE-KAUANGE-PI: (MY GENEALOGICAL ANCESTORS)

Nambanya yumbange-kauange-pi were more recently infrequent bands of migrants from the southern end of my village "Kaindan". This was the same and true for most yumbange-Kauange-pi (genealogical ancestors) in the Kompam District. Although, there are myths and stories that unfold how the human species came to be, none have emerged to find a place firmly in our society today. The same is true for the contemporary world, with complicated believable explanations of how the human species came to its existence. However, whilst many have remained plausible accounts worthy merely of leisure entertainment, a few have emerged to be sound, if not complete explanations. Different societies and communities in the globe have different views and perceptions of human existence. Chief amongst these explanations are the theories of "evolution and creation".

Evolution and Creation

The theories of evolution and creation have found a place firmly in contemporary society and emerged to be dominant explanations for human existence. According to the theory of evolution, "the development of the human species has come about as a result of a random process. In many religions, including Christianity, animals and human beings are seen as created by divine intervention. Evolution theory, by contrast, regards the development of the animal and human species as devoid of purpose" (Giddens, 1993:33). With this in mind, Tangaip taraha (tribe) is an integral part of the human species and therefore not excluded from any believable explanations of human existence. In a broader context, the Tangaip taraha may have evolved through the natural processes of human evolution or through creation. Let alone, the truth is revealed by itself.

Charles Darwin, the father of the evolutionary theory, was a great Western scientist, who explained the intricate process of the evolution of life. "Darwin claimed to find a continuity of development from animals to human beings. Our characteristics as human beings, according to him, have emerged from a process of biological change which can be traced back to the initial origins of life on earth, more than three billion years ago" (in Giddens, 1993:32). The pinnacle of the evolution of life was the evolution of the human species. The theory of evolution asserts that the human species developed from a lengthy period of gradual evolutionary change from one form of life to another. The theory affirms that man developed from the ancestors of modern apes, and in this respect, I suggest that man may develop gradually further into another form. This is yet to unfold, yet the theory stands as a subject of continuing debate among contemporary mankind.

However, this explanation has not influenced my people (Tangaipu tribe), probably because they do not know the theory of evolution but, most importantly, because they have their own explanations of how human beings

came in to existence. Conversely, despite having their own explanations of how they came to be, the theory of creation has influenced my people. This was made possible as the result of late nineteenth century colonisation. The penetration of colonialists meant bringing of Western civilisation together with the notion of "creation". Creation was a religious doctrine for the Jewish people but has spread across many countries of the globe.

The theory of "creation" asserts that, human beings are created by a supreme being called "God". There are different perceptions of "God the Creator". What influenced my taraha, Kompiam people and most Papua New Guinea societies, was the notion of Christianity. Christianity developed out of the Jewish tradition based on the idea of trinity: God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit. The chief teaching, among others, asserts that "In the beginning, when God created the universe, the earth was formless and desolate. The raging ocean that covered everything was engulfed in total darkness, and the power of God was moving over the water". (Genesis, chapter 1, verses 1-2). "...God made all things, not one thing in all creation was made without him". (John, Chapter 1, verse 3).

Christianity emerged to be the only destiny and the ultimate goal people must strive for. God is an eternal supernatural being and those who obey and follow His teachings will be saved from death and will have eternal life. My taraha, like most other societies, are influenced profoundly by the Christianity doctrines, principles and teachings. Our own explanations of human existence, in the form of myths and tales, have not advanced but are on a tightrope or, if not, on the verge of extinction.

Myths and tales

Myths and tales are an important part of societies in Kompiam and Papua New Guinea. In every household stories are told of the past, of how things, events and human species came into existence. Whilst some of these myths and tales

are prophetic in nature, many explain how things originated, and still others account for past events. Quite interestingly, like every society in Kompiam, my taraha have a corresponding explanation of how human species came into existence.

It seems people may have evolved from different animals depending on how the story unfolds and ends. (See chapter 3). It customarily begins with "yu ngi mendepa..." (once upon a time...), or "yu wamba" (a long time ago). The story usually ends with "tenge dokonya katao dopa piyalami" (and for that reason it happened), or "dopa pilyamo" (it is happening) and "dop pitaha" (it will happen). Quite a few myths hold that the human race may have developed from birds, some say from snakes and still others name different types of mammals. There is no single explanation like evolution and creation, but a range of stories that tell the story of human existence.

These myths and stories are full of "maybe"s, "might"s, "if"s and "but"s. None of these stories firmly claim our existence. There are various stories of how the human species came to be and these are worthy of further investigation. Perhaps the failure of these stories to influence both adjoining and my own taraha members resulted in their decision to have faith and believe in creation and Christianity. However, what my taraha firmly understood was that their ancestors were adventurous travellers. They migrated to places that suited their survival. With this in mind, my analysis moves to examine anthropological and archaeological interpretations of early existence and migration processes.

Recent migrants

Anthropological and archaeological studies claim that seaborne migrants from South East Asia began arriving in small numbers about 50,000 years ago at a place, now known as New Guinea, the second largest island in the world. These migrants sailed to and spread out as far as the adjoining north east islands, along the coast and into the interior of the island of New Guinea. The

Highlanders were some of the earliest agriculturalists in the world. Archaeological research indicates that man cultivated and domesticated animals and lived in the Wahgi Valley of Mount Hagen in the Highlands.

People may have migrated and spread to other parts of the Highlands like Wabag and Kompam from the Wahgi Valley. During research in Kompam, elders informed that they themselves were the offspring of migrant ancestors. Hearing from Tangaip taraha elders, one could gather that there is no long history of human existence in all of Kompam. All one could hear from the elders was that "we came from that direction", meaning the people of Kompam were migrants. Through that logic, as a legitimate scholar from the Tangaip taraha of the Kompam District, my ancestors were migrants. Everybody concedes that they migrated to the Tangaip taraha for variety of reasons. It may have been because of tribal conflict, shortage of food, or may have been out of pure desire to travel and discover another place.

Tangaip Taraha (Tribe)

Historically, my taraha was a small grouping within the larger Sambe taraha in the Kompam District. The smaller group had a disagreement over a "bone of a cassowary" with the larger dominant Sambe Taraha. The story unfolds that one of the members of the small group stole this animal bone from the dominant Sambe, but denied it strongly. Even close relatives supported the culprit. The whole group was chased out by force by the dominant power who identified them as thieves, liars and downright dishonest people.

The name of my taraha, "Tangaip", has since been associated with this conflict with the dominant Sambe taraha. The word "tanga" in my language means "deny" and apparently my ancestors who were chased out were classified as "tanga lenge palu" (a group of people who deny) and labelled as "tangaip" (having the status of tanga lenge palu). Therefore, what is now Tangaip taraha migrated to the current Kaingan (my village) and settled down. There were

others in a similar situation who migrated also and identified themselves as belonging to Tangaip taraha.

The contemporary Tangaip taraha has a proud and happy population of 250 people. This figure is one of the lowest amongst the taraha in the Kompam District. The philosophy is that the bigger the social grouping, the more solidarity, unity, cooperation and teamwork are reduced. One would observe that smaller taraha in Kompam tend to unite and cooperate more than the bigger taraha. This is true for my taraha, where solidarity and collaboration amongst team members is arguably the best in Kompam District. We regard the historical context of the formation of our taraha as only events of the past.

However, when my ancestors migrated under the banner of "convicts", although it was one man's crime, there became two divisions within the taraha. Those who morally and otherwise supported the criminal identified themselves as "Mambo", while those who quite reluctantly supported him for the sake of identification with the group were seen as "Lokaeetae". Other migrants that joined the Tangaip Taraha voluntarily teamed up with either "Mambo" or "Lokaeetae". Within these two leading groups, there are some minor sub-groupings, which are identified as "palu-u" (group) by "taeyok" (blood), or "pongo itange" (stem of a penis). These palu-u are so small that they need not be explained. The question is, where do I belong?

My family belongs to the Lokaeetae palu-u and thus I am part of this clan and my identity remains as member of this palu-u. The members of Lokaeetae palu-u are my immediate family and they see me as belonging to them. In times of need, these are the people who help me most. For instance, when I married my wife in Christmas 1993, my palu-u were in the forefront of organisation and contributing resources for payment. In this regard, my identity as belonging to the Lokaeetae palu-u is important. However, having become educated this far, I do not want to see and identify myself as totally belonging to Lokaeetae palu-u but more as a legitimate scholar from "Tangaipu-u" (belonging to Tangaip

taraha). I am happy to be a son of Tangaip taraha not necessarily for identity's sake but most importantly as a member of a taraha that gives me pride, respect, love and care.

Like many other societies, there are arguments and conflicts within the Tangaip taraha but as we saw, our unity is arguably unique amongst tribes in Kompam. This creates a feeling of cheerful pride amongst the Tangaip taraha members. This led to the creation of the nick-name "Naleya", (people of Tangaip taraha) given to members of the Tangaip taraha. (This nick-name is exclusively designated to members of the Tangaipu-u).

In this respect, I am writing this dissertation not only as a proud son of "Tangaip" but also as a delighted product of "Naleya". My status as "little bigman" extends to Kompam, Enga and to Papua New Guinea as a whole. If this is to be the case, then why not let it be? It does not take away the love of my home of grass where I grew up as a baby, child and a boy. In this regard, my primary identity as "Tangaip", and the "Naleya" spirit remains with me, for it was partly through an identity of "Naleya" that I strived for academic excellence. With this in mind, let us turn to examine the inside story of my immediate family.

My family

Having been raised in a nuclear family, I consider it as the immediate social institution that influenced and shaped me as a person. It was in interaction with my parents and my elder brother, and later my younger sister, that I came to realise and understand what life was all about. My socialisation or first stage of learning began with my mother. The first thing I saw and the first words I spoke were within the confines of and exclusively under my mother's care. When I grew old enough, it is custom and tradition that I had to gradually move away from my mother and associate with my father.

The father is usually (although in rare cases the mother) seen as the one who has most influence over his (boy) children's behaviours in the Kompiam society. In this respect, I learned the first two things from my father in a "man's house" (a separate house for men only): **take-e** (wisdom) and **mana pi-i** (teaching). Both "take-e" and "mana pi-i" were similar in nature, in that each teaches about the norms, values and customs of society. However, "take-e" extends further to the secret and confidential information of the family, palu-u and taraha. For instance, my father had secret equipment, methods and words to speak to our ancestors and secrets to the nature of catching ill fish in the river. These were passed on to me and I keep them secretly as "take-e". For continuity, this take-e must pass on to my son/s. In other instances, my father told me his enemies and enemies of Lokaeetae palu-u and Tangaipu taraha, so that I can be careful at all times.

The "mana pi-i" was the most important thing I learned from my father. He taught me the generally accepted behaviours of our taraha. The traditional ritual stories, accepted customs and traditions of the society were continuously reminded by him. For instance, in a society where tribal warfare was seen as part of life, the "mana pi-i" was: "You must get up early in the morning and never forget your bow and arrow. Watch out for the enemy and always be alert. If the enemy attacks, always fight back and never look back and run away. If you do, you are not only a coward but, most importantly, you defeat yourself, and at the same time you lose your land to the enemy". Therefore, this "aggressive behaviour" was a socialised part of the society through "mana pii".

My now deceased father's words were a clear, if not complete, take-e and mana pi-i. They penetrated deep down into my heart. The take-e and mana pi-i must be part of child's socialisation in Kompiam, and the concepts also apply in other Highlands societies and to the larger Melanesian communities. Even after the penetration of colonialists in the Melanesian region, teaching of cultural values and norms were and are very much a part of life. However, putting the traditional wisdom and knowledge into practice is another thing. In this respect,

I will point out in chapters 3 and 8 that our traditional values, norms and principles are balancing on a tightrope so to speak. It is tempting to blame colonisation, but then again the indigenous peoples have failed to appreciate the Western and the traditional as both being a part of life. Instead, they try to make sense of these by harmonising through assimilation.

Kompam, the last of the unknowns, was discovered by Australian explorers in the early 1950s. Since then, the pace of development through the processes of Westernisation and urbanisation has been arguably rapid. This may be a subject of debate in a district where almost all the population resides in a rural way of life. However, the key point is that people's attitudes, behaviours and perceptions are changing. For many, they have already altered and they find it difficult to return to traditional ways.

When the colonialists penetrated into Kompam, I was not born into the world, as yet, and not even forming in my mother's warmth. A decade after the penetration of foreigners, in the form of Australians, I may have been born around the late 1960s. My illiterate parents did not keep a record of my birth. I was the second in a family of two boys and a girl. Our illiterate parents were what I could describe as "subsistence farmers". They produced food and domesticated animals sufficient for self-consumption. It was difficult and involved a lot of labour to make gardens, look after animals and raise children. The couple raised three of us with good spacing in between, kept us healthy and taught us with good wisdom and knowledge. While our parents did not have knowledge regarding the formal education system and its significance, they did have a broad vision for us. They moulded us properly by giving us fatherly and motherly care that we needed at our early stage of development. I am of the view that this was an important contributing factor for my brother, my sister and myself to achieve some success in the Western education system.

EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND

Going to primary school

My village, Kaindan, is a typical remote Highlands village situated about two hours walk from Kompam District. The first primary school was established by the Australian colonial administration in the Kompam station in 1962. Four years after its establishment, my parents enrolled my brother into the school. He completed his six years of primary education successfully in 1972, and was selected to continue on to high school the ensuing year. He performed well enough at high school and was selected to enter the University of Papua New Guinea to do a Preliminary year in 1977. He was amongst a few from the district and first the from Tangaip taraha to enrol at university.

I was encouraged by my brother's accomplishments in the formal Western education system and developed my interest to go to school, hoping that I may be successful too. I consistently had a positive mind to follow in my brother's footsteps and even to perform better than him. I waited eagerly but patiently. However, my father, Sali Tanga, had other things in mind initially. He wanted me to stay in the village and assist him to make gardens, break firewood and get myself involved in traditional ritual practices. However, I saw my brother coming from school every day and he talked to me in a different language. When I asked what he was speaking, he replied, "I am speaking the Whiteman's language. You only have to go to school to learn it". I asked my father to let me go to school but he would not allow it. I took the risk of running away from him and tried unsuccessfully to enrol myself into primary school. He, then, saw my determination and enthusiasm in going to school. He changed his mind and allowed me to enrol myself in 1976, five months after my country's political independence from Australia.

My father was a man of understanding and did his best for me and my brother to gain education. He would get up early in the morning around five o'clock and cook breakfast and lunch for us to take to school. He was very supportive

all through my education until his death. Valuable advice was thrown to me or my brother. I can recall some of his more memorable words when he would advise: "During my time, my father advised me to make gardens, break firewood, fetch water, look after pigs, be aware and look out for enemies and so forth. Now you are entering a modern era through the Whiteman's education. Get the best out of it and perform well so that you can be competitive with other educated ones like yourself".

The same was taught to my brother. For a period of six years, I got up early in the morning at around six o'clock and ate breakfast, usually in the form of sweet potato, taking two or three to school. It was tiring but I had to go because that was what I wanted. I never missed a day in school even if it was raining heavily. The important point is that I went to community school not because I knew what formal education was, but for the sake of going, without knowing how the school system would influence my life and myself as a person.

Whilst attending Kompam Community School from 1976 to 1981, I performed my best but was not amongst the best students. There were a few top students, other average students like myself and others behind. I did not perform poorly, although, rarely did I come top in monthly tests. I was confident of continuing on to secondary school and was not surprised when my name was read out in a public gathering, among six other pupils.

Going to High School

Although, my selection to attend high school was not new to the family, we were all excited and thrilled at the prospect and what was to unfold as a result. The whole community of Tangaip taraha was also delighted, and their happiness was indicated by a contribution to the payment of my school fees. Going to high school was a personal achievement for me and for my family, but the question arises as to why the whole taraha was thrilled. This was most probably because of tribal rivalry and supremacy. There is a feeling of superiority over each other amongst tribal groups. In our contemporary society, education is one of the key factors in this tribal supremacy. The number of educated people in a taraha and the type of work one does in the modern cash economy and in the public sector is an important factor. In this respect, my selection was applauded by the community because going to high school meant my inclusion amongst the educated elites from the Tangaip.

Going to a boarding high school, meant going away from my immediate family and community. The first week of my high school life was terrible and I felt home sick, although I was only some kilometres away from home. I felt like giving everything up and going back to the village. As days passed by, I made new friends and then started to settle down. I had a good four years as a high school student.

It was a great feeling and cheerful moment each time students were asked to go home for term and Christmas breaks. This was not just to get a break from school work, but an opportunity to see parents and other members of the community. At the village, my parents and the community greeted me and treated me properly, gave me the best food and reserved me the best sleeping place. I enjoyed such treatment each time I went home. Even up to university and now, it is a wonderful feeling to go home and be united with family members and the community. Turning back to high school, how did I perform?

I was still an average student. I was not amongst the top students and not amongst the bottom students. I could only dream of going to the University of Papua New Guinea, after being inspired by my brother. I looking at my academic performance, university was beyond my reach. However, my interest and determination never faded away. But even my internal marks could not match the requirement for university.

When it came to filling in a "school leaver's form" for career selection, I was determined to apply for one of the national high schools (senior high school before entering university) in Papua New Guinea. I was, however, advised by a guidance teacher not to apply against my inclination. I applied for a "Certificate in Business Development" training at the then Administrative College in Port Moresby as advised. In the grade ten final examination, I performed better than some of the top students. Had I not listened to the so-called expert advice, the grading that I obtained could have been sufficient enough for an automatic selection to attend one of the national high schools.

Going to College and University

After completing grade 10 at Wabag High School, I returned to my village and waited patiently and confidently that I would be selected according to my choice. Not surprisingly, I received my letter of selection. I flew to the college in 1986 for a two and a half year "Certificate in Business Development" course.

In retrospect, 1986 was a very special year spent with my brother, who was also at the college for that year, sponsored by his department. I worked extra hard, not only to pass my exams but also to prove to my brother that I could perform even better at university. He saw how I worked hard, and asked whether I was interested in applying for studies at the University of Papua New Guinea. I responded with interest positively.

Coincidentally, in the middle of that year, an advertisement appeared in our daily newspaper (Post Courier) calling for applications to do a preliminary year at the University of Papua New Guinea in 1987. I applied for a space, my application was considered and I was given a place. I was extremely excited, as was my brother.

My dream came true when I registered myself as a "preliminary year" student at the University of Papua New Guinea in 1987. I had ended up at the university I had dreamed about, and knew that hard work was required to prove my worth as a university student. Studies were difficult at preliminary year level. In each quarter of the year, we went through a selection process and those who did not meet the established standard of the university were eliminated. I only held my breath and only managed to scrape through.

I was not the top student nor was I brilliant amongst the rest of the students, merely an average student who performed and maintained at a satisfactory level. I devoted time and energy and dedicated myself to my studies at the university. After successfully completing the preliminary and foundation years, I enrolled myself into the Bachelor of Arts in Social Work programme offered by the Department of Anthropology and Sociology of the University of Papua New Guinea. I should admit that I registered myself into the programme not because I had some specific interests or preconceived knowledge but only because I had to enrol into a programme which matched my grading at foundation year.

In 1989, I developed an interest in the Social Work programme as I took more of the courses offered. I performed the best I could and graduated with a Bachelor of Arts in Social Work. I also qualified myself as a candidate for the Honours programme in Social Work and after a year of study, was awarded an Honours Degree at the University of Papua New Guinea in 1992. Let us now turn to examine the Papua New Guinea education system and its structure then.

PNG Education System (1976-1992)

As can be observed above, the education system in Papua New Guinea was competitive. Students were measured within the context of the values and norms of the introduced Western school system. Punctuality, cleanliness, obedience, performance, standard requirements and so forth were all important factors of measurement in the formal school system. Students who felt that they were unfairly treated by the education system decided voluntarily to discontinue school and gave up. Students who had the courage to meet the challenge had to meet expected standards also to proceed to the next stage. Students who performed below required standards were pushed out of the school system. Thus, one must perform well and have comparative advantage among fellow students to continue on. It must be hurting and frustrating to accept being pushed out.

I strove intensely to progress in the "dog-eat-dog" type of education system in Papua New Guinea. If I had slipped off the track, I keep on guessing what I would be doing now. There was no such thing as "failing", but the problem in the education system was "not enough spaces". Students could not fit into the limited places in the schools in Papua New Guinea. With this, the analysis continues with my education background.

Going to an Overseas University

After completing an Honours Degree at the University of Papua New Guinea, my interest developed for further post-graduate studies at Masters and PhD Level. With the help of Dr Bruce Yeates, a Senior Lecturer in the Social Work programme at the University of Papua New Guinea, I applied for studies at New Zealand Universities through the New Zealand High Commission in Port Moresby to do Masters in Social Work. My application was considered and I was offered a place at Victoria University of Wellington and a scholarship under

the Official Development Assistance (ODA) offered by the New Zealand Government. I accepted the offer and flew to Victoria University.

Upon arrival, I met Professor Leon Fulcher, who was to be my supervisor, the Chairperson of the then Department of Sociology and Social Work.³ I was welcomed into the Department and asked what my interest of study was. I responded: "Crime Amongst the Youths in Port Moresby". I did some research into crime and delinquency and started taking some notes. While in my fourth week at Victoria University, my supervisor asked me if I would be interested in changing my Masters programme to that of a PhD. I was in fact scared and worried that I may not accomplish anything in the end by choosing this course of study. Nevertheless, after some discussion we altered my programme of study and I was given provisional admission into a PhD programme. Initially, my research was confined to youth crime in Port Moresby but as the research developed, it became necessary to alter the course of the research and examine crime in a general context as a social problem in Papua New Guinea.

We turn now to examine the saga of a tragic family episode and how this led to an early marriage.

THE SAGA OF A TRAGIC FAMILY EPISODE

I can only describe it as a tragic episode of my life. How bitter it is for someone to continue their education while absorbing a tragic, sad or merely unpleasant family episode. The saddest fact in life (in my opinion) is when family members pass away. My parents and my brother all passed away while I was a student at the University of Papua New Guinea. I am survived by my sister.

In 1987, while I was doing my preliminary year, my brother complained of losing part of his eyesight. One time he fainted in Port Moresby and I was worried.

---

³Professor Leon Fulcher is now the Chairperson of the Department of Applied Social Sciences.

This was a sign of what was worse to come. Clearly, the indications were there, and it was not long before this internal deterioration took its course. We went to the local private health clinics and hospital but medical officers only made available pharmaceutical substances. The internal cause was not diagnosed. This highlights the notion of a developing country with the hallmarks of an underdeveloped health care system.

It was in 1987 and during the 1988 Christmas break, while I was back in my village, that my brother completely lost his eyesight. Soon after, he was flown from Port Moresby to Goroka Hospital in the Highlands. A specialist surgeon diagnosed a growing brain tumour had caused the loss of eyesight. The surgeon operated on my brother to remove part of the nerve system hoping that he would recover but sadly this was not to be. We were advised that a brain tumour was very serious and that doctors could do nothing further. We came out of the hospital and as the days passed by, I observed that my brother's behaviour and his ability to think things out were changing and fading away. I was only thinking in tears that "the good times that we had together as brothers were gone. I do not know what the future holds for me but only time would tell". I was not the only one shocked and saddened by this. So, too, were our parents and our sister, his wife and son, the Lokaeetae palu-u, the Tangaip taraha and of course friends and relatives from Kompiam. All were stunned and grieved at the tragic news. Our parents were totally helpless and depressed on hearing that their son had lost both his eyesight and was affected by a brain tumour. While my brother was battling with his brain tumour, both my parents passed away within a space of two years.

My dear departed Asua (dad), Sali Tanga, and my beloved deceased Ania (mum), Pindaoan Ende, passed away in 1989 and 1990 respectively while I was a student at the University of Papua New Guinea. The cause of their death was an unknown illness, but would have been identified if we had gone to a

hospital.⁴ However, I am firmly of the view that our parents were worried about their first son. They were totally depressed, dejected and grieved in tears. All of a sudden, death met them and they passed away in sadness under stress.

My only loved Yangoya (brother), Frank Kamboa Sali, who had been to the university from which I later graduated, passed away in 1992, after five years of suffering from blindness and the pain from becoming paralysed. The cause of the brain tumour was unknown and a mystery to me but I have not given up asking why. I will continue to ask until such time as the answers can be revealed.

The saga of this tragic family episode led directly to what I feel was "an early marriage" for me. This tragic family episode happened while I was a student at the University of Papua New Guinea. I am of the view that, being a student, one needs support from his or her immediate family. Not necessarily financial support, but more, an inner feeling of comfort, respect and love for oneself and for them (family). When I observed my late brother being affected by a brain tumour, the passing of my father in 1988, and when it became somehow certain that my mum would pass away sooner or later, I was immediately confronted with hopes of another someone who could give me comfort and relief. I started having a de-facto relationship with a girl from Kompiam for five years and circumstances eventually led to an early marriage for me. I understand that the relationship served its purpose. The relationship was squarely and purely for comfort and relief but it was socially criminal for me to forsake her. Before our marriage, we had two cute little children, who have strengthened and comforted me even further. I have missed them so much since 1989 that it hurts me with quite the similar emotion of losing my parents and my brother. While this feeling of "being together with my family" had developed and remained constantly, at the same time, the question remained:

---

⁴As a family, we could not afford to pay for transport fares and medical fees. Mum and Dad died in pain without seeking health services because they were isolated from the main health centre.

"Why and how did my brother die?" I am left with one possible explanation to the cause of his death: sorcery, the deadly mafia.

In Papua New Guinea societies, cultural beliefs in sorcery are very much alive. The cause of the brain tumour that caused my brother's death will remain a mystery but I, my Tangaip taraha and my family strongly believe that his death may have been related to sorcery. Sorcery is practised in much of our society over jealousy, anger and competition. (See chapter 5 for an explanation on how this deadly Mafia works). The practice of sorcery and witchcraft is considered evil and, thus, deviant behaviour. Although, Papua New Guinea law does not specifically define sorcery as crime, it is against the general principles and spirit of the Constitution. It is in this respect that sorcery is a crime both in sociological and legal terms. (See below in this chapter for definition of crime).

If sorcery was involved in the death of my brother, then I question "why one used such an evil practice that effectively ended his life?" Why do people practise what are considered immoral, wicked, sinful and deviant acts? The practice of sorcery is in fact a violent, antagonistic, hostile and anti-social behaviour. These are the influences that shaped my interest in the study of crime. In this respect, the topic of my study that concerns "law and order problems in Papua New Guinea" may not directly relate to the saga of my family experiences but at least I have found a topic that should give me some satisfaction in life of "why sorcery?" and "why crime?". Only then may I find some answers which may reveal the truth of the death of "nambanya mendai iki yangoya" (my only brother) Frank Kamboa Sali.

CRIME AS A SOCIAL PROBLEM

In addition to the above, I was concerned, if not worried to the point of restlessness, at the reported prevalence of law and order problems particularly in the urban centres of Papua New Guinea. The media reports of white-collar crimes, political and public corruptions, social disorders, property crimes and

serious crimes signalled that the crime problem was getting progressively worse. Although there were no statistics to indicate significant increases of law and order problems, the media outcry and the public perception denoted that the situation was getting out of hand. The State was incapable of maintaining law and order and the crime problem was reported to threaten the unity and stability of Papua New Guinea. The country was moving towards anarchy rule. (See Chapters 6 and 8).

Whilst studying at the University of Papua New Guinea and living in Port Moresby, I had witnessed some of the serious and bloody murder cases of prominent public figures. For instance, the shooting of radio personality, the late John Billy Tokame in 1994 in his house. Many other civil citizens have fallen victims of mainly frustrated youths who have been pushed out of the formal education system. In Port Moresby, there were reported cases of bank robberies, burglaries, breaking and entering, theft, ethnic tribal group fights, riots, and so forth .

When I heard and saw people being victims of violent and restless criminals, I observed every situation in the context of my late brother. Further, I was agitated by the threatening and horrifying crime situation. In this respect, I was not only interested, but had the burning desire to explore the questions: Why is there an increasing law and order problem? What are the causal determinants of law and order problems? How can we minimise the scope of the crime problem in Papua New Guinea? These questions were building in my mind when I came to Victoria University of Wellington. Fortunately, the university gave me an opportunity to explore criminal behaviours in my country at a deeper level. I was determined to understand the causal context of law and order problems in Papua New Guinea. With this in mind, the analysis below both defines and differentiates between the more Western technical terms "crime" and "delinquency", and the Papua New Guinea household name "law and order problems".

THE MEANING OF CRIME

The [concept of the] term "crime" is used to describe wrongs. "Wrong" of course is a moral concept. The definition of crime rests with moral grounds and thus, with moral judgement. The wrongs are enormous and the term "crime" cannot encompass all the wrongs done. Therefore, the definition of crime varies from time to time and place to place. Crime is not a universal phenomena. A crime for one society may not be a crime for another society.

There are both social and legal definitions of crime. The sociologists viewpoint of "crime" is observed as anti-social behaviour. That is, those behaviours seen as deviant and not consistent with norms of the society. However, in the legal sense, crime is narrowed as Tappan (1947) captured:

Crime is an intentional violation of criminal law, committed without defense or excuse, and penalised (more correctly punishable) by the state (in Nettler, 1984:17).

As can be observed, this raises certain issues. There is no crime without a state or formal social structure to punish the breach of law; where the law does not justify an act that would otherwise be offensive; without intention; and where the offender is deemed incompetent. Clearly, the legal definition of crime narrows the wrongs done by a person.

If an offensive act, like murder, is not proven before a court of law, then the legal definition would not classify that as crime. This would be morally wrong, although the court may hold that the offender is not guilty and therefore not guilty of a crime. Even the integrated use of both the legal and the sociological definitions of crime still narrow the interpretation of wrongs done. We take the definition from Hagan (1985:49):

Crime is a kind of deviance, which in turn consists of variation from a social norm, that is proscribed by criminal law.

There may be some wrongs done that are considered morally wrong which may not be forbidden by the criminal law. One sees that crime is a particular kind of deviance that is proscribed in criminal law and also narrows from other anti-social behaviours. In our context, and for the purpose of this work, crime may be regarded as a behaviour which is unacceptable in society. Further, anti-social behaviour might be caused by unfavourable socio-economic conditions, biological deficiencies, and psychological disturbances within the family and the surrounding environment.⁵

In Papua New Guinea, references to the "law and order problem" have become synonymous with crime. The term "law and order problem" has been used interchangeably to denote anti-social behaviour. It includes both sociological and legal definitions. Law and order is seen by Clifford, et al, (1984:6) where:

First, it is used to mean peace and good order and second it is used to mean peace and good order established by the state.

The first meaning can be linked to traditional Papua New Guinea stateless societies. The people aspired for an ideal, peaceful, calm and nonviolent society. This is not to say that there was a period of total grace and harmony among the members of the society. There were disruptions in the order of the society, so therefore, there was a law and order problem. As can be seen, the community did not define law and order. It was an aspiration for an ideal life, something people valued and wanted to achieve.

The second meaning referred to by Clifford is "peace and good order established by the state" in Papua New Guinea. If it is established by the State, in this sense then the State establishes social mechanisms with the aim of achieving "peace and good order". The State defines certain codes of conduct very clearly and then uses its agencies to enforce order. If any members of the

---

⁵The term "delinquency" is used throughout this thesis. It is used to describe anti-social behaviour amongst young people, that if committed by an adult would be crime.

society violate or deviate from the proscribed rules, then there is disruption and hence, a problem of law and order.

As can be seen, the first meaning of a law and order problem relates to a sociological viewpoint of crime, focussed on anti-social behaviour. The second meaning relates to the legal definition of crime. In this study the sociological explanation of crime and the law and order problem in Papua New Guinea is preferred to the legal definition.

We are guided by a view that the State and legal definition limits the scope of interpretation placed on particular behaviours. It should be noted, however, that the sociological viewpoint encompasses behaviour that is proscribed by criminal law, as well as general behaviour, unacceptable to the community. The terms "crime" and "law and order problem", therefore, will be used interchangeably throughout this study. With this in mind, let us turn to examine the rationale of this dissertation.

RATIONALE

Papua New Guinea remains an underdeveloped nation. This means that it is subjected to many-faceted processes inherent in the operation of the modern world system. As Amarshi, et al, (1979:xv) wrote about Papua New Guinea:

Amongst the hallmarks of ongoing underdevelopment are: in the economic sphere, progressive dislocation of the economy, dualism between the domestic economy and the export enclaves, deepening divergence between domestic resources and domestic demand, an overwhelming export orientation, a stunted manufacturing sector, chronic dependence, the absence of an internal dynamic and coherence; in the social sphere, a perverse class structure shaped more by external than by internal pressures, characterized by extreme inequalities, and notable for the persistence of high rates of unemployment and underemployment; and in the political sphere, instability, acute dependence upon external forces, bureaucratism and authoritarian trends.

Since these words were written, it can be argued that there have been several unsuccessful attempts to bail the economy out of being an underdeveloped nation. Papua New Guinea follows closely the premisses of underdevelopment theory. After twenty years of independence, the country remains an underdeveloped nation. The answer to the question of "why?" has many manifestations, but I am of the view that we should examine this within the context of our own traditional social structures.

Throughout this study, I will maintain where appropriate that Papua New Guinea societies were small, stateless and self-contained on the very margin of the world economy. However, by the slow and uneven process of colonisation since the 19th century, the region has been incorporated into the realm of the world capitalist system. From then on, the features of underdevelopment were unavoidable and already in existence. The most important questions are concerned with how the country tried to appropriately fit into the modern, peculiar and changing social and economic environment of the Pacific and South East Asia.

The attitudes of the colonialists raise many questions. Although they will go down in our history as a civilising influence, at the same time they created divisions, failed to recognise and develop the indigenous cultures, failed to educate nationals, promote political awareness and so forth. Their primary interests were raw materials to supply their own factories.

The question is, to what extent are we better off, if everything the colonialists produced was favourable to the needs of the indigenous people? It is certainly the case that we are capable of making considered decisions about the management of our country. However, the most important fact goes back to our social structures and the question of "who we are" The social structures of our society are diverse. Almost everyone (more than 80 per cent) lives a rural way of life. Our views, perceptions, knowledge, comprehension and ways of life are traditionally determined and guided by our own cultures. The Western

concept of parliamentary democracy and bureaucratic administration is alien and peculiar to our nature. Since independence, Papua New Guinea has not accommodated itself comfortably to the influences of Western culture and all the features of underdevelopment remain. Many adverse repercussions can be expected as a result of underdevelopment. It is within this context that I would argue, therefore, that the problems of law and order are to be expected part of Papua New Guinean life. (See Chapter Nine for discussion on crime as an inescapable social phenomenon for Papua New Guinea).

Across the globe as a whole, the crime problem has historically challenged the human race and continues to be a major issue around the world. It is deeply inherent in our contemporary society and therefore has become part of us. No society can expect or hope for an absolutely safe and crime free environment. However, it is my firm belief that policies geared towards addressing crime problems must be based on cultural values and norms of any given society. The arguments and quarrels in Tangaip taraha are best solved by elders and community leaders using Tangaip cultural values and norms. In this respect, the crime problem in Papua New Guinea can be best addressed traditionally through first acknowledging then applying Western institutions and concepts as instruments of technology.

In an effort to address the crime problem, one needs to understand the causal context. In this regard, a study of the problems of law and order is very important. With this in mind, the primary aim of my research, as outlined in my proposal for fieldwork in Port Moresby and Kompam:

The research is exploratory and illuminative in nature in that little attention has been directed towards the particular issue of crime and delinquency in my country. The research seeks to refine hypotheses that can be used in subsequent research to help explain and respond to the law and order problem (Sali, 1993:7).

It is not my intention, therefore, to test a particular criminological theory, or to present a critique of specific explanations. Nor am I interested in deep

criminological thoughts. This study is presented not only from a layman's point of view about crime but from a perspective where the author himself tries to understand the questions of what, why, and how regarding the problems of law and order in his own country. Hence, I intend to establish the causal determinants, prevalence, state responses and propose some guiding thoughts that may assist policy makers to address the problems of law and order in my country.

As a social thinker, I began this study undertaking a review of the literature on theories of crime and delinquency causation as developed in the Western world. I realised that these theories were based almost entirely on research carried out in the Western world and thus primarily descriptive of that society. There remains an implicit but untested assumption that theories and research findings would generally fit other societies like Papua New Guinea (Clinard and Abbott, 1973:3). Other scholars (for instance Evans-Pritchard, 1963) challenge such an assumption saying "the direct transference of many criminological theories developed in the industrialised nations may well be totally inappropriate in a developing country, since initial conditions vary greatly from society to society." (Clinard and Abbott, 1973:5). There is a fear that the applicability and validity of a theory may not be appropriate or relevant to our situation. "To be applicable criminological theories must be tested, modified, retested, and again modified until they can account for exceptions or at least predict exceptions" (Clinard and Abbott, 1973:2).

At this phase in its developmental history, this would not be easy to manage in Papua New Guinea. First, there is a shortage of specific data illustrating the overall problem of criminality in the country. Second, such research might expect to encounter problems and even resistance at each stage of the research process. The overall project might be hindered by restrictions imposed by customs, taboos and values. Many technical problems exist, such as the inability to administer questionnaires to a largely illiterate population or to contend with local taboos about answering questions (Hudson, 1959;

Stycos, 1960; in Clinard and Abbott, 1973:5). In Papua New Guinea, the diverse social and cultural integration hinders a truly comparative criminology.

There is a rapid development process underway in Papua New Guinea. Yet, more than 80 percent of Papua New Guineans continue in a rural way of life. It is envisaged that in the near future this will be affected by the spread of education and by industrial change and urbanisation. For example, 1995 saw the arrival of the first telephone in my village and the first Secondary School in my District. Maybe, then, truly comparative criminological research may be readily achieved. Clifford, when stressing the importance of attempting cross-cultural criminological research maintained that:

even if it may not be methodologically sound we can not let... present opportunities slip by without doing the little we can. We may not have the background we may require but even crude or speculative work at this stage may be worth a dozen carefully contrived and methodologically sound investigations later when the chance to compare societies has gone by (1965:18).

It is within this conceptual framework that this analysis has been developed. As maintained above, our purpose is not to test criminological theories to ascertain whether they are applicable by applying exacting methodological procedures. The aim is to illuminate these criminological theories and examine them as possible explanations in our context and situation. We make an effort to explore these criminological theories and interpret them in a Papua New Guinean context. The western theories may still be "applicable elsewhere, however, provided that the conditions, factors, or variables discovered were found to apply to other societies" (Clinard and Abbott, 1973:3). With this in mind, let us turn to examine the structure of the thesis.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

This chapter serves its purpose by introducing the themes of the thesis. The chapter was developed by introducing myself as a legitimate Melanesian

scholar, born into the Tangaip taraha of Kompam District, Papua New Guinea. The chapter endeavoured to identify myself, my educational background and how I became interested in the study of law and order problems in Papua New Guinea. This study was not only influenced by a tragic family episode but by the emergence of increasing law and order problems in Papua New Guinea. The analysis further examined the overview of causal determinants, prevalence and community response. I have tried to differentiate between the primarily technical Western concept of "crime" and the Papua New Guinea household phrase "law and order problem". The rationale of the thesis was established based on the argument that Papua New Guinea's law and order problems are inescapable.

The second chapter examines the methodology and fieldwork carried out in support of the research into these problems of law and order. Three periods of fieldwork and intensive literature reviews were completed in the course of developing this thesis. This fieldwork helped me to collect valuable information essential to the study. The chapter examines responses from youths, elders, leaders, policy makers, academics and other experts both from Kompam and Port Moresby.

Although the first chapter established a foundation for the thesis, still there is a need for investigation into Melanesian society. Chapter Three reviews Papua New Guinea's political history and presents an analysis of its informal social structures. The chapter identifies the setting of the study and seeks to put Papua New Guinea in perspective. The chapter begins from an archaeological background and moves to foreign contact and subsequent colonisation. Changes that have occurred between the post-independence period and the 1990s are outlined. An effort is made to tell the reader how my country came to be a modern nation state.

A second section of Chapter Three analyses traditional social structures. Although Papua New Guinea societies under the name of Melanesia are a

single ethnic group, the socio-cultural ways of life are diverse. An effort is made to tell the story from inside out; to focus on the number of small tiny mini-nation states, each having its own cultural identity and way of life. Each of these traditional societies are encompassed by their own cultural beliefs and customary practices. It is difficult for the State to maintain control over this diverse structural confederation.

Papua New Guinea's problems of law and order may be related in part to its diverse social structures, but what has the world offered in finding its cause? With this question in mind, I have developed Chapter Four with the hope that I would find some root causes of the criminal behaviour. Thus, Chapter Four presents a theoretical review of crime and delinquency causation as developed in the Western world. In the field of criminology, individual and sociological theories explain the causal context of law and order problems. The former maintains that the criminal and delinquent behaviour lies within the individual. Both the biological and psychological make up of the individual should be studied in order to address the problem. The individual explanation was dominant and was able to influence policy options in the early 19th century. The emergence of sociological explanations argued that the problem is not within the individual but within the social fabric of the society. The nature of the arrangement of the society generates the law and order problem. State responses should be directed at reforming the arrangement of the society, if it is serious about minimising the law and order problem.

These theories of crime and delinquency may apply to Papua New Guinea. However, as research continued, it became clear that the problems of law and order increased rapidly with modernisation through the processes of westernisation, urbanisation and industrialisation. In this respect, Chapter Five analyses modernisation and urbanisation in developing countries with particular reference to Papua New Guinea. Modernisation is seen from three perspectives: as a process of social change, evolutionary in nature; as a transition from traditionalism to contemporary, revolutionary in nature; as

policies pursued by a few elites of developing countries, from a modernisation theory perspective. This chapter examines the development of urban towns and accompanying social problems. The issues of rural-urban drift and poverty that makes crime a viable adaptation are discussed. Adverse social conditions for people puts pressure on them to enter into criminal behaviour.

In this sense, I introduce Chapter Six with a view to explaining the prevalence and nature of law and order problems in Papua New Guinea. The types of crime and the extent to which it has spread are examined, from white-collar crime and public/political corruption to social disorder and violent crimes. Early figures (1976-1983) are compared with the latest figures (1991-1993) collected from police records during my fieldwork. These are discussed in relation to the specific patterns of crime illuminated in such data.

In the light of the law and order problem, what has the State been doing? Chapter Seven attempts to answer this question by looking at State responses to the problems of law and order in Papua New Guinea. The analysis builds from two theoretical models of developmental planning: residual and incremental paradigms. Then, the country's criminal justice system and two major government policy initiatives (national youth movement and villages services programmes) are used as case studies to analyse the residual and incremental models of developmental planning.

The final chapters are in nature my conclusion and recommendation. In Chapter Eight, I try to explain the complexities of criminal behaviour in a model that can be applied to the Papua New Guinean situation. Then, I give my thoughts as to how the problems of law and order in Papua New Guinea might best be addressed. Some guiding thoughts for the future are offered as to how Papua New Guinea can address its law and order problem.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

I have carried out research in Wellington, Port Moresby, in my own district and even further into my tribal group to collect data for this thesis. In this regard, what I have written is not just a university study that describes a social phenomena using an approach that is foreign in nature. Most importantly, this research reflects my society and my own people. I tried to explore ways to address the law and order problem, even though a total crime free situation for Papua New Guinea and Kompiam may be out of reach.

The journey in producing this dissertation has not been an easy one. First, I took the risk of running away from my father and tried unsuccessfully to enrol in a Western school about which I had no knowledge. Since then, after almost twenty years, I find myself writing a PhD thesis, which I had never dreamed of, even during my university years in Papua New Guinea.

The journey has been enjoyable, to the extent of success in education that opened up opportunities to see and experience new environments. However, within an almost twenty year time-frame, I am now able to imagine how I managed my life. As a student, I had limited resources and money. I lived and studied in poverty. Sometimes in the process, it was tiring and I was bored of doing the same thing (school work) over and over again. Other times, I was busy dreaming in loneliness, feeling bitter, sour, unhappy, sad and grieved in tears. I was suffering from tuberculosis and felt sick, wicked and uncomfortable (See chapter 2). To make things worse, I missed my family: my wife and my two children. Sometimes I wonder why I made the decision early to have a de-facto relationship with my wife and marry her later. I knew I was lonely and depressed with the loss of my parents and my brother. I hoped this would give me some comfort. In fact, it did, but I missed them so much and they, me. Despite these obstacles and losses, I have just managed to give my very last effort to attain that academic edge.

CHAPTER TWO

A DEFENCE OF METHODOLOGY AND FIELDWORK CARRIED OUT IN SUPPORT OF THIS RESEARCH

INTRODUCTION

This chapter will perform two tasks: first, the methodological aspect of the research will be examined and then, the analytic framework used to present the fieldwork data. I will explain how information and materials were collected and then move to examine the actual findings of fieldwork carried out in support of this research. The methodology of the study begins with preliminary research in Wellington and moves to examine the fieldwork in Port Moresby and Kompam. In this, techniques applied to collect research materials are reviewed.

Although, chronologically, my fieldwork began in Port Moresby, I will review materials collected at Kompam first, in order to develop consistency with my first chapter. I will examine responses from village youths, elders and leaders concerning how they perceive law and order problems. Then, the discussion will turn to review information and data gathered in Port Moresby. The responses from youths in Port Moresby are reviewed before considering responses from policy makers, academics and other experts included in the fieldwork. Throughout, relevant reports and case studies from various public institutions are utilised to build up an illuminative account of the research focus.

METHODOLOGIES OF THE INVESTIGATION

I am not a criminologist, nor am I an expert in this field of criminology. Criminologists are those who "bring the scientific method to bear on the study of crime and justice. ...well-informed and highly trained observers of social phenomena (who) use established research methodologies to examine

objectively issues relating to crime and its consequence" (Siegel, 1992:4). Siegel labelled other interested people who study crime, without using established methods of scientific inquiry, as journalists, commentators, critics and social thinkers (1992:5). In this respect, I consider myself as a "social thinker" on crime, who tries to understand the causal factors of the increasing law and order problem in my country. I am of the view that this explains the absence of a truly scientific inquiry in my research. With this in mind, let us move on to the methodology of my research.

PRELIMINARY RESEARCH

The first four months (March-June, 1993) were used for preliminary study on the cause of crime and delinquency. During this period, regular meetings were held with my immediate supervisor during which discussions centred around criminality problems and how the thesis might be developed. The intention was to explore causal factors of crime and delinquency as developed in the Western World and an investigation into how these causal theories might apply in the context of Papua New Guinea's law and order problem.

Library research at Victoria University was useful for this initial research as it supported and generated ideas in what is a broad field of study. Ongoing review of Papua New Guinea's newspaper, the Post Courier, enabled me to identify reported cases of contemporary law and order problems. Access to this important data source was made available through the Papua New Guinea High Commission in Wellington.

But since the research topic related to law and order problems in Papua New Guinea, it followed that much of the information needed for this study would be located there. While some historical material was available in New Zealand, much of the current policy material and statistical information was only available in Papua New Guinea. It is in this context that one can see how fieldwork was necessary to collect PNG-specific information. The aims of the fieldwork were

to collect materials that not only defined and explained the prevalence, nature and trends of law and order problems in Port Moresby, but to ask questions about causal factors in this problem in Papua New Guinea. It was intended to accomplish the following:

- (1) Form a study of the prevalence, the trend and its typology of criminal and delinquent elements;
- (2) Get views from youths regarding rural-urban drift and establish reasons as to why such movements become necessary, why crime and delinquent problems occur;
- (3) Seek views from policy makers and scholars who are concerned with the crime and delinquency problem;
- (4) Obtain views from local people on their traditional methods of dispute settlement and their perception on the problem of law and order in their society;
- (5) Seek any other views of significance to the research topic where appropriate.

FIRST PHASE OF FIELDWORK

The first period of fieldwork was during the 1993-4 Christmas break. This was to obtain representative views from respective peoples in the country. No major obstacles were encountered that impeded the collection of the data, except where policy makers agreed to put their response in writing, but failed to do so. In such situations, I could only use his/her short verbal response.

I was attached to what was the Policy Coordination and Monitoring Committee (PCMC) then, an arm of the office of the Prime Minister for three months from 1 November 1993 to 31 January 1994. The PCMC was an important group within the Prime Minister and National Executive Council (PM and NEC) Department which helped to translate political priorities into agency objectives. It also advised NEC on major policy matters in the country. Attached to the PCMC, I had access to a computer to enter information collected, a telephone to make appointments, a facsimile machine to send information, a desk to work

from, policy documents related to law and order problems, transportation to and from interviews, and financial support as a graduate student. The environment was very conducive to my work.

Study techniques

Four principal methods were used in this inquiry to accumulate information: un-control group; control group with a help of semi-structured interviews using a formal checklist; administrative materials, policy documents; and other library sources. The "un-control group" were ten cases where materials obtained during the fieldwork were simply fortuitous and quite accidental. Educated elites and other concerned citizens talked among themselves regarding this issue of law and order in social gatherings, debates or radio talk-back programmes. As a researcher, attempts were made to comprehend themes of discourse and any constructive suggestions that were being put forward. Verbal conversations with those that were concerned about the law and order problem ranged from white-collar crime to social disorder and violent crime. It was difficult to record in some of these instances since, given the accidental nature of the contact, I did not have my research materials immediately in hand. In such circumstances, it was necessary to note relevant points in my fieldwork journal.

When interviewing the "control group" and applying the semi-structured interview technique, there were ethical considerations that required consideration. The informed consent technique proposed by Leibrich (1990:19-22) in a research proposal and later used in her research was considered useful and applied in this research. As she wrote:

Interviews will be carried out only with the informed consent of the participant: All participants in this research will be informed of the purpose of the research, their role in it, the reason for their selection, the protection they will be given, how the data will be used and the researcher's organisational affiliation and sponsor. Every attempt will be made to ensure that the consent given is genuinely informed. This is to say, at the beginning of the meeting they will be assured that, any information they give will be kept

safely and not used in any way that personally identifies them... They will be asked if they agree to the interview being taped, the information being used in reports and books (in Leibrich, 1993:242).

In the case where the person agreed, the person was asked to sign an "Informed Consent Form" which the researcher signed for a statement of confidentiality and the other party signed in agreement to the material used.¹ The agreement was only signed by literate interviewees but those illiterate were also informed using Enga² and Pidgin³ Languages.

The interview checklists served an important purpose in this research. In order to obtain a variety of views, ideas, suggestions, comments and criticisms, it was necessary for this type of interview schedule. It does not limit or narrow the response. This method involved a face-to-face interview with the use of a tape recorder. The respondent was given the checklist and responded to each question and both of us discussed the points or suggestions raised. Other points of significance and interest were also recorded. In several occasions, due to failure of the tape recorder, note taking methods were applied. Some contacts gave a written response.

The first of the four checklists mentioned above was aimed at policy makers, academics and researchers. (See appendix 2). The purpose of this set of questions was to illuminate the law and order problem from their perspective as public office holders. The particular interview questions ranged from the causal factors of crime, its prevalence and possible approaches that the country may consider to minimise or reduce this criminality problem.

---

¹Refer to appendix 1 for detail. Note that the format is taken straight from Leibrich, J., 1993. Straight to the Point: Angles on Giving up Crime. pp.268-269

²My own language, which is spoken throughout Kompiam, Enga Province and parts of the Western Highlands and the Southern Highlands Provinces with differences in dialect.

³The national language of Papua New Guinea though not official.

The key informants were holders of a number of public service positions. The following were interviewed and contributed sharing their views regarding this problem of law and order: Chairman of the then PCMC; acting Director of the then PCMC; Social Sector Coordinator of the then PCMC; Head of the Crime Studies Division at the National Research Institute; Dean of the Arts Faculty at UPNG; Deputy Commissioner of the Police Department; Chief Superintendent Director to the Auxiliary Services Police Department; acting Metropolitan Chief Superintendent of the National Capital District (NCD) Police Department; Director of the Institute of National Affairs; NCD Welfare Coordinator; Director of the PNG Probation Services; Director of Child Welfare; Enga Provincial Police Commander; and Enga Provincial Village Courts Head. The responses obtained were generally related to their area of responsibility and in general their organisation. Nevertheless, their reactions were general enough as to serve the purpose of the interview. The exact responses are summarised in the analysis of the fieldwork in the succeeding chapter.

The second checklist was employed to gauge opinions and obtain views from youths in Port Moresby. My intention during the initial stage of the planning was to limit participants in this part of the interview only to youths that came from one particular district. For convenience and because of financial constraints, other districts in Papua New Guinea were ruled out. The only place considered and included was Kompam District.

In Port Moresby, therefore, we identified fifteen youths and invited them to be participants. Ten of these from Kompam and five from other districts of the country. Only two youths from Kompam were identified as known members of rascal gangs. It was difficult to identify whether these youths from other districts were members of rascal gangs but as it turned out, the youths themselves maintained that at one time or another they had been involved with gang groups.

As a researcher, in order to find candidates it was necessary to search for and enter into potential places where these gangs spent their time: the squatter settlements, the social alcohol drinking areas and streets. All these avenues proved unsuccessful. I was fortunate, however, to come into contact with a member of a rascal gang and through him came to know four others.⁴ Unless you associate with gangs it is difficult to enter and explore a gang culture. Having this in mind, shared food and drinks (alcohol) was not really sufficient to enter the rascal gang culture due to lack of time.

This checklist about the youths in Port Moresby was both for ordinary youths and rascal gangs. The questions were simple and were intended to obtain information regarding themselves, their family background and others that were related to their criminality behaviours and general issues associated with law and order problems.⁵

At the local level, simple questions were constructed and prepared differently for youths who visited Port Moresby, those who were staying at home at the time of the research and those youths who had never been to Port Moresby. (See appendixes 4 and 5). These groups were included primarily to respond to the questions of rural-urban migration and obtain information as to how they perceived urban life. It was anticipated that this would help me to identify factors of rural-urban migration.

---

⁴In the suburb of the Ensisy Valley in Port Moresby I was in a small tucker-shop one night working as a shop assistant. A tall young man came and stood around on the verandah and I knew that he may have at one time got involved with some gangs or a member of a current gang in Port Moresby. I bought him a drink and made conversation and he seemed friendly to me. He became my friend for two weeks. I bought him packets of cigarettes, beetle nuts, food and at one time we drank together. When I knew that he was close to me, I explained to him who I was and what I was doing and that I was interested to talk to current and former gang members. The guy responded that he was a member of a gang but would not name the gang group. He agreed to bring one or two others and a day later, through him, I interviewed the four others.

⁵See Appendix 3. Note that this is only a general checklist used, but differed between ex-criminal, current criminal and ordinary youths. When an interview was conducted, the first two groups drifted away from the structure of the checklist. The interview went into certain aspects of their involvement with gangs and their criminal activities.

The final checklist (see appendix 6) was designed primarily, but not exclusively, for gathering information about traditional dispute settlement. The questions range from traditional causes of dispute to approaches taken to settle disputes and their effectiveness. The participants were village elders and community leaders.⁶ Not only were they easy to identify but were also willing and helpful. There were fourteen selected participants and of these seven were village elders and the other seven were community leaders. Their general view on the law and order situation in their villages and district were also obtained. Other information relating to rural-urban migration and their perception of social change were asked. This brings me to the end of the semi-structured checklist employed in the field research.

Whilst interview, with key informants were the principal method used, there were also policy documents, case studies, reports and papers that were obtained. At PCMC, I had access to files on the law and order sector. This included the first major "Law and Order Policy", the report by a "Law and Order Working Group" and other relevant papers. At the Police Headquarters in Konedobu, I had access to the recent crime statistics and papers on policy matters from a police perspective. Similarly, papers and reports from the NRI and the INA were useful information. At the INA, Volume One of the "1984 Clifford Report on Law and Order in Papua New Guinea" and the summary of the "1993 Crime Summit" were obtained. At the NRI, general reports on law and order in Port Moresby and my country as a whole proved an important source of information, particularly as one could read on the expansion and development of gangs in the early 1960s. In one way or another, these documents detailed the nature and the prevalence of the problem of criminal behaviour. The reports also attempted to explain causal factors and offered policy options for reducing the crime rate.

---

⁶The distinction between village elders and Community leaders is that the former refers to an old person from the village while, the latter refers to a village councillor or a village court magistrate.

Research undertaken at the University of Papua New Guinea Library was just as important as those materials from the other government institutions. In doing library research I was guided by a notion that such secondary data on this topic was just as important as raw data collected from the field. I was particularly interested in books relating to political history and socio-cultural background, having in mind the need to verify information already collected at the Victoria University Library.

Beginning my fieldwork, I spent some time in the then PCMC office getting myself used to the environment. Things did not follow my initial planning, though it was beneficial for me. I was asked to accompany a group of officials from the central government who visited my province to collect data about all the existing governmental and Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO) services available in the province. I was assigned to collect information and data on law and order in the province. This gave me the opportunity to talk to appropriate officers like the Provincial Police Commander and other provincial law and order officers.

Upon completion of the work, the team returned to Port Moresby while I remained and travelled to Kompam to continue my research at the local level. Without completing it, at the end of November 1993 I flew to Port Moresby to begin my research in the urban area where it took me 6 weeks to gather the information needed. I then returned to my district to complete the unfinished part of the fieldwork at a local level.

SECOND PHASE OF FIELDWORK

The second period of fieldwork was short, during the 1994-5 Christmas period. Prior to this, materials collected in the first fieldwork were analysed. Further library research was done to consolidate theoretical concepts with PNG-specific research materials. Whilst in the process of writing-up the thesis, a need for a second fieldwork exercise emerged.

First, I needed to go back to the same respondents involved in the first fieldwork exercise and get their views on social policy options to address the crime problem. In my first fieldwork exercise the views of youths and elders regarding social policy approaches to address these problems of law and order had been gathered. In this regard, there was no need to go back to them again. Even if there was a need, our acute shortage of finance could not have helped us. Thus, this fieldwork was intended only for experts in crime such as policy makers, academics and researchers.

An integrated model for use in explaining law and order problems in Papua New Guinea had been already proposed. A second period of fieldwork was needed to obtain expert opinion on the integrated model and policy recommendations. (See Chapter 8 for this paradigm). A student only receives brief constructive comments and criticisms. Many of the so-called "experts" seemed to have no time for us.

The secondly reason was a change of government in Papua New Guinea. From past experience, it became clear that the change of government would also mean a change of government policies and priorities. Sir Julius Chan, who became Prime Minister through a vote-of-no-confidence, advocates the residual model of developmental planning. (See Chapter Seven). In this respect, there was no doubt that government emphasis would eventually shift to economic development. In view of this change, my second fieldwork exercise was important to refine material collected in the first exercise.

Study techniques

I selectively approached seven of the participants in my first fieldwork exercise to be respondents in the second. This selection of a sample of the population (who to include in the interview) was an ad-hoc basis. That is a population of the respondents were determined by willingness, cooperation, timing and convenience.

A draft chapter on the integrated model in explaining the causation of crime and delinquency in Papua New Guinea was distributed to the policy makers, academics and scholars for comments. Suggestions, comments and critiques were obtained. Although, I appreciated the critical comments, there were cases that went far beyond the constructive and objective. Only a student accepts biased critical comments. However, many made helpful comments, particularly on explaining the cause, nature, prevalence of law and order and alternatives as to how the country may best respond to these problems.

These same respondents were used to obtain information regarding the emphasis in government decision-making. Many complained that a residual approach to development planning may be intensely emphasised, ignoring the social sector and argued that the latter is unproductive and a public money consumer. (See review on responses from policy makers, academics and experts in this chapter below).

Through library research and the two fieldwork exercise, I collected adequate materials. This information was sufficient enough to continue writing up the thesis. At the beginning of 1994, I had putting together information, facts and figures I had collected. However, in the process, I was affected by tuberculosis and my journey to the final stages of my thesis turned out to be a journey to the Wellington Hospital. The third phase of the fieldwork would not have been considered if it was not for my journey to Wellington Hospital.

THE JOURNEY TO WELLINGTON HOSPITAL

A Victoria University medical officer referred me to the emergency care in Wellington Public Hospital on the 4th of April 1994, after I complained of feeling cold, a cough and internal pain. At the hospital, a plastic X-ray showed quite a substantial amount of fluid accumulated along my right lung. I was nervous and worried, only thinking "what have I done?" I had already experienced sadness and pain in my life I did not want or need any more, let alone should

it be me. The first attempt at using a needle to drain out the fluids was unsuccessful. My doctor made a hole through the ribs and placed a tube below where the fluids were accumulating, connected to a plastic bag. I saw the plastic bag gradually filling up with a brown-green mixture. Each time, the plastic bag was removed once the fluid had filled it and a new one replaced it. This was not removed until one and a half weeks later. Day and night I was awkward, uncomfortable and sleepless in pain. This made me think, how my late brother may have suffered for four years.

It was lonely and quiet in the cubicles of the hospital. Nevertheless, I was comforted by friends with greeting cards with message like "hope you get better soon". I appreciated their well-wishes, visits and concern for me. I especially appreciated my cousin, Ken Nangan, was able to come from Newcastle, Sydney, to see me. His presence not only relieved me but psychologically I got better and was discharged few days later. Ken's visit was an indication of love and care for a cousin brother which was the Melanesian way at its best.

The medical doctors tried to diagnose the cause of the fluid accumulation but were unsuccessful initially. Some time later, a test indicated that the cause was tuberculosis. I was then discharged but advised to take daily treatment with prescribed tuberculosis pharmaceutical substances for six months. I was under medication when I decided to go home for a rest.

THIRD PHASE OF FIELDWORK

The circumstances of my illness led to the third phase of fieldwork. In fact, there was no need for a third phase of fieldwork and thus it had not been planned. However, my trip home became a fieldwork experience, while I was employed as a temporary full-time tutor at the University of Papua New Guinea.

When I went to Port Moresby, my former supervisor, Dr Bruce Yeates, asked me to be attached with the Social Work programme of the Department of Anthropology and Sociology at the University of Papua New Guinea. This attachment was to help a lecturer in writing course materials as part of the externalisation of the Diploma in Social Administration programme. This programme was offered through extension studies and it was administered by the Institute of Distance and Continuing Education of the University of Papua New Guinea. I commenced my duties on the 7 July 1995.

An opportunity for taking lecture periods and tutorial classes arose when a lecturer, whom I was helping to write up the course materials, had broken her leg and was admitted to hospital. The department asked me to coordinate her course at least for the short period while she was recovering in the hospital. I presented 7 lectures on problems of law and order topics and had 6 tutorial classes. I also invited other policy makers and experts to present lectures in the class.

The writing of course material included topics ranging from white-collar crime, political and public corruption, social disorder, serious crimes and property crimes. My lectures and tutorial classes were centred around these topics. While this was a learning experience, it also formed a part of my fieldwork. Whilst writing up the course materials and doing further research for class presentations, I learned new things which were related to my thesis. The outside speakers brought in new and some quite innovative ideas. As a post-graduate student, I listened carefully to their practical experiences, or what so-called government workers in Papua New Guinea refer to as the "real world experience". This temporary full-time job at the University of Papua New Guinea gave me invaluable experience. With this in mind, I now turn to present information obtained in these three fieldwork exercises. The analysis begins from responses by village youths, elders and leaders in Kompiam and moves on to examine those responses from youths and experts in Port Moresby.

RESPONSES FROM VILLAGE YOUTHS AND ELDERS/LEADERS

In the 1930s, Australian explorers penetrated deep into the interior of the New Guinea Island (the Highlands). In the 1940s, an administrative centre was established in Wabag, the headquarters for Enga people. Then, in the 1950s, Australian explorers stormed their way in and discovered Kompam and established a government patrol station, which later became a district. The first primary school was established in 1962 and became the first means of formal education in the district. Since then, social and economic development has been promoted. Kompam, by any standard, is probably one of the last of the unknowns discovered by white explorers.

The contemporary Kompam has been incorporated into the realm the national planning circuit and to that of the world at large. The lives of people have been influenced by modernisation, particularly with the influx of Western ideas and techniques which some people regard as superior to their own. Although there are many developments in the district, I will confine myself to the purpose of this chapter.

Rural Youth's Response

During my research, it was difficult to trace those youths who had visited Port Moresby in any one year. The geographical location of this research setting fostered difficulties in identifying selectively those that had been to Port Moresby recently. In the village there were those old and middle aged men who had been taken under the Highlands Labour Scheme to work in the plantations in and around Sogeri plateau near Port Moresby, but I did not include them. My focus was on youths who had visited Port Moresby quite recently for one reason or another. Table 1 below indicates their names, ages, highest education qualification gained and whether or not the respondent had visited Port Moresby. Three of the interviewees were from my Tangaip taraha.

The eighteen (18) participants of this interview were within a walking distance to a community school and a secondary school. As can be seen below, fifteen (83 percent) of the respondents had some form of formal education. One was still in school at the time of this research. Others have either been pushed-out of the education system or have dropped out. The reasons for leaving school differed from respondent to respondent: the parents could not afford school fees; continuing education was not considered important; failure to meet the required qualification; or deciding to run away from school for personal reasons. Three (17 percent) had not enrolled at a formal school. The parents did not consider education as important, could not afford schooling or the youths decided not to go. It is maintained frequently in the literature that urban places attract young people and also that rural places push youths out. My discussions with youths in Port Moresby had established and confirmed this. My task was again to re-examine these assertions from a rural or village perspective.

Only six (33 percent) of our respondents had visited Port Moresby at different times. The other twelve (67 percent) had not. The opinions of these youths may not be a representative view of all youths from the district, nor the province nor the country. These opinions do, however, illuminate some significant views in regard to migration and the problem of law and order. In analysing the data, I will attempt to follow the outline of the interview schedule intended for this group. (See respective appendices in this chapter).

We begin with those six that visited Port Moresby. All went before or just after the 1992 National Elections. Four of the respondents' visits were related to the election. Airline tickets both to and from Port Moresby were purchased by intending candidates or candidates who had lost in the election. It appeared to be the case that they were looked after by other relatives in Port Moresby. The other two went with their own relatives and after some period returned. All maintained that they had heard about Port Moresby and that it had always been their aim to see the city. What they heard had attracted them so much.

The reason they went was to see the city with never any intention of becoming permanent residents. While in Port Moresby, two got paid jobs: one as a security man and the other as a shop assistant. Their purpose was to accumulate money to spend at the village.

Other factors that were given by those youths in Port Moresby were not mentioned. (See section on youths response from Port Moresby below in this chapter). The reaction to the city differed from person to person but four indicated they admired and liked the city. They recalled all that they observed and saw. The other two complained about the heat, indicating that it was too hot in Port Moresby. All maintained that if the chance came again, they would take it.

TABLE 1. NUMBER OF YOUTHS BY THEIR AGES AND THEIR EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATIONS FROM KOMPIAM DISTRICT WHO HAVE VISITED OR HAVE NOT VISITED PORT MORESBY

Number of Respondent	Age	Highest education by grade	Visited Port Moresby	Never visited Port Moresby
1	15	- 4	*	
2	16	5	*	
3	16	3		*
4	16	5		*
5	17	9#		*
6	17	4		*
7	17	3	*	
8	18	4		*
9	18	6		*
10	18	6		*
11	18	-	*	
12	18	-		*
13	18	10	*	
14	18	6	*	
15	18	4		*
16	18	4		*
17	18	5		*
18 =			6	12

Explanations:

1. # = Still in school.
2. * = Never went to school.
3. * = Signifies response, visited or never visited Port Moresby.

The twelve that never visited Port Moresby shared with me the desire to see the capital city. This was influenced most often by other youths who had visited the city and their stories (often exaggerated!). They complained that there was too much talk about warfare by the old people. They live in fear of another clan, the amount of compensation and other community obligations, with no money to meet all these obligations. One put it this way:

I wonder if there is any chance for me to escape from this village. I am tired of people putting me under pressure. Perhaps, when my cousin comes from Port Moresby, I'll cry in front of him to go with him. I don't care whether I will end up in a plantation.

This was not the collective view of the respondents or other youths in the village. It was entirely within that individual but others shared similar feelings. The rest of the respondents did say that they were tired of village life and wanted to experience urban life, but not so emotionally as above.

When asked whether they would like to leave the village and settle permanently in Port Moresby or other urban areas, one could gather from their responses that they still liked their village. As one questioned, "how could one possibly abandon their immediate family, close friends and other relatives?" From such responses, I knew that they wanted to leave the village only for a short while but then return to the village.

Still those that had never visited Port Moresby shared the common view that their district had a serious law and order problem. Law and order is often talked about among the households and in community meetings in the context of tribal warfare. All responded that they are forced or influenced by their elders to fight. Ten maintained that when they are in the battle field they learn to avoid spears, arrows and bullets and other missiles aimed at them. Those unfortunate ones, if caught, are injured or die instantly. After several such clashes they build up confidence, gain experience and become skilful. At least one said:

The tribal warfare is just like a game. If you are good at one particular game, you just feel like playing. The same principle applies in tribal warfare. If you are experienced and skilful in avoiding arrows, spears and bullets, you simply go for it.

Five respondents emphasised that the government must bring essential services to the village so they feel more responsible. Seven of them proposed that the problem really was with the elders. They agreed that it is hard to refuse demands and orders from elders and village leaders. In an effort to put an end

to the tribal fights, government policies and laws must first be directed at the elders and community leaders. With this in mind my enquiries turned to the views of village elders and community leaders.

Responses from village elders and community leaders

All the local societies in the region have disputes and arguments sparked off by various incidents. Each society, using its elementary resources, is able to maintain social order and the behaviour of its members. With this thought in mind, I interviewed fourteen (14) selected village elders and community leaders in Kompiam District. Seven of these interviewees were village elders whilst the other seven were community leaders. Described in this chapter are explanations of their method of customary dispute settlement. I will also describe cases of deviant behaviour and causal factors. The respondents' comparative views and suggestions of social change and the prevalence of law and order problems are also discussed. First, I will introduce the respondents by their estimated ages in table 2 below.

It can be seen from the table below that the village leaders were older than the community leaders. The community leaders interviewed were usually young, knowledgeable and talented leaders. Using their talents and abilities as power they can influence the community. Today these group of people are village court magistrates, ward councillors and provincial government representatives.

I selectively chose each of these to fairly obtain a diverse range of views relating to the law and order problem. Two were from my Tangaip taraha. The village elders were selected from different villages in and around the district. The traditional dispute settlement methods, causal factors of dispute and related issues were largely based on explanations provided by the village elders.

The village elders maintain that societal conditions are changing and aspects of life are not the same as in their youthful days. The white man has brought new and sophisticated ideas and technologies, different from what they saw, grew up with and experienced. When most expressed this thought, as a researcher, I asked the respondent to explain disputes, causes and settlement methods. The following analysis summarises the collective view of these village elders.

TABLE 2. VILLAGE ELDERS AND COMMUNITY LEADERS BY ESTIMATED AGE INTERVIEWED BETWEEN 1993 AND 1994 CHRISTMAS

Respondent	Estimated age	Village elder	Community leader
1	35		*
2	37		*
3	37		*
4	39		*
5	40		*
6	42		*
7	47		*
8	53	*	
9	57	*	
10	58	*	
11	59	*	
12	60	*	
13	60	*	
14	63	*	
14 =		7	7

* signifies respondent either village elder or community leader.

Kompam, like other Highlands communities, Papua New Guinean societies and larger Melanesian communities, have disputes of various types. The exact nature of dispute, form and class differ from society to society in the region. The social organisation in Kompam is largely unorganised, fragile and fragmented. There was no structured and ordered social structure but merely an arranged common understanding, loosely unified.

When asked about the historical background of their ancestors' origins, all respondents could not accurately trace them back. Nevertheless, from their oral history knowledge, they maintained that their ancestors were not from Kompiam but migrated there quite recently. They could not establish reasons as to why but I have assumed it may be because of poverty, tribal conflict or a mere desire to search for something better. Without going any further into detail, I will turn to look at the nature of disputes before looking at the causes.

It is human nature to accumulate wealth, power, self satisfaction, self sufficiency and the desire to extend territory. I am of the view that European explorers sailed around the world to fulfil the above desires. In a smaller scale, geographically, there is no difference in Kompiam society traditionally and can be applied in my analysis. At least five of my respondents indicated that they were not able to easily obtain the things they wanted without working hard. Within this context, when things become difficult one has to resort to the use of force which is strictly prohibited and not generally approved of in the pursuit of gratification and social ambitions, aspirations and desires. We will explore the nature of these causal factors.

The respondents shared the view that the start of a dispute was often provoked by a minor incident such as gossip, defamation, prevarication, and cunning or deceptive words which irritate or anger the person/s towards whom it was directed. Or, it may have started because of jealousy or hatred. Disputes also arise from animals, particularly pigs, destroying another person's garden. Occasions such as these result in confrontation, often with verbal and physical assault.

In other circumstances the dispute erupts because someone stole someone else's property. The theft could have involved animals, birds, food from gardens or household items of significant value to people. This is usually the result of poverty and inequality, coupled with a desire to have needed items that can not be obtained through the community-approved channels. These deviant acts

lead to other problems like those mentioned above, such as beating, altercation and quarrel. Sometimes, the dispute extends as far as murder. The owner of the property "chops down" the culprit like a tree. If a woman is involved in stealing, she is sometimes raped. At least one interviewee mentioned that a few cases of rape may have been because of a man's desire to satisfy and fulfil his sexual eroticism and lust. This is a serious matter for the village and the community. There are hardly any reported cases of incest, but a few fornications have been reported. This leads to serious problems if it is not solved.

All agreed that land disputes were one of the major causes of grievance. Sometimes two opposing individuals can not come to equal terms in deciding ownership. The oral history established by village elders is confusing because they can not confidently draw a clear line in deciding ownership. If not solved, this deliberation frequently leads to further arguments and altercations.

Many of the law and order problems were in the nature of "payback" or revenge for earlier defeats, like one problem causes another problem and becomes twisted and intertwined. The root causes of problems are still poverty, injustice and inequality. There are those individuals that own more land or other properties than the others. Although respondents did mention that sharing and communal ownership exists in Papua New Guinea, like collecting firewood from another person's block of land, few people have much control over the rest, who are considerably poor. This causes unease among poor and unfortunate individuals and thus disputes and quarrels occur.

A desire for power, authority and prestige among competing "bigman" is another cause of disputes. The villagers usually take sides with competing "bigman" and a problem may arise from this perspective. Other causes of disputes like sorcery and witchcraft are not really common in Kompiam, unlike many other societies in the country. The causal nature of the disputes in this district was like a spider's cobweb rooted within the fragmented community.

The settlement of disputes takes a variety of forms depending on the nature of the problem. According to the respondents, if a dispute is within the clan, it is usually solved easily, sometimes through altercations or quarrels. If the problem is caused by a youth, he/she is beaten or gets caned. A dispute with another clan, however, is not usually solved without resort to traditional warfare. At times, a compensation package is negotiated if property was lost. This leaves the losing clan/s with bitterness, sorrow and unhappiness while the victorious clan often does victory marches and always leaves the battle field like real heroes.

The village elders maintain that there were three principal methods involved in the dispute settlement process: private, groups and public hearing. First, private settlement involves the victim or complainant and the one that caused the problem. They reach agreement and the dispute is solved at that point. Second, if things can not be resolved then the dispute is given a group hearing. This involves family members and immediate neighbours. Third, if the parties concerned can not agree upon terms then the whole community contributes in trying to convince the two parties. (See chapter 3). Those that have constructive suggestions contribute in trying to resolve the dispute.

No one can preside over this public contribution, but elders and community leaders can speak strongly with authority in making sure the two parties accept the majority decision of the community. The elders' speeches were on most occasions respected and obeyed because speeches were made in reference to custom. If someone raped a female, the community ordered the accused to pay compensation to the victim and the victim's relatives. The only valuable medium of payment at that time was pig and that addressed the problem.

However, the community leaders and particularly the village elders indicated during my interviews that their society is changing. They said that the old ways are different from now. If they were to make decisions over a dispute, they made sure that both parties were happy at the end. They took into

consideration customs, norms and values, extent of the damage and material possessions of the accused. Every case must be planned. Powerful words were used to try and influence and persuade the two parties at dispute to agree upon terms. The way they settled disputes did not involve magic. Disputes were settled through talking. All the elders agreed that "compensation" cooled down the anger, temper, bitterness and ill feelings. A mere apology was insufficient, and many people could not accept this, as it may have worked in other societies. Not in Kompiam.

Today, the situation has not absolutely changed but there are important changes in the dispute settlement process. Dispute settlements are a mixture of modern and traditional ways. A lot of disputes are settled through the formal Western court system, but still many are settled through private, group and public hearings. The community leader presides in most informal hearings while the two parties present their cases and the public contribute their views, opinions and suggestions that may assist the community leader to make an appropriate decision. Let us now turn to examine different responses from Port Moresby, beginning with responses from the city youths.

RESPONSES FROM YOUTHS IN PORT MORESBY

The questions in the interview schedule were constructed to guide the interview process. However, the order and structure of the questionnaire was not necessarily followed. Some useful information was collected that which was not included as part of the research questions. First, let us glance at some details of the youths that were interviewed. Table 3 below indicates particulars of 15 youths interviewed in Port Moresby during the 1993 and 1994 Christmas period. The table may seem dense and hard to read but is a simple illustration indicating background information of our control group youths in Port Moresby.

There were 15 youths with ages ranging from 14 to 19 interviewed. (See "#" and "A" categories in table 3 below). I included only male participants in this research simply because my target group was male youths since most of the law and order problems in the city are associated with this gender and age group. The "B" category indicates that respondents were only male.

**TABLE 3. SOME PARTICULARS OF THE YOUTHS INTERVIEWED
IN PORT MORESBY IN 1993 AND 1994 CHRISTMAS PERIOD**

Where letters and figures stand for								
A=	Ages arranged from youngest to oldest.							
B=	Gender, where M = male.							
C=	District of origin, where K = Kompam and O = others							
D=	Year came to Port Moresby, where B= born in Port Moresby							
E=	Employment, where y= employed and N= unemployed.							
F=	Education qualification gained where P= primary school and S= high school and the number beside P or S is the grade finished.							
G=	Involvement with rascal gangs in Port Moresby, where U= given up, where V= taking part, where T= never.							
H=	Sentenced to jail, where M= yes, Q= no							

#= List of youths interviewed

#	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
1	14	M	K	1993	Y	P6	T	Q
2	14	M	K	1993	N	P6	T	Q
3	15	M	O	B	N	P6	U	Q
4	16	M	K	1992	N	S8	V	Q
5	17	M	O	B	N	P4	V	Q
6	17	M	K	1993	Y	S8	T	Q
7	17	M	K	1993	N	S10	V	Q
8	17	M	O	B	N	P5	U	Q
9	18	M	K	1990	N	P6	V	Q
10	18	M	K	1992	Y	S10	U	Q
11	18	M	K	1990	N	P6	U	Q
12	18	M	O	1989	N	P6	V	M
13	18	M	K	1988	Y	S8	T	Q
14	19	M	K	1989	N	S10	T	Q
15	19	M	O	B	N	S8	U	Q

Examples:

1. Respondent 1 in "#" category was a 14 year old male from Kompam who came to Port Moresby in 1993. He was employed at the time of the interview. He completed grade 6 at primary school and never got involved with rascal gang activities and thus was never sentenced to jail.

2. Respondent 15 in the "#" section was a 19 year old male from another district who was born in Port Moresby. He was unemployed at the time of the interview. He completed grade 8 at secondary school and had given up gang activities. He was never sentenced to jail.

As can be seen above, in the "C" category, 10 (67 percent) of the 15 youths were from Kompam whilst the other 5 (33 percent) were from other districts. Moving to the "D" category, while 11 (73 percent) came to Port Moresby between the years 1988 and 1993, 4 (27 percent) of them were born in Port Moresby, children of migrant parents. Moving further to the "E" category, 4 (27 percent) had a paid job, while the remaining 11 (73 percent) were unemployed. Moving further to the "G" category, it is depicted that 8 (53 percent) have completed a primary education (1 finished grade 5 and 7 finished grade 6) while the rest (57 percent) have entered secondary school. Of these, four finished grade eight and the other four have grade 10 qualifications.

It is indicated in the "G" category that 5 had never been involved in any rascal gang related activities in Port Moresby, while another 5 had given up gang involvement. The remaining five indicated that they had no source of income and had to steal to survive. The youths in line "G" who answered "U" or "V" were members of a rascal gang group but were not from the same ethnic background. In this sample, only 1 had gone to court for burglary where he was sentenced to six months in jail. This is depicted in the "H" category. We turn to examine family background and their views on how the youths were socialised at an early age of development.

Family and their background

Those youths from Kompam were born into families where their parents had never had any form of formal education. The first primary school was only established there in 1962 and their parents had never had the chance. During those days, the importance of education was not known as it is now. All their parents were subsistence farmers who produced food stuffs for self-consumption. Two of the respondents from other districts responded in the

same way as above. Three said that their parents were working in Port Moresby. When asked about the kind of job, it became clear that their parents were labourers, for example tea boys, cleaners, or securities.

The numbers of brothers and sisters in a single family ranged from three to seven. Those respondents from Kompam indicated that almost all their brothers and sisters were at home or at primary school. Those from other districts were reluctant to talk about their brothers and sisters but the general conclusion I gathered was that many of them were educated. They could have been working, they may not have been. It was difficult to obtain precise information from these youths.

One fact that varied between these respondents was the kind of treatment they experienced from their own parents. Four respondents, which was 27 percent of the total interviewed, clearly stressed that they felt they never received got the kind of love, affection or care they deserved, simply because they were too many children. One youth perhaps summed up their views:

I am from a family of seven children and am the fourth in the family. While I was only three years old my parents had another child and thus I may have not gained the kind of love, affection, care and compassionate treatment that I so much needed and deserved at an early age.

What may be important is the notion of "family planning", with an emphasis on care for children: giving the right kind of education, feeding and clothing them, teaching the basic values of our customs with emphasis on respect for other people and their properties. On the other hand, eleven (which is 63 percent of the total interviewed) indicated that their parents loved and cared for them during their childhood and continued to do so. Even as grown up and mature adults, their parents still have this compassionate feeling towards them. As one respondent put it:

I usually think about my mum and dad because they loved and cared for me. Even when I am away they are still thinking about me. They put me into a community school but its my own fault that I failed.

As well as receiving love and affection, socialised aggressive behaviour was part of the learning process for all respondents from Kompiam. In a region where competition for land, disputes and tribal warfare are a part of life, young people are taught to be aggressive. These young male respondents confirmed that they had been socialised to be aggressive and not to be submissive. All agreed that since aggressive behaviour was a socialised phenomena, being assertive and hostile, even in Port Moresby, was part of them. (One notices this easily amongst the crowd in Port Moresby).

Their educational qualifications and information on employment can be seen in table 3 above in the "F" and "E" categories respectively. The eleven youths that were not employed responded that they were still looking for a job or at least "something" that they could do to earn their living. The four that were employed responded that they would like to have a better job than their current one. All complained that the amount they earned was not enough because, as one put it:

During the pay time, some even I never knew come to me saying that I have this and that problem. The demands from the wantoks (relatives) for money is just too much that I myself cannot survive with my own pay. I have to live on borrowing and when the next pay come in, all that money goes out just like that. Then I have to borrow to give to relatives and for my own survival. Probably, if I get another job with slightly higher pay than current, may solve this problem.

This sums up the kind of response given by those interviewees that were working. I would argue that, in many respects, the views presented by these youths would reflect explanation given by most Papua New Guinean employees. Our cultural ties are so strong that many cannot escape customary obligations to wantoks (relatives). With this in mind, we turn to examine the reasons for their coming to Port Moresby.

Factors for coming to Port Moresby

The most important finding was that the principal reason for one interviewee's movement was not necessarily the same for another. For the purposes of my analysis, in this chapter I will list all possible factors, in table 4 below, that may have caused such movement and then relate to the responses given.

Table 4 may appear to be dense and hard to read but through simple illustration is easy to understand. The table depicts the factors that have influenced each youth in making his decision to come to Port Moresby. As it is explained below, each alphabetical letter represents a single causal factor for rural-urban migration, except for the "#" category which lists and indicates the 15 youth respondents. In this category, the vertical numbers 1-15 represent each youth. Each figure is not valued, and does not mean anything but an order of youths.

The asterisk (*) signifies three things in Table 4: the cause, effect and subject. The cause is the factor, the effect is the movement, and the subject is the youth. There is yet another way in which I refer to this "movement" of the youth (subject) as a "dependent variable" and the "causal factor" as an "independent variable" as the former depends on the latter. The independent variables (factors) determine, in relative degrees, the dependent variables (movement of the subject).

The figure in the far right end column represents the total scores (*) of movement which add up to 58 movement factors. For example, subject #13's movement was affected by "A" (tribal fights and conflicts), "C" (need for money), "D" (labour intensive work), "F" (desire to see Port Moresby), and "G" (the need to seek employment). Loosely summarised, youth #13 came to Port Moresby because he was fed up with tribal warfare (A) and the labour intensive work (D) of village life, and hoping that he might get paid employment (G) in the modern capitalist economy to earn some money (C). He also thought that coming to Port Moresby was an opportunity to see the city (F).

TABLE 4. CAUSAL FACTORS OF COMING TO PORT MORESBY

Letters stand for factors or independent variable													
# = The 15 youth respondents or subjects. A = Tribal fights and or conflicts between clans. B = Traditional and customary obligations. C = Need for money. D = Labour intensive work. E = Population pressure and land shortage. F = Desire to see Port Moresby. G = Seeking Employment. H = Seeking better services. I = Special reasons (provide security). J = Starvation at home. K = Run away from crime committed. L = Not to pay a court order.													

* signifies cause, effect and subject

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	total
1				*		*	*	*					4
2		*		*		*	*	*					5
3													
4	*		*	*		*		*					5
5			*	*	*	*	*	*					6
6	*	*				*	*	*					5
7	*	*				*	*	*					5
8													
9						*		*	*		*	*	5
10	*		*	*		*		*					5
11	*	*			*	*		*					5
12			*			*	*	*					4
13	*		*	*		*		*					5
14		*				*	*	*					4
15													
	6	5	5	6	2	12	7	12	1		1	1	58

Each figure in the bottom of each column, which also adds up to 58, indicates a total number of youths (subjects) in a single variable (factor) influencing the movement. For instance, the asterisks (*) in the "H" (seeking for better services) column add up to 12, indicating the total number of youths influenced by this reason. Twelve of our respondents stated that they came, together with other reasons, seeking better services in Port Moresby.

The figure "58" is the grand total of the subtotals of both the causal factors and the subject movement. One may notice that the youths in categories #3, #8 and #15 have no response. These are the respondents that were born in Port Moresby. One may also wonder about the blank in the "J" column. No one gave starvation as partly or primarily causing his movement.

As Table 4 above depicts, the desire to see Port Moresby and hoping for better services there recorded the highest total while seeking employment, tribal warfare, labour intensive work, traditional obligations and need for money were ranked next in order of causal factors. Only two of the respondents indicated that land shortage and population pressure had pushed them out of the village. Special reasons like providing a person residential security, running away from court orders or crimes committed in the village did not seem to be a contributing determining factor for most of the respondents. One should not be convinced that the shortage of services like education is the major determining factor generally. This may be true specifically for the Kompiam area, because of its recent discovery. Different people will give different views on the rural-urban migration problem.

I would argue that the probability of starvation in Papua New Guinea is fairly remote, if not nonexistent. In other developing countries, a move to the city is, for many, their only chance for survival (Breese, 1972). This is not the case in most parts of Papua New Guinea, where subsistence crops are abundant relative to the population size and no-one is threatened with starvation. Not surprisingly, our interviewees have not indicated that shortage of food or

starvation was the primary factor that caused them to move. However, population pressure and shortage of fertile land for cultivation is a growing and moving problem in Papua New Guinea. Only two of our respondents indicated that population pressure and land shortage forced them to come to Port Moresby, but not for permanent residency. On the other hand, six in this interview indicated that the labour intensive work in the village had forced them to move out for a time, to get a break. They have fertile land but are tired of cultivating it and therefore travelled to an urban place. Others who had been in Port Moresby for some time feared returning because of thoughts of such labour intensive work.

The five interviewees that were identified as non-Kompiums were from the coast. The practice of tribal fighting has ceased in almost all parts of coastal Papua New Guinea, so not surprisingly, traditional warfare was not a determining factor. However, in many districts in the Highlands region, tribal warfare is still in the blood of the people. Many have moved out of their clan and even their districts, either because their land has been claimed by another clan after a tribal clash or because they did not wish to get involved. It can be seen from above that six respondents' decisions to move out of their clan were influenced by tribal warfare. Conversely, it may not be a hugely significant factor because they did indicate a desire to return to their village sooner or later.

Many in Papua New Guinea have obligations to each other. Being part of a society means that you are obliged to take part voluntarily in the activities of the community. Unless it is beyond his means and the community knows it, a clan member has an obligation to join the other members in tribal warfare, paying compensation to another clan and so on. Five respondents agreed that part of

Local dwellers throughout Papua New Guinea, particularly youths, hear from friends, students and others who have been to Port Moresby that the city is "such and such", usually positive. It is their desire to have a taste of what Port Moresby is really like. They are encouraged to believe that there are job opportunities, better education, better health care and other services available. As respondent #9 in Table 4 confidently said, he had "interest" and "desire" to see Port Moresby but there were no opportunities. He had also caused some problems within the community and they were against him moving. A village court sitting in his village ordered him to pay K200 in compensation for killing a pig belonging to another man. His uncle in Port Moresby, a businessman, sent an airline ticket and arranged for this notorious young man to come down to Port Moresby in 1990. Interestingly, the businessman's life had been endangered by some jealous rivals, so he may have thought that this young man would provide personal security in his residence. This respondent came purposely to guard the businessman's residence during the night, with the added convenience that it enabled him to get away from the trouble back at home.

Social policies and services reflect our diverse political and cultural environments. What is referred to as "social security" in the contemporary Western welfare state is evident in our traditional economies. Sharing, care and love for wantoks (relatives) is an important part of Papua New Guinea lifestyle. Like respondent #9 in Table 4 above, my travel costs were met by relatives. The same relatives in Port Moresby provided food, shelter and some pocket money. So long as their relatives are working, there is food and accommodation each night until such time as they decide to go. All respondents mentioned that they could at least have something to spend each day. This is Melanesian "social security" at its best in the modern cash economy. As one said, referring to money:

Back in the village there was no money in my skin, but in Port Moresby there is at least some money in my skin every day. I now believe that there is money in this ground.

This means that in Port Moresby working relatives provided him with financial support for the time that he was in the city. Thus, every time he was in Port Moresby, he had at least some cash in hand, to spend whereas at the village there was hardly any cash. However, the problem with this contemporary Melanesian social security is, its inconsistency. Once the recipient becomes dependent, he becomes impotent and incapable of being self-reliant. Melanesian social security does not imply in any way that all Melanesians desires and wants are met satisfactorily. Sometimes it is tempting for such migrants to enter into criminality. We saw in Table 3 that five of the respondents indicated that they had ceased involvement with rascal gangs or in the practice of criminal behaviour, while another five were active in gang culture. I asked a few further questions of this group.

Involvement with Rascal Gangs in Port Moresby

I was unable to get many details of the rascal gangs. I realised that in order to enter a gang culture and delve into personal dealings and activities, one must spend more time there, or in the extreme, participate. Nevertheless, my analysis is based on the responses given by ten interviewees. (Included Tables 3 and 4 above).

Those who had that stopped rascal gang related activities had done so for variety of reasons. However, two indicated that they had become Christians and changed their way of life. Rascal activities were thought to be evil and they now no longer entertained such behaviour. To do so would be against the general rules prescribed in Christian doctrines. One respondent indicated that he had gotten a job in a fuel station and criminal activities were no longer necessary. The other two did not give reasons but indicated that they had felt tired and decided to give up. They were undecided whether they would return to their criminal activities or not.

The five that were involved in gang activities did not divulge the gang's names or the group that they were operating under. What they did say, however, was that they did belong to a gang group and knew other gang groups in Port Moresby. They did not mention recent robberies or other criminal activities but indicated that criminal activity was their employment. They knew that criminal activities were wrong and that they contributed to a growing problem of law and order in Port Moresby, but all were adamant that they must steal to earn their living. Two interviewees claim to be the leader of their gang groups.

I would argue that these rascal gang members are not born criminals. Their criminal behaviour is inflicted by society. Like others interviewed, these youths shared the view that there is a law and order problem in Port Moresby. When asked why they think this problem exists in our society?" there was no single response. Answers revolved around pressures imposed by society on today's youth. In most cases the common response was:

blame the Members of Parliament. They are stealing a lot of money and not thinking about us in the streets

Whatever the response, it comes down to finding a means to end the problem. Obviously, the youths need something to feed, dress and entertain themselves. Those that indicated an "involvement in crime" strongly emphasised that illegal means were the only road to success and fulfilment of their aspirations in Port Moresby. Those born in Port Moresby shared the view that the city was their home. They were informed by their parents and other relatives about their home province but argued that by birth, Port Moresby automatically became their home. They had no intention of moving out. They had been socialised in the city and experienced city life. It would be difficult for them to settle in a rural environment. One may ask, do the authorities and experts accurately the needs of the youths? Do they see that there is an emerging civil disorder and lawlessness society? How can we best address this problem? With these questions in mind, I have developed a checklist of questions to ask my next control group: policy makers, academics and other experts.

ANALYSIS OF RESPONSES FROM POLICY MAKERS AND OTHER EXPERTS

Out of the fourteen respondents in the category, ten were interviewed systematically following questions in the interview schedule. The other four contributed suggestions in a general discussion on law and order. The nature of response not only reflected their own views but also the views of the organisation in which the respondent worked. For instance, views from those working in the criminal justice system (for example, the Police Department) assumed that more funding is required to minimise the law and order problem in Papua New Guinea. The views, ideas and suggestions from these respondents are presented and discussed using analysis by question as the basis for examination.

(1) Why do you think there is a rapid rise in law and order problems amongst the youth in Port Moresby and what do you see to be the causes of these problems?

All the respondents were sceptical whether there has indeed been an increase. Like many scholars who criticise the police crime statistics, most criticised these statistics for their inaccuracy and imprecision. The police crime statistics do not give the exact prevalence and nature of the law and order problem in Port Moresby or in the country. Without going into detail, the police officers did not challenge these assertions but maintained that funding constraints tended to frame the presentation of crime statistics.

In the absence of accurate crime data, one is left with a subjective assessment of the law and order problem. The Director of the Institute of National Affairs (INA) pointed out how the criminality problem is perceived by the business community. There is a public perception that is promoted by the media that law and order problems are escalating and the State is incapable of maintaining control. With regard to the cause of this problem of law and order, the then Head of the Crime Studies Division of the National Research Institute (NRI) said:

"There is obviously no single cause for crime. A range of contributing factors: urbanisation, demographic factors, limited employment opportunities, peer pressure (sub-cultural factor), excitement, alcohol and drug abuse, education system (push-outs), breakdown of traditional controls, ineffective criminal justice system, growing inequality, corruption and white-collar criminality".

(2) Do you think that our law and order problem in Port Moresby is more of a gang problem or an individual problem involving people trying to obtain necessities for survival? Please explain.

Following their responses in the systematic interview, six out of ten responded that law and order problems are not professionally organised but nevertheless exist within the context of gang groups. The rest considered it an individual problem but conceded that the individual problem can turn into a gang problem.

Certainly youth peer groups gather together and are visible. The cultural organisation of these groups is not well understood, since there have been only a few studies of these studies (Po'o, 1979; Harris, 1988; Goddard, 1992). The organisation of rascal gangs in Port Moresby in some ways reflects many forms of cultural and social behaviour in Papua New Guinea. The group in whatever form is still the principal social unit in Papua New Guinea for cultural reasons.

(3) "White-collar crime" is mainly caused by businessmen, government workers and politicians while "street crime" is usually caused by ordinary people who are poor. Which of these crimes do you think has a greater and profound impact in our society today? (and) Why?

The interviewees observed that street crime causes fear, inhibits behaviour, injures, kills, rapes, assaults, and leads to loss of property. However, white-collar crime and corruption usually entails misappropriation of much larger sums of money (which means they have a greater economic impact) but generates less fear. It does, however, generate feelings of injustice and lack of respect for authority, which may encourage further street crime.

White-collar crime has a profound impact in our contemporary society. As one interviewee argued, "the most serious crime in the country is not rape, assault, murder and those related (to these violent acts), but crime committed by businessmen, bureaucrats and politicians are more serious and worse". Ordinary citizens react to white-collar crime and public corruption. The lower-class compare their social condition in light of those of the upper-class. Thus, white-collar crime deprives people of receiving scarce resources. Therefore, people resort to force to obtain those needs for survival that cannot be obtained through the legitimate and conventionally approved means.

(4) What do you think can be done to minimise the problem of crime and delinquency in Port Moresby?

There is no easy solution since it is necessary to address all contributing factors (see 1 above). The law and order problem requires a multi-faceted approach since the problem itself is a multi-faceted phenomena. Those interviewees from welfare agencies maintained that while government policy concerns broader socio-economic aspects, individuals should be the focal concern. The welfare and wellbeing of an individual should be given priority at all cost. Welfare policies like stress management, child care, family planning and youth development schemes should be managed effectively and efficiently with more funding from government.

The Director of the INA firmly believed that the real answer to this problem of law and order lies within a healthy economy and the ability to create employment. Many want to encourage investment to create employment for the youth our society. The philosophy is, give jobs to the unemployed to earn their living and only then is it likely that there will be a reduction in the crime rate.

The Chairman and acting Director of the Policy Coordination and Monitoring Committee of the Prime Minister's Department shared the view that our law and order problem can be tackled through an emphasis on the rural sector.

Government aims to provide administrative support to strengthen and enhance the administration and bring essential services to local levels.

The respondents from the police force were of the view that, funding was the obstacle in their pursuit of fighting against crime. The force has the prime responsibility of controlling the law and order problem but is under funded and under staffed, with obsolete and antiquated equipment, poor living conditions and so forth.

(5) In Port Moresby, there are many people of diverse cultural backgrounds living and working. This makes it hard for people to have any sense or feeling of belonging; or of having respect for one another. How do you think we can foster a sense of belonging and build up mutual cooperation and understanding among these people?

All interviewees emphasised that it is vital to get everyone involved in the communities they live in and the wider urban community. There is a need to develop local neighbourhood as well as civic pride. Home ownership needs to be encouraged through the provision of affordable houses, providing essential services to all communities. There is also a need to break down the barriers separating people, including the marked contrasts in lifestyle on display.

Radically improved urban planning is a must. Port Moresby like other urban centres was not planned properly to meet the demands of modernisation and urbanisation. The city must be re-planned to integrate and absorb its residents and its modernisation and the industrialisation process. Registration of households should be given consideration in Port Moresby and expanded to other urban areas. Each household should have already been registered, but it is not too late. The head of the household first should be identified, then the other members of the family.

Above all, economic security is a must. Without it, cooperation will never eventuate. The change from a subsistence economy to a monetary economy

is producing economic tensions and violence. Urbanisation is a consequence of this social change. Without better economic returns for people and an improvement in economic security, people will not develop a sense of belonging.

(6) In what ways do you think that our traditions and cultural practices play a part in our efforts to solve the law and order problem?

The vast majority of people in Papua New Guinea continue to lead their lives in accordance with evolving customary traditions. The introduced process of government, including criminal justice, affects comparatively few people. The social reality is that tradition and cultural factors remain vital for most Papua New Guineans in resolving disputes and all other forms of social activity. The introduced system does not pay sufficient attention to this reality and tends to operate on a quite different plane. Law and order strategies have to build on these cultural traditions because that is where most people are at. Development of village courts, community policing, community corrections, arbitration and compensation processes are an integral part of this. Involvement of communities in determining local-level law and order agendas and other types of planning are needed.

If responses from the Prime Minister's Department are of any indication, then there is a move to recognise these informal social control systems. The community will play a major role at the local level in engineering rural development. The government will be told what to do by those at the local level, rather than government bringing in policies already designed and planned with out consultation. The community will have the chance to identify development needs and suggest what they would like the government to do for them.

(7) Do you think that Christian values and principles should be integrated into our policy approaches? If so, then how?

A few interviewees supported the view that Christian values should be integrated into Papua New Guinean law and order policies. Also, from simple observations and listening to advocates of Christian values, government has recognised in principle Christian activities. Unless practical and realistic recognition is given to Christian churches, criminality behaviour will continue to increase and many predict it will not be long before it will devastate and cripple the economy. Christian values and principles are a form of social control, thus emphasised in strongest terms.

Many, however, were unbelieving, doubtful that Christian values and principles could bring a miracle or even impact on society by reducing the law and order problem. Many argued Papua New Guinean policies should indeed be guided, but not necessarily by Christian values, but alternatively values that are based on human rights. People need recognition as individuals regardless of sex, race, ethnicity, religion and, as such, should be respected for who they are without bias and prejudice toward that person striving for economic survival, success and prosperity.

The important point is to develop policies that an impact on people and their behaviour in the manner that respects individual and community dignity. Many of the existing and past policies have been couched in Christian languages and it does not appear to have made much difference. Papua New Guinea is nominally more Christian than most other developing countries but the problems continue to grow. There are no 'magic' solutions, Christian or otherwise.

(8) What do you think is required to help our law enforcement agencies to be more effective in dealing with the law and order problem, especially for young people?

The law and order agencies require and need better resourcing, better training, better discipline, better coordination, better planning, decentralisation and community direction. They need to develop more options/programmes for diverting youth from criminal activities in the first instance and from keeping most young offenders out of prison in the second. The law enforcement agencies should become more community-oriented in their approach to work with the public. The public has previously rebelled burst police para-military techniques employed, so there is a definite need to be rid of this approach to dealing with people.

With regard to young offenders, they should not be treated badly by the police or community. The young offenders should not be sent to the same prison camp and bundled together. The children and juveniles' court must be effective. Papua New Guinea should plan ahead in dealing with young offenders. They must be integrated into the community where the Non-Governmental Organisations, members of the community and the family members should take initiatives to care for and look after them.

(9) Should prison be used for both those who are harmful to society as well as those who are not harmful to society? Please explain. What alternatives might be used for those who are not harmful?

Prison should be a last resort, based on the threat presented to the society by the offender or the seriousness of his/her offence. There is an urgent need to develop non-custodian alternatives in Papua New Guinea. Alternatives such as community service, probation, parole, and compulsory reparation should be considered. The community must not see the offenders as anything but an integral part of the society in which they live and should be treated as such.

Furthermore, prison should be for those that are harmful to society. The murderer in particular should have a more severe punishment than other serious crimes like rape and physical assault. Amendments should be made to Papua New Guinean laws to increase the penalty and segregate and isolate them from rest of the community. The population of prison camps must be limited only to serious and recidivist criminals. A lesser number is easier to control and to ensure that they are not only punished but, most importantly, rehabilitated.

(10) Are there any other comments or points that you would like to make about how we might better deal with the law and order problem amongst youths in our country?

All responses fell into three main categories. First, there is a need to get away from seeing it exclusively as a law and order problem and seeing it in the light of the complex mixture of factors referred to in question one. The issues of migration, population growth, town planning and so forth must be controlled, because the problem of law and order stems from a disorganised social environment.

Second, the most difficult problem facing a young independent nation is its complex population of cultural diversities and how to exercise the legitimate control over the many tiny and diverse principalities that exist in the country.

Third, the concern is not only about violent crimes but also white-collar crime, political corruption, public disorder involving riots or tribal warfare and rebellious activities like the recent Bougainville crisis. All contribute to this problem of law and order in the country and each should be given serious consideration. One should not observe this problem of law and order as an entirely lower-class youth phenomena. It must be examined in the context of the total fabric of the society and must be appropriately controlled. With this in mind, let us turn to examine the government emphasis that may propel Papua New Guinea into the late 1990s and into the 21st century.

CURRENT GOVERNMENT EMPHASIS

The Papua New Guinea Government has been unstable during the last 20 years. There is no guarantee that the country will have a more stable government in the late 1990s and beyond. This instability is in terms of the frequent change of government over the last two decades although this is done in a democratic way, upholding the Constitution with a handshake guided by the spirit of being Melanesian. However, one needs steady and stable government to implement policies adequately. This frequent change of government has not brought about major change in policy influenced by extreme political ideology, but rather a duplication of the same liberal policies in different languages such as "priority", "emphasis" "rural" and "local" used by different managers. In this respect, there has not been a major shift in government policies since 1975. Policies have merely revolved around in a circle in the hands of "power angry political animals".

Experience shows us that priority and emphasis are frequently changed whenever a new government is formed. Having experienced that, most of the respondents indicated that it was obvious that the emphasis would shift towards economic development as soon as Sir Julius Chan, who advocated economic development, became Prime Minister in 1994. The signs were there: the PCMC of the Prime Minister and NEC Department were abolished, arguing

that the committees' work is only a duplication of other groups, committees and departments. The funding of the only two government universities in the country was reduced significantly in 1995 (Yeates, 1995). For the 1996 budget, the universities' allocation was reduced significantly further. For instance, the University of Papua New Guinea will receive K29.994 million in 1996 compared with an allocation of K31.36 million in 1995. (Post Courier, Thursday December 7 1995 p.5). The National Law Order and Justice Council (NLOJC) and the National Youth Service (NYS) were also seen as institutions absorbing public monies and appeared to become a lower priority of the government. One might ask, "why set up an organisation, wasting public monies, only to be given the least consideration, or at worse, be abandoned by each new government that comes into power without being given serious thought?".

As was the case for previous governments, the present government has a vision to remove Papua New Guinea from underdevelopment (see chapter 1) through emphasis on the economic sphere. On the other hand, however, if the social sector is crippled and paralysed, I ask how could the economic sector alone prosper? While trying to harmonise the social and economic sectors, one should think that the welfare and wellbeing of the people must be developed and sustained for a healthy economy.

It is only in this context that Sir Julius Chan considered the social sector as an important partnership in the development process. This can be seen through the Constitutional Reform on Provincial and Local Level Governments brought about by the current government and is the government's current priority. For example, out of a K1.9 billion 1996 budget announced on 25 November 1995, a record K484 million was budgeted to implement these reforms, an increase of approximately K200 million than allocated in 1995. (Post Courier, Thursday November 23 1995 p.8). Its impacts are yet to be seen but it is very unpredictable and there is no guarantee that this will last long.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

I have gathered views from people within Papua New Guinea on the problems of law and order. The causal context of crime and possible methods to address this problem can be substantiated from these views expressed by our respondents.

It can be seen quite clearly that there is no single causal factor for our law and order problem in my country but a range of variables functioning to cause criminality behaviour. Inequality and poverty are seen to be the root causes of the problems of crime. These generate other causal factors. Accordingly, the responses to this law and order problem must vary both in general and in specific situations.

It is clear that from a youth's perspective, they will always provide a challenge to society, whether it be traditional or modern institutions, in hoping for the better. They see that there are structural inequalities which impede them from realising their perceived aims and desires in life.

We can also see that, from a policy makers perspective, it is difficult to meet the demands of youths and other members of the society within the constraints of the resources available. The policy makers and politicians alike are unsure of what method to apply. In fact, when talking about solving law and order problems, it is difficult because one is talking about changing human behaviour which may have been influenced by some profound factors within that person or in the society. While making reference to society, it is within this context that the next chapter will be developed.

CHAPTER THREE

A REVIEW OF POLITICAL HISTORY AND AN ANALYSIS OF INFORMAL SOCIAL STRUCTURES IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA

I have come from 50 000 years

So they think

Others say I was born on 16 September, 1975.

Let my arrows fly another 50 000 years.

(Kumalau Tawali, 1984 in Waiko, 1993:2)

INTRODUCTION

Papua New Guinea covers a surface area of 462,840 square kilometres, with a total population of 3.6 million and a population density of 8 people per square kilometre. The annual population growth rate stands at 2.2 percent (Statistical Digest, 1992:5). Papua New Guinea gained its political independence from Australia on 16 September 1975.

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce Papua New Guinea and its socio-cultural and political background. This chapter provides background to and a context for the thesis itself. The chapter has two aims: first, it reviews the history of Papua New Guinea; and second, analyses its informal social structures. This historical review is based on literature made available by Somare, 1975; Griffin, et al, 1979; and Waiko, 1993. The review begins with an archaeological explanation of human settlement in Papua New Guinea and explores the way of life before foreign contact. The analysis then extends to foreign contact, leading to the start of colonisation in 1884. Colonial rule, which shaped Papua New Guinea for almost 100 years, is discussed. Changes that have occurred in the post-independence period and the 1990s are also analysed.

The analysis then turns to an exploration of informal social structures. First, I will introduce this section by examining an intellectual debate over what is referred to as the "Melanesian Way". Then the analysis examines informal social control structures, focussing particularly on how disputes are solved using traditional Papua New Guinea methods.

THE SETTLEMENT

The words of the Papua New Guinean poet Kumalau Tawali above express well the feelings of many Papua New Guineans (Waiko, 1993:2). It is generally understood that about 50,000 years ago seaborne migrants from South East Asia began arriving in small numbers at a place now known as New Guinea, the second largest island in the world. These migrants sailed to and spread out as far as the adjoining north east islands, along the coast and into the interior of the island of New Guinea. John Waiko, the first Papua New Guinean PhD holder and Professor of History, explained these early migrants:

The earliest evidence of human occupation in Papua New Guinea comes from the Huon Peninsula on the north coast of the mainland between 40,000 and 45,000 years Before Present (BP). Early settlement in the islands is 32,000 BP and comes from New Ireland, and 28,000 years BP in the North Solomons. Evidence of first human settlement in the mountainous interior of the mainland, the Highlands, is 30,000 years BP (Waiko, 1993:2).

Scholars generally push back the date at least 50,000 years BP to explain when the earliest settlers migrated to the island. Further studies are still being conducted that are likely to result in further refinements to these dates (Waiko, 1993:2).

Hence, it is true to say that Papua New Guineans and the Irian Jayans from a province of Indonesia sharing the same land mass are descendants of successive waves of migrants from South East Asia. Recent archaeological studies provide evidence that these early settlers were not only hunters,

gatherers, and fishers but also agriculturalists. This evidence comes from the Upper Wahgi valley near Mount Hagen:

....New Guineans were among the world's first agriculturalists, growing bananas, pitpit, green vegetables, and possibly sugar cane 9000 years ago. These ancient farmers appear to have kept domesticated pigs and developed complex drainage systems (Griffin, et al, 1979:2).

Apart from being hunters, gatherers, fishers, agriculturalists and the owners of domesticated animals they were also traders and builders, organisers of family and marriage, performed rituals, dances and songs, and held beliefs about the world which reflected the region's continuing diversity. Above all, the New Guineans lived in small, fragmented, self-contained and self-sufficient units.

If there was anything that held them together and helps us to understand the people better, it was their **"trading system"**, the single most important means of exchange. There were five main complex exchange routes. The first major trade network was the "Hiri", a trading of pots, sago and shells between the new people of Gulf and the Central Provinces. The second was the "Kula", an exchange of shells, axes, wooden dishes, pots and obsidian between the south east of the mainland and those adjoining islands to the east. "Mailu" was the third of these major exchanges and was between the Mailu people of the southern part of the mainland and the Central people. Similar items were used for exchanges as the Kula and Hiri Trading. Fourth was the "Vitiaz" between New Britain and the north-coast of the mainland. The items that were used as means of exchange were shells, dogs' teeth, canoes, pots and carved bowls. The "Moka" or "Tee" exchange of shells and pigs was found in the interior of the mainland or the Highlands. This trading involved a complex network of reciprocal exchanges that connected large numbers of people.

One is forced, therefore, to conclude that Papua New Guineans were not bands of nomadic or primitive people as claimed by Rangers (1978) who said that "colonialists often did not find primitive communist Utopias but agrarian

societies already stratified in production and containing a distinct class of traders" (in Summer, (ed), 1982:24).

Up to the point of foreign contact in the 1500s and the recognition and commencement of formal colonisation in 1884, through to political independence in 1975 and contemporary Papua New Guinea, the concepts and practices of our customary and traditional way of life - like the trading system - have not been lost in the midst of foreign contact and eventual colonisation. Though it is true to say that the process of colonisation has dismantled our traditional structures of social organisation, the ideas and basic concepts have not been lost. Still, at this phase of development our traditional social structures and the ways of social organisation are balanced on a tightrope due to foreign contact. I will now briefly examine outside contact and the influence it had on traditional social organisation in Papua New Guinea.

FOREIGN CONTACT (1526-1884)

As early as 1526, the Portuguese and later the Spanish in 1545 were in the waters of Papua New Guinea in search of spices and areas to colonise. The first Spanish explorers named the mass of land "New Guinea". In 1606, another lot of Spanish explorers sailed through the Torres Straits for the same reasons. The Portuguese and the Spanish did not make any attempt to settle the area, just pass through. In the 1600s and much of 1700s, Dutch, French and English explorers followed for the same reasons as the sailors. After their establishment in New South Wales in 1788, the British emerged as the dominant influence in the region with the Dutch and French basically disappearing from the Papua New Guinea waters. Foreign scientists and adventurers and traders began showing interest in the region. During this period, Germans came from the east and settled in much of the north-east islands. By the early 1800s, the Germans had already established private companies in various parts of New Britain, which were amalgamated into one German company called "Kompagne" in 1884.

The British established their base at Port Moresby, which was named after one of the early explorers, Captain John Moresby, in February 20, 1873. Early contacts with the natives involved trading along the coast of the southern region and its adjoining islands. The Dutch, by this time established in what is now Indonesia, became agitated at the growing frequency of German and British voyages at the eastern end of the island of New Guinea and laid claim to the entire western part of the island, now Irian Jaya. But the Dutch built no administration stations in their claimed territory until 1898. After many years of informal contact, the year 1884 saw a newly organised form of colonisation. As Waiko (1993:26) puts it:

On 3 November 1884 the north-east section of the island of New Guinea was declared a German protectorate and on 6th November the south-east section of the island was declared a British protectorate. The western half of the island remained in the hands of the Dutch. Thus the fact that the present-day nation of Papua New Guinea became part of the British and the German colonial empires and not the Dutch, was an accident of an European history over which they had no control.

There were arbitrary lines drawn as boundaries which were to become the major international and regional boundaries. British and the German New Guinea were later incorporated as one. For three decades the present-day Papua New Guinea was further colonised and administered by the Germans, the British and the Australians. The Australians later took full control of Papua New Guinea until 1975. The colonists imposed their culture on the natives of this region who were subject to the orders and wishes of these rulers. Without going into every detail, the proceeding sections offer an analysis of how colonial administration was carried out and how Australians took control of the region, leading to the emergence of urban centres. The analysis begins with the part of New Guinea that fell under German control.

German New Guinea (1884-1914)

After the Germans formally declared control over the north-east island of New Guinea in 1884, imperial rule by Germany remained in force for thirty years. In October 1884, the Germans signed a treaty with ten illiterate men from Madang to claim ownership of the region. Although the indigenous people had no understanding of what it meant to put a mark on this piece of paper, the treaty was legally sufficient (although morally wrong) for the Germans to claim ownership of the land. In all respects, it should be established that the Germans first and foremost aim was to make profits through the exploitation of natural resources. Civilisation was a by-product of this hunger for raw materials.

The German Government entrusted its colonial venture to a company called the New Guinea Kompagne. In all cases, the company's prime objective was to maximise profit and minimise cost. With a monopoly over the natives and their resources, no one can deny that there was injustice, forced labour and exploitation. The company was responsible for administering all of the islands and the mainland coast, although in reality its agents did not spread far from Kokopo in New Britain and Madang, the administrative centres for the islands and the mainland coast respectively. The interior of the mountainous highlands was never explored even by the proper German Government as these areas were thought to be economically unviable and unprofitable to explore.

To this end, it can be seen that the company was doing two jobs: administrating the claimed region and trying to operate as a profit orientated business. Coastal New Guinea was transformed from a raw frontier into a plantation colony. Plantations were found everywhere government stations were established. The imperial administration established big plantations which needed large numbers of people and provide labour. But the company failed to make the profits they expected to initially. This was largely due to the fact that there was a shortage in the labour supply. The indigenous people were not

used to the cash economy and often came to work only whenever they felt it necessary for brief periods.

Having realised this short-coming, the German Government established its proper imperial administration in 1889, partly to bail the company out of its financial problems and to administer the region more effectively. For plantations to succeed Governor, Hahl wrote as noted by Griffin, et al, (1979:40):

....the government had to suppress the 'predatory and blood thirsty tribes,' establish peace, incorporate the New Guineans into a system of rule and accustom them to work.

The Germans introduced a mobile expeditionary force based in Rabaul that was ready to go where and whenever the colonial administration confronted problems with the natives. The members of this mobile squad were active, young indigenous men who were ready to kill fellow natives when an order was given.

There were also **Luluais and Tultuls** established in the villages. The former were minor magistrates and colonial government functionaries in the villages, while the latter were interpreters who could assume the responsibilities of police constables in the village. The **Luluais and Tultuls** were located in the villages to help in the process of recruiting labourers and to help make the colonial presence felt.

In later years from 1889 to 1914, the Germans established government stations at a faster rate than their counterparts in the south. These were: Kavieng (1900); Namatanai (1904); Kieta in Bougainville and Rabaul in New Britain (1905). From 1906 the emphasis switched to the mainland coast and the establishment of: Aitape (1906); Morobe (1909); Manus (1911); Angrom (1913) and Lae (1914) (Griffin, et al, 1979:39-40). It is important to emphasise that no proper payments were made to the indigenous people in any of these areas for building the townships. Instead the mobile squad based at Rabaul was used

and there were many bloody confrontations. The natives could not match the colonial administration's mobile squad equipped with sophisticated weapons. The Germans used more force to impose their colonial rule than the Australians in the south. The Germans wanted their New Guineans to be feared and respected.

The German colonial administration was invaded in the First World War in 1914 by the Australian troops in support of the British, who were at war against Germany. However, their primary motivation was to take over German plantations and other business activities in the German Territory. With this, we turn to examine that part of New Guinea under British control.

British New Guinea (1884-1906)

Port Moresby had already been named the capital of the British Protectorate of New Guinea by 1884. There was trading of copra, pearl, pearl shell, sea cucumber, wooden sandals and other items of economic value between the Europeans and the natives. However, most of the coastal regions and almost all of the interior were not explored. Though in principle and in legal terms the region was a territory belonging to the British, in practice day-to-day administration was carried out by Australia.

The first administrator of the protectorate was Sir Peter Scratchley, who took up office in December 1884 but died of malaria within a few months of taking office. There were other administrators appointed but none were as creative as Sir William MacGregor, appointed in 1888, who divided the whole of British New Guinea into regions by drawing some arbitrary lines and placing a resident magistrate in each. MacGregor also recruited policemen called "Armed Native Constabulary". With the assistance of these policemen, he travelled extensively to most of the regions and in each new area he discovered and appointed village constables, whose role was to be "police informants".

During the period of MacGregor's administration up until his departure in 1898, certain ordinances were passed in regard to the use of natives as labour and the use of land and other social activities to protect and safeguard the rights of natives within the areas of his jurisdiction in New Guinea. He was a man who never believed in indiscriminate punitive expeditions aimed at injuring the community but attempted instead to arrest individuals who caused the crime. After Sir William MacGregor left in 1889, the period up until 1908 saw three different administrators: George Le Huntley, 1898-1903; Christopher Robinson, 1903-4; and Francis Barton 1904-7. These administrators took up office during a period of transition.

The most significant change to occur during this period was a transfer of the administration of British New Guinea to Australia. A Papua Act was passed by the Commonwealth of Australia in 1905, which came into effect in 1906. The Papua Act became the legal framework which determined how the territory would be run. The British Protectorate was then renamed **Australian Papua** which meant that Papua then became an Australian Territory and no longer a British Territory.

Australian Administration of Papua and New Guinea (1906-1945)

Australian Papua meant that the territory was then in the control of the Australians. The natives had no say in this arrangement organised between the Australians and the British. In 1908, Hubert Murray was appointed as the first Lieutenant-Governor of the Territory of Papua. He was an example of a man of fine character who lived up to his words until his death in 1940. Unlike MacGregor, Murray saw that local labour and land use was necessary for economic and social progress. In effect, social and economic development progressed very slowly. There was very slow development of cash crop plantations and minimal health and education services which were provided mostly by the missions.

In 1914, during the First World War, Australian troops invaded the township of Rabaul, the capital of the German territory, and took over German New Guinea. In the Australian Territory of Papua, new areas were continuing to be explored. In the 1930s, Murray travelled to the interior and explored a region that is now the Southern Highlands Province. By 1939, Murray was confident that almost all of the region of Australian Papua was explored. Meanwhile, the invaded territory of German New Guinea was still not legally under Australian control, although in practice Australian troops took control of the administration of this territory. From 1914 to 1921, Australian New Guinea was under military-style rule. The Australian interest was not in the native people (except as labourers) but in the abandoned German plantations. From 1914 New Guinea copra went to Australia. The labourers were seen as an integral part of producing copra bags for without their labour this would not have been possible. Their labour was valued above everything else. The Australian imperial administration maintained the system of rule of law introduced by the Germans. This helped in the process of recruiting more labourers to work in the plantations.

Up to this stage, Australia did not have the full authority to rule the colony. Between 1921 and 1945, the invaded German New Guinea was ruled under the League of Nations Mandate. This meant that Australia was to promote the material and moral wellbeing and the social progress of the inhabitants of the territory, and was to report to the League of Nations on the progress of developments. At the end of the Mandate the Australians had not attended meaningfully to the needs and welfare of the indigenous people. Their only interest had been the continued exploitation of what had been left by the Germans. Health, education, transport and other infrastructures were not developed.

Gold was discovered in Bulolo in the mainland in 1926. Australians took control of the gold-field and again used the New Guineans as labourers. Like the plantations, the gold mines needed low-paid, obedient labourers. The indigenous people were boys who were legally forbidden from any form of

strike whilst the Australians were economically dominating masters. The conditions were very hard for labourers.

An exciting fact was the discovery of the interior, or the Highlands. The rugged and mountainous Highlands Region was incorporated into the orbit of Australian imperialism and to that of the world capitalist economy in the 1930s. The first Europeans to reach the Highlands were from the north-east coast through the Markham and Ramu valleys to the Wahgi Valleys. The gold prospectors Mich and Danny Leahy and patrol officer Jim Taylor - miners and an administration official - in 1933 were in the Wahgi Valley in the interior and the central Highlands. Later missionaries and other administration officials followed and within the short time-frame of twelve months the Australians had established a significant economic, administrative and mission presence. To the indigenous people, the Australian money had no value. When the Australians paid them for work done, the labourers, immediate reaction was that the Australian money was of no use to them and demanded to be paid in kina shells (pearl shell). The kina shell was taken from the coast through trading links and was at that time very valuable and used as a medium of exchange. With the discovery of gold, the Highlands Region developed at a faster rate than was seen on the Coast and the Islands.

Australia continued its slow economic-orientated development in Papua, while her economic interests were pursued in the Mandated territory. Australia may have been eager to take rapid possession of the Mandated territory from the League of Nations, but this eventuated for different reasons. The two regions were annexed and came under Australian rule some years after the Second World War. This War arrived in New Guinea in 1942 but it was only seen on the mainland coast and the islands. The Highlands region was never touched by the effects of this bloody war although a few had heard about the fight along the coast. Australian, American and British allies drove out the Japanese who came with great speed and power. There were many lives lost on both sides.

The indigenous people either fought for the allies or the Japanese and in the jungles there were many unappreciated heroes killed.

The war brought the Papua New Guineans and Australians closer together. They fought together and won the war against the Japanese in this region. The aftermath of this war was a period during which the Australians changed their policy approach to Papua New Guinea. The Australians began to realise the importance of Papua New Guinea to their defence and prepared to develop the territory and help build up a friendly, prosperous and loyal neighbour. The Australian Government felt it was her role to change existing policy approaches and thus the period from 1945 onwards was marked by a stronger and more purposeful government.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT AND CHANGE (1945-1970)

The Australian Government passed the Papua New Guinea Provisional Act in 1945 which was formalised with the passing of the Papua New Guinea Act in 1949. The budgetary allocations increased and it was Australia's duty to play a major and significant role in bringing development. The Australian Government, although criticised for adopting a paternalistic approach, started to address major development issues to help the indigenous people create an awareness of themselves and placed Papua New Guinea in a better place to put pressure on the colonial government. At this time, no one could foresee that in a matter of thirty years after the Second World War, Papua New Guinea would become an independent country. Through rapid political change, it became favourable for the indigenous people to administer their own affairs and emerge as an independent state.

Although the Australian Government had changed the course of her policy approach, she had only passed the Papua New Guinea Provisional Act in 1945 because the territory had the status "Mandated Territory" of the League of

Nations. What ever the international obligations, Australia pursued a stronger purposeful approach.

Following the enactment of the Native Village Council Ordinance, several Local Government Councils were established. From 1950 to 1965, a total of 109 Local Government Councils were established serving a total population of 1,188,165: 37 Councils in the Papua and 72 in New Guinea (McCasker, 1972 in Waiko, 1993:177). The prime objective of the Local Government Councils during that period was to establish links between the local people and the colonial administration centred in Port Moresby. The colonial administration took the view that with the introduction of such institutions in which councillors were elected, the local people would understand the principles and practices of democracy. Therefore, the locals learned and experienced a new form of choosing leaders. The Councillors also assisted the other administration representatives in the community. (Tultuls and Luluais in New Guinea and Village Constables in Papua).

The most obvious and formal changes were in the structure of the legislature. The Legislative Council met for the first time in 1951 in Port Moresby. There were twelve members of whom only three were indigenous Papua New Guineans. After a decade, a second and an enlarged Legislative Council met. There were seven Papua New Guineans this time. The locals contributed very little to matters that would affect their people, but it was a beginning. The key point is that such organisations helped create awareness and pulled many young talented local elites into the mainstream of the development process by way of participation, enabling local people to make a contribution towards designing and constructing the legal framework that would guide the land and the people of Papua New Guinea.

In 1962 a select committee under John Guise - later Sir John Guise, one of the very outstanding and colourful characters in the country's political history until his death in 1992 - a member of the Legislative council, recommended the

establishment of a National House of Assembly. Likewise, in the same year, a United Nations' visiting mission, led by Sir Hugh Foot, together with other recommendations pressured Australia to establish an elected body composed largely of the indigenous population. Accordingly, in 1964, for the very first time a general election was held. The House of Assembly replaced the Legislative Council. The House of Assembly was not entirely an indigenous body as expatriates were either elected or chosen. Most elected indigenous people lacked formal education and did not understand the formal proceedings and the way that democratic procedures worked in such elected bodies. This lack of knowledge worked to the advantage of the expatriates in many aspects.

The second House met in 1968. This time the indigenous people learned a lot. They formed political parties which opposed Australian techniques and manipulations. Michael Somare, a talented and outspoken leader, was elected by the people of East Sepik. He took over the leadership of one of the newly formed political parties called "Pangu" (Papua and New Guinea United). He was constantly attacking the Australians for failing to teach the indigenous people about political parties and accused them of fostering in the minds of Papua New Guineans a Westminster type of government which is complex and inappropriate. He was an emerging leader with great vision.

THE TRANSITION TO POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE (1970-1975)

In 1971, the name "Territory of Papua and New Guinea" was changed to "Papua New Guinea" following a recommendation by a Select Committee on Constitutional Development, and the House adopted a national flag and emblem. A feeling of nationalism emerged although there were still some strong separatist movements. To the Australians, it was felt that it was in the best interest of the Papua New Guineans that they should run their own affairs. The leader of the Labour Party in the Australian Parliament, Gough Whitlam, visited the territory in 1969 and witnessed progress and development and was quite impressed. He declared when outlining the Labour Party's policies that:

....[Papua New Guinea] is not unique in its economy, in the difference of economic standards between sections of the country, its educational or social standards, its needs for economic aid from abroad, its needs for advisors, the diversity of local customs, or even the multiplicity of its languages.... None of these problems require colonial rule for their solution or easing. In fact many of them will worsen if foreign techniques, methods, laws and customs continue to exclude local custom, knowledge and experience. An outside administration can not teach or impose unity. It can by its errors unite a people against it. This is the very situation which Australians at home will not permit (in Johnson, 1983:3).

This was the common view fostered in the minds of many Australians. His party was on the verge of a rapid decolonisation process which meant that Australia could not continue to administer the affairs of Papua New Guinea. The point is, because of the diversities and internal complexities in the formation of the social structure, an indigenous person would know the community's problems better than a foreigner. Therefore, Australians were ready to hand over administration when the indigenous people were ready, and from there it was a question of when.

In the final report of the Select Committee on Constitutional Development, the House of Assembly accepted recommendations for a centralised single-house Westminster system. There were other very important recommendations the House accepted like the increase in the number of representatives, which this time included more Papua New Guineans. The third general election was held in 1972, attracting many candidates. A coalition government was formed and Michael Somare, a strong advocate for self-determination and self-rule, became the leader. Soon after Michael Somare gained the leadership, he declared his visions for Papua New Guinea in the form of the so-called "Eight Aims". (See appendix 8). "These Eight Aims were formulated in December 1972 and were approved by the House Assembly. They appeared in *Papua New Guinea's Improvement Plan for 1973-1974* and have featured in annual planning documents since then" (Turner, 1990:188). These aims were guiding principles to usher Papua New Guinea into independence and beyond.

At this time, there was a change of government in the Australian Parliament. Gough Whitlam, who declared his party's policy regarding a rapid decolonisation process, became the Prime Minister. It was a foregone conclusion that Papua New Guinea was well placed for self-rule. This time it was a matter of formalities. In 1 December 1973, Papua New Guinea was granted self-government status with Michael Somare playing the major role as Chief Minister. This status of:

Self-government meant the transfer from Australia to an elected Papua New Guinea Government of all powers except those concerning foreign affairs, defence, and the legal system that were to be handed over when Papua New Guinea achieved complete independence (Waiko, 1993:180).

The period leading to self-government and independence was not an easy one. Apart from opposition in the House¹, separatist movements whose leaders were able to mobilise support from different communities or regions tried to secede from Papua New Guinea. Thoughts of secession have not faded away and still continue to threaten stability and unity. With this in mind, I will examine the secessionist movements prior to independence.

SECESSIONIST MOVEMENTS

The secessionist movements were from the Papuan region and the New Guinea Islands region. These separatist movements existed partly as a result of the exploitive and paternalistic approach used by the imperial power. The colonial government had failed, in that sense, to foster a sense of belonging and a feeling of nationalism. Secondly, these movements were the result of internal conflicts within Papua New Guinea itself. The Papuans and the New Guinea Islanders feared the Highlanders, who were often seen and described as

---

¹The Opposition led by United Party leader and member for Wabag Open, Tei Abal, were against moves by Michael Somare for independence. Tei Abal, who comes from the Highlands, was of the view that independence was coming too early for Papua New Guinea, particularly in his region, where Western contact had only begun in the 1930s.

"hooligans" and "rowdy". Third, each felt that they had the population, resources and abilities capable of independence. They wanted self-determination and self-rule.

Although straight after the war Australia changed its policy approach to its territory, that manifesto was only in principle and was little more than the rhetoric of a colonial power. It can be argued that the secessionist movements would not have come about had Australia meaningfully developed the internal cultural and economic background:

Australia had failed to promote cultural homogenisation, economic interaction among indigenous and autochthonous institutions for conflict resolution could only ring true ... The search for Melanesian identity in a general modern context was bound to be prolix and somewhat muddled rather than a luminous redistribution of tradition (Griffin, et al, 1979:147).

Such things as history, preservation of oral tradition, study of traditional arts, customs and skills were not explored and moulded into an authentic culture. Instead, the modern capitalistic mentality and the idea of a cash economy was placed before the indigenous people. This gave momentum to and strengthened the inner feelings of separation.

The Papuan Movement

In the Papuan region, there were feelings among the educated elites that they more civilised than the New Guineans. In their opinion, the New Guineans were primitive and uncivilised hooligans. The Highlanders in particular were feared. The Papuans were Australia's first Melanesians to be contacted and colonised before New Guinea was annexed into Papua in 1914. Some educated elites like Oala Oala-Rarua and Josephine Abaijah were misled to believe that such historical contact would qualify them to have favour from the Australians. Oala Oala-Rarua, a representative in the House, in 1971 asserted that:

There is nothing to stop Papua from becoming a seventh State of Australia. What is the matter with that? If the New Guineans have their quarrels, there is nothing stopping Papua becoming an independent state on its own, if Australia does not want it. If a small territory of Nauru with 4500 can have independence, then its good enough for 800,000 Papuans.

Contrary to this view, the Australian Government wanted a united Papua New Guinea and never intended to disintegrate and separate her Melanesian territory. Despite such views, the move for Papuan independence never ceased and was reinforced by an up-coming and vocal female leader Josephine Abaijah as stated in the words of Steinbauer (1974:42):

I am a Papuan. That makes me different from other people. I feel I have a nationality, a name, and a common future with Papuan people.

Through her leadership, a separatist movement of Papua Besena was formed which, in 1974, released its own policy document. Papua Besena failed to realise its aspirations and aims, partly because it lacked financial backing, but more importantly because there was little support from the Papuan educated elite. The likes of John Guise, Ebia Olewale, Maori Kiki and others believed in the unity of Papua and New Guinea as one nation and one country. However, the key point is that Papua Besena fostered in the minds of the Papuans a feeling and a belief of a Papuanese and not that of a Papua New Guinean.

The New Guinea Islands

In the Islands region, two well known separatist movements existed: the Mataungan Association and the Napindakoe Navitu Association. The Mataungan Association was formed in 1969 on the Gazelle Peninsula in the East New Britain Province. The aim of this association was to incorporate all the islands of New Britain, Manus, New Ireland and the North Solomons into one nation. They wanted to be their own nation, separate from the rest of Papua New Guinea. Their idea of separation was based on geographical location.

Although this movement was strong and had many supporters, it was not as strong (in terms of inner feelings of commitment to the group) as the Napindakoe Navitu. The Napindakoe Navitu was formed in Kieta in the current North Solomons and, in 1970, claimed to have six thousand members. The North Solomons people, known as Bougainvillians are racially, ethnically and geographically different from the rest of Papua New Guinea but are in many ways similar to the people that inhabit the west of the Solomon Islands. The North Solomons islanders feel they are different and have always fought for greater autonomy as a province of Papua New Guinea, even when they realised they could not get independence.

The Napindakoe Navitu was established through a realisation that the colonial government of Australia neglected all aspects of Papua New Guinea in their pursuit of social and economic progress and prosperity. This was made obvious when a rich mineral deposit was discovered by an Australian company in the 1960s. Papua New Guinean landowners opposed the company on the grounds that it was their traditional hunting ground. They feared losing physical vegetation for their wild animals and the indigenous plants. As Momis and Ogan (1972:110) pointed out:

Because their wishes have been ignored, many Nasioi, today suffer, in varying degree, even greater feelings of intimidation, inadequacy to adjust to modern conditions, betrayal and even fear for their physical and spiritual safety than they did in 1962, when some of them demanded a change of administration. In the Guava area, closest to the mine site, one hears men saying, 'The white man is destroying us,' and women, 'We weep for what is done to our land'.

When educated elites the likes of Momis, Hannet, Kambui and others saw their people being treated unfairly by the colonial administration, they became more frustrated. Although their role cannot be seen clearly these educated men joined the secessionist movement. However, people still saw such movements as instigated and masterminded by well-educated elites, not common people. To many Bougainvillians, the colonial government did very little to foster a

sense of understanding amongst the other Papua New Guineans. As Hannet (1975) pointed out:

The colonial experiences did little to create amongst Bougainvillians a sense of a common destiny with other Papua New Guineans (in Griffin, 1982:113).

Therefore, the colonial government contributed to what may have been already feelings of Bougainvillianism via their cultural and geographical identities. The exploitation of their resources and failure by Australia to establish a meaningful and common understanding created an environment conducive for a secessionist movement.

To this end, it can be seen that the movements in the New Guinea Islands and Papuan regions were secessionist ones. However there were other micro-nationalist movements that existed: The Peli Association, seen as a cult movement, was one of the single biggest movements in the country's history. The Kabisawali Movement in the now Milne Bay Province refused to accept the district administration and attempted to force it out. This resulted in friction between the movement and the local government council. The Highlands Liberation Front (HUF) was yet another of such movements. The HUF preached for self-identity and to promote pride and dignity between themselves.

A key point is that both the secessionist movements and the micro-nationalist movements fostered a regionalistic feeling among a single Melanesian ethnic group. These movements strived to promote an identity within their specific region or community without nurturing and encouraging an integration of nationalism in the country as a whole. The feeling of nationalism was not built on and never eventuated, even though political independence was gained. Contemporary Papua New Guinea is still very much influenced and shaped by these movements (Mel, M. 1982).

The question is, how did Papua New Guinea unite and attain independence, in the light of such movements? Michael Somare was able to apply the Melanesian traditional ways of problem solving to reach consensus and

understanding. He was able to merge these fragmented societies into one independent nation. As Somare himself pointed out in his autobiography:

The conflicts and tensions between various groups, sometimes moving them to the brink of secession, have been one of our most difficult problems (Somare, 1975:146).

He believed in the Melanesian approach to solving problems without force. At no point did he use stronger force although he had all the powers and the authority to do so in his capacity as the Chief Minister. He made his point clearly that:

It was very much against my nature to use police against my own people (Somare, 1975:133).

Mr. Somare's strategies were simple but very powerful, in which he moved steadily forward problem by problem. In his traditional way of Sana, a man must invite his enemies to sit down and eat with him before going to fight, and as Chief Minister he constantly sought guidance from that philosophy, and by doing so, he was successful. He invited the movement leaders, listened to their problems and if necessary sought House approval and passed Laws that suited their needs and aspirations. He visited the problem areas and faced the people without fear. He examined and analysed each problem and dealt according to the nature of the problem using both traditional and Western methods. At times he invited the sensitive and educated elites, who led the movements, and gave them a role to play in the process of solving these problems. At last he was able to unite the country and on 16 September, 1975, Papua New Guinea gained political independence. What has happened in the period after independence? With this question in mind, let us examine the post-independence period (1975-1995).

THE POST-INDEPENDENCE PERIOD (1975-1995)

Independence meant the creation of a new nation state characterised by the notions of self-determination and self-rule with a common destiny striving for the better. Independence was never meant to be an adoption of the same pattern and the model of administration left by the imperial power. However, since there was no systematic and organised alternative institution available and ready to be put in place, the existing alien administration was adopted. The indigenous peoples themselves were new to the Western system of administration and therefore foreign advice was necessary. The public service was, at that time, dominated by expatriates but this dominance has been gradually reduced over the last twenty years.

The social structures of Papua New Guinean societies are different from the adopted Western structure of administration. We have tried to put on the shoes of the white-man and imitate him and his way of life but perfection is out of reach. From 1975 to 1995, the country has been under transition, seeking and striving for the better, but the journey has not been an easy one, even though there have been some significant developments and achievements.

The visions for Papua New Guinea

The first twenty years (1975-1995) after independence were a testing period for an emerging independent nation. The common destiny and vision during colonial administration was political independence and that was achieved. What was the vision for an independent Papua New Guinea? The visions for Papua New Guinea, after independence, were developed and shaped in the context of aims and goals. The Eight Aims were not regarded as a home-grown philosophy created by Somare but were a set of objectives established by foreign academics whose advice was based heavily on African experience. Conversely, the real home-grown philosophy of development was the "Five Directive Principles and National Goals" of the National Constitution. (See

appendix 7). All development initiatives were meant to conform to the aspirations expressed in the Eight Aims, the National Goals and the Directive Principles. Policies and programmes of development had to be made with reference to the aims and goals. After twenty years of independence, these aims and goals continue as the guiding principles of contemporary Papua New Guinea. I would argue that these aims and goals were vague and overly broad in nature. In this respect, these aims and goals have failed to reflect Papua New Guinea Melanesian societies and thus lost sight of the real development vision for the country. Our vision should have been simple and achievable, one that reflects our own identity of "who we are." That is, moving towards creating our own development ideologies that reflect ourselves rather than duplicating visions already developed elsewhere. The Eight Aims and National Goals that continue to remain as an official reference for development in contemporary Papua New Guinea are nothing innovative and original but they are **images of the West - a colonial hangover**. With this in mind, let us turn to examine the introduction of the provincial government system and its constitutional reforms.

Decentralisation and its Constitutional Reforms

The establishment of a Provincial Government system as a form of decentralisation after independence (1976) was a significant political achievement. The Organic Law on Provincial Government (OLOPG) was a legal document that defined the powers and functions of the twenty Provincial Governments in Papua New Guinea. This allowed for unitary system where some powers and functions remained with the central government whilst others were decentralised to the provinces. A decentralised form of administration was vital, not only for efficiency and effectiveness in the delivery of goods and services, but more importantly because of the country's continuing diversity in culture and its difficult geographical composition. It was assumed that this form of decentralisation would best serve the needs and aspirations of people in the local communities. The provincial governments were organised like the national

government but on a smaller scale, operating within the powers and functions stipulated in the legal document.

The idea of "provincial government" was constitutionally reformed in 1995, after almost twenty years of operation. This was one of the single most important constitutional reforms in the 1990s. Parliament amended the Constitution of Papua New Guinea to pass an Organic Law on Provincial and Local Governments (OLPLG). The nineteen provincial governments and the National Capital District Commission (NCDC) were replaced by local-level governments. Each local government council in each district was constitutionally recognised through this reform. Under the new system, the heads of each local government council in the province, together with their respective electorate Member of Parliament, constitute the Provincial Assembly, chaired by the Regional Member of Parliament, who has the title "Governor". The provincial departments were abolished to make one national public service.

It was argued that the previous provincial government system, which was like a mini-national government, was costly. There were hardly any goods and services delivered to the people at the local level quickly. "The aim of this reform is to provide a direct link between the National Government and Local-level Government. Funding for Local-level Government projects is guaranteed under this new arrangement and is based on the population of the local area" (Yeates, 1995:4). The Finance and Planning Minister when tabling the 1996 National Budget in Parliament declared that:

the principal goal of the reform is to improve the delivery of services right down to the village level, and in doing so improve the lifestyles, standards of living and opportunities for all Papua New Guineans (Post Courier, Thursday November 23 1995:8).

The Post Courier further reported that "The provision of K484 million to the provinces and districts in 1996 would represent approximately K200 million more than was appropriated for them in 1995 under the old Organic law on Provincial Governments" (Thursday November, 23 1995:8). The immediate

benefits of these constitutional reforms are yet to be seen. Provincial Government reforms were part of an adjustment package introduced by the World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) under the structural adjustment programmes.

The Structural Adjustment Programmes

"Papua New Guinea has many of the signs of a newly independent developing economy on the move" (Jarrett and Anderson, 1989). Matane (1995) saw that during the pre-independence (1945-1975) periods, the economy of Papua New Guinea looked promising. Situations emerged even brighter during the period of immediate post-independence (1975-1980). However, "things began to change with negative results from the early 1980s" (Matane, 1995:6). Post-independence (1980-1995) brought a disappointing record of economic development:

"...despite all these signs of economic progress in Papua New Guinea, the average income in this resource rich economy has not grown. In fact, for the vast majority of the population still living in villages, real incomes may well have declined during the first decade of independence.... Moreover, urban unemployment has become serious in recent years (Jarrett and Anderson, 1989:xiii).

Jarrett and Anderson argued that this disappointing economic growth performance was largely because of the poor performance of the agriculture sector in particular. The mineral boom in Papua New Guinea has led to neglect of the agriculture sector. Matane (1995) argued that the independent public service became politicised when political cronies were appointed to senior public positions. Some of these were good managers, but most were unproductive, corrupted and lazy. This led to an inefficiency in the public service system, which in turn led to the ineffective flow of goods and services to the rural areas.

The Bougainville crisis in 1989 and the low commodity prices in the international market in the late 1980s and into the 1990s added fuel to Papua New Guinea's economic problems. In order to alleviate the situation, the government needed more money. The World Bank, International Monetary Fund and Asian Development Bank became more interested than ever before. Papua New Guinea Government was first advised to devalue its currency by 10 per cent in 1989. A further 12 per cent was devalued in 1994. The value of Papua New Guinea's currency is now 42 per cent of that twenty years ago. (Matane, 1995:7). Then, the international bankers suggested structural adjustment programmes, as Yeates captured:

The structural adjustment includes twenty-six reforms for implementation in 1996 (Saturday Independent, July 8, 1995). Eight of these reforms have a direct effect on social development and future partnerships between organisations. These are: public sector wage freeze; tight market oriented monetary policy; floating and market determined exchange rate; retrenchment of 3000 public servants; abolish the reserved activities (job) list; abolish statutory minimum wages and leave wages to market forces; introduce cost recoveries in hospitals and tertiary education institutions; and decontrol all remaining domestic prices.

The introduction of these measures has had an immediate impact on social development activity. The Government in the 1995 Budget forecast that there would be an estimated 17.2 per cent negative growth in the communication and social sector. This figure compares with the 1974 figure of 7.6 per cent. The negative growth is due to a 'drastic reduction in government spending in the sector (Post Courier, March 8, 1995:13). The projected rate of real growth for 1996 is negative 10.3 per cent rising to 0.1 per cent in 1998. (1995:4).

Many, like Matane (1995), fear that the worse is yet to come. However, politicians continue to tell the people that the country is on the road to recovery. For example, the Prime Minister Sir Julius Chan, while giving an address at the launching of the "Police Action Plan" for 1996 as the "Year of the Law Enforcement" confidently declared, "....our national economy , which was on the verge of collapse, has now been turned around. We are definitely sailing

clear of the reefs and are now progressing on course" (The Independent, January 12 1996:46).

Other Developments

After independence, four National Elections were held in the years of 1977, 1982, 1987 and 1992. Leaders rose and fell and the government formed and changed, but the independent state remained as the unifying framework upon which other institutions were based. Government policies were reviewed subject to the whims and perceptions of different elected leaders. In the recent past, major policies have been designed as guiding principles to encourage and provide direction for the development and growth of this young nation. It is not my purpose to account for these policies aimed at economic development in the belief that benefits will trickle down to the broad base of the population in all parts of the country.

Industrialisation was presumed to be an important and integral component of the development approach and with this in mind, industrial developments were promoted and encouraged. This approach may well be possible and within reach, given our rich natural resources: agriculture, fishing, timber and the mining industries. Mining (mineral, and more recently petroleum) for instance, has been a major source of international revenue that can be used to promote a decent society. But in many instances, the local land owners have been discontent because of the exploitative attitude of the mineral resource developers. Their customary land has been exploited and reaped by outsiders without proper compensation.

The **Bougainville Crisis** which started at the beginning of 1989 was the direct result of this sentiment. This crisis, a cold blooded war, was the bloodiest confrontation between the locals and the independent state in the short political history of the country since independence. Without going into detail, the Bougainville Pty Ltd, a foreign owned company, extracted copper between

1973 until the mine shut down in 1989 after the land owners effectively dismantled the mine site. The crisis was ignited because the land owners were disheartened at the management of the mine and the environmental damage caused for which they were not well compensated. This crisis will go down in the history of Papua New Guinea as a bloody clash which cost many locals and military personnel their lives.²

Whilst this crisis continued on Bougainville Island, many did not know or hear about the crisis. "In 1985, 80 percent of the population was still engaged in subsistence agriculture, supplemented by hunting, fishing, and gathering and small amounts from the sale of excess produce and fish" (Waiko, 1993:204). This indicates that the majority of people in Papua New Guinea continued to live a rural way of life. Their customs and traditions guide their way of life and many are hardly affected by modernisation in the western context. There are few educated elites that are in the formal workforce compared with those that live in a rural setting. In hoping for the better, I anticipate that the rural sector will be incorporated into the realm of the formal workforce. I will now turn to examine the informal social structures of Papua New Guinea.

INFORMAL SOCIAL STRUCTURES OF PAPUA NEW GUINEA

Before penetration of Western culture, traditional norms and values were in many ways different to contemporary patterns. "The values and norms in today's villages cannot properly be described as traditional. Traditional is only one source. Others are economic change in rural areas, population mobility, Christian and secular education, the modern media and new aspirations and tastes" (Clifford, et al, 1984:234). In traditional times, custom and the belief in supernatural spirits entirely controlled the lives of people. Today, the tidal waves of western forces have altered thinking patterns and perceptions with regard to the values and norms of society. Therefore, traditional practices of

---

²I see the Bougainville Crisis as one of the social disorder problems within Papua New Guinea. See Chapter Six for a brief analysis.

contemporary society are a combination of traditional and western cultures, and are thus frail through an absence of an authentic traditional custom.

IS THERE A MELANESIAN WAY/S?

Papua New Guinea falls within this broad category of Melanesia (See Chapter One for definition of Melanesia) and is viewed by outsiders as a Melanesian country. All the small societies in Papua New Guinea are accordingly Melanesian societies and their social ways of life are described and seen in the context of a "Melanesian Way". Bernard Narokobi, a Papua New Guinean lawyer and now member of the National Parliament is a strong advocate of and thinker in this Melanesian Way. Many like Bernard Minol (1983:164) argue that there is no Melanesian Way:

With due respect to the modern prophets of Melanesia I believe there is no Melanesian Way. If it exists, it does so only in the assumptions, dreams and fantasies of the modern prophets.

There are, however, Melanesian Ways, meaning that in the Melanesian Region there is diversity in the patterns of social and cultural integration. The region is rich with many different cultures. For this reason, it is considered inappropriate to preach that there is solely one Melanesian Way. However, Bernard Narokobi (1983 and 1989) rejects this claim and further asserts his reasons for claiming that there is a Melanesian Way. Narokobi does not deny the fact that there are many Melanesian Societies and accordingly, many Melanesian Ways. He asserted that:

Even if it is true that there are many Melanesian ways, that diversity or pluralism is in itself a Melanesian Way. ...Indeed there are many languages, many modes of expressing the Melanesian Way, but the modes of doing something cannot be confused with the thing itself (1983:xi-xii).

The Melanesian Way Bernard Narokobi referred to above is peaceful, non-violent, giving emphasis to cooperation and putting trust in one and another.

The Melanesians are spiritual people and know forces of a source greater than themselves (even before Christianity entered the region), which was their divine power- the Melanesian Way (Narokobi, 1983:6). Whatever activity one performs, all activity functions for the same goal in fulfilling the general utility of society - The Melanesian Way. Bernard Narokobi as an artist, attempted to present reality as he saw it and worked to create a new vision, new hope and new life within the context of this Melanesian Way. However, the argument still stands firm that there was and is no Melanesian Way, systematically ordered and arranged like feudalism in Europe before the Industrial Revolution or Japan from the 12th century onwards. The term is vague, obscure and an abstract ideological notion. But nevertheless, for convenience I will employ the terminology "Melanesian Way" to refer to and broadly cover this diversity of cultures in Melanesia.

TRADITIONAL INFORMAL SOCIAL STRUCTURES

Through the many variations in Melanesian socio-cultural structure there are some common patterns that can be found in the way of life amongst societies living in the Melanesian region. These common characteristics distinguish Melanesian societies from others. I will attempt to outline some of the basic characteristics of a Melanesian socio-cultural unit here, since social structure is so important in identifying the reasons for law and order problems amongst young people in Papua New Guinea and is critical to the development of social policies that address such problems. Melanesian people dwell in villages and in hamlets and thus are a community of people. They are not necessarily encompassed by similarly perceived needs and desires, or have common historical origins. They are more likely to identify with and distinguish themselves by a locality. People in the social unit (the village) have a reasonably well-defined boundary and therefore limits over their activities: hunting and gathering, fishing, gardening, collection of firewood and so forth. In the Kompam District and in the Highlands Region, the boundary is further

split into family units. The whole village has access to land, except for making gardens.

The social unit usually has a common origin but not all may have originated from the one place. In my research in Kompam, elders informed me that they were the offspring of migrant ancestors. In general, people have their own stories as to how they came into existence. One ancestor may have come from a bird, pig, shark or snake depending on how these stories unfold and end. The origins are associated with the language spoken. An offspring of one common origin may speak a common language. In the village social unit, people speak the same language but the dialect changes as one moves out of a particular village to the extent that it is completely different the further one travels. In the Kompam District and in the Enga Province, a common (Enga) language is spoken by some 200,000 people, the largest language group in Papua New Guinea. Still, there are differences in the dialect and way the language is spoken.

One can establish from above that traditional Melanesia societies were almost independent, largely self-sufficient and self-contained units. Although there were a large number of these societies, the knowledge, awareness and commonalities of each society extended only as far as their respective neighbours. The inhabitants drew false conclusions and lived under a false illusion that the world was confined and extended only to the frontiers of what their eyesight caught.

One also finds that people used and applied rudimentary forms of technology in performing various tasks for their wellbeing and survival in these traditional societies. Their livelihood was largely based on agriculture, hunting and gathering, fishing and the domestication of animals. Men built houses, fences, boats or canoes, made gardens, went hunting and fishing, defended the society against enemies and so forth. Women were responsible for cultivation, harvesting, gathering, maintenance of gardens, raising household animals such

as pigs and for the child-bearing and rearing tasks (Griffin, et al, 1979). In many societies like those in the Kompam District, the woman was and is the main force and drive behind the rise of a successful or rich "bigman". She supports him internally within the family unit, through the production of goods and her ability to raise both the animals and the children. The man gets the prestige and the name, whilst the woman was and is an unknown but integral factor and facilitator in the production process.

Whilst the production of goods was necessary for self-sufficiency within the household, exchange of food items and other goods of significant and economic value to the family line, the immediate community and the adjoining neighbours also existed. The exchange system has been described as a spider's web-like trading system (Waiko, 1993). The exchange transaction was significant for its maintenance of ongoing personal relationships, integral to most social relations. The trend today, however, shows that the traditional exchange system is fading away and losing its social structure, value, form and importance. The introduction of a capitalist rural based political economy has had a profound impact and is increasingly dismantling the spirit and the form that it (trading system) was.

In the traditional system there was no clearly defined form of structurally organised authority. The societies were largely fragmented, disintegrated and loosely joined. The lack of an ordered social system meant that there is no consistent or appropriate terminology that can describe the social structure. Regardless of its structural disorganisation, however, each society was able to maintain a sort of social order. There was no institutional authority to command obedience, where individuals were subject to a rule of law. People had an obligatory duty to comply and conform to the general principles and practice of tradition and customs. A person had no privilege or any right in any capacity to question the accepted norms and values and was obliged to accept without any nature of query. These norms and values were customs themselves.

Custom is explained by various authors (Pospsil, 1978:63; Hart in Lloyd and Freeman, 1985: 406; and Yabsley, 1984:4). In the words of Banks:

Custom or inner control, is the internalised belief system based primarily upon cultural conditioning, and for custom-based societies, may reflect the survival needs of the group in question (1993:147).

Each Melanesian social unit had custom or laws that defined what ought to be done. Bernard Narokobi saw Melanesian custom as a Melanesian law. The custom was law and therefore Melanesians were careful not to break conventional rules. Narokobi argued:

What modern man calls 'the Law', in Melanesian society was an aspect of human life, based on knowledge, derived from human interaction and social relations with mankind and the spirit world whether friendly or hostile (1989:45).

The rule of law was custom itself, which was the instrument and mechanism through which societies maintained social order. The contemporary definition of the rule of law was absent in the traditional social structure but each society was able to exist with a cognitive awareness or consciousness of moral traditional norms, values and principles. As Narokobi maintained:

The very word 'Law', for example, is absent among the Arapesh and Sausa people in the East Sepik Province. In spite of the absence of such words, there is social order, discipline and control. Notions exist for codes of conduct, ethics and values (1989:4).

In most circumstances, people were well aware of what was deviant and what were accepted norms of the society and were able to distinguish rights from wrongs. Thus, their acts conformed to conventional and customary behaviour. The individual was attached to the family and the community in general and hence there was to a larger extent social order, although there were obviously some deviant behaviours.

Customs played a major and significant role as a social control mechanism. The construct of "social control" can be applied in both formal and informal contexts. Social control consists of the organised ways in which a society responds to behaviour and people it regards as deviant, problematic, worrying, threatening, troublesome or undesirable in some way or another. Though informal social control institutions were not organised as formal institutions, they were effective, efficient and able to maintain order where contemporary formal institutions to a certain extent fail.

Some Principles of Custom

Having provided some background information on social organisation, and the significance of traditional and customary practices in maintaining social order, attention can be turned to some of the more specific aspects of the Melanesian way of life. It is perhaps arduous, if not impossible, to examine and describe all the intricate patterns, complexities and variations of social structure. Hence, the intention of this analysis is to paint a general picture of what could possibly be seen as common principles of traditional customs that maintain social order. People have social relations among themselves through family and marriage, social obligation and ritual activity, leadership, property and land tenure, and warfare. I will examine these social relations in particular.

Family and marriage

It is through marriage that the family line and kinship system is established. Giddens' explanation of family, kinship and marriage is relevant to our discussion here:

A family is a group of persons directly linked by kin connections, the adult members of which assume responsibility for caring for children. Kinship ties are connections between individuals, established either through marriage, or through the lines of descent that connect blood relatives (mother, father, and other offsprings, grandparents etc.). Marriage can be defined as a

socially acknowledged and approved sexual union between the adult individuals. When two people marry they become kin to one and another. The marriage bond also, however, connects together a wider range of kins-people. Parents, brothers, sisters, and other blood relatives become relatives of the partner through marriage (1990:384).

Marriage is a universal phenomenon and is a very pervasive social institution. In this context, marriage means a formal social sexual union of two separate offsprings coming together to start a family upon which kinship ties will be established. Therefore, marriage is not only necessary for the maintenance and continuity of human population but also for connecting new ties and for establishment of kinship relationships. This line of thought has been studied in the Ponam society of Manus Province and described by Carrier and Carrier:

Marriage not only moved women and children around among existing groups, but it also created something new. It created new kinds of groups, the-line-of-the-woman and line-of-the-man and it created a new sphere of exchange activity that was conceptually independent of marriage and was valuable in and of itself (1991:92).

This particular description summarises the situation for most of the societies in Papua New Guinea and perhaps the whole of the Melanesian region. In Kompam for instance, marriage is vital to establish links not only for exchange, like the "Tee Exchange System"³, but also to establish allies during tribal warfare. Though general principles and perceptions apply to all societies, there are internal variations and differences in the arrangement and organisation of marriage ceremonies. A common pattern is described by Wramainiken in the East Palei of the West Sepik Province:

a girl must not expose herself to sexual experiences and practices until and only after she has passed her puberty age and then only when she is married formally to a young man for which she has been betrothed. Any sexual intercourse outside of marriage is strongly prohibited by traditional custom (1983:3).

---

³A term given to the system in exchange of pigs in Kompam and in parts of the Enga Province. Other Highlands areas use different terms.

In most societies, what completes a marriage is the practice of the bride-price payment. A large amount of goods and materials of economic value are paid by the groom's relatives to the bride's relatives. The young girl is possessed by a community as an economic commodity and after the transactions are completed, ideally she carries the status of property. Theoretically, she has been purchased and therefore subject to ownership which limits her freedoms and rights. The payment of bride-price is a customary practice where payment is made for the fact that the bride leaves her relatives and moves to the groom's village where she will contribute to the production, bearing and raising children to strengthen the man's clan.

Dissolution of marriage or divorce was neither a common nor accepted practice and was never encouraged. Nevertheless, where it occurred, it often disrupted the social order which resulted in tribal conflict and eventually warfare. In a dissolution, the question arises as to the adoption of children. In most societies like in Kompam, even with the death of the male, children became part of the male's clan. The payment of bride-price meant that she had been "purchased" and therefore whatever she produced solely belonged to the man. Although she had rights over the children, unless the children were grown up and able to make their own decisions, customary practices never allowed or recognised these rights and therefore in that sense the wife could not claim the children.

Social obligation and ritual activities

The construct of social obligation falls under the realm of respect and responsibility. During my fieldwork in the Kompam District, the village elders reminded me that respect is the most important social obligation and each person has a responsibility to make sure this is maintained. When an individual, especially a youth, shows disrespect for the community, that person is condemned in public for his action. Thus, since disrespect and disorderly behaviours are deviant and against the custom, it would appear that the sanction of custom itself commanded obedience and maintained social order

in the community. A youth is required to appreciate and act in accordance with and conform to the traditional and customary practices of the society. An elderly person is respected the most. The orders of these community leaders are obeyed. In each society, the rights and duties are well defined and every member is obliged to comply with them. In this way, each individual was and is connected to the rules and laws of each society through custom.

Ritual life and oral histories were very much a part of customary society. Each society had its own beliefs about the world which surrounded them and had oral histories to explain where these originated. In different ways, all youths were initiated and each had their own beliefs and explanations as to the significance of such initiation. There were variations in methods and the nature of initiation.

In the Kompiam society, young bachelors were away from their homes for three to four weeks in thick jungles and lived in houses made of bush materials. They were careful not to expose themselves to any ordinary person. During the periods in the bush they were initiated into adulthood. They had close contact with nature and the supernatural spirit. When they came out of hiding, with their typical initiation dressing, people from the village closely watched and listened carefully to the words of their singing. These words usually have a prophetic meaning and need interpretation by the elders. Like other Papua New Guinea societies, singing and dances reflect the Kompiam way of fighting, gardening, hunting, fishing and so forth. The singing and dances were also used to express romantic feelings of love and friendship.

In every society in one way or another, each person depending on gender, age or occasion, is culturally forbidden to eat certain foods or take part in certain community activities. It was custom to believe that, if broken, some disaster might occur for the individual, family or community. For instance, in Kompiam society, an elder informed me that males are forbidden to touch or get food

from a woman during her menstruation period because of fear that failure to comply may be dangerous for one's growth and health.

Sorcery or witchcraft were used for protection or sanction. In some parts of the country, they were used to maintain order in the society. The community leaders kept the practice of sorcery secret, and if anyone showed disrespect or deviated from the community, the leaders usually threatened to cast a magic spell so as to impair the functions and abilities of the deviant. In rare cases it was actually performed to get rid of someone who was a threat to the community order. In most instances, sorcery and witchcraft were applied to bring good fortune, such as curing sick person or helping food to grow.

In addition to this social obligation and ritual life, pre-marital sex, fornication, incest or other sexual activities like rape were not allowed. Pre-marital sex was believed to be dangerous for growth and health, whereas fornication and incest were considered morally evil acts and were strictly prohibited. Rape was strongly prohibited and sexual activities of homosexuality and bisexuality were never heard of. It was against the very nature of Papua New Guinea society to practise sexual harassment and to be involved in any activity that prohibited a person from engaging in sexual activities. In practising sexual relationships, there were well established traditional rules and laws for all society to follow. In all respects, marriage was an integral and important part of the society and sexual activities were permitted only within marriage, and only after all the necessary transactions had been completed.

Leadership

In contemporary Papua New Guinea, leadership is achieved through formal education (public service), the election process (politics) and entrepreneurship (business). In the traditional way of life, a most influential man in the society, respected by the other leaders in the same way the village leader respects them, is another leader.

In some parts of the Melanesian region, leadership was traditionally acquired through hereditary chieftainship and investiture. Leadership was passed along the family line. In many Melanesian societies, however, traditional leadership was an achieved phenomenon and even the few chiefly societies acknowledged someone who was able to lead, direct and control. Leadership was attained through various means but in order to be a most popular and influential leader, that person had to perform in all that the society valued and circumscribed for the qualification. Traditional leadership was attained through possessing certain skills, abilities, knowledge and wealth as shown in John Waiko's description:

In most societies among the NAN speakers, authority resided with a leader, known as a 'bigman' who had achieved his position through personal ability and not through inheritance. A man who rose to the position of 'bigman' usually earned his status as a result of his physical strength and endurance, industriousness, organising ability, skill as an orator, and material wealth. He was a man regarded by his peers as performing most capability in social, political, economic and ceremonial activities. A 'bigman' did not exercise authority by command but by setting an example with his personal guidance and influence. His role was to initiate and facilitate activities seen to be beneficial to the group and lead members of the group to resolve issues by discussion and compromise (1993:9).

In Kompiam my interviewees explained that the status of the traditional "bigman" was attained through the subject's ability in traditional warfare. He was also able to possess material wealth and through that married more wives and expanded his family. Above all, the most important determinants were the person's oratory abilities. A person must be an eloquent and competent speaker. As it is seen above in Waiko's explanation, the traditional leader was able to set examples with his personal guidance and influence. Although he may have used force in almost all circumstances, collective decision making, consensus and achieving common understanding among the community were the main thrusts of his leadership. The traditional "bigman" and his style of leadership worked perfectly well, and even today in rural areas of Papua New Guinea, the bigman plays an important role in settling disputes.

Property ownership and land tenure

Practices in the Kompiam region concerning ownership of property remains within each individual in the household. However, because the individuals in the household belong to a particular clan, ownership belongs to the clan. This does not imply that the right of ownership and use of personal property should belong to everybody in the clan. However, this feeling of belonging in a community tends to embrace people and bind them together through strong feelings of coherence; if the property belongs to another person within the clan, then in effect, it is the property of the whole clan. For instance, in the Highlands, the pig that is owned by an individual belongs to the community not only because the pork is shared during a feast but because the owner is biologically part of the kinship network which makes up the clan. So each has responsibility over the pig belonging to another member of the clan.

Land is either individually, family, or communally owned. Almost all land ownership in the Highlands resides with individuals or families but in the Coastal region, the pattern is communal ownership. Artihulawa said that in the Siane society of the Simbu Province, the land is owned by individuals (1983:137). In contrast, Naibuka when writing about the Namatani people of the New Ireland Province, maintained that the land is owned communally and thus everyone has the right to cultivate the land (1983:75).

One possible explanation for this difference is population density. In the Highlands region there is high population density, whereas in most Coastal areas, there is low population density. Where population density is high, individuals claim the land and their offspring claim rights over that land. Where population density is low, there is a lot of unused and available land, nobody is all that concerned about ownership. However, for the purposes of security, hunting, fishing and cultivation, the clan puts claim over the land and it is thus becomes the property of the whole clan. Land, whether belonging to the individual or clan, is the single most important property that a society can own.

Their livelihood is entirely based on the land, being used for multiple purposes. Naibuka made this point very clearly:

Land to us is very special. Our connection with land is somewhat spiritual and natural. It is our most valuable asset; everyone owns land, uses it, eats out of it, and is buried in it upon death. Therefore, we have a very ultimate relationship with the land. This relationship is neither individualistic nor materialistic. We have an interest in anything found on or associated with the land. Land to us means survival. It is our life (1983:75).

Regardless of individual ownership, as in the case of the Highlands, land is in effect still the property of the clan since it lies within the boundaries of the clan. Most tribal warfare is the result of arguments over land tenure among rival clans. If a dispute arises between two clans over land tenure or other disputes over theft or rape, the dispute cannot be settled easily and quickly. Thus tribal warfare (see chapter 6) appears the solution even though it is neither long lasting nor appropriate.

SOCIAL CONTROL AND DISPUTE SETTLEMENT

The causes of disputes vary from society to society but are generally along similar lines. The disputes in villages are mainly about women, pigs and land. Clifford, et al, (1984:235) identified this:

Scaglione's study in the East Sepik in 1975 found "sexual disputes" (adultery etc.) accounted for 23 per cent of all disputes and "petty domestic" arguments for 15 per cent. Land was the subject in only 3 per cent and domestic animals in 9 percent of cases (Scaglione, 1979). On the other hand data from a study in Simbu found 52 percent of all disputes were over damage to property (particularly gardens) by animals (Podolefsky 1978).

Major causes of dispute for one society may not be the same for another society. However, there exist common principles in the traditional mechanism of social control and dispute settlement, just as there are uniformities within the general culture (Epstein, 1974:8&25). Banks (1993:6-9) describes an analysis

of Melanesian social control by Lawrence (1969:26-42) in which different types of action were examined and classified in relation to the moral code:

He divided into two categories: offences against the religious code which include failure to recognise ritual and initiatory taboos and to observe the secrecy surrounding male cults; and offences against human beings which can be sub-divided into wrongs of omission [for example, disregarding obligation to relatives, ...exchange and trade partners]; and wrongs of commission such as adultery, rape, homicide, theft and proscribed marriage (Lawrence, 1969:26-42 in Banks, 1993:6-9).

The traditional societies of Papua New Guinea held beliefs about the natural and supernatural, religious sanctions or the intervention of gods and spirits of the dead in human affairs. These represented powerful forces of social control. There were internalised beliefs that if someone committed offences against the religious code, then the deities and ancestors could bring bad luck to the culprit in agriculture, fishing, hunting or illness, deformity and death (Lawrence, 1969:26). For instance a village elder (my interviewee) informed me that a theft or adultery was strongly prohibited not only because it was considered immoral but because what stopped most people was the belief that, in the event of a death of the property owner or the husband, the spirit of the dead could bring forced and premature death to the offender. Thus, strong internal beliefs in the supernatural, religious sanctions, or the intervention of gods and spirits bringing ill-luck or death is in itself a powerful social control mechanism. In that regard, no one from the community can retaliate but the culprit is punished according to the nature and the types of offence committed.

The second category involves offences against human beings. This can be sub-divided into two types: self-regulation and self-help or retaliatory. The former involves those forces that prevent wrong action and works through the processes of socialisation, shame, public opinion, criticism and the rule of reciprocity. The latter involves an action which is required after the commission of an offence (Lawrence, 1969 in Banks, 1993:7).

The socialisation process works throughout child-rearing. Papua New Guinean societies operate from the belief that it is in the early age of the child's development process that most of the learning process takes place. Children have to learn the oral histories of the clan, respect for their elders and other people and their properties. It is at an early age that the child learns to muster the skills and the techniques of community activities such as dances and warfare. "These customary practices taught to the children are reinforced by the immediate application of sanction through public opinion and shame" (Banks, 1993:7). If a person deviates from society, the public condemns and shames the deviant. Public condemnation is the most powerful sanction in the small, independent and self-contained societies of Papua New Guinea. Lawrence, in the words of Banks maintains that:

Socialisation and public opinion functioned to sustain the morale code and it was through these forces that the traditional values were internalised and perpetuated (1969:27 in Banks, 1993:7).

Socialisation of a child and public condemnation of any violation of customs are very useful approaches in maintaining social order. Each and every individual is obliged, if not forced by the society via the elders and community leaders and through the public in general, to conform and comply with the moral and ethical values of society. Read (1955a) asserted that:

...moral values are one of the principal regulative mechanisms of culture. To be effective...moral values must be internalised and generally accepted by the majority of those who constitute the group...a majority of our own moral judgements imply the Christian ethic of personal freedom and responsibility, the transcendent and objective nature of the good and common obligations in a moral universe. By way of contrast, the moral judgement of other peoples may be couched in terms of practicality; they may eschew the speculative and abstract and they may stress the immediate claims of interpersonal relationship (in Banks, 1993:8).

Self-help or retaliatory action can occur when self-regulation is not effective. In traditional societies of Papua New Guinea, there was no organised legal system

and thus self-help assumed maximum importance. In this case, an individual (offender) sought and mustered support from his kinsmen and other friends (Lawrence, 1969:32-4 in Banks, 1993:9). In almost all cases, the degree of severity of any further problem or retaliation would depend upon the intimacy and closeness of relationship between the complainant (victim) and the defendant (accused). If the relationship was close, retaliation would be less severe, and if the relationship was distant, the retaliation was more severe, involving many supporters from both sides.

The main thrust of dispute settlement was primarily to restore social order or to adjust, reconstruct and reconcile relationships that had been torn apart. In contrast, the western legal system seeks to establish impartial justice with punishment being determined by the wrong committed. In this sense, the relationship between the plaintiff and the defendant has no relevance and in a sense is not restored in any means. In Papua New Guinea and in the whole Melanesian region, the process of dispute settlement takes into consideration the social context and the social relationships within which the act took place. In contrast, the western legal system focuses on the act itself. This distinction is made clear by Epstein:

Thus in western systems classification tends to relate to the nature of the offending behaviour considered primarily as an act, and one of its functions is to indicate for a given set of circumstances the appropriate procedures to be followed or mode of redress to be sought. By contrast in New Guinea the nature of the offence is not defined so much by the act itself as by the social context in which it occurs. That is to say, how a particular act is interpreted, and more importantly, what reaction follows it, will depend very much on the social relationship and interest of the parties involved (1974:11-12).

Methods of customary dispute settlement

The nature of disputes and approaches to settlement within the traditional political economy were comparatively different from periods of colonisation and post-independence. When Papua New Guinea societies were untouched and

unexplored by the Europeans, each society was able to enforce customary sanctions - the social control mechanism - within the realm and boundary of the clan and thus maintain social order. Everyone was attached, responsible, united and bound to the rules, norms and values of traditional beliefs and customs. Any member found to be involved in any form of deviant behaviour was unacceptable and the community brought shame to the deviant. Therefore, each and every member of the society was very conscious about their behaviours careful not to violate and infringe the customs. In this way, social order was maintained and hardly any major problems evolved within the immediate community.

However, this does not imply that the society operated in total peace and harmony and that there was no disorder. Like in Kompam, there were arguments, conflicts, altercations, and quarrels within the community and with neighbouring communities. The nature of the dispute could result from theft, rape, beating of another person's child, defamation of another person's character, gossip, performing sorcery against someone and other acts of this nature. The three methods of dispute settlement examined in our research in Kompam are significant all throughout Papua New Guinea societies: a private settlement; a settlement involving other people in the village; and revenge.

Private Settlement

Not all disputes were made public knowledge or taken to a third person in search of a solution. In this regard, the private settlement was perhaps an ideal, necessary and vital solution. If a dispute arose within the family, kinship network or with close friends, a solution was often found easily. It was usually a matter of consensus discussion, the application of common logic leading to understanding. If a child caused the problem, that particular child was beaten to give sufficient pain in warning to that child not to engage in such acts again. At other times, the wrongdoer paid compensation to the victim or owner, if property was damaged or stolen, occasionally, for social reasons. For example

in Kompiam, a man may not give his nephew a pig during a feast, so the nephew may seek revenge somehow. If a problem arises between the nephew and his uncle, he may take that as an advantage and may persist not to solve the problem privately but declare war against his uncle. In such cases, if a dispute can not be solved through private settlement, the case is brought before a third party, perhaps a village "bigman" or a public hearing.

Settlement by a village bigman or a moot hearing

In situations where solutions were not found between two parties, or in such cases where the nature of the dispute is regarded worse by a particular custom, the matter is brought before a third party. This third party may involve an elder from the community who may also be a community leader, referred to above as the "bigman". This third party mediates over the dispute and makes decisions in accordance with customary rules and practices of the society. Since his decisions are based on customary rules and practices, the accused must comply and conform to the decisions and the victim should also accept the decision. The bigman or the elder were respected leaders and they were able to maintain order in the society. The decision of the community leaders was usually to ask the accused to pay through compensation or by public shame.

Another form of third party mediation is referred to as a moot/public hearing. The public make comments and contribute suggestions or ideas to explore alternatives that may help resolve the dispute. The moot or public hearing is not an organised or arranged hearing but anybody regardless of social standing in the community provides alternatives and makes a contribution in an effort to find solutions. The main thrust of this public hearing is to bring the concerned parties to a conscious resolution of the problem in a peaceful and harmonious manner in conjunction with established and customary practices.

Revenge

The third form of dispute settlement can occur after failure in the first two. In some cases there are no opportunities for discussion and public hearing. The victim and his supporters mobilise and get revenge in any way they can. This is referred to as "payback" and takes place especially where the victim and the accused are enemies and are from different clans. The problem belongs to the victim and the accused eventually becomes a clan problem. When this happens it eventually brings warfare and other forms of conflict. The "payback" in itself can be seen as a solution in that the victim could only be satisfied when he can see that some form of suffering has been done to the accused. In other cases those that are in conflict try to avoid "payback" as much as possible by not seeing each other. By way of conclusion, an analysis on custom realisation by the State is examined.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Colonisation introduced a change from traditional dispute settlement to western approaches to solving disputes. The village elder or the bigman was identified by the colonial administration who strengthened the leader's position. The village constables in British New Guinea and the Tultuls and Luluais in German New Guinea were agents controlled by and representative of the colonial administration. Their functions were to enforce colonial law in the village. This meant that the community leaders were now able to increase their political and social power within communal social formations. The introduction of local government councils was used to the same effect. The colonial administration thus failed to appreciate and accept customary rules, norms and values. As Fitzpatrick maintains:

The low-level courts manned by colonial field officers were operated as part of a coercive and authoritarian regime of native administration. The regime gave officers comprehensive control over their charges. Communal dispute settlement was officially seen as illegal or, at best, as outside the law. It was uncivilised,

arbitrary, political, partial and, in short contrary to bourgeois legality. Yet the colonial state was weak, colonial courts were few and were concerned mainly with colonial affairs (1982:241).

The colonial administration failed to develop an authentic and meaningful justice system which local people could appreciate and accept. For colonial administration to rule that communal dispute settlement was illegal, uncivilised, arbitrary, political, partial and contrary to bourgeois legality, was racist in that Western practices were thought to be better than the indigenous way of life. Papua New Guinea customary practices were seen as primitive and incapable of surviving in a modern world.

Perhaps realising this shortfall, educated Papua New Guineans introduced the Village Courts Act in 1973 (no.12 of 1974). The primary purpose of the Village Courts Act was to recognise the unwritten customary laws of Papua New Guinea, to show people that their customary laws were as good as any imposed laws and that they should appreciate decisions handed down in accordance with the accepted customs of a particular society. However, many authors (Paliwala, 1982; Waiko, 1993; Banks, 1993; among others) have argued that the underlying purpose for which the Village Courts were established has not been upheld by the court magistrates, peace officers and clerks. They want more power and resources, as well as the status of a formal court system. In actual fact, the nature of the court operation has tended to make the Village Courts adopt to formal approach which **defeats** their very purpose. The principal shortcomings in the operation of the Village Courts are identified by Abdul Paliwala as:

The courts are 'village courts' in the sense that the court officials are villagers selected by the people themselves. They have a wide jurisdiction, and apart from the Village Courts Act, it is customary law and procedures which form the basis for the operation of the courts. The Act therefore appears to reinforce customary law and practice. .... the courts at the same time constitute a radical departure from pre-existing forms of dispute settlement [and social control generally] in rural society. The key changes are a greater involvement and control by the state and

the degree of authoritarianism on the part of court officials. The result is relatively alienated dispute settlement with little scope for community involvement and party consensus (1982:192).

Apart from the establishment of Village Courts nothing authentic and significant was done to develop or even recognise customary law. The Constitution does in principle recognise customary law but not integrate it adequately into the formal legal system. An attempt was made in 1977 when the Law Reform Commission drafted the **Underlying Law Bill**, which gave recognition to customary law as the primary basis of the underlying law, or a home grown jurisprudence. Upon realisation of this failure Papua New Guinea's first Professor of Law John Nonggorr, at a Seminar on Development of Customary Law, urged Parliament to enact the proposed Bill to facilitate judges to develop the Underlying Law, or the customary law. Professor Nonggorr stressed that:

the Bill provides that customary law is adopted and shall be applied either directly or by analogy as the underlying law unless it is substantially inconsistent with any written law, or its application would be contrary to the National Goals and Directive Principles, basic rights and social obligations under the Constitution. ...More than 70 per cent of PNG's is rural based. Their lives are governed by customary law. Given these facts what justifications are there to have a legal system with laws that are more than 90 per cent common law-based? There is no justification at all (in Post Courier, Monday 2 August 1993, p.4).

CHAPTER FOUR

THEORETICAL REVIEW OF CRIME AND DELINQUENCY CAUSATION AS DEVELOPED IN THE WESTERN WORLD

INTRODUCTION

Numerous attempts have been made in literature to establish the causal factors of criminal behaviour. Various theories have been developed in the Western world, in Europe before the Second World War and in the United States after. I will examine theories of crime and delinquency causation, as developed in the Western world. Sociological explanations will make up the dominant themes of analysis, although biological and psychological explanations will also be examined as germane to causal factors.

In exploring these theories of criminality, one is guided by a notion that: "Understanding why crime occurs, then, is a prelude to developing strategies to control the behaviour" (Lilly, et al, 1989:12). Crime and delinquency theories are guiding principles in our endeavour to address the law and order problems in society. Stephen Pfohl has captured nicely the relationship between theory and policy:

Theoretical perspectives provide us with an image of what something is and how we might best act toward it. They name something this type of thing and not that. They provide us with the sense of being in a world of relatively fixed forms and content. Theoretical perspectives transform a mass of raw sensory data into understanding, explanations, and recipes for appropriate action (1985:9-10).

INDIVIDUAL THEORIES¹

Individual theories of crime and delinquency causation had a active influence on policy approaches in the early 19th century and onward. However, with the emergence of sociological theories, these individual theories lost prominence. Some scholars (Wilson, and Herrnstein, 1985) revitalised individual theories in the 1980s but these theories still remain doubtful. However, "the individual theories try to explain the specific circumstances surrounding a person's deviance - motivations, early family experiences, and the like - largely disregarding both problems of definitions and group and cultural factors" (Clinard and Meier, 1979:96).

Its primary assumption is that crime and delinquency is a product of the internal physical properties of an individual. In other words, delinquency is caused by some mechanisms internal to the body and it is this internal system that influences and predisposes deviant acts. There is an abundance of literature on individual theories that are explained in the context of the biological and psychological composition of the individual. However, I have selectively examined those I consider appropriate to my purpose, having in mind that these early explanations emerged and developed to influence and shape modern approaches to criminology.

THE BIOLOGICAL APPROACH

The biological viewpoint can be traced back to around the 1750s. Modern criminology, however, began with an Italian physician, Cesare Lombroso (1835-1909). In 1876, Lombroso published a book 'The Criminal Man', and proposed that "the criminal was a biological throwback to an earlier evolutionary stage -

---

¹Individual theories remain assumptions without any concrete evidence. From simple observations in Papua New Guinea, I have come to believe that, there are people with biological deficiency and psychological disturbances. If one observes them, they are mostly short tempered and emotional people who commit crime quickly.

a man more primitive and savage than his non-criminal counterpart" (in Vold, 1980:36). Lombroso founded the biological explanation of delinquency that, 'criminals are born criminals', characterised by different body features:

receding foreheads, peculiarly shaped cranium, eye defects, big ears and lips, high cheekbones, long arms and inverted sex organs (in Eitzen and Timmer, 1985:16).

Since the work of Lombroso, other explanations have been offered in modified form (Fink, 1938; Hooton, 1939; von Hentig, 1948). The body structure of a person became an important consideration among many scholars around this time. Before the work of Glueck and Glueck (1950) and later by Corts and Gatti (1972), William Sheldon (1949) made the first attempts to relate body traits systematically with delinquency. These studies maintained, three somatotype (or body type) could be found in all people: endomorphic, ectomorphic, mesomorphic. The following outlines these typologies:

The endomorphic body type is soft, round and flat. Their personality is viscerotomic; which means they are sociable, love to eat, have a love for comfort, and are easy going people. The ectomorphic body type is thin, frail and weak. Their personality is referred to as cerebrotonic; described as sensitive, shy, restrained and introverted. The mesomorphic, or muscular and hard body type, is described as having a somatotonic personality, related to assertive and aggressive behaviour. They are adventurous, competitive, strong, energetic, powerful and potentially dangerous.

One can not be characterised as totally one or another of these types. No clear cut distinction exists which differentiates them. A person may be mesomorphic but still possess ectomorphic or endomorphic body traits. Nevertheless, our concern is the dominant characteristics of these body features in a person. Quite generally, it is assumed that much of the violent criminal and delinquent behaviours are related to mesomorphic body types. Their body features enable and assist them to be involved in and carry on with this activity of violent

criminal behaviour. However, "biological interpretation of this relationship has not been established, and thus the theoretical significance of somatotype as an explanation of delinquency remains questionable" (Shoemaker, 1990:20).

If body traits are assumed to assist the person commit crime, then surely there must be some underlying internal predisposition and predetermined mechanisms in the body tissues. This perception of thought is in line with the assumption of the "biochemical approach": the possibility that there may be some internal chemical deficiencies which affect the thinking pattern and motor control in the brain and the body tissues.

Accordingly, these deficiencies can lead to criminal behaviour (Hofter, 1978). The proponents of the "biochemical approach" assert that if delinquency is to be understood and controlled effectively, then biochemical reactions in body impulses should be studied independently, or in conjunction with environmental factors (Hippchen, 1978b; Schauss, 1981). One such cause of internal chemical deficiency is the lack of an appropriate nutritional intake. There is evidence that most known criminals have vitamin deficiencies (Hippchen, 1978b). However, this theory again falls short of scientific validity without indicating precisely as to how these vitamin or chemical deficiencies can operate to produce delinquency.

Despite a lack of scientific validity, the proposition stays firm that each individual is genetically unique. Therefore, brain codes and biochemical impulses must be studied because there are chemical changes in the brain which presumably cause deviant behaviours (Balkan, et al, 1980:17). Such propositions, although lacking scientific validity, are capable of influencing policy directions of societies. In describing the work of Jeffry, Balkan, et al, (1980:18) captured that:

Jeffry advocates treatment, not punishment. The treatment, however, is medical, since crime originates in the biochemistry of the brain. Brain scans, blood tests, surgery and psychotropic drugs needed to be used to diagnose and treat the criminal population.

This proposition did influence policies of some States in the United States of America.² Whether the crime rate decreased or not, as a result of the adoption of such policies, it is not my purpose to explore any further. However, from this end, one is able to conceptualise that which all biological approaches argue, as Eitzen and Timmer, (1985: 20) captured:

somehow something inside the person predisposes to criminal behaviour, what is inside or predisposing may vary; it may be the genes, the unconscious, an evil spirit, or a free will but the argument remains the same in its simple form; something inside the person is the origin of criminal act.

PSYCHOLOGICAL APPROACH

Turning to the psychological approach in the explanation of crime and delinquency causation, the principal proposition here lies within the individual's pattern of development. The assumption is that:

...it is a manifestation of internal underlying disturbances not later than early childhood and has become a fairly characteristic feature of the individual. While allowances are given to the potential external environmental factors, it is the individual in focus and seen (Shoemaker, 1990:48-9).

What is important to note here is the early development of a person. The behaviour of a person is fixed in the early development process of the childhood period. In line with this perception, Sigmund Freud's (1920, 1927) description of the psychoanalytic³ approach to the treatment of mental illness

---

² "...many states passed laws designed to permit the application of the eugenicists' arguments. Between 1911 and 1930 more than 30 states, for example, established laws requiring sterilization for behavioral traits thought to be genetically determined (Beckwith, 1985:318). The laws targeted such behaviour as criminality, alcoholism, sodomy, bestiality, feeble-mindedness, and the tendency to commit rape. The result was sterilisation of at least 64,000 people. Many of the same states passed laws permitting psychosurgeries, including the now infamous frontal lobotomy. The total number of this type of operation is unknown" (Lilly, et al, 1989:43).

³ A way of treating certain nervous disorders of the mind by an analysis of the sufferer's memories of a past life, experience, dreams, and so forth in an effort to find a hidden cause of the illness (Clinard and Meier, 1985:102). It is a method for treating mental disorders, in which the underlying defect- the motive behind behaviour- is rendered (Slee, 1993:49).

becomes an important consideration. He developed three factors that are found in an individual personality: the Id (instinctual drives), the ego and the superego. These factors interact to produce an individual's personality and behaviour. Conklin (1981:166-7) explained that:

The Id is composed of instincts and drives that need immediate gratifications; it characterizes the un-socialised and unrestrained individual. The Superego is social authority or conscience; it characterizes the fully socialised and conforming member of the society. The Ego is a mediating force that tries to adjust the id drives with superego demands; the ego re-channels and sublimates these drives.

The Id is said to be present at birth (like sexual desires), uncontrolled, unconscious and a source of energy that motivates the individual to action. The superego on the other hand, is made up of internal values which are learnt through social interactions with other people or the society at an early stage of development of the individual. This socialisation process is constituted by guilt, remorse and feelings of morality. The ego regulates, controls and stands between the Id and the superego, making sure that one of these does not dominate the personality and behaviour of a person.

When these three factors are working together on a basic principle of understanding, the person is able to meet his own needs and is well adjusted to the society. If, however, a person is not socialised properly - making the Id and the superego in conflict with each other - the person is thus maladjusted. As Tutt (1975:17) put it:

delinquents suffer the most excruciating neurotic conflicts brought about by the struggle between his Id (instinctual drives) and his highly developed superego (conscience).

Ibeabuchi (1986:65) quotes from McCord and McCord, (1959):

delinquents had a poorly developed Super-Ego which left the Id unrestrained and unmodified by social considerations, making the individual unloving, guilt-free, impulsive and aggressive. The lack

of super-ego development was brought about by poor emotional relationships between parents and children.

Personality and behaviour are determined at an early age of childhood development. If the super-ego is poorly developed at this stage, causing conflict with the instinctual drive (Id), then it is likely that the individual may enter into criminal behaviour. If on the other hand, however, a person is socialised properly, the suggestion is that that person usually does not become violent and harmful to the society. In this regard, how the person will behave depends on how he/she is socialised at an early age.

This approach to the explanation of causes of criminality has been criticised (Clinard and Meier, 1992) because of its emphasis on childhood experiences. It applies only to a small number of delinquents who have personality problems. However, this approach stands as a widely accepted and valid explanation of behaviour.

Most modern criminologists ignore individual theories but some have attempted to revitalise these old theories. The proponents stress the question "What's wrong with individual criminals?" - a question that directs attention to looking within individuals for explanations of their behaviours. In the effort to revitalise this idea, Wilson and Herrnstein, (1985:103) stressed that:

The existence of biological predispositions means that circumstances that activate behaviour in one person will not do so in another, that social forces cannot deter criminal behaviour in 100 percent of the population, and that the distribution of crime within and across societies may, to some extent, reflect underlying distributions of constitutional factors. Crime can not be understood without taking into account predispositions and their biological roots (in Lilly, et al, 1989:196).

This revitalisation is nothing new but harkens back to the theories of Lombroso, Hooton, Sheldon and the Gluecks (see above). The contemporary criminologists ignore this individual theory not only because of its theoretical and methodological complications, but also because they blame the individual

for criminal behaviour and not society. The individual is part of a complex, nebulous and interrelated network and hence his/her behaviour is influenced by this social environment. At the same time, societies were changing rapidly and so did behaviour. Thus the causal factors of crime are focussed and explained in that context. As Lilly, et al, (1989:47) elucidated:

Society was undergoing significant changes, and people's experiences were changing as well. The time was ripe for a new understanding of why some people break the law.

Therefore, the sociological explanations incorporating social factors of crime and delinquency became dominant and continue to offer useful theoretical explanations for question such as: Why do some people live with this behaviour of criminality? In the ensuing discussion, I will review the different sociological theories as developed by sociologists and criminologists alike.

SOCIOLOGICAL THEORIES:

THE PROBLEM IS WITHIN THE SOCIAL FABRIC

The problem of criminal behaviour is not within the individual, nor are individuals born as criminals. The problem is inflicted by the social fabric and the manner in which the social structure is arranged. Therefore, it is improper to focus reform strategies on the individual. Law and order problems are the product of a disorganised and confused society.

SOCIAL DISORGANISATION THEORIES

Thoughts of a disorganised society are associated with the Chicago School of Criminology in the 1930s. Clifford R. Shaw and Henry D. McKay studied criminality behaviour in the urban context and generated a "Social Disorganisation Theory". They proposed that the social structure within the urban area is in disorder. This situation of disarray facilitates criminality as a

viable adaptation to the disorganisation of city life. Lilly, et al, (1989:55) explained:

Shaw and McKay believed that juvenile delinquency could only be understood by considering the social context in which youths lived - a context which itself was a product of major societal transformations brought by rapid urbanisation, unbridled industrialisation, and massive population shifts. Youths with the misfortune of residing in the socially disorganised zone in transition were especially vulnerable to the temptations of crime.

Many live in slums and poor conditions in an urban environment. It is this poor social condition that encourages them to enter into the activities of criminal behaviour. Attempts should be made to improve these social conditions.

This theory can be used to analyse problems of crime in both rural and urban areas of Papua New Guinea. In the former, there is a break down of community-based institutional controls. At the local level, Faris (1955) defined social disorganisation as:

breakdown or disruption in the bonds of relationship, coordination, teamwork, and morale among groups of interrelated persons so as to impair the functions of society or smaller social organisations (in Gibbons, 1973:189-190).

When there is breakdown in community-based institutions, the pressure for deviating from the conventionally approved social norms increases. Traditional and customary norms and values are simple and effective means of social control.

In the urban environment, especially in the slum areas, the norms and values of tradition have little meaning. Clinard and Meier (1992) pointed out that there is great heterogeneity of people living in the urban areas with vast differences in values and norms. Further, they move in and out of the urban area without ever developing a sense of "neighbourhood". As such, they are considered 'socially disorganised'. This condition itself can result in high rates of crime and

delinquency. Clearly, in Papua New Guinea, the people living in the urban environment are largely from different ethnic and social backgrounds, thus making it difficult to come together and develop a common understanding and purpose, in spite of the way migrants move to urban areas to live with Wantoks and settle nearby.

The social disorganisation theory limits its analysis within the parameters of localised institutional conditions. A similar but different view is found in the "Anomie Theory". Many prefer to call this the "Strain Theory", "because the analysis details the social source of strain potent enough to generate high rates of non-conformity" (Lilly, et al, 1989:66-7).

In 1938, Robert K. Merton published "Social Structure and Anomie". He proposed that because there is disruption and disorder in the total social framework, the pressure for deviation increases. The anomie/strain theory extends to the larger societal condition.

Emile Durkheim (1933) generated the theory of anomie to explain suicide. Robert Merton (1957) enlarged and developed the anomie theory into general deviant behaviour. Comparatively, from Sigmund Freud's studies one can see that the social structure fails to socialise people to control their natural instinctual drives. Merton instead studied social pressures in the society that cause deviant behaviours. Merton saw criminal acts as rooted in the social system as opposed to Sigmund Freud's assertion. Our focus in this section is in the context of Merton's explanation of the anomie/strain theory.

Merton's explanation revolves around the disjunction between means-end, or between what the culture extols - a universal striving for success - and what the social structure makes possible - limited legitimate opportunities. The anomie/strain theory claims that "there are inconsistencies between societal conditions and the individual opportunities for growth, fulfilment and productivity within a society" (in Shoemaker, 1990:99). The universal goal of success is manifested in the form of social mobility: striving through hard work to realise

the dreams of success. Thus, even the lowliest and very poor have this dream of success to rise from rags to riches.

What is the connection between this culturally approved goal for success and the deviant behaviour? "The problem Merton observed, is that the social structure limits access to the goal of success through legitimate means (e.g., college education, corporate employment, family connections)" (Lilly, et al, 1989:64).

Particularly in the urban areas of Papua New Guinea, almost all do not have the means to accomplish and to realise their goal-oriented aspirations. They lack education, skill and knowledge. This produces intense pressure for social deviance. In places like Port Moresby, individual responses to such culturally induced strain differs from person to person. Merton (1957:140) developed a model to explain the typology of adaptation. It is possible to analyse how Papua New Guineans adapt themselves to these strains of society in the context of Merton's paradigm. (See table 1 below).

Merton realised that most people ascribe to the conventional means, even under strain. That is, "conformity" to the legitimate means and continuing to strive for the cultural goals of economic success. "Innovation" is where a person faced with an absence of realistic opportunities for advancement, breaks the law. He/she may continue to follow the established and accepted means but turn to illegitimate means when opportunities are blocked (for example, white collar crime). In contrast, the "ritualism" notion is that an individual avoids taking risks and lives within the confines of daily routines. One rejects goals and accepts the conventional means. "Retreatism" is a situation where one escapes society's requirements through the activities of deviant behaviour: alcoholism, drug addiction, psychosis, vagrancy, burglary, robbery, rape, murder and so forth. Finally, "rebellion" is where one not only rejects the arrangement of the society but tries to change the existing system. He/she proposes new ideologies, new sets of goals and means (for example, a socialist system).

Table 1. Merton's Typology of Modes of Individual Adaptation.

Modes of adaptation	Culture Goals	Institutionalised means
1 Conformity	+	+
2 Innovation	+	-
3 Ritualism	-	+
4 Retreatism	-	-
5 Rebellion	-+	-+

(+) signifies acceptance; (-) signifies rejection;

(-+) signifies rejection of prevailing values and substitutions of new values.

Source: Lilly, et al, 1989. Criminological Theories Context and Consequences. London: Sage Publications. (p.65)

It can be observed that many in Papua New Guinea, although under pressure conform to the established norms and values of the society while others have the means and opportunities, aspire for more. They must get out of the established rules and norms of the society to advance further. Public corruption that one hears a lot about in Papua New Guinea is an example of this type. On the other hand, there are those in the country who accept the institutional means. They decline society's aspirations and goals. A committed and faithful public servant may fall under this category.

Although in Papua New Guinea, people who live a daily life of a criminal are rare, they are what are referred to as "rascals"⁴. They may not necessarily operate in a gang context as in the developed world, but they operate in

---

⁴It is unclear how the word came to be used, but as early as the 1960s the word was used to refer to youths who were highly spirited and caused disorderly behaviour. Now, it has become an everyday word, used to refer to criminals and delinquents who operate informal groups.

groups to engage in criminal activities. The notion of "rebellion" that Merton referred to is probably nonexistent in Papua New Guinea, although the "Bougainville Crisis" does provide a prominent example for consideration.

The social disorganisation and anomie/strain theories provide a useful explanation for deviance in Papua New Guinea. Thus, the theories to be developed in this chapter provide the mode and the context in which deviance take place. The questions of "how?" and "why?" crime and delinquency takes place will be explored further. With this, I will begin by examining the "subculture theory".

SUBCULTURE THEORIES

The subculture⁵ theories are an expansion on the social disorganisation and anomie/strain theories. In separate studies, Albert K. Cohen (1955) and Richard A. Cloward and Lloyd Ohlin (1960) combined the work of the Chicago School with Merton's anomie/strain theory. Both focus on urban, lower-class, gang delinquency. Miller's theory of the lower-class is also included in subculture theories. It is difficult to group them as collective subculture theory because of differences in their approaches to explanation. For this reason, I will divide this analysis into three sections: Cohen's Middle-Class Measuring Rod, Cloward and Ohlin's Differential Opportunity Structure and Miller's Theory of Lower-Class Culture.

Middle-Class Measuring Rod

Cohen (1955) sees subculture as a way of life that has somehow become traditional among certain groups in society. These groups are the boys' gangs that flourish conspicuously in the delinquency prone neighbourhoods of our

---

⁵The definition, I will use in this discussion of subculture is as a: "system of values, attitudes, modes of behaviour and life style of a social group which is distinct from, but related to the dominant culture of a society" (Abercrombie, et al, 1988:245).

larger societies (Cohen, 1955:161). Cohen's thesis is: school performance and social behaviour are evaluated in terms of the middle class values and norms, such as punctuality, neatness, cleanliness, nonviolence, respect and so forth. The lower-class is measured and evaluated in the context of these middle-class values. This is described by Cohen as a "middle-class measuring rod".

Cohen maintains that members of society share a common value system that stresses certain values over others. One sees that these values are closely associated with the middle-class where emphasis is placed on gaining status, and therefore status becomes a conventional goal in itself. Opportunities to reach these goals are often more available to the middle-class than the lower-class. The societal institutions (schools) reflect middle class value goals and use them to evaluate all those that enter the institution.

Cohen's notion of a middle-class measuring rod can be utilised to explain the rise of rascality in Port Moresby (See Chapter Seven) and elsewhere in Papua New Guinea. In Port Moresby, there are squatter settlements. The residents of these settlements are mostly migrants and they constitute the city's lower-class. Their children enter a city community school, dominated by children of the middle-class. These lower-class youths, because of their limited opportunities, are often evaluated unfavourably by the school system.

This causes frustration for them in the pursuit of economic success (status). Unable to gain status through the use of the conventional schools' system (grades, social standing), lower-class youths rebel (reaction formation) against middle class values whilst still keeping status as a goal. Over a period of time, lower-class youths collectively create a new value system in opposition to the middle-class values. The standards of this new value systems are mostly anti-conventional aimed at gaining status. The formation of a rascal culture is grounded and instituted with values transmitted from lower-class youth.

Differential Opportunity Structure

The notion of "differential opportunity structure" involves the uneven distribution of legitimate and illegitimate means of achieving economic success in a society, particularly when these opportunities are unequally divided by social class.

The concern is in economic injustice rather than the struggle between values and norms of social classes as asserted by Cohen above. Cloward and Ohlin borrow and combine key elements of Robert Merton's anomie theory and Edwin Sutherland's differential association. Merton's contribution stresses the means-end explanation. Cloward and Ohlin's contribution is differential opportunity in the illegitimate means for economic success. "There is 'differential opportunity' to reach culturally approved goals by legitimate means and there is also 'differential opportunity' to use illegitimate opportunity to reach these goals" (in Conklin, 1992:214).

Cloward and Ohlin incorporate Edwin Sutherland's (1939) explanation of delinquent behaviour: delinquent behaviour is learned primarily through close or group relationship and association. Cloward and Ohlin explain that illegitimate means of gaining economic success are also unevenly distributed, in the same way as legitimate means for economic success. Access to learning and performance structures is not easily accessible.

Young and inexperienced recruits must learn the values, norms and skills required in order to be admitted fully into the gang culture community. The gang member must perform as expected to gain respect for his courage and ability. Those that can not meet the approved means for illegitimate economic success are thrown out, in the same way as lower class youths are thrown out of the dominant middle-class institutions of society. They are categorised as retreatist, and many enter into drug related acts.

From this one can gather that there are standard avenues for achieving goals, legitimate and illegitimate. The opportunities are not equally available to all groups and classes of society. The members of the middle - and upper-classes have primary access to the legitimate opportunity structures (business or politics), while members of the lower-class have primary access to the illegitimate opportunity structure (rascal groups).

Lower-Class Culture

Miller's (1958) viewpoint was that lower-class gangs are by no means a chance phenomena but are part of a general lower-class system. To Miller, "gang delinquency in lower-class is a result of positive efforts by the adolescent to achieve goals that are spelled out in lower-class focal concerns, or areas of interest that elicit widespread, persistent attention and emotional involvement" (in Conklin, 1992:217). These focal concerns are characterised by: trouble, toughness, smartness, excitement, fate and autonomy.

These characteristics of "focal concern" can be noticed in Port Moresby and other urban areas of Papua New Guinea. "Trouble" is indicated by having entanglement with responsible authorities like the police (e.g. fighting and forceful rapes). "Toughness" is associated with being physically strong and having the ability to be brave (e.g. tattooing, lack of emotion). "Smartness" involves the ability to outwit or con others. "Excitement" is concerned with thrill, risk and avoidance of boredom (e.g. use of drugs and sexual promiscuity). "Fate" is characterised by an interest in luck and fortunes (aspirations, expectations, dreams of destiny). "Autonomy" involves the desire to be one's own master.

The subculture theories, together with social disorganisation and anomie/strain theories have been unable to describe the inner driving force that promotes and motivates delinquent activity. They do not provide the theoretical

explanation that translates into behaviour change. Interpersonal and situational explanations attempt to close this gap.

INTERPERSONAL AND SITUATIONAL EXPLANATIONS

These explanations are associated with the work of Edwin Sutherland's Differential Association Theory (1939) and David Matza's Drift Theory (1964). Both consider that the causes of delinquent behaviour revolve around the idea that human behaviour is flexible and not fixed and changes in response to circumstances and situations. Delinquent behaviour is situational and not a long term behavioural pattern. This discussion begins with "differential association"⁶.

Sutherland's differential association theory remains one of the most popular theories of criminal behaviour. Sutherland elaborated on the notion that all behaviour is learned and moved away from the notion of social disorganisation and preferred "differential social organisation" or "differential group organisation". This differential association was propounded in nine propositions, emerging to stimulate interest in modern criminology:

1. Criminal behaviour is learned, not inherited.
2. Criminal behaviour is learned through interactions with other persons in a process of communication.
3. The principal part in the learning of criminal behaviour occurs within intimate personal groups.
4. When criminal behaviour is learned, the learning includes (a) techniques of committing the crime, which are sometimes very complicated, sometimes very simple, (b) the specific direction of motives, drives, rationalization, and attitudes.
5. The specific direction of motives and drives is learned from definitions of the legal codes as favourable or unfavourable.

---

⁶the social influences persons encounter through their life times are inconsistent so that many individuals become involved in contact with carriers of criminality norms and become criminals as a consequence" (Gibbons, 1973:212).

6. A person becomes a delinquent because of an excess of definitions favourable to violation of law over definitions unfavourable to violation of law.
7. Differential associations may vary in frequency, duration, priority and intensity.
8. The process of learning criminal behaviour by association with criminal and anticriminal patterns involves all of the mechanisms that are involved in any other learning.
9. While criminal behaviour is an expression of general needs and values, it is not explained by those needs and values, since noncriminal is the expression of the same needs and values.

(Sutherland and Cressy, 1978:80-2).

Using Sutherland's formulations, one can argue that the lawlessness and disorderly behaviour in Papua New Guinea is not inherited and not transmitted to offsprings. It is not genetically programmed. The learning of criminal behaviour is, however, transmitted through communication with other members of the community. This learning involves: the actual way to accomplish the criminal behaviour and the definitions (values, motives, drives, rationalisation, attitudes) which support such behaviour.

Criminal behaviour occurs, according to Sutherland, when there is an "axcess" of definitions favouring criminal behaviour, as opposed to those definitions which favour conventional behaviour. This means that there may be loopholes in the law that the criminals are taking advantage of, or it may be that the criminals do not know such a law exists, so it is their ignorance of the law that forces them to enter into criminal behaviour. It may be that the laws are not tough enough so they have no concerns about being detected and arrested by police.

The ability to commit criminal behaviour is not constant and therefore does not occur in one particular time or period. It depends on need, priority, intensity and such. Individuals have quite similar goals to achieve and, thus, there are

no significant differences. The means to achieve these goals, however, differ and therefore criminal behaviour can not be explained in the context of these goals.

Sutherland emphasised that criminals and non-criminals are not to be separated on the basis of their different drives and goals because they have similar needs and values. Criminal behaviour is committed because of situational effects (need, timing, environment, etc.).

Attempts have been made to modify this differential association explanation (Glasser, 1956; DeFleur and Quinney, 1966; Burgess and Akers, 1966) but the original propositions have not been changed. This explanation examines more about how one commits criminal behaviour than about why they committed an offense (Radzinowicz, 1966).

Drift Theory

David Matza (1964) argued that some adolescents are in a state of drift. This means "a condition of limbo between a conventional lifestyle and a criminal lifestyle with no strong attachment to either. Juveniles drift into delinquency in an almost accidental and unpredictable way through their exercise of personal choice" (Conklin, 1992:232). Delinquent acts are largely the result of juveniles' free will and choices depending on circumstances and situations at a particular time.

It is also thought that the delinquents are angered over a sense of injustice. They feel that they are discriminated against by the law enforcement bodies and community reactions to their behaviour. The delinquent acts are committed not because the juveniles are driven by some internal or external forces but because it seems to them profitable and the right thing to do at that point in time.

There are five techniques of "neutralisation". That is, to neutralise the moral feelings of being associated with the delinquent act. Further, neutralisation techniques are proposed as justification for the commissioning of delinquent acts. These techniques of neutralisation are explained by Sykes and Matza (1957) as:

- (1) denial of responsibility, in which the juvenile fails to accept personal blame for his actions, attributing them to forces beyond his control, such as having bad parents or living in poverty;
- (2) denial of injury, in which the juvenile does not deny the act but maintains that no one was really physically hurt or economically harmed;
- (3) denial of victim, in which the harm of injury caused by the act is felt to be deserved because the victim deserved it, such as stealing from a crooked store owner;
- (4) condemnation of condemners, which involves a view of disapproving others as hypocrites and hidden deviants, a view which sometimes becomes cynical of authority figures, such as the police and school officials;
- (5) appeal to higher loyalties, which argues that the immediate demands of the group take precedence over familial, community or societal values and rules and these group demands sometimes call for the commission of delinquent acts. (in Shoemaker, 1990:163).

As it can be observed, both Sutherland's differential association and Matza's drift theories are situational in nature. The law and order problems of Papua New Guinea can be observed from this point of view when trying to find causal factors. We cannot ignore the fact that lawlessness and disorderly behaviour in our society is influenced by circumstantial factors. The unfavourable social conditions, the notion of "payback" or "getting revenge", desire and aspirations, jealousy, accidental and so forth may force someone to enter into a life of criminal behaviour or even casually take part.

Sutherland and Matza's theories do not escape their share of criticisms, as Shoemaker re-enforced: "Both theories attempt to provide ill-defined effects of social-class and the social structure, and the atomistic, overly deterministic

conceptualisations of biological and psychological theories of delinquency such as psychoanalytic interpretations" (1990:167). The short-fall lies within the measurement and testing of basic concepts and proposition. These theories can be enhanced through precise measurement and testing but such is not forthcoming. The assumption is that control theories may lay a foundation for this shortcoming. It is with this notion that I will explore the control theory in my next phase of analysis.

CONTROL THEORY⁷

Control theory is shaped around the view that individuals must be held in check, and somehow controlled if criminal behaviour is to be restrained. This theory does not ask the question "Why do people commit crimes and acts of delinquency?" It suggests that crime and delinquency will occur unless people conform to all the social demands placed on them and then asks "Why do people conform?", or simply "why did he/she not commit a delinquent act?"

From this perspective on human nature and social order, crime and delinquency are expected, unless the socio-cultural controls are operating effectively to prevent such behaviour. "People who engage in delinquency are free from intimate attachments, aspirations, and moral beliefs that bind them to a conventional and law-abiding way of life" (Conklin, 1992:244). There is an absence of control mechanisms in the delinquent. It is in this sense that the control theory is useful in identifying more of the missing variables.

Without exploring other details of this theory, my discussion is restricted to the containment theory of Walter Reckless (1961) and the social control theory of Travis Hirschi (1969), both of which are relevant to my analysis. I will begin with the former.

---

⁷Refer to chapters 7 and 9 for a detailed analysis of control theory in the context of the Papua New Guinea situation. These chapters explain how control theory, particularly the social control part the of explanation, is related and relevant to this country.

Containment theory explains criminality behaviour as an interplay between two forms of control: internal (inner) and external (outer). There are a variety of "pushes" and "pulls" towards deviant behaviour that all individuals experience. The outcome of these inducements to commit criminality behaviour rely on the strength of an individual's inner and outer containment.⁸ If the inner containment is poorly developed, there is little room to resist pressures from the external forces which result in deviant acts.

On the other hand, if the inner containment is developed properly, then the individual can withstand outer forces, resulting in him/her not committing deviant acts. As Yablonsky and Haskell re-assert, "delinquent behaviour is caused by greater pressures or 'push factors' to commit delinquent acts than by strong 'inner containment' factors that deter delinquency" (1988:372). These forces to commit criminality behaviour fall in layers:

First layer, social pressures; like adverse physical living conditions and economic conditions, lack of opportunities, discriminations, and family conflicts.

Second layer, pull factors which draw the individual away from the accepted norms; bad companions, delinquent or criminal subculture, and deviant groups.

Third layer, external containment; ineffective family and community living without supporting one and other, disorganised structure of roles and expectations in society, and no sense of acceptance and feeling of belonging in the society.

Fourth layer, inner containment within the individual. There is poor internalization; low self-concept, or low self esteem that results in frustration and intolerance.

The bottom layer consist of the pushes, which include inner tensions, hostility, aggressiveness, strong feelings of inadequacy and inferiority and impairment.

(Reckless, 1961:355-6 in Yablonsky and Haskell, 1988:366).

---

⁸Note also Sigmund Freud's Psychoanalytic explanation (Id, ego and superego).

In short, society continually 'pushes and pulls' individuals towards criminal acts. These pushes and pulls are everything from poverty, unemployment, and inequality to the presence of deviant and criminal subculture groups and peers to 'more personal' factors like hostility, rebelliousness, anxiety, resentment, and mental conflicts and problems.

Social Control System

Social control is "a process that brings about conformity to the society's norms and values" (Conklin, 1992:366). This is examined in the context of a social bond, or connections between the individual and society. Social institutions like family, community, religion, traditional and customary norms and values and so forth keep controls and check the individual. Travis Hirschi (1969:16-39) characterised this social bond as having four elements or dimensions:

- (1) attachment,
- (2) involvement,
- (3) commitment,
- (4) belief.

The strength of attachment to a group restrains the individual's criminality behaviour. The individual involves and commits to the group he/she is attached to. Being attached, committed and involved means the individual believes in the societal values. The individual's family (parents) and the school system, as social bond institutions, have a tremendous effect particularly at childhood and at school age.

Family

Yablonsky and Haskell (1988:119) maintained that "The social configuration that exerts the most profound influence on every youth's personality is that of his or her family. Dislocation in a youth's family, the absence of the potentially positive effects, or any severe disturbances in one or both parents that results in the abuse or neglect of a child can produce devastating negative impacts,

certainly including juvenile delinquency". The structure of the family should not be broken and relationships and interaction within the family should be intact and based on the basic principles of understanding, knowing and loving each other.

Broken homes refer to when one or both of the natural parents are missing because of an event such as death, desertion, or divorce. It is generally assumed that youths from broken families are potentially at high risk of inflicting delinquent behaviour. In effect, research (Rosen and Neilson, 1978) has indicated that most delinquents come from broken homes (although there are doubts about the validity of data used). Yablonsky and Haskell (1988) found that eight studies from 1929 to 1971 indicated "The range of delinquents from broken homes was 23.6 percent to 61.5 percent, while the range for non-delinquent was from 12.9 percent to 36.1 percent" (in Shoemaker, 1990:190).

The family relationship is measured in terms of the interaction, affection, supervision, and discipline between and among parents and children. Glueck and Glueck (1950:260-1) predicted that delinquency in a young boy would result from family factors including broken homes:

overstrict, erratic, or lax discipline by father; unsuitable supervision by mother; hostile or indifferent affection from parents for a child and family unstable and not cohesive.

Later studies (Empey and Lubeck, 1971; Laub and Sampson, 1988; Yablonsky and Haskell, 1988) supported the Gluecks' prediction. In this regard, socialisation of a child at an earlier stage of his or her development becomes an important aspect. There must be love and affection from the natural parents, appropriate discipline and supervision and the family must be cohesive. In short, give the child fatherly and motherly comfort and love and one creates open opportunities for that child to be a productive citizen.

School Experience

Successful students are less likely to commit delinquent acts than drop-outs or failures in the school system. Studies (Hirschi, 1969; Johnson, 1979) have indicated that those who are unattached to school can also be unattached to their parents or the community in general. In this way they are not socially bonded to the school or family institutions and have high risks of deviating away from societal values and norms.

The education institution may also be disorganised by not applying the appropriate values and norms. There are failures in the school system as seen by Yablonsky and Haskell (1988:6), such as providing a frustrating experience, failing to maintain interest, failing to maintain a feeling of satisfaction among children and failing to provide satisfying personal relationships between students and teachers. This can lead to school drop-out, poor performance and failures and eventually becomes rooted as a cause of crime and delinquency because of the frustration of an unaccomplished mission.

The critique of the control theory leads me to my next analysis. Control theory does not identify the source of motivations to commit crime and delinquency within the social structure. Attachment to societal institutions can keep people from committing delinquency, however, a complete explanation is not explained by the control theory. The way social, economic, and cultural forces produce a motivation to break the law is also not elucidated by the control theory. The critique extends itself in questioning how self-concepts and attachment are produced and changed. Questions of such should be clarified in my discussion of labelling theory.

LABELLING THEORY⁹

Frederick Thrasher (1936) and Frank Tannenbaum (1938) argued that the official labelling of someone as a delinquent can result in the person "becoming the thing he is described as being". Edwin Lemert (1951) later generated primary and secondary deviance, which became the key features in the development of what was to become "labelling theory". Lemert laid the foundations for this theory which were subsequently developed by Becker (1973). The classic statement of this focus is:

.... social groups create deviance by making the rules whose infraction constitutes deviance, and by applying those rules to particular people and labelling them as outsiders. From this point of view, deviance is not a quality of the act the person commits, but rather a consequence of the application by others of rules and sanctions to an 'offender'. The deviant is one to whom that label has successfully been applied; deviant behaviour is behaviour that people so label (Becker, 1973:9).

The primary factor in the repetition of criminality is formal labelling, which then alters self-image. A person is found guilty of an offence and thus defined by the society as "a criminal". The individual sees and identifies himself as having the status of being criminal where his/her self-image changes. The individual develops negative self-concepts, or poor inner containment. As soon as society defines, identifies and labels a person as a criminal, he/she continues the status conferred. As Yablonsky and Haskell (1988:2) captured:

A person convicted of crime is given the status of criminal. The term criminal may, therefore, be viewed as a stigmatizing label. Once given the stigmatizing label the individual may be subjected to isolation, segregation, degradation, incarceration and chemical or psychological treatment.

---

⁹The important point to remember, when thinking about this notion of "labelling" from a Papua New Guinean perspective is that when the state (through police) apprehend an individual for an offence, he/she is identified, branded and stamped as criminal. He/she lives with it and thinks and acts accordingly.

Lemert (1951) developed the concepts of primary and secondary deviance. He explained this in a systematic process. The first stage is "labelling and self-concept". A person violates a law and is arrested and put on trial in court for the first time. This alters his/her conception (self-image) through a realisation that he/she is identified as criminal and thus he/she is criminal. "By being labelled as a delinquent in court can thus produce a self-fulfilling prophecy so that people behave in ways consistent with their altered concepts" (in Conklin, 1992:191).

The second factor is "labelling effects". The effects, as captured by Yablonsky and Haskell (1988) above, are to throw the person away as completely unworthy and useless. His/her social relationship with other members in society is reduced dramatically and does not appear to be an integral part of the society to which he/she rightfully belongs. The individual is seen as potentially harmful to the community and from that perspective, the individual experiences a difficult relationship with the community.

The third factor involves "labelling and subculture". When a person is seen and labelled as criminal, his/her altered self-image pushes him/her out of the dominant culture of the society. Eventually that person enters into a subculture, or gang culture. The individual is associated with others who have been under similar situations and thus presumably share common needs and aspirations. They are bound together by their similar background and are consolidated firmly into the gang culture. Thus, it can be seen that when a person is labelled as criminal, a person remains criminal and continues with the status bestowed on him by the society. The later criminality behaviours are considered by Lemert as secondary deviance.

In Papua New Guinea, the role of the both criminal justice system and the community in general comes into question here. Once a first time offender is apprehended and put in court, this theory implies that Papua New Guinean society is officially declaring him/her to be a criminal. If found guilty and sent to

prison camps like in Bomana, the state puts a tag on him/her. That tag certifies that he/she is criminal and stays with them.

The forgoing analysis has attempted to give theoretical explanations for the causes of crime and delinquency. I will add to this analysis my final examination in this chapter of conflict theory. Some refer to conflict theory as radical theory because its emphases are revolutionary in nature.

CONFLICT THEORY

The theory of conflict can be traced to the writings of Karl Marx (1909). Karl Marx, himself, did not say much about actual crime. However, the development of conflict theory to explain crime stems from Karl Marx's earlier contentions about the nature of the capitalist system. This theory is centred around the notion of conflict. Conflict is a fact of life and society is most appropriately characterised by conflict. Resources in general are scarce and therefore in demand. It is the attempt to control these resources that generates the major features of conflict theory. Control of resources creates power and that power is used to maintain and expand the resource base at the expense of others. In the midst of this conflict, crime is committed both by the advantaged and the disadvantaged. The capitalist system itself is in the centre of controversy and this system is characterised as the:

private ownership and control of the instruments of production, i.e. capital; the gearing of economic activities to making profits; a market framework that regulates this activity; the appropriation of profits by owners of capital (subject to taxation by the state); provision of labour by workers who are free agents (Abercrombie, et al, 1988:24-6).

The advantaged group owns the means of production in a capitalist economy and are the privileged class, or in Marxist terms "bourgeoisie class" (the merchants, entrepreneurs, industrialists, politicians, bureaucrats). The disadvantaged group are the underprivileged class, or in Marxist terms the "proletariat" (the lower class, the poor). Therefore, this struggle is between the

bourgeoisie and the proletariat classes, primarily over resource allocation and the distribution of resources. The bourgeoisie class achieves dominance over the proletariat class, and seeks to use available societal mechanisms for its benefit in order to assure that it remains dominant and in control. The legal institutions are the societal mechanisms that provide the group in power with strong means of control over the underprivileged.

The privileged group invariably seeks opportunities to enhance their position, status and wealth. Consequently, the working class and the poor are exploited, manipulated, oppressed and made to remain stagnant in all spheres (social, economic and political) of society. The proletariat sometimes rejects control and dominance over them and reacts in opposition by striving for an opportunity to overcome this stagnancy and dominance. Both groups commit crime in their pursuit of socio-economic progress and prosperity from their respective positions. Chambliss (1975:152-3) explained that:

criminal.... behaviour stems from people acting rationally in ways that are compatible with their class position. Crime is a reaction to the life conditions of a person's social class.

In line with this, Quinney (1980) categorised two broad types of criminality behaviour: crimes of domination and oppression, and the crimes of accommodation and resistance. The former are committed by the agents of the capitalist class to maintain wealth and power. The crime control policies and laws may seem to apply to all classes of people but in reality are two policies and laws of the same coin. They serve to criminalise those of the proletariat. White collar-crime is an example of crimes of domination and oppression.

The latter are committed by the proletariat in order to survive the repressive and oppressive tactics of the capitalist class. Street crimes such as robbery, burglary and drug dealing are examples of this. (Refer to chapter 6 for an analysis on crimes of the lower-class from a Papua New Guinean perspective). In a typical Marxist analysis, out of sheer frustration and intolerance of

disorganised circumstances, revolution of the system itself is possible, when the proletariat mobilise and rebel against the system. The alternative system proposed is a socialist one. Still, there are reported cases of criminal elements in the Socialist States.¹⁰

Many later criminologists and sociologists have attempted to refine and modify the original theories but have made no major and significant alterations. Therefore, they have not emerged to influence criminological studies. The initial theories continue to remain a major explanation of the causation of crime and delinquency. In my analysis, I have explored these major theories, which have become dominant.

---

¹⁰Refer to Connor, (1970); Hinnens, (1973); Liazos, 1979; Rosner, (1986). These authors wrote about criminality behaviour in the former USSR, Cuba and China, which proves that a society based on a fundamental principle of equality, justice and fairness does not necessarily avoid criminal elements.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

In theory, there are many explanations of the same idea. The behaviour of criminality is difficult to explain and it is a multi-faceted phenomenon. As Lilly, et al, (1989:7) stress: "Crime is a complex phenomenon and it is a demanding, if intriguing, challenge to explain its many sides". Knowing its complications, I have attempted to explore the many aspects of the criminality behaviour. I have shown that an attempt to understand the causal context or background of crime and delinquency has historically challenged the best minds of all civil societies. Thus, in examining the variety of causal explanations of crime and delinquency, one must keep in mind several concepts and issues as guides to their scientific validity, as listed by Yablonsky and Haskell:

1. A relationship of factors is not necessarily a causal nexus. The fact that a preponderance of criminals and delinquents come from broken homes does not necessarily mean a broken home must cause crime and delinquency and crime.
2. No single theory explains all crime and delinquency. Different patterns of crime and delinquency require different causal explanations. The sexual psychopath, the burglar, and the violent gang youth would not tend to emerge from the same causal context.
3. Primary and secondary causes should not be confused. The lack of social workers and poor school facilities are not primary causes of delinquency; however, a broken home may be a primary causal factor.
4. One can not logically isolate one single cause of crime or delinquency. Causation is a multi-factored condition. The relative weight of each factor is difficult to determine.
5. In examining casual explanations based on research with offenders, we have the problem of separating the causal force from the impacts of the administration of justice (arrest, jail, courts, prison).

These factors and others make the issue of causation a complex matter for analysis (1988:343-4).

I hope that this chapter has brought together the causal explanations for the problems of law and order. In the chapters that follow, I will try to cross-reference these theoretical explanations for crime and delinquency causation where applicable.

CHAPTER FIVE

AN ANALYSIS OF MODERNISATION AND URBANISATION IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO PAPUA NEW GUINEA

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this chapter is to explain how modernisation and urbanisation contribute to the problems of law and order. Therefore, the chapter has two aims: First, it will review general literature on modernisation and urbanisation in developing countries. Second, it will discuss modernisation and urbanisation in Papua New Guinea and how law and order problems may have developed.

The chapter begins by defining three approaches to modernisation. Then, it looks at urbanisation as a problem of primate cities which leads to the literature review on rural-urban migration. The analysis then turns to an examination of the social structure of primate cities. The literature on the relationship between problems of law and order and urbanisation is also reviewed. In the second part of the analysis, it will be considered how modernisation and urbanisation have an impact on Papua New Guinea. The same order of presentation will be followed in that discussion.

MODERNISATION DEFINED

There are three approaches in defining "modernisation". The first approach maintains that "modernisation" is a "process of social change, or a set of such changes, which are theoretically universal in time and space" (Smith, 1973:61). Thus, modernisation is a process of development, growth and advancement which in nature can be gradual, dynamic, reformative and enterprising. This

definition relates to the human evolutionary process and its social structural changes.

Thus, modernisation involves a continuous adaptation through the applications of "new types of knowledge, to practical affairs, and the range of technical possibilities which it opens up.... Modernisation is a crucial structural process, which is now universal in application, wherever it might have originated historically" (Smith, 1973:93&94). The changes that are taking place in the developed world are enormous and at an accelerated pace, a drive into the space age in search of purely ideological notions of "a better living" or a "better future".

Modernisation in developing countries usually means the transition from a traditional agrarian social structure to an advanced western culture. Therefore, the second definition of modernisation explains and describes the penetration of European capitalism and its colonialism. Here, "modernisation" is in a sense historical, and is usually marked by a particular period of time. This denotes a transition between traditional ways and modernity, and once a society enters the era of modernisation, the spirit, conditions and prevailing circumstances allow no turning back (Smith, 1973:62).

Since the infiltration of Western culture, traditional societies have experienced changes in the integrative features of their social structures. A good example of this was the introduction of the Luluai and Tultul systems of rule to Papua New Guinea by the Germans. (See chapter 3). This shows there was a departure from the traditional arrangements for dispute settlement to an alien new concept of dispute settlement. Such a phenomenon is peculiar but has penetrated deep into the society. The gradual adaptation to the new rule of law is, in fact, modernisation.

Third, 'modernisation' is viewed in the context of the policies pursued by leaders and elites of developing countries. The notion of 'modernity' is treated

as a goal of aspiration which is integrated into policies and programmes as maintained by Smith (1973:62):

modernisation then is a conscious set of plans and policies... a particular society in the direction of contemporary societies which the leaders think are more advanced in certain respects.

The goal of 'modernity' is often to emulate Western culture. "What is involved in modernisation is a 'total' transformation of a traditional or pre-modern society into the types of technology and associated social organisation that characterizes the 'advanced' economically prosperous, and relatively politically stable nations of the Western world" (Moore, 1963:89). This is consistent with "modernisation theory" which conceptualises that the institutions and values of Western countries are an ideal and suitable model to follow. Slater when writing about 'Capitalism and Urbanisation' maintained:

the orientating assumption of modernisation studies was that the institution and values of the United States, conceived of in the idealised representation of the dominant ideology, constituted an appropriate and replicable model for other less developed societies to emulate (1986:9).

Slater further explains that development is seen, in this context, as requiring the abandonment of traditional ways and adopting of the ideal of modernity presented by the advanced nations. This "change from traditional to modern was to occur through the diffusion of capital, technology, values, institutional arrangements and political beliefs from the west to the traditional societies" (Slater, 1986:9).

The rationale of this scenario is that, if the Third World remains conservative, disinclined and reluctant to accommodate modernity, then it (the Third World) would never prosper and would remain economically stagnant. Accordingly, within the realm of this philosophy, no developing country would opt for so-called backward or traditional approach. This is because the might of the colonial power - as a civilising mission - has had a profound impact on

contemporary Third World nations. The colonised societies firmly believe that their destiny in pursuit of a better living is to follow no other way but the Western way.

COLONIAL URBAN AREA

The colonial towns and cities of the Third World were archetypal of the colonial power, always planned to suit the needs of the colonial master. When independence was granted, this exotic and foreign designed urban environment was left behind for the indigenous people. The colonised territories were planned in such a way that the administration framework would be centralised with its national units along the periphery. Not surprisingly, in the Third World many, if not most, sub-national units are marginalised and continue to dwell in a rural way of life.

This centralisation philosophy or public policy works on the assumption that national units would best be served from a central point with a concentration of both administrative and political powers. As Clinard and Abbott analysed: "One city, or a few cities at most, becomes dominant socially, economically, and politically and is thus termed the "primate" city in the developing country. Concentrated in this urban sector are the government, commercial centres, transportation and commercial facilities, and even administrative talent crucial to industrial development" (1973.7).

The political institutions with varying ideologies, educational and legal institutions, commercialisation and merchandising, amenities, industrialisation and so on are all patterned after parallel institutions of the west. These new social structures represent modernisation in practice as they become agents of changing values, norms and perceptions about general conduct and behaviour. Ideally, modernisation in the form of copied institutions and values is nothing more than enterprising new art forms being developed through contacts with the west.

A most challenging intellectual task would be to create or plan modernism that is **integrative and absorptive** in nature so as to incorporate the institutional values and norms of both the developed countries and the Third World. Such a model could offer a Third World definition of modernity as Bellah (1965) in Smith, (1973:63) defines modernisation:

as the increase in capacity of a social system to process information from within and without it and respond appropriately.

This means that the society has the capacity to generate change and absorb rationally those that are suitable and applicable. However, in many Third World countries like Papua New Guinea, such "integrative and absorptive modernism" can not be achieved. Instead, it requires arduous effort to address the structural problems left behind through colonial governing.

One colonial method of administration was that of the rural economy being the catalyst for transformation. As Slater (1986:9) explains: "Within this vision, development should come through the positive, diffusing influence of the city acting on the countryside as a catalyst of transformation". The real emphasis here is economic development which means income generating industries are supported. Therefore the basis is that the countryside would facilitate and support the industries and institutions in the primate urban cities. This rationale is analysed by what economists call a 'residual model' planning approach.¹

The colonial authorities had introduced this residual approach in many developing countries before independence with little or no impact. But in fact this approach created social problems. The countryside was further alienated and isolated and no significant integration occurred into the national circles. As Slater (1986:9) pointed out:

When it became clear that this process of change was not occurring, and as contradiction of socio-economic development

---

¹Refer to Chapter Seven, where residual and incremental models of developmental planning are discussed.

in the Third World cities became more manifest, notions of 'over-urbanisation', 'hyper-urbanisation', and the 'pathology' of urban growth were introduced, echoing the wider ideas of 'breakdown' in the modernisation process.

Social problems therefore emerged. One of the major routes that social problems take, that of deviant behaviour, is explained in the context of the urbanisation process. The ensuing analysis examines quite generally the urbanisation process and social transformation in the urban setting.

URBANISATION: THE PROBLEM OF PRIMATE CITIES.

The process of modernisation and industrialisation generate conditions that are necessary for adaptation towards urbanisation. The concept of urbanisation designates "spatial relocation of people" (Blumer, 1990:21). I am concerned here in the spatial relocation of people in an urban place. Whether it may be a town or a city, there is no single, conventionally approved criterion for determining its qualifications. Nevertheless, a widely respected proposal by Davis (1965) to apply demographic criteria gained some support, an approach that is not uncommon in official studies. Davis proposed that a demographic figure of at least 20,000 be used to denote an 'urban' place, whilst 100,000 be employed to indicate a 'city'. Davis (1965:42) defined urbanisation as: "the proportion of the total population concentrated in urban areas, or else to a rise in this proportion" (in Hardiman and Midgley, 1984: 126). As can be seen, there are two juxtaposed definitions considered by Davis; in which urbanisation can mean either, the total population in the urban place or the rate at which the population is increasing.

Others like Clinard and Meier distinguished urbanisation from the notions of urbanism and city. They saw 'urbanisation' as the process of a growing concentration of people in cities, while they described 'urbanism' as a group or cluster of social qualities - characteristics that distinguish the city from rural areas. They further asserted that 'urbanism' is not synonymous with 'city'. The

latter refers to an area distinguished principally by population size, density, and heterogeneity, whilst 'urbanism' refers to a complex of social relationships that are embodied in a particular way of life or way of perceiving the world (1992:68).

Using the above definitions (Davis, 1965; Clinard and Meier, 1992), one can see that urbanisation is a process that describes what goes on in an urban place with regard to human population. Urbanisation is more than concentration and the number of people in a particular urban place. The increase in number and its rate of growth is important to consider for effective urban planning. It is not the purpose of this chapter to examine and discuss this any further. What is significant to consider is the number of people as compared to the land mass and the variations of ethnic groups and their cultural ways of life. All these forces impact urbanisation. The analysis now turns to an examination of the causal factors of urbanisation.

FACTORS OF URBANISATION

The urban population of the Third World has been increasing rapidly. Clinard and Abbott (1973) used 1940 to 1960 figures to indicate that the population growth in the developing world has been a continually accelerating process. "...the population in urban areas of 20,000 or more in Latin America increased from 19 to 32%, from 7 to 13% in Africa, 8 to 14% in South Asia and 13 to 20% in East Asia. Latin America's urban population grew from 25.2 million to 67.8, Africa's from 13.8 to 36.4, South Asia's from 50.5 to 116.1, and East Asia's population from 81.6 to 160.5 million" (1973:7). These changes imply doubling or tripling of the population in a twenty year time-frame. Although such a broad regional analysis may be of limited relevance for one particular developing country, the message is clear that there are specific demographic factors that contribute to increases in the urban population.

The concentration of the human population in urban places is made possible by three influences. The first and most important influence is modernisation as shown throughout this chapter. It is not my intention here to develop this idea any further. Nevertheless, modernisation can have enormous effect and impact on urbanisation. Whilst modernisation is seen as the principal causal factor, natural growth and rural-urban migration are also significant.

Robert's definition of urbanisation as used by Slater helps to explain the causal factor of urbanisation in line with the above analysis. "Urbanisation in its most formal sense merely constitutes the increase of the urban population as compared with the rural one, but it includes and results in far-reaching economic transformation on the national and international plane" (Roberts, 1978a:9 in Slater, 1986:7).

Slater asserted that there are two juxtaposed definitions: large scale economic transformation and demographic. The former is essentially a product of capitalist development and expansion through the process of modernisation and industrialisation. Robert did indicate that urbanisation includes far reaching economic transformation. The definition of modernisation used in the ensuing analysis maintains that urbanisation is not just population concentration but includes the complex division of labour, the use of different management techniques, improved technologies, the growth of commercial facilities and so on. It is through such forces that the demographic definition materialises.

The demographic component of the definition refers to the growth of urban population concentration. The natural increase in size, changes in the city boundaries, and the incorporation of previously rural places, with net-in migration increase and its density.

The low mortality rate and increases in the life-span of the population through improved public and private health care services is also a likely demographic influence. As Hauser (1965) in Clinard and Abbott pointed out: "Modernisation

brings increased concern with health problems. Broad strides have been taken to combat such diseases as malaria, small pox, and tuberculosis and to reduce infant mortality. Since decreases in infant mortality are not generally accompanied by a declining birth rate in developing countries, sharp increases arise in the growth rate of the population" (1973:9).

For these reasons, concerted efforts have been made by developing countries to formulate appropriate policies aimed at improving the health condition of their people, but the result has been rapid population growth. The point is that natural increases contribute to high density, which contribute to social problems such as crime and delinquent acts. Although changes in the city boundaries may not be a significant factor in the developing world, these are sometimes contributing factors and require consideration. When urban areas develop, they require expansion in land mass. Those people previously considered rural are then incorporated as urban, thereby increasing the population in urban areas.

Rural-Urban Migration

As seen by sociologists and anthropologists alike, migration involves a move to a new social setting. Studies have shown how the social structure and the physical outlook of this new environment is disparate and discrete. There are variations in the adaptation process. The migrant, through interaction with others, learns and adjusts to that new social environment. The migrant gradually loses his/her old ties and establishes new ones in order to satisfy his or her needs. Migration can therefore be defined as "the physical transition of an individual or a group from one society to another. This transition usually involves abandoning one social setting and entering another and different one" (Eisentstadt, 1953:167). This analysis, is concerned with rural-urban migration: the migrant moves from village life to an urban place. The migrant gradually losses his or her attachment to the community and the society that he/she had known. The migrant enters into a new environment that is an urban place.

As noted by Hardiman and Midgley, "research into rural urban migration has revealed that the subject is very complex; different studies have emphasized different aspects of the process and because migration is affected by local economic, social and political conditions, significant differences in the nature of migration and its causes in different countries may be expected" (1986:135). Therefore, generalisations regarding rural-urban migration in developing countries are only tentative in nature. For instance, the causal factors for rural-urban migration in Nigeria may not necessarily be the same as the causal factors for Papua New Guinea, though studies have indicated that the causal factors of rural-urban migration are analogous to developing countries. Regardless of its complexities, nature and variations, the study of urbanisation and the study of rural-urban migration are closely related.

Like in Hardiman and Midgley, studies have indicated that rural-urban migration is a complicated phenomenon. There are number of complex and interrelated personal and socio-economic circumstances that motivate and help to explain this migration pattern. Levine and Levine (1979) asserted that the causation of migration is a multi-faceted phenomenon. They wrote:

Migration is a multi-faceted phenomenon and is a function of objective factors (distance from town), subjective factors (cultural attitudes towards status and perceptions of urban and rural life-styles and opportunities) and as well as purely personal factors of individual circumstances (1979:32).

The objective factors as elaborated by Germani (1965) in the words of May and Skeldon "involves an analysis of the structural characteristics of the places of origin and destination of migration: the resource base, employment opportunities, availability of housing services, communications and accessibility, and so on" (1977:14). The structural characteristics of rural-urban migration would include the area of land available to a particular group. Objective factors would include land shortage, while actual pressure of population on the land is as much a subjective as it is an objective factor. This may be aggravated either by population increase or expansion of cash cropping. On the other

hand, the structural characteristics impacting on the destination of rural-urban migration would include such things as accommodation and food, and the number of jobs available in the urban areas. Under the objective causation of rural-urban migration, what is important between the place of origin and the place of destination is the distance. The "distance does act as a constraint on the volume of movement to major cities, with most of the migrants coming from areas relatively close to the town" (Garnaut, 1974a in May and Skeldon, 1977:17). The cost of the travel either by air, land or sea are vital considerations. Objective factors are those practical and realistic factors that a migrant considers before his/her decision to move out.

The subjective factors and those purely personal factors as seen by Levine and Levine (1979) are identified by Germani (1965) as normative and psychosocial factors respectively. These are defined by May and Skeldon accordingly: "The normative level concerns the way the migrant group perceives the migratory process and the institutionalised which can facilitate or retard migration, while the psychosocial level deals with the various factors which cause particular individuals to migrate" (1977:14). The migrant group gives reasons for their migration, including both economic and social factors. The former is usually the desire to earn a cash income, whilst the latter is seen in the context of "push and pull factors". There are conditions like threats or the fear of sorcery that might push the migrant out; whilst attractions of the city, like the social activities of discos and dances, may pull the migrant.

Where objective factors are not conducive, rural-urban drift would not be possible despite subjective and psychosocial feelings promoting the wish to move. These objective factors are preconditions for one's subjective feelings, desires, wants and needs to be materialised through the process of migration. These causal factors of rural-urban migration provide a useful analytical framework. The factors themselves should not be considered as mutually exclusive entities, however, since the contrasts between them are not exact and distinct (May and Skeldon, 1977:14). These different levels of analysis should

become clearer as we explore specific rural-urban migration in Papua New Guinea in a later part of this chapter. The analysis turns first to examine social structures of urban places in developing countries.

Social Structures of the Primate City

The primate city of an urban place is the centre of all social changes that are rapidly taking place. It is the first contact point of the penetration of modern culture. This is where almost all international transactions, arrangements and exchanges are performed. The modern culture is well imposed through various institutions that become agents of changing values, norms, attitudes and perceptions for individuals. Educational institutions, like schools; social institutions, like sports, music and discos; political institutions, like political parties; pressure groups, like student groups, trade unions, youth groups; and other institutions serve to shape the way one sees and perceives their broad spectrum of the environment. These institutions are instruments for change and as soon as the migrant enters the primate city his/her original pattern of life is affected by its social structure.

The social structure of the urban place is distinct from the traditional way of life in the village. This construct of social structure, both in rural and urban places, can be defined as: "the stable set of relationships among individuals and groups that enables them to function in a society. Disparate individuals are linked to the larger social order by their acceptance of roles controlling their behaviour and by their willingness to carry out the important tasks that benefit the group as a whole" (Coser, 1983: 81-2).

The roles that an individual plays in an urban environment are in fact more specialised and well defined day-to-day activities. One also see that in primate cities of the Third World, the population has doubled or tripled in a twenty year time-frame. As noted above, this has happened as the result of natural growth, but most importantly, rural-urban migration. This means that in the city, there

is a highly concentration of people, many of whom do not know each other. As Clinard and Meier put it:

The higher density of people in cities leads to the creation of subgroups and subareas with, inevitably, some not belonging anywhere. The city reflects its heterogeneous population. Social roles are often segmented and membership in groups is often fluid (1992:69).

Thus, high population creates many small groups existing on their own and others that do not belong anywhere. They do not have a common background and each has its own unique social and cultural way of life. Yet they are being urbanised into a modern city which is, in many ways, alien.

Since there is such a mixed background of people, conflicts are often a way of life in the urban society. In line with this thought, Clinard and Meier identified six sociological explanations that make urban centres conducive to social problems, like deviance: "As a way of life, urbanism is often characterised by extensive conflicts of norms and values, rapid social change, increased mobility of population, emphasis on material goods and individualism, and an increase in formal social controls" (1992:69).

The above sociological explanations are mechanisms through which social problems emerge. It is not the purpose of this chapter to explore in detail the general social problems of an urban place. Nevertheless, social problems do seem to be an inevitable and concomitant feature of development. First, urban poverty, inequality and unemployment are part of the primate cities of the Third World. Second, the demand for urban amenities and social services, like housing, water, electricity, transport, education, health, and others, exceeds the capacity of the authorities to adequately meet these requirements. Third, slums or shanty towns have increased. Most of the migrants find residence in the slums, which are usually seen as a breeding ground for deviant behaviours like crime and delinquency. Deviant behaviour is the fourth social problem in this consideration. Crime and delinquency and other forms of deviant behaviour

such as prostitution, drug addiction, vagrancy and alcohol abuse have been singled out as most pressing problems in many Third World cities.

Relationship between crime and urbanisation

The rapid growth of urbanisation in Third World cities facilitated by rural-urban migration is seen as the channel through which the social problems emerge. As Brown argued: "The continuous and swelling flow of people from countryside to city is creating a serious social crisis, the ramifications of which will eventually affect the quality of life among much of mankind" (1974:108).

The literature clearly indicates that crime and delinquency are related to urbanisation (Shulman, 1957; McCord and McCord, 1964; Clinard and Abbott, 1973; Clinard, 1976; Biles, 1976; Shelly, 1981; and others). Clinard and Meier reinforced what Clinard (1976) and Shelly (1981) said earlier about crime and urbanisation: "With respect to crime especially, almost without exception, it is the developing countries that report that crime is most rapidly increasing. This increase is almost all due to the accelerated urbanisation that has accompanied industrialisation" (1992:66).

Rapid increases in the prevalence of crime in the developing world, like in Papua New Guinea, is a result of urbanisation. This view is supported by Biles, for example, who in addressing a Seminar in Papua New Guinea emphasised:

It seems to be inevitable as societies become more modern and sophisticated it creates for itself more opportunities for crime. The modern city, for example, where the majority of people are strangers to others, is definitely more crime producing than is the small community where every resident is known to every other. The anonymous nature of urban life is undoubtedly a significant factor in providing opportunity for crime (1976:42).

The argument that industrialisation and urbanisation bring rapid social change accompanied by social problems like crime and delinquency, is a sound, complete sociological explanation. The problems of law and order are a

reaction to the social changes taking place and will continue to be an obstacle as Shelly noted: "As societies have increasingly urbanised what was once a problem that affected the lives of the limited number of urban residents has become a problem that affects the very nature of modern existence and impedes the future course of development of many nations" (1981:137).

The future of developing countries depends on how well social problems are managed at the initial and transition periods. It is argued that crime and delinquency, in the face of rapid modernisation, industrialisation and urbanisation in the developing countries, is a reflection of what happened in the current developed countries when they were in the period of social and economic transition. As Clinard and Abbott argued: "In many ways crime in less developed countries is currently at a stage that provides a reflection of England, the United States, and other developed societies as they were at the time of rapid industrialization, urbanization, and development in the early nineteenth century" (1973:4).

This argument has been rejected on the basis of situation and circumstances. The contemporary globe is not the same as it was in the past and the crime and delinquency experience now is not a delayed replay of what happened in Europe or elsewhere over the last century. As Sumner argued against the views of Clinard and Abbott: "I do not see development in the poor countries as replay of western development, as a delayed natural evolution, and therefore I am not interested in a comparative area study" (1982:5).

Sumner argued that the penetration of advanced capital into the indigenous social structure and its effects undermined the validity of the "delayed replay" explanation. He stressed further that some social forms and processes are different to those in the advanced sectors and thus, to him, represent unique forms of crime and justice, whilst providing some interesting parallels (Sumner, 1982:5).

This argument has significance and represents a challenge to the developing world. What happened in Europe and elsewhere during the last century happened under different circumstances. There was migration but these migrants moved from one town to another fairly slowly. Thus, in the developing world, the crime and delinquency problem, like other social problems, must be seen on its own merits, even though the trend may seem similar to that found in developed countries while they were in transition. Much of our traditional cultures are different and, as Sumner argued, even the effects of industrialisation which sprinkle to the developing societies make situations different from what happened in Europe in the last century. With that in mind I will turn to the second part of this chapter. My concern in the following discussion will be to explain modernisation and urbanisation in a Papua New Guinean context. The examination follows the order of presentation above.

MODERNISATION AND URBANISATION IN THE PAPUA NEW GUINEA CONTEXT

The three definitions of modernisation examined at the beginning of this chapter can be applied in an analysis of the impact of modernisation and urbanisation in Papua New Guinea. The first definition argued that modernisation is a process of social change over time and space and that it is evolutionary in nature. In other words, societies universally change from early simple forms and advance to more complicated and multi-faceted forms over time.

Emile Durkhiem (1933) in his thesis, 'The Division of Labour', argued strongly that societies normally develop and change from very simple, confined, independent and uncomplicated social networks to that of a large, complex and very complicated network of inter-related and inter-dependent systems. The elementary phase was referred to by Durkhiem as 'mechanical solidarity' while the more advanced and complicated phase was 'organic solidarity'. These stages are defined in the words of Fenton as:

Mechanical solidarity is said to be characteristic of simple societies with only a rudimentary division of labour. The individual members of societies are uniformly enveloped within a common 'conscience collective' sharing the same values, beliefs and roles. Notions of individual differences, rights and responsibilities are only weakly developed, if at all. Solidarity of such societies is mechanical in that it arises from the similarity of different atoms consulting the whole. Organic solidarity in contrast, develops on the basis of advanced and complex division of labour. Such societies are characterised by interdependence of units differentiated by economic and social functions (1984:176-7).

All Papua New Guinean societies, before the penetration of European capitalism, were in the mechanical solidarity phase. They were simple in the sense that "they build houses, make gardens, marry, organise family life, and hold beliefs about the world which reflect the country's continuing diversity (Griffin, et al, 1979:2). The life was simple and within confined social settings, but at the same time gradual changes were taking place. For instance, from nomadic ways to an agrarian life style, where farming methods were used. Therefore, Durkhiem's explanation of modernisation in terms of a shift from mechanical solidarity to that of organic solidarity quite comfortably fits Papua New Guinea's rural societies.

The explanation that societies change from mechanical solidarity to organic solidarity relates to the first definition of modernisation. In striving for a "better standard of living" and "better future", Papua New Guinea societies are in transition and are changing over time.

The second definition of modernisation fits comfortably with the penetration of European capitalism into Papua New Guinean societies. This is seen as a transition from traditional ways of life to "modern", ways of life. Modern in this sense, refers to the coming of Europeans with their culture, eventually imposed and diffused into Papua New Guinean societies.

With this infiltration of European capitalism, some societies along the coast began to experience change in their ways of life. When proper colonisation

began in 1884, people were introduced into a new way of life that was more complex than that to which they were accustomed. They were forced to work in European-owned plantations with strict time regimes to follow, use Western forms of money, and obey the coercive forces used by the colonial administration and so forth.

When the power of choosing leaders and decision making was at the hands of the indigenous people, the chosen leaders intentionally sought a new approach which would facilitate a better way of life. Thus in Papua New Guinea, modernisation is a conscious set of plans and objectives to strive for "a better standard of living" and "a better future", the third definition of modernisation given in this chapter.

The launching of European power and the subsequent colonisation has accelerated the gradual changes taking place in contemporary Papua New Guinea. The indigenous people after independence and under the banner of self-rule further accommodated and pushed for more rapid changes in various social institutions.

In many respects, most of the policies in Papua New Guinea are a duplication or archetype of the former coloniser, Australia.² There is a comprehensive transformation of a traditional society to a more modern advanced society. The desire for improved and even consummate standards of living has driven Papua New Guinea to press for more advanced technological improvements. The institutions of the Western world are seen as an ideal vehicle for these changes. In this respect, contemporary Papua New Guinea is well defined by the modernisation theory. Papua New Guinea is no longer encompassed

---

²Refer to "Development and Dependency: The Political Economy of Papua New Guinea" by Azeem Amarshi, Kenneth Good and Rex Mortimer, 1979. The authors examine the development of peripheral capitalism, which led up to the consolidation of neo-colonialism, the development of class structure and an analysis of political forms of dependency. Conclusively, they present a critical analysis, in which they argue that the imperial power still maintains control and authority in the Independent State of Papua New Guinea.

entirely by traditionalism but is part of the modern world capitalist system. As Amarshi et al, pointed out: "...Papua New Guinea has by a slow, lengthy and uneven process of colonisation been incorporated into the world capitalist system..." (1979:xvii).

What is required is sound economic planning and management. However, many foreign commentators (Conyers, 1982; MacPherson, 1982; O'Collins, 1993; and others) have argued that Papua New Guinea lacks sound economic management. Amarshi et al, (1979) when writing about development and dependency in Papua New Guinea asserted that the country has been shielded away from sound economic management. Multinational corporations have been allowed to exploit the country's natural resources. By doing so, the country has relied heavily on Western technologies and institutions to develop the economy. Jean-Marrie Domenach explained development which may relate to Papua New Guinea:

Development is not a matter of dressing in other people's clothes and imitating their way of life but of using the instruments of technology to achieve an honourable style of existence. It is not a matter of escaping from one's society and one's history, but rather of creating a society capable of inventing a history (in Amarshi, et al 1979:60).

The diffusion of Western culture does not mean that the traditional culture should be done away with. An ideal technique is to integrate the Western culture and the traditional culture into creating a modernity that makes sense and is meaningful to Papua New Guineans. The definition of modernisation by Bellah (1965), given above, offers a type of modernity that Papua New Guinea should strive for. One should rationally analyse and understand Western institutions and culture, absorbing that which is appropriate to integrate into traditional institutions and culture. Modernisation in a sense should be "creative, integrative and absorptive" in Papua New Guinea.

"Independence was never intended to be a pretext or a vehicle through which the old laws, the 'old fashion' of the colonial officers could be carried on by the new national elite" (Narokobi, 1989:148). Nevertheless, at independence there was an absence of a dominant and coherent Melanesian culture available for the new national elites to adopt. Therefore, the colonial organisational institutions that were already in place were adopted. In this regard, independence was only one transfer of power and institutions to the Papua New Guineans by the Australians. It was nothing significant in the sense that the same alien political and social institutions were embraced and adopted.

Colonial rule had emphasised economic development. The countryside of Papua New Guinea would support the increasing industries in the cities of Port Moresby and Lae, or in the main urban centres like Rabaul, Mount Hagen and Goroka by providing raw materials and human resources. Our own elites continue to follow the colonial attitudes that emphasised economic development.

CREATION OF URBAN TOWNS

The urban places in Papua New Guinea are a direct result of European contact and subsequent colonisation. "The towns of Papua New Guinea were originally colonial centres, always planned by and for white men, and thus essentially alien places" (Levine and Levine, 1979:1). Currently, by Papua New Guinea standards, there are two cities, namely, Port Moresby and Lae. The former is the nation's capital and the latter, an industrial centre which serves all of the Highlands and much of the New Guinea mainland coast. There are eighteen other provincial headquarters, which serve the people from each province. As stated above, these towns were not established at the same time, and reasons as given by Levine and Levine are: "A general lack of finance and staff, the rough terrain, small isolated nature of indigenous groups, lack of chiefs who could influence large numbers of followers, great diversity of local languages

and reluctance to make reprisals after attacks by indigenous, prevented the quick opening and effective colonial control of much of the interior" (1979:13).

Additionally, the establishment of towns was slow and uneven because the colonisers set up administrative centres at their own convenience. Their primary motive was economic rather than any coherent and planned civilisation of this region. As new areas were discovered, centres were established to facilitate the extraction of natural resources at a low cost.

The literature (Levine, 1976; Oram, 1976; Rew, 1974; Ryan, 1970; and Surmon, 1971) supports the idea that urban growth in Papua New Guinea is similar to other colonised countries. That is, although the colonial treatment of the indigenous people may differ, the approach and attitudes of the colonial administration were similar in nature. Port Moresby provides a good example of the colonial approach, according to Levine and Levine: "As one could expect in such marginal colonial territories, towns developed slowly. Established by and for colonial agents, they initially were very small European outposts with a sprinkling of native servants, who usually lived in surrounding villages or barracks on the municipal boundaries. The growth of Port Moresby is generally representative of trends in the rest of Papua New Guinea" (1979:15).

Port Moresby, named after one of the early explorers, Captain Moresby,³ like other coastal towns was established at a site of deep-water anchorage. The establishment of towns by European colonial powers elsewhere were no different from Papua New Guinea's situations. As Abramson (1976) stated; "Colonial centres were frequently established at coastal locations where raw materials would be gathered for export to the mother country, an activity that

---

³In February 1873, Captain John Moresby, R.N., in H.M.S Basilisk, anchored in Redscar Bay. 'Up to this time the wild exposed anchorage of Redscar Bay had been the only known shelter for ships on the entire south coast of New Guinea, East of Torres Straits' (Moresby, 1876:151). ...Standing on Pyramid Point, he saw the deep passage through the reef which he called Basilisk Passage. On 20th February, Basilisk entered a large landlocked harbour. Captain Moresby's father was Admiral Fairfax Moresby, R.N., and he named the inner harbour Fairfax, and the outer harbour Moresby, in his father's honour (in Oram, 1976:13).

required a considerable supervision and the maintenance of security. In some cases, centres were established to facilitate the direct monitoring of work sites, such as mining operations" (1980:129).

The establishment of Port Moresby and other colonial centres in Papua New Guinea, which later became provincial headquarters and districts, was purposely designed to serve colonial government. Port Moresby was chosen the capital of British New Guinea (1884-1906) and then Australian Papua (1906-1941) and eventually Australian New Guinea (1945-1975) for three reasons: first, there were already Australians and British people living there; second, it had a well suited harbour, and third, Port Moresby was close to Australia.

Port Moresby from 1884 to 1941 was a small colonial backwater functioning mainly as an administrative centre. The indigenous people were restricted to certain areas of the town. They were asked to leave the town area before 6pm. Anyone found breaking this curfew was locked in prison camps designed especially for such law breakers. The natives feared the whites.

Rural-Urban Migration

In contemporary Papua New Guinea, rural-urban migration is a major concern because it is linked with many of our social problems in the cities. Rabbie Namaliu when giving a key note address to the "19th Waigani Seminar on Population, Family Health and Development" stated; "In Papua New Guinea today, a major concern is the movement of people, especially school leavers, from rural to urban communities. Rural to urban migration has been linked to many of the law and order problems we have today" (1993:5).

In order to understand the population figures, Table 1 below shows both national and urban population figures and the rate at which urbanisation is taking place.

Table 1: Urban Growth 1966 to 1990

Census	National pop.	Total Urban pop.	% urban
1962	150 300	103 600	4.8
1971	2 435 400	285 016	11.7
1980	3 010 727	395 713	13.1
1990*	3 529 538	536 860	15.2

Source: National Statistics Office

* excludes population figures from the North Solomons Province.

The table depicts an increase in both the national and the urban population. As Hayes explained: "National level censuses were conducted in PNG in 1966, 1971, 1980 and 1990, resulting in population totals of 2.2, 2.5, 3.0, and 3.7 million persons respectively" (1993:29).⁴ Thus, from the first national census to the most recent in 1990, national population increased by about 1.5 million persons and the urban population increased by about 0.25 million persons. According to experts like Hayes (1993) and King (1993), the rate of population growth in Papua New Guinea is 2.2 percent. We can also draw from the table that, the proportion of the population of Papua New Guinea living in urban areas has increased. The modern rate of increase is slower than in the earlier decades. This could mean that the influx of migrants is slowing down as the result of various psycho-social and economic factors.

There are variations in urban population growth. National Capital District (Port Moresby) was part of the Central Province until 1978. The 1980 and 1990 preliminary census figures as used by King (1993:69) indicates that the population of Port Moresby grew from 118 424 in 1980 and to 190 117 in 1990. In Lae, the figures were 61 617 and 80 655 in 1980 and 1990 respectively. Like

⁴Hayes' figures are rounded to the nearest one hundred thousand. Note that the 1990 rounded figure includes an estimated North Solomon Province figure.

other provincial centres, Lae is still considered an urban place, having not yet reached the status of a city according to Davis' (1965) demographic criteria. Port Moresby is fully recognised as a city.

The chief factor which gave rise to such urban population increase was rural-urban migration. There were two relatively separate systems: "agreement migration" and "independent migration" as seen by May and Skeldon (1977). Agreement migration, approved by the colonial administration managed labour scheme, was the principal channel through which a villager made his first steps into the modern urban sector. This labour scheme was introduced following the Second World War (1945 and onwards). Before that, most of the labour force was indentured. People were often forced out of the villages to work for the European owned plantations, or the gold and copper mines. The Highlands Labour Scheme, which started in 1949, made it possible for many young labourers recruited by the district administrators from the Highlands region to move to the coastal areas - mainly Port Moresby and Rabaul. These villagers were contracted for a period of three years and when their contract expired, they were sent home. When they returned, they told all in the village about what they saw, adopting superior attitudes and often exaggerating their experiences.

The introduction of formal education at the primary level has now been achieved in every district of the country. However, the school system is designed in such a way that there are those that are pushed out at various points in the process. Those that survive continue their education and eventually find paid employment. There are many Papua New Guineans who have gone through the formal education process but are now living away from their place of birth. This can be referred to as "agreement migration".

The second type of migration that May and Skeldon referred to was "independent migration". In this, one migrates on his/her own accord without any formal arrangement. In many cases, independent migrants are the ones that are pushed out of the formal education system. Of course, uneducated

and illiterate villagers are also moving to the urban places. The question is, why do people with little education migrate to urban places like Port Moresby or Lae? It is in this context that I will further examine the causal factors of rural-urban migration in Papua New Guinea.

RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION FACTORS IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA⁵

I have maintained in this chapter that migration is a complicated phenomenon. Factors surrounding a person's decision to migrate to an urban place are complex. Interrelated personal, socio-economic and family circumstances promote the movement of a migrant. In Papua New Guinea, rural-urban migration is a "multi-faceted phenomenon" as described by Levine and Levine (1979:32). I have classified these causal factors into objective and subjective factors. It is within the objective and the subjective factors of migration that the analysis will occur.

Objective Factors

The distinction between objective and subjective factors is not precise. However, for this purpose, such a differentiation is necessary. The structural features between the place of origin and the destination as examined in this chapter are vital influences and contribute significantly to the rural-urban migration process.

The shortage of land and availability of arable land area for cultivation has pushed some people to migrate. In many parts of Papua New Guinea, the physical terrain is difficult and not suitable for cultivation. Much of the land includes rugged mountains and difficult terrain, such as swamps and savannah grasslands. In many parts of the provinces, like Gulf, Simbu, Western, West and

---

⁵The factors that pulled and pushed the youth interviewees, examined in chapter 2, form the basis of this analysis on rural-urban migration. One would notice that those factors that influenced respondents to move to Port Moresby become significant in the examination in this chapter.

East Sepik, the land is not suitable for cultivation. Ryan, when writing about the Toaripi people of the Gulf Province who migrated to the Port Moresby and Lae districts identified the lack of fertile land as the contributing factor for out migration. "There is an overall absentee rate of 25 percent in the home area and Toaripi makes up 15 percent of the migrant population of Port Moresby. ....There is very little land that is suitable for any kind of cash cropping, and there is no guaranteed market for anything that might be grown" (Ryan, 1977:147).

Land shortage may also be aggravated by the expansion of cash cropping and has been indicated as an important factor in promoting migration. (Lea (1964), Brookfield (1968), Ryan (1968), R. G. Ward (1968a), M. W. Ward (1970) and May and Skeldon, (1977)). Much of the suitable fertile land has been taken over and covered by big plantations. People find alternative locations and often migrate to another place within the locality or migrate to an urban area.

The traditional kinship obligation (wantokism) continues to be a momentous determining factor in Papua New Guinea's pattern of rural-urban migration. At destination of the migration, there is always somebody to feed and accommodate the migrant. There may be some subjective feelings of reluctance and resentment - and cases of dislike - but to show such is against the general principle and spirit of our customary practices of respect, love and care for the kinship and other people. It is because such kinship relationships are intact that the migrant usually has a sense of assurance that he/she will be protected, sheltered and fed in the town. As Ryan pointed out: "...news of the difficult employment situation does not deter people from coming to try their luck: they know that someone will look after them" (1977:150).

In traditional Melanesian societies, accommodating, feeding and showing respect for and the kindness to a visitor is part of kinship social obligation. An urban dweller in Port Moresby acknowledges these ties. The customary obligation to accommodate and feed a migrant when he/she is in Port Moresby

without any form of support is based on the notion of return aid. In a way, the migrant has an obligation and the aid provider has an investment, but in many cases this does not materialise. The urban dweller may assume the offer of help when he/she needs it in return. As Ryan correctly described:

Those who have secure/or well paid jobs help to look after those less fortunate, and later are able to count on some aid when they need it. People thus share housing, food, money, and services according to obligations incurred through kinship ties and through help given and received in the past (1977:150).

An example that supports the above analysis can be found in youths who are asked to come to the town to provide security and guard an educated elite in the public service, a businessman or a politician. The educated elite in Port Moresby thinks that his life is under threat after gaining power, prestige and wealth. These youths are usually notoriously known for their deviant behaviour and the elite knows that persons of such calibre will provide better security. While there is little research on this explanation, from simple observations and my own experience, one knows this to be one of the ways that helps youths to migrate to Port Moresby.⁶ (See chapter 2). It would appear that such youths are known for their bullying behaviour in the village and there is no absolute guarantee that their behaviour may change in the city.

An objective factor that may also aid the migrant is the hot climate conditions in the city where the migrant only needs reasonable housing for shelter. The temperature normally ranges from 20-30 degrees celsius in the day and at night, so it is quite warm. This means that it really does not matter much if a migrant sleeps in the verandah of the house. People even live outside on the cement pavement during dry seasons. Oram when writing about Hulas in Port Moresby said:

---

⁶From personal observations among the Engans living in Port Moresby, young boys are usually recruited by public servants, businessmen, and politicians from home to provide security and guard for them and their properties.

As I have pointed out elsewhere in discussing housing conditions in Port Moresby (Oram 1965:112-13), housing in a hot climate in which much time is spent out of doors does not play such an important part in daily life as it does in colder climates (1977:127).

One can assume therefore that any Papua New Guinean who migrates to Port Moresby may not require a high standard of housing, preferring instead something simple that serves the purpose of sheltering. Objectively, this is an advantage and assists the migrant to stay a longer period and perhaps never return home.

The distance between the place of origin and the destination is vital. The distance and its accessibility either facilitates or hinders a migrant. Research into the correlation between the distance and the mobility of migrants has produced vast and varied literature (Olsson, 1965, 1970). Generally, macro-level studies have indicated a fairly negative correlation between migration and distance. This means that in Papua New Guinea there have been few attempts to connect the amount of migration to distance and serious study is still to be carried out. On a national scale, data presented by Garnaut (1977) does indicate that distance acts as a constraint on the volume of movement to the major cities, with most of the migrants coming from relatively close.

However, evidence from other local studies (Lea and Weinand, 1971; Seiler, 1972; Bouchard, 1973; among others) has shown either a relative or significant negative correlation to conclude that distance is not a major factor in determining migration patterns. Port Moresby is represented by migrants from almost all parts of the country. Simple observation would indicate that the number of Highlanders in Port Moresby is increasing, in spite of there being no road network links. May and Skeldon stated that: "Although the number of migrants declines with distance there are more Hageners moving to Port Moresby than to Goroka or Lae and more Eastern Highlanders moving to the National Capital than to Lae. This suggests that although the total number of migrants is strongly influenced by distance, those who do move tend to migrate

longer distances rather than take advantage of opportunities in intermediate centres" (1977:18).⁷ With the development of land, air and sea transport systems in Papua New Guinea, the rural sector is continuously more linked to the urban sector and this makes it possible for people to migrate into urban areas.

Subjective Factors

The subjective factors that influence migration are caused both by pressing economic needs and social constraints at the place of origin. Economic reasons are given by almost all Papua New Guineans who move out of their place of origin. The data supporting the desire to earn a cash income as being a major regulating factor of rural-urban migration is enormous.⁸ The origin of the departure is regarded by the migrant as having no opportunities to pursue their economic interests, while the destination of departure is believed to have the opportunities to satisfy their ends.

Authors like Levine and Levine (1979) have clearly pointed out how income opportunities in the rural place are limited and it is often difficult to earn cash. Though one does not need money for survival in rural areas, unlike urban areas, there are cases where modern forms of money are badly needed. Levine and Levine correctly pointed out that there is a need for cash for cultural ceremonies like bride price, compensation, exchanges and such. There is also a need for cash for the purchase of clothing and other luxuries, consumer goods, paying court fines, school fees and so forth.

---

⁷The one econometric study of the determinants of internal migration in Papua New Guinea (Harris, 1974b) from 1966 data found that distance was less influential than in other developing countries.

⁸Oram (1967, 1968a, 1968b*); Hitchcock and Oram (1967); Dakeyne (1965*); T. S. Epstein (1968); R.G. Ward (1968b, 1970, 1971*); Harding (1971); Harris (1973b, 1974b); Conroy and Stent (1970); Conroy and Curtain (1973); Kemelfield (1975); and May (1977).

The Tilburys (1993) who did studies among the Ago people of the Mount Brown area of the Central Province found that most people moved out of that place because of a desire to earn cash. The economic "factor is important for the Ago people because there are very few economic opportunities at the place of origin due to transport difficulties and the lack of other developments" (Tilbury and Tilbury, 1993:118).

One of the main factors influencing movement is the expected wage differential (a comparison of ones's possible rural earnings with urban earnings) combined with the probability of finding employment. In their study of the migration of Ago people to Port Moresby, the Tilburys saw that this wage differential is an important factor that controls movement. "The expected wage differential is an important factor drawing the Ago people to the city. In the village one can expect to make about K50 per month per family from cash crops. In the city the average wage among the Ago people is K100-K200. The wage difference is therefore real enough" (1993:119).

In short, the need for money drives the migrant out of his/her place of origin. The urban place attracts the migrant since there are opportunities to earn cash. The Tilburys' (1993) findings represent a microcosm of the pressing economic need as a factor that controls movement in many Papua New Guinean rural societies.

There are also social constraints in the origin of migration that encourage rural-urban migration. The individual perceives these constraints and decides to migrate. The social structures of the society may be unfavourable to the individual who decides to move out. Therefore, the individual is being forced to migrate to an urban location. Those variables that put pressure on the individual are referred to as "push factors". At the destination of the migration, there are variables that attract the individual. These are often identified as the "pull factors".

Having introduced the push and the pull factors, ultimately the decision to migrate usually remains with the individual. It depends on how the individual perceives situations and circumstances and how that individual reacts to them. There are internal personal feelings that determine whether to migrate and thus suffer the consequences of migration or to face the constraints. These internal feelings are often characterised by emotions, sensations, opinions, beliefs, ideas, self-esteem and so forth. It is within this context that I will examine the push and the pull factors within the general heading of subjective factors.

Among the push factors cited in the literature (May, (1977); Levine and Levine, (1979); Tilbury and Tilbury, (1993) and others) as affecting migration in Papua New Guinea are: land pressure, sorcery, tribal conflict and personal factors (arguments, dislike, etc.), customary obligations, and labour intensive work. Land shortage has already been considered under objective factors influencing migration. As a result of the land shortages due to variables like population increases and population density, pressure is felt by the people. The individual is squeezed out without access to land for cultivation. The situation is worse in the Highlands where the land is owned by individuals. As Levine and Levine (1979) noted, migration from the Simbu District is largely due to land shortage.

Papua New Guinea has an approximate land mass of 426,840 square kilometres. We gather from **Statistical Digest 1992**, produced by the Department of Trade and Industry⁹, that with a population of 3.7 million and an annual growth rate of 2.2 percent, the density is 8 people per square kilometre (1992:5). Thus, population density is expected to increase in parallel with the increase in population in the country as a whole, or at provincial and local levels. From experiences at the local level, the pressure is felt in my own village. In fact one or two people have moved out to Mount Hagen and Port Moresby as a result of land shortage and to avoid the subjective pressure.

---

⁹The statistical figures presented in this bulletin were taken from the 1990 National Population Census.

The sorceries, tribal warfare, personal arguments and so on are all part of Papua New Guinea society. However, for various reasons there are those who feel discontented and at times their lives are threatened. Accordingly, the only option available to them is to move out for security and safety reasons. Fear controls their movement, and it is not unusual for them to visit their place of origin for a long time.

Koroma (1977), when writing about the Bundi people, maintained that to the Bundi people, home is a place of dread. They fear to go there because there are too many sorcerers and it is certainly no place to bring up children. As he explained:

The Bundi concept of a sorcerer is a superhuman being endowed with the power to bring sickness and death upon a person regardless of relationship. Characteristics of a sorcerer are said to include: the ability to fly in space in the form of a comet with a flame trailing behind; the ability to transform into animals, especially birds or dogs; it is believed that they eat the flesh of both dead and live human beings. ...The sorcerer acts by extracting part of his or her victim's flesh and the flesh extracted is always internal, therefore invisible. It is also said that sorcerers are a danger to those who have been in towns because most sorcerers are flesh hunting and those who have come from towns are more fleshy than the thin people from home. That is why town dwellers are reluctant to leave for home at times (Koroma, 1977:214).

Like the fear of sorcerers, many of the Highlands people migrate to an urban place and do not wish to return because of continuous tribal warfare.¹⁰ Many migrate to areas that are more secure to do business. From personal observations, most of the small tucker-shops in Port Moresby are owned by Engans and it is their province that has the most frequent tribal fights. In the warfare, the defeated clan not only loses the battle but in most occasions loses

---

¹⁰I had the opportunity to talk to a couple who came from the Enga Province, now living in Port Moresby, operating a small tucker-shop in the suburb of Gerehu. They started operating a small trade store in the village but this was wiped out and dismantled in tribal warfare by a neighbouring clan. They questioned: "Why should we operate a business when we know that in the not long future neighbouring clans come and destroy?"

its land, gardens and other goods of significant value. The defeated clan migrates to adjoining clans who may support and form alliances. Others, especially youths, may move out to the towns looking for their wantoks. Having originated from one of the full-blown traditional warfare provinces, I should add that because many fear for their lives, businesses and other properties, they may not like to settle in the village permanently although they may visit periodically. The point of this is that people move out because their home is no longer secure to do business. The persistent fear for their lives from attack at any moment pushes the individual out of the village. Traditional warfare, in this sense, has played its part in contributing to the pressure for rural-urban migration.

In the villages, each member has some traditional obligations. Someone has the responsibility and the commitment to attend to cultural, ceremonial and ritual activities; pay compensation and bride price; perform exchanges and take part in traditional warfare. Such activities require skills and abilities in order to competently participate and perform. A youth that spends some time in the formal education system has not fully acquired the skills and knowledge required in these traditional activities as compared with one that never went to school. Such youths see themselves as alien or marginal, who find it hard to perform to the expected standard and requirement. They feel humiliated and embarrassed, so decide to move out of the village and, most likely, to an urban area.

Although the reasons for migration are complicated, an effort has been made to identify reasons in the context of the economic and social fabric of my country. The push factors appear to offer sound reasons for rural-urban migration, but one can not underestimate the significance of pull factors. The remaining analysis is to explain the subjective component of the pull factor of rural-urban migration. It is assumed that urban places like Port Moresby attract rural youth. Therefore, rural youths try all means and opportunities they can to enter the urban environment.

Much attention has been given to youths who are being pushed out of the formal education system. The education system in Papua New Guinea is devised in such a way that the grade system functions as a screening device whereby those that perform poorly are filtered out. Without having to give justification for this system, the key point to note is that many youths do not complete and achieve their aims. O'Collins, in her discussion of the 1980 census commented:

The problems of school leavers or 'push-outs' have received a great deal of attention and are often linked to the belief that they are more likely to be roaming around causing trouble. This may be the explanation for the apparent less concern for those who never 'pushed-in' to the formal school system and who may be out of sight in rural areas (1983a:62).

The point is, once school leavers have achieved basic literacy and numeracy skills and become aware of modern life, they tend to migrate. They know they can communicate in Pidgin and English the two most widely used languages in the country to others not part of their own traditional language group.

It is wrong to assume that the migrants are only school leavers. Many of these youths have never been enrolled in the formal school system. Other adults go to towns and cities as well. In the city of Port Moresby, as Clinard and Abbott put it: "new industries are developing, more diverse occupations are available, wages are often higher, and employment as well as education opportunities are offered" (1973:108). Therefore, all youths, adults, school and non-school leavers move to the city because they conceptualise city as a place of many opportunities and excitement.

The attractions of the city are not only found in the opportunities for employment but also in its facilities like a transport system, education, health, communication and other services which are readily available there. Big events and social entertainment like games and discos are quite common in the city. It is not boring like many find life in the villages. There are also street lights,

buildings, gardens and parks that beautifully complete the nature of a modern urban environment.

One should relate these causal factors of rural-urban migration to my analysis of fieldwork discussed in Chapter Two. It can be seen that the reasons given by my respondents of coming to Port Moresby become significant in light of the above analysis on causal factors influencing rural-urban drift. The various motivations, causes, influences and factors that push and pull the person out of his/her place of origin examined above were all given by my respondents.

On the whole, rural-urban migration is a complex issue since there are various complex underlying personal reasons in the decision to move out. One cannot exactly pinpoint the causes of human behaviour but it can be explained within the socio-economic fabric of the society as shown above. It is with this in mind that the ensuing discussion will look at urban life in Port Moresby and its relationship with crime.

URBAN LIFE AND THE LAW AND ORDER PROBLEM IN PORT MORESBY

Port Moresby represents a microcosm of urban development in Papua New Guinea, as with urban settings in other developing countries. Thus, my analysis focuses attention on Port Moresby and its urban way of life. It is a rapidly developing place, not only in terms of its institutions and infrastructure, but in terms of its rapid increase in population and development as a city.

I have established the definition of urbanism as a complex of social relationships that are embodied in a particular way of life. In Port Moresby, there is an interaction between aspects of physical setting and aspects of the social environment. As Clinard and Meier put it:

The size of the city increases the range of the human interaction but may also make those interactions more superficial. The higher density of people in cities leads to the creation of subgroups and

subareas with, inevitably, some not belonging anyway. The city reflects its heterogeneous population. Social roles are often segmented and membership in groups is often fluid (1992:69).

The population of Port Moresby is represented by almost all the provinces and districts, if not the 12,000 different societies and the more than 700 different languages of Papua New Guinea (Levine and Levine, 1979:8). The current population of Port Moresby is 188 090 much the same as Simbu (183 641) and East New Britain (184 363) provinces and greater than many provinces. The land size is 240 square kilometres, which gives a high population density of 805 per square kilometre (National Statistics Office, as used by Department of Trade and Industry, 1992:7). Therefore, it can be seen that there is a large concentration of people in Port Moresby relative to other parts of the country. There are variations in the social structure of the population in Port Moresby.

We now turn to examine the six **social characteristics of urban life** in Port Moresby in the context of what Clinard and Meier (1992) referred to "urbanism". These features of urbanism are the sociological reasons that make cities like Port Moresby conducive to problems of law and order.

First, there are **conflicts of norms and values** in Port Moresby. Quite clearly there are great variations of residents in age, race, ethnic background, religion, occupation, political party affiliations, business interests and values. The residents have different customs and traditional ways of life as well as speak the 700-plus different languages. As Mayhew and Levinger (1976) described an urban place:

The heterogeneity of population, the complex division of labour, the class structure, and, apparently the simple dimension of population size, generally produce divergent norms and values as well as conflicting social roles (in Clinard and Meier, 1992:69).

One can see that the population in Port Moresby is reaching the 20 000 figure. This figure is represented by almost all the 12 000 or 700 plus different villages and languages respectively. They perform different and varied roles. Some,

without anything to do, roam around hoping for something better. Apparently, a feature of the social structures of the urban place is that there develops a variety of classes of people. In most cases, the residents associate with those that are like themselves, building networks and which incorporated into subcultures (Fischer, 1984).

A subculture has its own rules within a dominant culture. Thus, the devotees and advocates have conflicting norms and values to the rest. They define themselves and who they are in the context of material possessions and status in comparison with the dominant culture. When they have defined the basic of who they are, they try to make their identity known via what is considered deviant and illegal by the dominant culture (Harris, 1988). The point is that law and order problems are a result of this norm and value conflict among different people in Port Moresby.

Second, there are **rapid social and cultural changes** in Port Moresby. It has been maintained in this chapter that modernisation stimulated by the 19th century colonialism has brought about profound changes. These changes are taking place rapidly with little readjustment to the social structure. As one explained:

The thesis is that the various parts of the modern culture are not changing at the same rate, some parts are changing much more rapidly than others; and that since there is a correlation and interdependence of parts, a rapid change in one part of our culture requires readjustment through other changes in the various correlated parts of culture (Ogburn, 1966:202-203).

For instance, urbanisation and industrialisation are not taking place at the same rate. The growth of industries with invention of new technologies is increasing, and so the growth of urbanisation. The problem, however, is that the urban population, whom mostly have little or no formal education, can not be readjusted adequately to the demands of the highly industrialised economy of

Further, when coming in contact with different groups, ideas and values, one's perceptions and thinking changes. The social structure of the urban place is different to the rural environment and migrants become urbanised. The traditional norms and values, like respect for elders and other people's property, are no longer sustained. Everybody is a leader on their own and develops a mentality or perception of thinking which assumes that "no one cares for any one else". In this way, law and order problems are to be expected.

Third, although **movement of people** has been discussed above, let me emphasise here that increased movement is a feature of city life where people come in and out of the city all the time. When such movements are frequent and when more people are moving in and out, there are unsatisfactory effects. The migrants:

tend to weaken attachments to the local community, to make persons less interested in maintaining certain community standards, and to increase contact with secondary groups of diverse patterns, thus weakening bonds which help to provide the basis for social control among members of local groups. As persons become more mobile, they come into contact with many different norms, and they begin to understand that other codes of behaviour differ from their own. Moves necessitate change in friendships, social roles, and adjusting old norms to new ones (Clinard and Meier, 1992:71).

Accordingly, the Papua New Guinean migrant, who comes to Port Moresby and settles down, learns a new way of life. The language that he speaks, the food that he eats, the social gatherings that he attends, the people that he gets acquainted with and with whom he interacts, the physical environment that he sees and others of these nature are in effect different from those he is accustomed to.

Materialism is the fourth sociological factor which makes urbanisation conducive for crime and delinquency. Urban environments are normally very materialistic places. Material possession has become very important in Port

Moresby, as elsewhere. There are very wealthy people on the one hand and those who are very poor on the other, whilst everybody else falls in between. People see themselves in comparison with others who are wealthier than themselves. The variables of comparisons are: the money that other people earn; the clothes that someone wears; the automobiles they drive; the house that they live in; and so forth. These are judged and seen, especially by those without.

Individualism is yet another of these reasons that may contribute to law and order problems. Urban residents regard their own interest and self-sufficiency as paramount to other people's needs and problems. It is the feeling of 'I', and not 'we' that is commonly found in the rural areas. The Melanesian principles of communal owning, sharing, respect and following the moral obligations of each society slowly fades away, and often disappears altogether. Such individual values are gradually, if not rapidly in some places, penetrating into rural places as well. Community cooperation helps the poor and serves to maintain checks and balances in the society. Today, in Port Moresby and in other urban settings, the poor are not able to survive in a materialistic and individualistic world and so become frustrated and alienated.

Finally, **increasing formal social control** undermines the elementary but most effective methods of informal social controls. The formal approaches to social control are orientated towards force and coercion. Traditional approaches to maintaining law and order have played a significant part in making sure that each member of the society is in order and in harmony with the rest. Therefore, it was effective. The modern capitalist economy demands a formal, organised and structured control system which can not be as effective as the original informal control systems. This on its own, however, cannot be effective in a modern capitalist urban place like Port Moresby either.

The rural areas are economically stagnant, but village-based society leaves every person subject to the scrutiny of the immediate community. A person is

known by name and a villager is obliged to follow the norms, values and conduct of the society - although changes are taking place. In an urban environment, however, human relationships become more depersonalised and anonymous. The person feels, and is freer to act, as an individual rather than as a member of a closely knit community (McCord and McCord, 1964:57 in Ibeauchi, 1986:34). Therefore, in the urban place the migrant sees that his values and norms are in conflict with what he is used to, so he adapts to the urban ways of life.

It is the unfavourable socio-economic condition that encourages an individual to enter into deviant behaviour. Authors (like Clinard and Abbott, 1973; Biles, 1976; Clinard, 1976; Rios, 1976; among others) have indicated that most migrants settle in shanty towns, slums or squatter settlements and the social and economic situation of these locations promotes crime and delinquency. In Papua New Guinea, squatter settlements are found in every town. Port Moresby and Lae cater for many of these migrant squatter settlers. In Lae, the provincial authorities attempted to evict the settlers by a forcible eviction approach. In responding to criticisms of his government's actions, the Premier of Morobe Province argued:

The reason for removing illegal settlements is obvious, illegal settlements are homes for liquor black markets, distribution of dangerous drugs, promotion of prostitution and home [sic] for criminals (Post Courier, Thursday 30 May 1991:16).

The squatter settlements are poor and some are very poor (Turner, 1990). Chambers maintained that poverty in the households suggested people were: physically poor, isolated, powerless, vulnerable and absence of economic wellbeing (1987:108-110). They are often malnourished and subject to ill health. Their views regarding adverse socio-economic conditions are not properly dealt with. Therefore, because they are poor, they can not obtain the necessities of life and must illegally steal to survive.

CONCLUSION

The development process includes modernisation, industrialisation, urbanisation and the concomitant changes in the values and structure of most social institutions. The social problems such as that of crime and delinquency are inevitable as Papua New Guineans seek to propel themselves into the Western world. These problems were seen by Clinard and Abbott (1973:10-11) as:

1. An imbalance between the concentration of modernisation and economic power in urban areas and the backwardness of the rural population.
2. An imbalance between population growth and the ability of the economy to create employment.
3. An imbalance between the demands for talent by the economic system and the development of skills.
4. In urban areas a reduction of the role of the family and elders as the main socializing agents of youths without adequate social control replacement by other institutions, resulting in the development of behaviour patterns among youth that differ radically from family expectations.
5. Changes in values that reject a fatalistic acceptance of the relatively improvised conditions under which people traditionally have lived.

This chapter has been a discussion of modernisation and urbanisation and its social problems. The escalating law and order problem of Port Moresby, and that of Papua New Guinea in general, can be seen to be a by-product of the development process. In order to understand lawlessness better, I now turn to an examination of the prevalence of law and order problems in Papua New Guinea.

CHAPTER SIX

THE NATURE AND PREVALENCE OF LAW AND ORDER PROBLEMS IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I will analyse the nature and prevalence of law and order problems. There has been speculative media reporting that the law and order problem is getting progressively worse. The Post Courier daily Papua New Guinea newspaper reported:

Crime is at a horrendous level in so many towns and cities through out Papua New Guinea. It is a very real problem. Take Port Moresby for example. According to a number of residents interviewed, the nation's capital is the most crime-infested city in the country. The experiences of these residents indicated that they become victims on the streets, in shops, at work and at home, even in their own bedrooms. ...Crime is one of the biggest social issues in Papua New Guinea. It is a disease that has plagued Papua New Guinea since independence (1993:33).

Such reporting lacks concrete statistical back-up to validate and support their claim. The report is based on emotive feelings of the general public and a less than analytical study of the magnitude and scope of the crime problem. With this in mind, I anticipate that this chapter should objectively outline the size and extent of the law and order problems in Papua New Guinea.

The chapter commences with a discussion on colonial rule and social control, then examines law and order problems after independence. The emerging white-collar crime: political and bureaucratic corruption; public/social disorder: riots, the Bougainville crisis and tribal fighting; and serious/violent crimes: murder, rape, assault and so forth are discussed. Serious and violent crime is seen in a gang context. In the latter, I will examine the nature of the gang

problem in Port Moresby as it may reflect a microcosm of the problem in other urban areas in Papua New Guinea.

COLONIAL RULE AND SOCIAL CONTROL

The penetration of colonial power into a predominantly rural and backward Papua New Guinea over the last century had a profound impact upon the lives of the natives. This colonial intrusion was for economic and political interests as well as being a civilising mission. The natives confronted the colonialists as another of their tribal enemies coming to invade their land. The arrival of the white-man meant the beginning of a new chapter in natives' lives. In Papua New Guinea, as elsewhere, the colonial intrusion involved the introduction of control systems intended to meet the needs of the colonial power. Dinnen correctly pointed out that:

the institution and process of government were introduced into an arena occupied by a profusion of resident regulatory cultures operating at local levels (1993b:2).

The colonial administration imposed a largely alien regulatory system into an arena occupied by a profusion of indigenous regulatory customary practices. The Papua New Guinea colonial administration represented by the British, Australians and Germans imported their own systems of justice rather than using existing native regulatory systems. "Germany based many of New Guinea Laws on domestic German Law and Britain constituted the Queensland Criminal Code shortly after taking charge of British New Guinea" (Walters 1975: 17, 66 in Banks, C. 1993:18). The Ordinances passed were legal documents largely protecting the interests of the affluent class.

When administration of both New Guinea and Papua came under the charge of the Australians, they extended their paternalistic technique through the "kiap

system"¹. "Under the Australian administration of both Papua and New Guinea, the lower court system was constituted by the Courts for the Native Matters in Papua and the Courts for the Native Affairs in New Guinea" (Downs, 1980:148 in Banks, 1993:18). These courts were alien and external to the indigenous people but regulated their way of lives. "The traditional leadership became subordinate to the authority of the kiap" (Paliwala, 1982: 193). This official regularity system sometimes failed to maintain law and order as Rowley noted:

The introduction of rule of law at once involves the government in the attempt to administer justice, which proves illusive and difficult in the shadow world between two cultures (1965:76).

Colonial rule applied force and expeditionary techniques to maintain law and order. The use of sophisticated firearms horrified the indigenous people, who feared and obeyed the colonial order without confidence and trust. Apart from some efforts to realise the customary rule by the kiaps, nothing much was done from the central administration. Thoughts were given towards establishing a "Village Court System" to recognise customary rules but this failed to eventuate when in 1960 Professor David Derham produced a report on administration of Justice, recommending Local, District and Supreme Courts. The Village Court System was later introduced in 1973 by virtue of an Act.

Australians were of the view that law and order could be maintained using force and paramilitary techniques. Our contemporary Police Force graduated from the colonial force and inherited this same approach which eventually passed from one Police personnel to another. As the Final Report of the Law and Order Working Group pointed out:

Among the principal instrumentalities of colonial law and order were police and the prison. The paramilitary and the mobile character of early policing inevitably worked against forcing close relations between police and communities. ...Present state of

---

¹A patrol officer, usually a young Australian, stationed at each newly discovered location to perform the duties the colonial administration ordered.

contemporary police/community relations remains, in part, a legacy of this earlier time (1993:7).

Listening to many commentators, the contemporary state of law and order in general is a legacy of the colonial government's negligence to develop laws and policies consistent with the traditional social regulatory system. Law and order was not an instrument of maintaining peace and harmony among the indigenous people and the colonialists. It was designed and maintained in such a way that the economic, political and religious beliefs were indoctrinated and infused among the natives. A Papua New Guinean lawyer Bernard Narokobi (1980) asserted:

The law and order under colonial administration in Papua New Guinea was an instrument with which the colonialists extended their economic, political, and religious institutions as well as their beliefs and idiosyncrasies ... Papua New Guineans were robbed out of their unwritten laws, social organisation, their communal government systems, and of their pride, dignity and self respect (in Clifford, et al, 1984:110).

The imposition of western culture into a region predominant with traditional regulatory systems was done with little consideration to traditions. Because of this, the law and order problem was to be expected "...in a country where colonial emphasis on order was superseded by an orientation to development and the assertion of constitutional rights" (Turner, 1990:185). Therefore, colonial rule was in part responsible for creating such a gloomy state of law and order in Papua New Guinea.

INDIGENOUS RULE: WHICH WAY HAS THE LAW AND ORDER PROBLEM DEVELOPED?

The concern for law and order problems has not developed overnight but has been under active consideration throughout the colonial period and into the first decade of independence. Clifford, et al, (1984:1) captured this:

Through the entire colonial period and the full decade of independence, the problem of "law and order" has been under active (sometimes almost paranoic) consideration by government and people alike.

By comparison the scope and measure of the crime problem has been minimal. Many would consider the law and order problem in Papua New Guinea as insignificant and as over stated:

There is not so much a law-and-order problem in Papua New Guinea as a number of specific social fields in which stresses within the society threaten public order. (Oram, 1973:17).

Nevertheless, there is and has been a general perception, perhaps fuelled by media outcry, that the magnitude and the intensity of crime and delinquent acts have accelerated. There is a general perception both within the country and internationally that the law and order problem has worsened and the state is incapable of getting this problem under control. Dinnen (1989; 1993a) categorised law and order problems into three broad topics: white-collar crime, crime against public/social disorder and serious/violent crime. The analysis from this end turns to examine these categories, commencing with white-collar crime.

WHITE-COLLAR CRIME: IT'S THE BIGMAN BREAKING THE LAW

The term "white-collar crime" was developed by Sutherland in 1883 and has become increasingly common in the contemporary world. The term is used to describe of crime committed by people of an upper socio-economic class. In Sutherland's view, as forwarded by Cressey:

a person of upper socio-economic class engages in much criminal behaviour, that this criminal behaviour differs from the criminal behaviour of the lower socio-economic class principally in the administrative procedures which are used in dealing with the offenders, and that variations in administrative procedures are not significant from the point of view of causation of crime....

These violations of law by persons in the upper socio-economic class are, for convenience, called 'white-collar crime' (1961:9).

Businessmen, politicians and government employees fall under this category of "upper socio-economic class". They are intelligent and can manipulate any loopholes in the Constitution and administrative procedures, and can exit unnoticed. White-collar crime does have far reaching socio-economic repercussions as compared with the conventional types of crime, as noted in the views of my respondents during the fieldwork for this thesis.

"White-collar crime in the Papua New Guinea context are believed to be the province of politicians, business people, public servants and others in influential positions of remunerative employment" (Dinnen, 1993a:22). Already wealthy and privileged people are using their position to further their own political and economic interests. A word that has become synonymous with white-collar crime in the recent past is "corruption". It is an act of depravity, iniquity, immorality and criminality usually driven by one's strong desire to accumulate wealth for his/her own personal or group gain and prestige.

In Papua New Guinea, what may be corruption to Westerners may not necessarily be judged that way by a population with a different cultural tradition. A politician or public servant in contemporary Papua New Guinea is enmeshed in a spider's web-like network of mutual and customary obligations. The concept of so-called *wantokism*² is in the blood of an educated elite and this confronts him/her with dilemmas. The dilemma is whether to honour and maintain the customary obligation or to uphold the values of impartiality and fairness, to perform the duties in accordance with the rules and guidelines set by the alien institutions of parliamentary democracy and bureaucratic administration. The *wantok* comes in with expectations and pulls the string to his/her benefit. The public office holder is usually implicated in corruption -

---

²The idea of obligation to someone from a same language or tribal group, district or province and those of close relatives.

favouritism entertaining the wantok. These are commonly found in the granting of permits, leases, and loans; in appointments; and distribution of public funds to wantoks. This is corruption (Turner, 1990:141-2).

Whatever the nature of the situation, corruption is rife in Papua New Guinea, albeit at an insignificant level when compared to countries like the Philippines, the United States or elsewhere. Clifford and others asserted that, "... there is real concern about the spread of corruption in Papua New Guinea that can hardly be doubted" (1984:66). The report cited the former Chief Ombudsman for PNG, Ignatius Kilage to have commented in his report for 1983 that "There has been too much talk about stopping corruption and too little action" (Ombudsman Commission 1984, in Clifford, et al, 1984:66). The Ombudsman has carried out some investigations and recommended prosecution, but no action has been taken. Thus, "when Ignatius Kilage finished his term as chief ombudsman in 1985 he issued an alarming statement that corruption was 'rampant and rife' in Papua New Guinea and that the stability of the nation is threatened unless immediate action is taken to stop the rot" (Turner, 1990:141).

Like other developing countries, white-collar crime and corruption may be expected to increase in Papua New Guinea. It will increase not only in size but also in complexity as the social structure of the society becomes more specialised and complex in the course of increasing industrialisation and economic development (UNCR, 1970:3 in Clinard and Abbot, 1973:51). White-collar crime is expected to increase in parallel to the rate of socio-economic and industrial development taking place.

Corruption in Papua New Guinea is usually seen in the context of misappropriation of public funds, accepting gifts, and favouritism. Attention now turns to some of the major corruption cases since independence, that have

painted a bad image of the country. These have contributed to a public perception of a rising law and order problem.³

The 1982 Executive Diaries Scandal involved many prominent national and provincial political figures and public servants. A Singapore business company sold some unsaleable 15000 executive diaries worth K85,000 to the Papua New Guinea Government. This purchase was made despite rejection from the Supply and Tenders Board, through which the normal supply procedures progress. The executive diaries were in fact never used and distributed to school children. Media and public outcry led to the establishment of an inquiry undertaken by the Ombudsman Commission. The Singapore businessman involved testified to the inquiry that he had visited the country six times and paid K5000 to potential customers and individuals. The Ombudsman Commission, which reported in 1982, recommended for prosecution of senior public servants and politicians implicated. This recommendation was never implemented, and caused frustrations for the officers who were involved in carrying out the investigation.

In 1986 a Committee of Inquiry was set up to investigate whether there had been any breaches of the Leadership Code in the purchase of shares following a float by Placer Pacific. The then Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Finance and Planning, Sir Julius Chan, was implicated in this inquiry. Placer Pacific had interests in the huge Porgera gold deposit - currently one of the largest world class mines. Sir Julius Chan successfully pressured the mining company to increase the initial share allocation of 2.8 million to 11.5 million. When the details of the share distribution was known, it appeared that Chan's family companies and his political party had taken 7.5 percent (800 000 shares) of the total shares allocated to Papua New Guineans at \$A1 each. Most of these shares were sold early at \$A2.5 each, making an enormous profit. Chan successfully defended himself arguing that he was just another businessman

---

³The specific references used for the following analysis were from Dinnen, 1993a; Dorney, 1990; Turner, 1990; Clifford, et al, 1984; Post Courier; and the Times of Papua New Guinea.

taking a risk to invest in the mining industry. Radical students and the general public felt that this was typical of ministers avoiding the leadership code using skilled and experienced lawyers.

Another two year investigation was the Barnett Inquiry set up in 1987 to investigate aspects of the forestry industry in Papua New Guinea. Prior to the commission of the inquiry, the media played a vital role drawing public attention to the way that Papua New Guinea's forestry industry was being ripped off by multi-national companies at their own will without giving due care to the landowners or the environment. The final report of the Barnett Inquiry was presented in 1989, detailing documentary evidence of widespread corruption and mismanagement in the forestry industry. Amongst the many leaders implicated was former Deputy Prime Minister and Parliamentary leader of the People's Action Party, Mr Ted Diro. Mr Ted Diro, being the major offender and the prime candidate for the trial, was alleged to have improperly granted timber rights to a Singapore company. He had 35 percent of the shares of Angus (PNG) Pty Limited, the company running the Papua New Guinea end of the operation. Mr Ted Diro, plus others implicated, was recommended by the Barnett Commission of Inquiry for prosecution. Upon receiving the final report, then Prime Minister Rabbie Namaliu, declared that no action would be taken against anyone implicated in the Barnett Report (Post Courier, Monday 10 July 1989, p.1).

"In September, 1991 Mr Diro was eventually found guilty of 81 breaches of the Leadership Code. The Leadership Tribunal presided over by Mr Justice Ellis of the National Court, further recommended that Mr Diro be dismissed from public office" (Dinnen: 1993a:24). A constitutional crisis followed when then Governor General, Sir Seri Eri, who happened to be a friend of the accused refused to follow the recommendation of the Tribunal required under the Constitution. (Post Courier, Monday 30 September 1991, p.1). This ended when Sir Seri Eri resigned as Head of State and was followed by Mr Diro's resignation from

Parliament to avoid prosecution - an escape of a criminal charge using Constitutional loophole.

Even after the inquiry, media outcry has not stopped. There is scandal in the timber industry. The landowners are being ripped off and manipulated, and malpractice is still going on. The Times of Papua New Guinea (1994:1) reported that: "Papua New Guinea logs valued at more than K459 million were exported last year with only about K6 million being paid out last year as a premium to landowners.... the premium and royalties that were paid during 1992 and 1993 were fixed on prices that were made when timber prices were low". Corrupt practices by the foreign companies through their educated Papua New Guinean allies in the timber industry is a microcosm of malpractice in other natural resource areas like minerals, fishing and other industries in Papua New Guinea.

It is said that corruption by Members of National Parliament is prevalent. The word "misappropriation" or simply stealing, is heard in everyday language of student groups, other pressure groups or from the general public. Public money that is often misused is the "Electoral Development Fund" (EDF), money allocated to each electorate through the member who represents them in Parliament. The allocation has gone over K50 million in a year. This money is poorly accounted for.

The first government minister to be referred to a leadership tribunal was the Commerce Minister in the Chan Government, Opai Kunangel Amin. In January 1982, six months before the national election, he faced an alleged leadership code violation. Among the charges were K20 000 misappropriation of what used to be Village Economic Development Fund (VEDF), now EDF. He then resigned from being MP to avoid prosecution, and contested again in that June. Police laid criminal charges against him and after two years, (1984) he was sentenced to two years imprisonment. Since then, many MPs have been

either referred to the Ombudsman for investigation or have resigned from their office to avoid possible prosecution.

There have been charges laid against MPs after investigations, and a few have been sentenced to jail, whilst most have won their case in the law courts. For many, it seems that there are two kinds of law in Papua New Guinea - one for the upper socio-economic class and another for the lower socio-economic class. The former class can hire expensive lawyers and easily challenge the State Prosecutors who are inexperienced policemen or lawyers from the State Prosecutor's office. The latter class on the other hand are usually poor and are not able to afford legal representation offenses and thus are sentenced to jail.

The Ombudsman Commission, established under an Act of Parliament to ensure that the Leadership Code is maintained by MPs and civil servants, is severely handicapped. Former Chief Ombudsman, Charles Maino, complained that there was severe lack of resources that makes it virtually impossible to fulfil its vital constitutional role (in Dinnen, 1993a:23).

One see in Chapter Two that youths were furious with corrupt practices of politicians and bureaucrats. They felt that their needs and aspirations were not properly catered for. When a youth sees that corruption and malpractice are widespread, he/she develops frustration and uneasiness with him/herself. Some violent crimes are a reaction to such a corrupt society. Student groups go wild burning government cars and destroying public properties, often reacting against corrupt practices. A typical example was the University of Papua New Guinea students' strike of 1991. This was in relation to the way that the National Parliament voted overwhelmingly to accept the recommendation of the Salaries and Remuneration Tribunal for a pay rise of between 17-24 percent. The students demanded that Parliament be reconvened and rescind its decision (Post Courier, Monday 27 May 1991, p.1). Parliament rescinded the decision at its next sitting.

It is discernible that white-collar crime and public corruption is prevalent, and does far more damage than violent youth crime. During my fieldwork the views of policy makers and other experts in the law and order sector indicated that white-collar crime and public corruption is serious. After all, in many ways, street crime is a reaction to such corrupt practices in high government places. White-collar crime and public corruption contribute significantly to the problem of law and order in Papua New Guinea. The ensuing analysis examines crime against public order.

CRIME AGAINST PUBLIC ORDER: DISORDER IN A DIVERSE SOCIAL INTEGRATION

Riots: An act of rebellion

There is lawlessness and chaotic behaviour particularly among the youths of our society. It is unpredictable as to when and how a riot takes place. However, the reason for these acts is usually discontent over socio-economic and cultural issues. As Turner, pointed:

The reason behind each of these incidents differ, and include unemployment among urban youth, industrial relations, the role of multinationals, mineral extraction and land policy, and the integrity of the national elite (1990:172).

Dissatisfied people express their sympathetic sentiments in the form of rioting in the streets. In other cases, what is initially supposed to be a peaceful march or demonstration turns into riots. When this happens, confrontation between the state forces and the rioters is experienced in the urban places. Though it may not be on the same scale of civil turmoil like in South Africa (Dominion, Wednesday 7 April 1994, p.15), the important point is that regardless of the frequency and magnitude there is certainly an emerging problem. In the event of an incident which concerns many or the public at large, it is a growing concern that many citizens let their emotions control their behaviour rather than

resorting to rational analysis and presentation of their grievances. They release their emotional sentiments in the streets.

The country has a growing number of unemployed youths. Many thousands of youths are being pushed out or dropping out of the formal school system and are moving into the urban centres. They are always alert and sensitive to issues of national importance, whether quite genuinely or to take advantage of the situation. Upon hearing of political corruption and crime among the wealthy class, they are angered and frustrated. In such circumstances, it is quite easy for a few educated elites to mobilise and destroy state property or fight against the state forces. There have been numerous occasions where public disorder has been evident. The ensuing analysis offers only a few cases to elucidate the intensifying public disorder.

Upon the death of Sir Iambaki Okuk in 1986, his sympathizers, the mourners, went wild and rioted in the streets of Port Moresby. Both government and company properties were damaged and their employees dispatched in fear of their lives. Such was also experienced in the towns of Wabag and Mt. Hagen in 1989, when Malipu Balakau was assassinated in Mt. Hagen. The mourners from Wabag looted their own town and then travelled to Mt. Hagen - where the Minister was assassinated - and looted it also. I was both in Wabag and Mt. Hagen and witnessed the mourners (usually youths) going into the stores and quickly taking out goods of significant value to them. It was nothing more than excited youths taking advantage of the situation for their own personal gain.

In Port Moresby, in 1988, there was a peaceful march planned by the Central people to express dissatisfaction and condemnation for a fellow tribesman who was killed in Port Moresby. Everyone expected a peaceful march and the state forces were on standby just in case something unexpected might happen. The protesters came in many trucks. Soon the number grew so large that no one was in control. The gathering got out of hand and turned into a bloody battle

between the state forces and the local people. Many government properties were destroyed and damaged. Sadly, two locals lost their lives in the battle.

In Lae, Papua New Guinea's second largest city, following controversies in provincial politics in both 1988 and 1989, substantial property damage and the closure of the city's commercial centre occurred on each occasion. This time it was the provincial politicians who used the youths to meet their own ends. In September 1988, striking workers at Ok-Tedi mine went on a rampage. The workers were unhappy about the terms and conditions offered them by the mining company. A joint police-military force was dispatched to quell the disturbance (Turner, 1990:171).

Riots not only threaten municipal order but present a negative image to the external community. The instances of riots examined above confers nothing noble or worthy, but accords an impression and conception that an urban place, like Port Moresby, is a turbulent and ferocious city.

The Bougainville crisis: For what? and Who is fighting whom?

The Bougainville crisis opens up a new chapter in Papua New Guinea's short political history since independence. It is not the intention of this analysis to provide detailed background information leading up to the crisis. The task here is a brief account of the problem itself and its effects in light of the country's law and order problem. To a Bougainvillian and to Papua New Guineans, the land is the most important and precious possession. To many it is in the blood. Traditionally many lives have been lost trying to defend land from being conquered by tribal enemies. Their livelihood is supported and facilitated by the land and its environment.

In Bougainville, copper was discovered in the 1930s. An Australian multinational mining giant, Conzinc Rio Tinto of Australia Ltd (CRA), a subsidiary company of the London based Rio Tinto Zinc (RTZ), was granted prospecting

authority on 14 April, 1964. This prospecting authority was granted under the 1928 Mining Ordinance, which did not require the permission of the land owners - the Nasioi people. A subsidiary company Bougainville Copper Limited (BCL), was formed to determine whether it was economically viable to establish a mine. It was, however, apparent from the outset that the size of the operation was so large that neither Bougainvillians nor the administration could attempt it (Cooper, 1992:1 and 7-8).

Land owners in the late 1960s vigorously opposed the mining. Without taking into consideration the grievances expressed by land owners, the Australian colonial administration pushed through a Mining Agreement Act in 1967 (Bougainville Copper Agreement Act 1967). This gave Bougainville Copper Limited (BCL) the legislative force or a legal right over the resource owners (Nonggorr, 1991:93). In the same year one land owner said:

losing the land was like taking the bones out of a man's legs the man would not be able to walk (Dorney, 1990:117).

Thus, frustrations and anger developed amongst the land owners and eventually burst out into open confrontation in August 1969 between the colonial rule forces and the land owners. To many people's surprise, the crisis was peacefully settled (Cooper, 1992:1 and 23). Without accommodating the interests or grievances expressed by the land owners, the mining operation commenced in 1974. It was the same year in which the first agreement was renegotiated at the insistence of the Papua New Guinea leaders then preparing for independence (Nonggorr, 1991:93). Bougainville Copper Limited (BCL) was in operation for 14 years until shut down in May 1989.

Bougainville Copper Limited (BCL) was a major internal revenue source. More than half (53.6 percent) of BCL is owned by the Conzinc Rio Tinto Australia Ltd (CRA), 19.1 percent is owned by the PNG Government and rest by some 9000 individuals and groups in PNG (Cooper, 1992:1). Land owners benefitted through the PNG Government's share and other infrastructure provided by BCL. It may have been like a burning furnace deep within the land owners. The

call for renegotiation of the 1974 BCL agreement was treated neither as a matter of urgency or priority. The Bougainville crisis is largely the result of land owners' dissatisfaction with both participation in the negotiation process and BCL's ability to monitor and control the environment. Simple observation also shows how these same land owners also fought for an independent Bougainville - separate from the rest of Papua New Guinea.

The crisis started in 1988-89 after discontented land owners claimed an enormous K10 billion (\$A15b) compensation, half the profit made since the mine began production in 1974. The land owners organised a protest march led by Francis Ona and Sam Kauona - the former was to be rebel leader and the latter to be the former's lieutenant in what was later to be known as a self-style Bougainville Revolutionary Army (BRA)- only to find a negative response from the BCL management. The land owners then began guerilla tactics (Dorney, 1991:118). Soon the BRA became powerful and violent. In the face of social disorder, it became impossible for Papua New Guinea's Police Force to maintain control and social order in the way things were before.

Consequently, the mine was closed and a combined force of the military and police was called in. To make things worse, the BRA unilaterally declared an Independent Republic of Bougainville (IRB) in May 1990. The question of independence for Bougainville was one that could not be negotiated by the Papua New Guinea Government. The PNG Government retaliated by imposing an economic and communication blockade, but this was soon lifted.

Confrontations between the PNG security forces and the BRA since 1989 have to date lost many lives including innocent civilians. No one knows the exact total. This crisis has drawn a lot of international attention, especially from the Human Rights Movement. Though the Bougainville Crisis is an internal problem for Papua New Guinea, it does paint a bad picture as a nation. Words like "dispute", "confrontation", "clash", "rebellion", "riots", and such draw negative attention and confer the status of a society with a full-blown law and order

problem. In reality, it is merely a social problem as experienced elsewhere in the world.

Tribal fighting: Who cares about the law and order problem? It's custom and it's in the blood anyway!

This is "inter-group violence" (Clifford, et al, 1984:91). It can be violence within the sub-clan, clan or tribal groupings. For convenience, "tribal fighting" covers inter-group violence in a community. Tribal conflict is still active in the Highlands. The coastal and islands people did have tribal warfare, but this has become, for them, only history. The colonial administration that was in force for almost one hundred years suppressed and dismantled such warfare among neighbouring clans. "Coastal and the island peoples thus relinquished tribal fighting as a strategy for dispute solving and concentrated on other traditional methods and on state mechanisms, such as mediation by kiaps or using courts and police" (Turner, 1990:170).

In the Highlands, colonial administration was in force on a level at least half that of the coast. In fact, initially, when the colonial administration penetrated, the locals feared and respected the foreigners and colonial rule was thus able to suppress tribal fighting and there were hardly any reported cases of such. After independence, however, when most experienced kiaps were replaced by enthusiastic and inexperienced nationals, the problem of tribal fighting, previously suppressed, re-emerged.

The Highlanders were not well educated and were ill prepared to take on the reigns of an administration that was peculiar. Apparently, the national administration was feeble in the period after independence. This ineffectiveness of the state was particularly apparent in the rural areas. As disputes were not fairly and effectively settled, people started returning to traditional warfare - a wild and dangerous means of dispute settlement.

Whilst this warfare is viewed by the state as a law and order problem, many Highlanders view it as a response to disorder, to a dispute or a breach of a norm, not a problem in itself. (Clifford, et al, 1984:91-2). Tribal fighting turns into a law and order problem, since it results in injuries, killings and destruction of properties. The dispute and the results are repugnant and against the spirit of the Constitution, therefore it is a law and order problem.

Almost all the tribal fighting is as a result of an unsettled dispute. The disputes are usually over marriage, rape, land, pigs and other properties. The changes in the man-land relationship, however, result in more personal mobility because of good road networks. Motor vehicle accidents and the use of alcohol may have altered the significance of such disputes. New political opportunities for leaders and the privileges to be won have added new causes (Clifford, et al, 1984:92).

It is difficult to measure the size and extent of the problem. There are no reliable facts and figures to indicate the extent to which tribal fighting has gone. Needless to say, the statistics that are available are unreliable, and these fights are not monitored and are unregulated. Clifford, et al, (1984:95-6), nevertheless, used the 1981 Police Annual Report (1982:6) which revealed that there were ninety-six clashes over the year. Clifford and others estimated a range of 50 to 200 incidents in a 3 million persons population in any recent year from that time. Thus, there are some reports in police stations which indicate that there is still tribal fighting.

The effects of such warfare is death, destruction of properties such as the government infrastructure, social and economic development in a community, business arms, properties and goods belonging to the defeated side. For instance, in 1990, in the Kompam District of the Enga Province, there was tribal warfare between two clans with their allies joining and taking sides. The fight was sparked by a land dispute. There was a total of 25 people killed and the cost of the food gardens and other properties damaged was enormous. It was

the bloodiest dispute of its kind ever with the use of both Western and modern home-made guns. In another instance in the upper Mendi of the Southern Highlands Province, it was reported that a tribal clash went into its third week, and 12 deaths were reported at that time. Many other properties were damaged. The fight was sparked by an attempted rape. (Post Courier, Monday 19 May 1994, p.1).

Tribal fighting inflicts the greatest possible damage, but contemporary tribal warfare has a new dimension. It has gone from simple primitive warfare to that of complex and advanced exchanges. It is not only the locals who are involved, but the educated elites: students, public servants, businessmen, and politicians become cunningly involved in one way or another. Particularly with the use of firearms, the educated elites play a vital part in the purchase and transportation of these. For instance, of tribal warfare in the Upper Mendi, the Highlands Regional Police Commander was reported to have expressed deep concern that the villagers were building "military style" bunkers. Someone experienced in military operations had become involved (Palmer, 1994:1). Having come from one of the full blown tribal fighting provinces - Enga - I have witnessed that the tribal fighting is now being "commercialised" in a sense that tribes outside the conflict are being enlisted to help and when the fight is over the helpers are compensated. Girls are being forced to marry young and active warriors who may come and help. It is reaching a point where both clans at conflict are left in a state of poverty whilst the adjoining clans gain riches and increase their wealth.

It seems to be the case that the state is incapable of maintaining control. During my research, both the Deputy Commissioner and the Chief Superintendent-Auxiliary Services of Police Department complained that firearms used in tribal warfare are much higher powered than the police force firearms being used. Thus, the state through the police force cannot enforce its laws effectively. This has meant that to date, this concept of tribal fighting has been threatening national integrity and unity. The state cannot maintain its

legitimate control and authority by subduing the emergence of animated warfare. The problem of tribal fighting, albeit concentrated in one region, contributes profoundly to the mounting problem of law and order in Papua New Guinea.

SERIOUS/VIOLENT CRIMES⁴

Serious/violent crimes involve anti-social behaviour that is dangerous in nature, that results in loss of property, severe injury or death. This chapter is concerned with: murder and attempted murder, rape and attempted rape, assault, robbery, breaking and entering, burglary, theft, vandalism, arson and abduction (or kidnapping). Such serious/violent crimes are related to urban development and thus modern in nature. Almost all serious/violent criminal behaviour is an urban activity. Port Moresby represents a microcosm of serious/violent criminal behaviour in Papua New Guinean urban places. Unlike other spheres of the law and order problem examined earlier in this chapter, serious/violent crimes, in almost all cases, are organised in groups. The conventional term for this group is "gang", or in Papua New Guinea simply "rascals". These phrases can be used to denote more than two people who have organised themselves to live with the activities of serious/violent crimes. Michael Goddard (1993:20) who did some studies into rascal gangs in Port Moresby captured:

crime gangs in Papua New Guinea represent (albeit criminally) an integration of pre-capitalist social behaviour into a cash-economic environment. Central to the argument is a perception that the social organisation of gangs and the distribution of wealth within them follow a familiar pre-capitalist pattern.

---

⁴I acknowledge that much of the literature material used in the ensuing discussions is taken from Oram, 1976 & 1977; Clifford, et al, 1984; Harris, 1988; Goddard, 1993; and National Crime Records, 1993. Where possible I quoted straight from their work.

The crime gangs in Port Moresby are a by-product of modernisation and development. They are the result of the transition from a rural based society into a modern capitalist society. Thus the social organisation of rascal gangs is in many aspects different from that in the Western context. Without going further into the organisation and operation of rascal culture we turn to examine the scope of Dennin's (1989) third type of law and order problem in Papua New Guinea in the period leading to independence.

Development of Serious/Violent Crime in Port Moresby

Although Harris (1988) indicated that the rascal gangs in Port Moresby emerged in the early 1960s, authors like Oram (1976:153) asserted that:

Many juvenile offenses are committed by gangs. In 1957, seven members of the four mile rascal gang, aged between ten and fourteen years, were convicted of having stolen \$500 from various establishments during the previous three weeks. (in SPP., 26 June 1967).

Modern sociological explanations of crime and delinquency have re-enforced the idea in various literature that crime is a by-product. The rise of rascal gangs in 1963 in Port Moresby, notably in the settlements, was not a phenomenon that existed by itself, but that was created by society. Like Harris (1988), I think rascal gangs are inflicted and forced on society to become characteristic of that society. Rural-urban migration becomes significant in discussion of these serious/violent crimes in Port Moresby. During the early 1960s, large numbers of migrants from the outlying communities of Port Moresby migrated into Port Moresby. The population of Port Moresby was comprised of non-indigenous expatriates, the land owners (Koita and Motu) and the migrants. "In mid-1966 there were 10 000 non-indigenous people (the majority of whom were of European descent), and 32 000 indigenous people living in Port Moresby. ...Corresponding 1971 figures were 16 900 and 59 600" (Oram, 1977:118). The indigenous migrants lived in settlements. One ethnic group occupied one settlement location. As Oram pointed out:

In 1964 it was estimated that 4500 people, or 18 percent of the Papuan population living in the urban area, were living in eighteen migrant settlements in Port Moresby (Oram, 1964:41). Most of these settlements were inhabited by members of one ethnic group (1977:119).

It is apparent that these figures give some indication that there were other ethnic group migrants in Port Moresby in the 1960s. Most, if not almost all, of the migrants were illiterate, uneducated in the formal education system, thus having no trade skills or experiences of any waged labour. There were objective and subjective factors that were significant in a person's decisions to leave their village. Leaving the objective function, the subjective function can be seen in the context of the "push" and the "pull" factors. Without examining these factors further here, migrants come with high hopes and expectations. What the early migrant had in mind was an urban place where there was opportunity for having access to more money and wealth. As Harris said of the migrants:

the migrants believed the city was the place one could earn cash, and with that cash, gain the desirable products of a modernising economy. In the village, both cash and modern products were in extremely short supply (1988:5).

The reality is that urban environment is strange to the migrant and it is not an environment into which one can be easily integrated. The social organisation of an urban environment is peculiar and hard to adapt and adjust to. Harris (1988) said that when the migrant asked for a job the usual response was "you are not qualified" - a very negative attitude. In an urban environment, the means of exchange (money) is of paramount importance. Everybody becomes very individualistic in this "survival-of-the-fittest" environment and the Melanesian concept of sharing and communal ownership of production just can not work. Norms and values acquired from the rural community do not apply in the urban setting. The migrant becomes ineffectual, worthless and useless in the midst of an unfamiliar environment. Then he/she questions his/her identity as to who he/she is? and what he/she is for? As Harris put it:

The impact of these forces can force the young man to question his most basic sense of himself. The identity which he was born and raised becomes threatening and intolerable - a symbol of failure and worthlessness (1988:7).

Therefore the young man wants to prove to himself so that he can have an effect on the world around him, the world which has rejected him. He still thinks that he is somebody - maintaining a sense of self esteem - and is capable, having potential and abilities. There are many in such situations in Papua New Guinea cities. These disconnected youths become his peer group, who have become frustrated and angry and their only means to achieve what they cannot obtain is through illegal practice.

Another causal factor is the de-prohibition of liquor in November 1962. It was against the law for natives to take liquor before 1962. However, as part of the removal of all forms of legal discrimination between races, restrictions on drinking alcohol by indigenous people were progressively removed throughout 1962 and 1963 (Oram, 1976). The indigenous people were not used to such alcohol, and frequently abused it by drinking without control. After the restriction was removed, large numbers of people were arrested for drunkenness within each week. In September 1966, for example, 110 people were arrested for drunkenness over twenty-four hours in one weekend (SPP., 19 Sept. 1966, 5 Feb. 1968). In 1970/71, 75 percent of cases in Port Moresby's local Court and 58.6 percent of the cases in both district and local courts involved drunkenness (Oram, 1976:152). The indigenous drinking of alcohol reached a high level within a short time frame.

As can be seen above, when youths began drinking alcohol crime increased, caused either by negligence, recklessness or carelessness while under the influence of liquor. If they ran short of cash to purchase this substance (alcohol), the only alternative available to them seemed burglary, theft or robbery. Theoretically, when young, alienated and frustrated youths assembled together drinking, they felt a sense of unity and cooperation between

themselves. They realised and identified who they were, an emerging young urban peer group or gang, ready to cooperate and enter into criminal activities at their will and as required. As Harris captured:

We have seen that young men found themselves struggling for a sense of self and a sense of identity. The availability of beer quickly became an element in the definition of the new urban self (1988:9).

Like Harris (1988) and Oram (1976), the Morgan Report (1983), Clifford et al, (1984), Marshall (1982) and others have stressed the law and order problem has increased considerably since restrictions on alcohol were removed. The introduction of beer added fuel to the glowing fire.

The public perception has been that the general problem of law and order is increasing. The only official statistics are the police statistics, but these have been criticised for inaccuracy in the collection of data (Clifford, et al, 1984:15-42). The shortcomings of Papua New Guinea's record keeping are real. Even today, this problem has not been alleviated and continues to spiral, with a shortage of sufficient funding reported to be the main obstacle. Without going into detail, far too little attention is given to the training for and maintenance of such statistical systems. There is no real appreciation at middle to senior management levels of the state bureaucracies about the value of collecting statistical information. Technology, geographical complexity and cultural diversities stand as impediments to the collection of reliable crime statistics at a national level. Although they are abysmally unreliable, police statistics are the only data available since the police are the only government agency that keeps crime records. To this end, I will examine the police statistics.

Clifford et al, (1984) used figures from 1966 and 1983 and concluded that the overall crime rate has not significantly increased since 1975. However, some

serious crimes have experienced alarming increases from the year ending 30 June 1976 to 1983⁵

Homicides and attempted homicides, 44 in 1976 to 274 in 1983, an increase of 523 per cent. Rape and attempted rape, 102 in 1976 to 465 in 1983, an increase of 356 percent. Assault - bodily and grievously bodily arm, 156 in 1976 to 500 in 1982, an increase of 233 per cent (Note: figures not available in same categories in 1983). Unlawful wounding, 66 in 1976 to 179 in 1983, an increase of 195 per cent. Arson, 47 in 1976 to 197 in 1983, an increase of 319 per cent. Dangerous driving causing death, 6 in 1976 to 121 in 1982, an increase of 1917 per cent. The inaccuracy of police statistics is highlighted by the impossible drop in these crimes from 121 in 1982 to 18 in 1983). Robberies, only statistically recorded separately in 1982. An increase of 38 per cent from 410 in 1982 to 566 in 1983 (Clifford, et al, 1984:17).

These figures were official police statistics but since they are often criticised for inaccuracy, one cannot make sensible suggestions and conclusions utilising the available data. If it does indicate something, then it is that serious crimes have increased. The above gives some understanding of the scope, nature and prevalence of serious crime straight after independence and in the 1980s. What has happened to serious/violent crimes in the 1990s? Police crime statistics, have still not improved. But one is left to work with what is available.

During my fieldwork, it was possible to obtain some raw serious/violent crime reported and arrest statistics from the National Crime Records, Police Department, both for the country and National Capital District (Port Moresby) for the years 1991, 1992 and 1993. Table 1 below indicates the total number of persons reported to the police for serious/violent crime in Papua New Guinea during 1991 and 1992. (The reported cases and arrests made in relation to non-violent crimes like prostitution, 3 and 16 in 1991 and 1992 respectively, are not part of this discussion). I will selectively examine reported cases of serious/violent crimes.

---

⁵All figures for 1975-1976 were taken from the annual report (Royal Papua New Guinea Constabulary 1976) and 1983 figures provided by National Crime Records Office.

Table 1. Total Number of Persons Reported for Serious/Violent Crime in Papua New Guinea 1991 and 1992

CRIME	1991	1992	% (+/-) ⁶
Murder Attempted murder	224 69 ____ = 293	315 73 ____ = 388	+32
Rape Attempted rape	1532 94 ____ = 1626	2563 105 ____ = 2668	+64
Assault	2308	2447	+6
Arson and attempts	227	274	+21
Abduction	91	110	+21
Robbery Attempted robbery	1450 210 ____ = 1660	2311 143 ____ = 2454	+48
Breaking & entering Attempts	2249 96 ____ = 2345	3816 96 ____ = 3912	+67
Vandalism	1318	1436	+9
Theft	5997	7749	+29
Total =	15865	21438	+35

Source: National Crime Records Office, Police Department, 1993.

Table 1 above depicts reported data on murder, rape, assault, arson, abduction, robbery, breaking and entering, vandalism and theft in Papua New Guinea. From the 1991 and 1992 figures, in total, the police arrest statistics showed an increase of 35 percent for reported violent crimes.

The reported figures in the murder and attempted murder category also include wilful murder. The figures for manslaughter and death by dangerous driving

⁶The percentage increase/ decrease (+/-) is obtained by the difference between the 1991 and the 1992 figure divided by the 1991 figure and multiplied by 100.

were omitted. Out of a total 293 and 388 persons reported for murder and attempted murder in 1991, and 1992 respectively, 212 of them were detected (those crimes discovered by police without being reported) in 1991 and 292 in 1992. In 1991, 224 people were reported (those crimes complained to the police by the victim/s or the victim's relative/s) for murder and 69 for attempted murder, and in 1992, 315 for murder and 73 for attempted murder. The 1991 figure (293) increased by more than a third (32%). Such a large number of persons reported relating to murder may be unrealistic and is likely to reflect inaccuracies in record keeping. If it is correct, one must assume that multiple persons were involved in a single murder or attempted murder.

In 1991 a total of 1532 persons were reported to have been involved in rape and 94 made attempts to rape. As can be observed above, there was an increase of more than half (64%) in 1992 for both rapes and attempts. From simple observations, one might assume these figures may be correct because multiple males can rape one female. The assault category included: grievous and actual bodily harm, unlawful wounding and aggravated. A weighty 2308 number of people were reported in 1991 for assault with an increase of 6 per cent in 1992 (2447).

As can be seen above, there has been an apparent 21 percent increase for both arson/attempts and abduction. Abduction figures included: kidnapping, child stealing and hijacking. Robbery and attempted robbery were related particularly to banks, department offices and business houses. In 1991, 1450 persons were reported to have been involved in robberies whilst 210 made attempts. In 1992, robbery figures increased by 861 whilst attempts decreased by 32 per cent. Breaking and entering figures related to situations where private homes were broken into and valuable items stolen, while vandalism involved wilful and malicious damage to properties. The theft figure included motor vehicle thefts. Attention turns, then, to examine the extent of serious/violent crime in the National Capital District.

Table 2. Number of persons reported for serious offenses in 1992 and 1993 in the National Capital District

CRIME	1992	1993 ⁷	% (+/-) ⁸
Murder	60	93	+55
Rape	522	622	+19
Robbery	948	626	-34
Breaking & Entering	903	1006	+11
Stolen Motor Vehicle	174	268	+54
Stealing over K100.00	94	68	-28
Unlawful wounding	271	198	-27
Total =	2972	2881	-3

Source: National Crime Records Office, Police Department 1993.

Data for the National Capital District, covering Port Moresby, is presented in Table 2 showing comparisons for reported crimes of murder, rape, robbery, breaking and entering, motor vehicle theft, stealing over K100.00 and unlawful wounding between 1992 and 1993.

Public perception, fuelled by media attention, is that Port Moresby is under daily threat by criminal elements. Port Moresby residents are likely to be victimised more often. Crime seems to concentrate on and victimise the same groups time and again as Clifford and others indicated:

So why does the law and order issue loom so large and why does it invoke such public concern? It seems that this is because whether in the form of tribal fighting or urban breaking and entering it tends to victimise the same groups repeatedly (1984:28).

⁷The December figures were not available at the time of my fieldwork. Thus figures in this category only include January to November 1993.

⁸Refer to table 1 above in this category. The same formula was applied in determining percentage increase or decrease.

Table 2 above shows the total number of persons reported to have been involved in serious/violent crimes in the National Capital District in 1992 and 1993. These statistics were straight from incoming figures from the provinces. Note that there is no indication of figures for attempted murder, rape, robbery and so forth. Like Table 1, the figures in Table 2 are based entirely on what was gathered from the Crime Records Section of the Police Department. The rate of persons committing crime fluctuates, depending on opportunity and the (pressing) need to commit crime.

Whilst public perception and media attention maintains that serious/violent crimes and the general law and order problem in Port Moresby is getting progressively worse, the statistics available do not support this opinion. Although there were apparent increases in murder (55%), motor vehicle theft (54%) and rape (19%), there were remarkable decreases in robbery, stealing over K100 and unlawful wounding. For those crimes under consideration above, there was an apparent decrease in serious in serious/violent crimes in Port Moresby between 1992 and 1993 of 3 per cent.

In Port Moresby alone, 60 people were reported for murder in 1992 and this increased to 93 in 1993. For rape, 522 were reported in 1992 and this figure increase to 622 in 1993. The increase in reported breaking and entering (903 in 1992, to 1006 in 1993) may have resulted from unemployed youths wanting goods like radios, etc. Overall, I remain wary of drawing too many conclusions from these statistics, not only because of the unreliability of the police statistics but also because the December figures for 1993 were not available. If, however, the apparent decrease is correct, it may reflect a strong police presence in Port Moresby. The Chief Superintendent Director- Auxiliary Services of the Police Department made the point clear that there has been a decrease in crime in Port Moresby since the concept of "Special Police Constables" was introduced under a newly established "Villages Services Programme" (VSP). There is now a heavy community police presence in the streets and squatter settlements.

In both Table 1 and 2 above, I have attempted to illuminate the magnitude of the serious/violent crime problems in both Port Moresby and in the country as a whole. The reported figures indicated above do not necessarily mean the same number of victims. In most cases more than one or two people are involved in committing the crime. For instance, on the night of Saturday May 17 1994, an ex-beauty queen was raped by 6 people (Post Courier, p.1). Whether rape, murder, robbery and so forth, these crimes are usually done in groups, normally from the same ethnic groups and often peer groups. Some organise themselves into gang groups after watching gang-related movies or reading of such activities in books/magazines. With this in mind, I will return briefly to examine the emergence of gang activities in Port Moresby during the 1960s and 1970s, to consider how these may have shaped the influence of gangs in the 1990s.

Operation of Rascal Gangs in Port Moresby

The early rascal gangs of the 1960s had limited knowledge of the environment around them. Their educational background was limited, with most never having been formally educated. The main activities of these groups were vandalism, intimidation, mutual protection and petty theft. Such activities do not required a great deal of knowledge and technique, nor required a formally structured and organised body. The rascal gangs operated mainly in the settlements. However, as Port Moresby became more urbanised and as more migrants moved in, so the gangs also increased in number and became more specialised and active. Crimes of theft and breaking and entering increased remarkably in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Oram's analysis of this increase among the juveniles indicated:

The number of juveniles charged in the Children's Court rose slowly between 1965 and 1969, according to Police records, and then more sharply to reach a total of 199 in 1970/71... The number of offenses committed is much greater then the number of Juveniles charged... Until 1969 the majority of offenses were simple theft, but the proportion of

offenses of breaking and entering and of stealing has since greatly increased (1976:153).

The rascal gang problem, once seen as a problem within the settlements, in the 1970s spread to the middle class residential areas where the more educated sons of the elites participated for excitement in the 1980s. When middle class people were attacked or became victims, the rascal gang problem became an issue. Thus, police operations were inevitably felt in the settlements. Properties were damaged and goods of significant value were either destroyed or stolen by the forces. It was in fact an improper response on the part of the police force. The ideal option would have been to build networks within the community and seek cooperation from the settlers through the elders. The use of force was a terrible experience. Out of frustration and anger resulting from such "sweeping" police operations, the settlers became more hesitant to cooperate with the police. The rascal gang took advantage of such situations and became stronger and even more determined.

The rascal gangs began to realise that their activity was lucrative and offered a means of material and social advancement. The material return was considerable. Soon, youths from other parts of the country came to Port Moresby for the purpose of joining or becoming their own rascal gang, as Harris stated:

From 1970s onward it was not unusual for rural Papua New Guinea youth to aspire to migrate to the city with the explicit intent of becoming rascals, rather than getting a job or pursuing schooling. The 1970s was the time when the myth of rascal as a romantic and daring figure capable of challenging, and besting, the wealthy of the city, gained currency (1988:14).

At independence, on 16 September 1975, the colonial administration came to an end. Administration of the country was handed over peacefully on a "golden plate", together with a full-blown rascal gang element creating violent crime. The period after independence saw rascal gangs evolve into efficient criminal organisations. The so-called rascal gang leader, a man of experience,

knowledge, skill and tactical ability became the person who directed, led and controlled the "striking forces".

Clifford et al (1988); Harris (1988); and Goddard (1993) have drawn the concept of "Melanesian big-man" to explain the role of the rascal gang leader. Having been born and raised in the Highlands "big-man" concept society, (although "big-man" and rascal gang leader" are not similar), they are still qualifications. Unlike chiefly based societies where a leader is inherited, "big-man" status is an achieved phenomenon. In order to rise to "big-man" status, one must use instinctive abilities, skills and knowledge to master support. It is through one's movement, acts, gestures and performance that "big-man" status is achieved. As Goddard (1993:26) explained:

The essential characteristics of Highland big-man (given the typological variations in the literature), are a dynamic combination of industry, generosity, grandiloquence and cunning.

The rising "big-man" has the ability to accumulate wealth. It is not for keeping, but for distributing among the kinship line, neighbours and trading partners. He then builds a cobweb-like network of trading partners through the exchange of pigs, kina shells and other goods and animals of significant value. Occasionally he keeps a good portion of the wealth but in order to maintain the status quo and his reputation as a "big-man", it is necessary to distribute it on most occasions. The "big-man" is very clever and cunning at the same time, manipulating his people, and speaking proudly with confidence as a great orator.

"The relationship between gang leaders and gang 'members' is very similar to the relationship between the archetypal "big-man" and his kin group" (Goddard, 1993:27). Leadership of the rascal gang is achieved through his abilities, skills and knowledge of committing of crime. During my research, I interviewed a 19 year old young man who was born in Port Moresby and finished grade eight. He identified himself as the former leader of a gang group, involved in criminal

gang related activities for many years. With his years of experience, he is able to provide leadership. He knows where to strike, and most importantly, the "how" question involving the techniques and the process. The gang leader plans very carefully each burglary, breaking and entering, bank robbery and so forth. Every activity must strike successfully, according to the master plan. For every successful strike the gang leader gains more respect and thus his dignity, influence, prominence and prestige are recognised and enhanced.

The gang leader plays an entrepreneurial role that follows a similar pattern to that of a "big-man" in the Melanesian societies in general. The gang leader is the central figure in the operation and surely makes many of the decisions, although not exclusively, in distribution of the items taken in a strike. He accumulates, but does not keep much of it himself, distributing even to non-members of the rascal gang who are supporters but cannot participate. When asked about a return benefit from the recipients, my interviewee responded by saying that the gang group is provided with information about another lucrative strike and in the event of a police chase, their (rascal gang's) identity and whereabouts are not released. Some of the items stolen are transported to other rascal gangs in other centres. The rascal gangs understand and know each other but this does not mean that they are friendly. There were cases of conflict and inter-gang warfare experienced in Port Moresby where one gang had entered another rascal gang group's territory without their consent.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The nature of the law and order problems facing Papua New Guinea is a by-product of colonisation and subsequent modernisation. In the midst of rapid development and industrialisation, Papua New Guineans are facing problems of adaptation. We find it hard, ourselves, to appropriate ourselves fittingly to the changes that are happening around us. It is a reality that no matter how hard one attempts to follow and imitate a different culture, there will always be shortfalls and awkwardness. Papua New Guineans not used to Western

parliamentary democracy and bureaucratic organisations are enmeshed between the cultures of two worlds. Many of our law and order problems can be attributed to this adaptation problem.

Our concern in Papua New Guinea is not so much with serious/violent crime but with public/social disorder. Riots, rebellion activities and intergroup conflicts are prevalent both in the urban centres and in the rural areas. Today's youths are more alert and often tune their ears to white-collar crime and public corruption. Their criminal behaviour is, in a sense, justified because that is what the so-called noble leaders and public servants do.

The important question to be asked from this is: "Where is Papua New Guinea's law and order problem leading to?" Unless something constructive is done, the public perception is that the country is heading for turbulence, coercion, civil disorder and disintegration. Bruce Harris (1988:44-50) in writing about the future of rascal gangs in Port Moresby saw three possible directions. First, an **organised crime scenario**, where rascal gangs will continue to become more sophisticated criminal organisations, increasingly institutionalised and increasingly able to perpetrate their criminal activities at will.

Second, a **social protest and revolution scenario**, violent and disruptive in nature. This could eventuate in reaction to corruption and self aggrandizement of those in positions of political and economic power. This is a marxist view, when the lower classes "oppressed beyond their means to endure, can become the catalyst for movements of social conflict and engine of social collapse" (Harris, 1988:46).

Third, a **political cooptation scenario**, where the rascal gangs collaborate together with politicians. From simple observations, the rascal gangs cooperate and collaborate not only with politicians but businessmen and bureaucrats. The rascal gangs sometimes commit crime for wealthy people and in return they are guaranteed protection and are compensated.

The fourth scenario that can be added to this is an *increase in tribal conflicts*. Tribal groupings are intact and strong. Tribal warfare is far more advanced with the use of modern firearms. If reports are correct, there is also collaboration between the villagers at war and their wealthy tribal members in towns. These four possible directions are dangerous and require considerable attention.

Given the nature of this trend, what has the government done? The actions of government can be seen in the context of the government law and order policies and the implementation of these. I will examine government policies in the next chapter.

CHAPTER SEVEN

STATE RESPONSES TO THE LAW AND ORDER PROBLEM

INTRODUCTION

... state intervention to be meaningful, governments must formulate appropriate social policies and plans based on the needs and circumstances of their societies (Hardiman and Midgley, 1984:5).

The problem of law and order has historically challenged the best minds of all civilised societies (Yablonsky and Haskell, 1970). No one should claim to be an expert because no one knows how to solve this problem (Biles, 1976). Nevertheless, quite a few nations in the world, Japan in particular, have experienced a reduction in crime (Westermann and Burfeind, 1991). It has been developed in chapter 6 that law and order problems in Papua New Guinea are inaccurately measured, but through media outcry and public perception the problem is escalating. In view of this perception and social demand from the community, state responses have been crisis driven. The passing of the Capital Punishment Bill¹ by Parliament in 1991 without proper debate was in response to this public pressure. Government policies like the youth movement programme aimed at curbing law and order problems have had little impact and have failed to produce the anticipated outcomes in Papua New Guinea communities.

In this chapter, my intention is to explore state responses aimed at reducing the problem of law and order in Papua New Guinea. I will begin this chapter by examining the state responses to crime and social disorder in Papua New Guinea. In so doing, I am of the view that the crime problem should not be seen in isolation from a broader context of socio-economic planning. In this respect, I will continue this chapter by examining two broad paradigms used

---

¹No. 25 of 1991. Criminal Code (Amendment) Act 1991.

to address the law and order problem: the residual and incremental models. The former is based on a belief in spiral effect benefit and the latter on state intervention through increased public expenditure.

The analysis will turn to examine the Criminal Justice System (CJS), the National Youth Movement Programme (NYMP) and the Villages Services Programme (VSP) as case studies. Then I will intend to use the theoretical framework of residual and incremental models to analyse the case studies above.

STATE RESPONSES

There have been considerable debates on the issue of law and order. The impression is one of rising lawlessness, on one hand, and ineffective crime and disorder prevention on the other. The concept of "crime prevention" is about choosing options aimed at reducing the prevalence of criminal and delinquent acts. Further, it is about changing a person's criminal behaviours and attitudes, which may have been influenced by some profound factors within in him/her, or the social environment that he/she belongs.

From Papua New Guinea's experience, "crime issues have been selective in focus. ...much of the discourse concentrates on the rise of highly visible street crime 'rascalism' (Harris, 1988) usually associated with the growing number of unemployed urban youth. Less concern is evident in relation to the crimes of politically and economically privileged- the so-called white-collar crime" (Dinnen, 1992:1). Considerable attention has been given to street crime and social disorder while neglecting crimes committed by the powerful class². Successive governments, since independence, have failed to address constructively political and public corruption. It is a cynical act, on the part of the politicians, to paralyse the Ombudsman Commission, whose prime aim is to act as a

---

²The powerful class includes the politicians, businessman and those in higher paid positions in the public service.

"watchdog" for white-collar crime. This is effectively done through the provision of insufficient funding.³ This low priority has been well documented by Clifford et al, (1984). The 1996 National Budget has effectively paralysed the functions and duties of the Ombudsman Commission. The provision of just over K3 million for the Ombudsman Commission is insufficient. (Post Courier, Thursday November 1995, p.6).

One would assume that white-collar crime is not dealt seriously with in Papua New Guinea even though many experts think that it has far reaching negative implications. (See chapters 2 and 6). In this respect, successive governments have failed to address white-collar crime properly in Papua New Guinea.

Street crime and social disorder have been given high attention by the successive governments and the media since independence. It is considered that the problem of law and order, particularly amongst youths, is progressively getting worse. This is largely blamed on the migrant school push-outs:

For those that enter school, the police figures tell us that, about 40,000 youths are ejected from the education system each year. This means that an estimated 30,000 youths are added to the unemployment lines each year, when there are jobs available for 10,000 youths. (Ainui, 1993:3). There are hardly any jobs for young school push-outs. Even the successful students have no guarantee of a job, and many of these join the queue of jobless youths. (Sali, 1996:7).

In view of this, "state responses have generally been pragmatic and crisis driven" (Dinnen, 1993b:10). Quite a significant amount of public funding has been consumed by the law and order sector. For example, from 1988-1991, the law and order sector, that includes police, courts, prisons and defence consumed a total of K14.8 million (Dinnen, 1992:3). The government has

---

³The Ombudsman Commission has the job of administering the Leadership Code and investigating and prosecuting those who breach it. Under s.27 of the Organic Law on the Duties and Responsibilities of Leadership, the Commission has the power to instruct the Public Prosecutor or appropriate tribunal (the Leadership Tribunal) to prosecute the leader concerned" (in Dinnen, 1992:2).

declared 1996 as the year to fight crime, and made a financial allocation of a massive K86 million to the police force. (Post Courier, Thursday November 1995, p.13). However, this is nothing new, as similar approaches have been taken by successive governments since independence.

Amongst the many pragmatic and crisis-driven proposals considered by successive governments are: the reintroduction of capital punishment for murder, rape and drug offences; the possible introduction of ID cards; the tattooing of convicted offenders; vagrancy laws; and forced repatriation of unemployed people and trouble makers. (Post Courier, 15 March 1991, p.1). Parliament has successfully reintroduced capital punishment for wilful murder and passed a constitutional amendment enabling the further enactment of vagrancy legislation (Dinnen, 1992:3). It was observed that state responses to the law and order problems in Papua New Guinea were not based on any clear philosophies:

State responses to crime in Papua New Guinea since independence in 1975 appear to have been influenced by considerations of political expediency rather than by any discernible philosophy of crime control (Dinnen, 1992:3).

Dinnen (1992) also pointed out that this has bypassed normal procedures of criminal justice, in favour of more visible exercises of state power. Such responses include: declaration of state of emergencies; imposition of curfews; and combined police and defence force operations. In addition, coercive measures have been taken by various provincial governments in the repatriation of migrants and the demolition of squatter settlements (Dinnen, 1992:3-6).

The problem, however, continues to generate media headlines⁴. In this respect, pragmatic and repressive techniques are not only short term measures, but are

---

⁴The Pacific Islands Monthly magazine reported in its covering front page: "Fighting fire with fire: But how committed is Papua New Guinea's government to combatting the country's worsening crime situation?" (Pacific Islands Monthly, February 1996, Vol.66 No.2).

recipes for retaliation and revolution. Such responses lead to more lawlessness and turmoil, demanding further increases in public expenditure. Thus, Papua New Guinea has yet to address its crime problem (Sali, 1996:7)

Whilst pragmatic and repressive approaches are inappropriate measures, the crime problem cannot be examined in isolation from the broader socio-economic fabric of Papua New Guinea. With this in mind, attention can now turn to residual and incremental models of developmental planning.

RESIDUAL AND INCREMENTAL MODELS OF PLANNING

On a broader scale, the problems of law and order in Papua New Guinea have been addressed from two developmental planning approaches: the residual and incremental models. Each government that comes into power has its own emphasis. The centre of the debate has been one between economic (residual) goals and social (incremental) goals, while harmonising between these goals remains an option. With this in mind, I turn my analysis to examine the residual and incremental approaches.

The Residual Approach

The proponents of a residual approach argue that state intervention into social welfare should be minimal. The emphasis should be on economic development and its growth. The philosophy is that a healthy economic environment supports the welfare of the whole community. The benefits of economic growth should "trickle-down" to meet social needs. This paradigm is based on old theory and fits in the Western world. The model was generally accepted in many Third World countries in the 1950s in their economic planning, as captured by Hardiman and Midgley:

In the nineteen fifties, it was generally accepted that the primary goal of economic planning was to increase the rate of economic growth as rapidly as possible. Also, in keeping with the prevailing

economic theories of the time, it was assumed that rapid growth would result in significant improvements in social welfare for the mass of the population of the Third World (1984:15).

This "trickle-down theory" is supported by historical experiences of the Western world, particularly during the periods of Industrial Revolution in Europe. Industrialisation was the major contributing factor to rapid economic growth. The rural sector was transformed and brought into the realm of modern wage employment and income was incomparably higher than what their rural ancestors may have received. Many economists stress the need for massive capital investment in industrial enterprise and in more technological advancement. This, as it was argued, would not only bring about rapid economic growth but also create a spiral effect on wage employment. Thus, social needs were neglected in support of capital investment in industrial projects.

Another reason for this neglect was the idea that the social sector was non-productive and acted only as a drain on national resources. Proponents of the residual model, therefore, recommended cuts in public expenditure on social welfare programmes. They argued resources should instead be injected into expanding industrial enterprise developments. It was assumed in this context that crime problems would be reduced through the spiral effect of a healthy economic environment.

Many Third World countries are underdeveloped and are characterised by rural-based subsistence production. Papua New Guinea comes under this category, with more than 80 per cent of its population supported by subsistence production. The assumption among many nationals is that rapid development will only occur with a shift from agriculture to processing and manufacturing. As one wrote:

For such countries, development would occur with industrialisation which would bring about a massive shift of the labour force out of agriculture and other primary production

sectors into processing and manufacturing.⁵ Furthermore, it was envisaged that industrialisation, because it required high capital investment and a shift from animate to inanimate sources of energy, would bring about high productivity which would translate directly into high incomes for workers. This, in turn, would make possible capital accumulation through savings (deferred consumption) which would again be reinvested in factories, machines and infrastructure development facilities. This would produce a spiral effect to move the economy progressively to higher and higher levels of development (Mabogunje, 1980:25).

Papua New Guinea has, to date, put its faith firmly in the country's rich natural resources. Since the country is short on capital, the technical knowledge and skills required to develop these resources have meant heavy reliance on multinational corporations to develop the economy. "Foreign investment" is encouraged to provide much needed capital for the primary production sector and for other economic oriented projects. It is assumed that such policies will result in increased economic growth and related development. Papua New Guinea's economy has been growing modestly and a current boom in the mining sector is poised to increase economic growth further. As former Prime Minister, Pias Wingti, put it:

The Pacific island nation of Papua New Guinea was "poised to enter a new era" that would see unprecedented economic growth beyond 10 percent, mainly driven by mining and petroleum industries... Our economy has been growing modestly in the past. But we are projecting that it will rise to beyond 10 per cent in real terms soon.⁶

Following such political statements, many are optimistic of improvement in the standard of living in Papua New Guinea. However, if history offers any truths, then this notion of the spiral effect does not trickle down to the lower-class as anticipated. By the end of the 1960s, it was evident that "development"

---

⁵Much of this summary of the neo-classical economic development paradigm is from Janet Abu-Lughod, 'Development and urbanisation', *Habitat International*, vol.2, no.5/6(1977), pp.417-26.

⁶In giving a keynote address to the *1993 Conference on Asia Pacific Oil and Gas Tax Issues* in Singapore, in *South Pacific Magazine*, vol.3,no.2, 1993,p.11

measured in this manner did not reach the lives of ordinary people (Henriot, 1983:29). Economists projected that development would mean not only economic growth but also improvements in the social conditions in which people live, including a reduction in poverty, unemployment and inequality. The author put the issue this way:

The questions to ask about a country's development are three: What has been happening to poverty? What has been happening to unemployment? What has been happening to inequality? If all three of these have declined from high levels, then beyond doubt this has been a period of development.⁷

Seers further added that "if one or two of these central problems have been growing worse, especially if all three have, it would be strange to call the result "development" even if per capita income doubled" (1969:3). Like Seers (1969), Mishan (1977) and Mabogunje (1980) amongst others also felt that the residual paradigm does not really service the social needs it was assumed to address. This is particularly true for developing countries. Colonialists have emphasised capital investment in economic development oriented projects. However, this is often a pretext for meeting their own economic goals with little regard for meeting social needs. Although, the residual approach was widely accepted and incorporated into the development plans of many developing countries in the post-independence period, history has shown the residual model to be largely unworkable.

Obstacles to a Residual Approach in the Third World

The residual model was adopted from historical experiences of the developed countries, but was largely inappropriate to the needs of developing countries. There are practical impediments to the pursuit of economic modernisation in the Third World as Hardiman and Midgley noted:

---

⁷Dudley Seers, 'The meaning of development', *International Development Review*, no.4 (December 1969), p.3. in Akin L. Mabogunje, 1980. *The Development Process: A Spatial Perspective*. London: Hutchinson University library.

...traditional attitudes which are inimical to entrepreneurship, corruption which has resulted in national resources being squandered and a lack of the technical knowledge and skill required for industrialisation (1984:17-18).

Traditional attitudes have unfavourable bearing on entrepreneurship, not only in terms of personal attitudes but also rooted in the social structure itself. The entrepreneur not only lacks managerial skills but most importantly, these skills are to be used in a modern cash economy. The customary obligatory duties to the community are an undesirable aspect of any economic oriented project⁸. Other obstacles to entrepreneurship are fears of sorcery and tribal warfare. Under such conditions it is difficult to participate in and benefit from spin-offs of multinational companies operating in the country.

In Chapter Six I examined the problem of corruption in Papua New Guinea. If investigations like the Barnett Inquiry can reveal that there is a widespread corruption among politicians and bureaucrats, then, what is left for the country? Through the national leaders and elites, natural resources are being squandered or drained, leaving an empty bamboo tank behind. In addition, the widespread use of sophisticated technology has prevented the creation of wage employment on a scale sufficient to denude the rural subsistence sector. The use of sophisticated technology demands highly skilled manpower which Papua New Guinea lacks. Therefore, the creation of wage employment is mere rhetoric. Like many Third World countries, Papua New Guinea will only free herself from primary commodity production if it is able to avoid economic subjugation by the wealthy nations in its region.

With a prevalence of these obstacles, the trickle-down theory is open to question. The theory guarantees improved levels of living and welfare but in

---

⁸A local entrepreneur has obligations to community activities of sharing, paying compensation or bride price, feasts, etc. The expenses are not budgeted; the entrepreneur takes the risk. What is valued most and aspired is the prestige and power. By distribution of wealth, one has respect, control and authority in the community. Thus, the local economic projects do not have the capacity to expand and most run out of operation.

reality it is only a guarantee for middle-class people and above. Thus, is there a trickle-up theory and a guarantee for wealthy people, as Adelman put it?

Not only is there no automatic trickle-down of the benefits of development; on the contrary, the development process leads typically to a trickle-up in favour of middle-classes and the rich⁹ (in Henriot, 1983:29).

The multi-national companies say they are "partners" in the development process. Succeeding governments have put absolute faith in them to take the leading role in developing natural resources. Today it is strictly a business world, where foreign multi-national companies aim to maximise profit and minimise cost. Whilst the giant companies aim for profit in a short time-frame, the local people are given false impression of development. They are also excited by false prospects of improvement in their standard of living. The reality often brings about social catastrophe: environmental damage, changes in the old social structure, attitude change, an increase in social problems and so forth. From this perspective, the emphasis on a push for industrialisation and economic development may not only fail to bring the expected benefits to the local population but may actually contribute to the social problems already developed. There is a strong correlation between crime and rapid economic development (Shelly, 1981). If people's social needs are ignored, then there is a strong possibility of increases in problems of law and order. Given this situation, the incremental approach emerged as an alternative choice for policy analysts and planners to consider in their development plans.

Incremental Approaches

This model of planning emphasises more public expenditure on the social infrastructure of the country. "In many countries, this incremental strategy has resulted in increased expenditure on the social services, more construction of

---

⁹Irma Adelman, 'Development economics: a reassessment of goals', *American Economic Review* 65 (May 1975), p.302.

social service facilities, and a greater utilization of these facilities" (Hardiman and Midgley, 1984:19). The government has a duty to improve social conditions through increased budgetary expenditure. Many Third World countries continue to increase public expenditure on social services in spite of economic difficulties (United Nations, 1979a:37).

While foreign investment is encouraged to participate in building a strong economy, the state has responsibility over the social service sector and improvement of people's welfare and wellbeing. The state must attempt to create a free, secure and safe environment where people are guaranteed of their security. Thus, social policies should be designed to address prevailing social needs in any society.

Most developing countries have replicated social policies established in developed countries, often inappropriate to local conditions. Thus, programmes designed to improve social welfare do not work and are often met with crisis. As I will show in this chapter, Papua New Guinea's National Youth Movement Programme (NYMP), which started in the 1980s to mobilise youths was designed without proper study of local social institutions. With lots of outside expert help, this programme was a replicate of what it would be in the industrialised countries. The programme failed to achieve the end result (O'Collins, 1993).

Secondly, the incremental approach tends only to respond to demand rather than need. Most social services (like education and health) are provided in the urban areas, while maintaining rural poverty. Urban people have the opportunity to strengthen their position whilst the rural sector remains ignorant and isolated. This fosters an imbalance between urban and rural wants and needs that contributes to problems of migration. Therefore, "there is an urgent need for new and imaginative social policies in the Third World. Social plans must be based on needs, on a proper assessment of need, and policies which are appropriate, redistributive and participatory must be adopted" (Hardiman and

Midgley, 1984:31). This needs approach is not only concerned with the basic consumption of goods such as food, clothing and shelter, or basic services such as education, health and clean water supply. It is also concerned with the right to participate in making and implementing decisions in a project that may affect one as a person (Conyers, 1982:28).

In Papua New Guinea, an emphasis on residual model approaches will have little impact on more than 80 per cent of the people who are supported by subsistence-based production. The incremental approach should be properly implemented, based on an analysis of needs. I maintain that a purely economic emphasis on socio-economic planning is inappropriate given the societal condition of the country. I now turn to analyse the criminal justice system, national youth movement programme and village services programme respectively in the context of residual and incremental planning models.

CASE STUDY 1: CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM (CJS)

The criminal justice system is made up of inter-related networks of parts or agencies working together for the common purpose of reducing the problems of law and order. It includes those formal agencies such as the police, courts, and correctional facilities, and other institutions like the Law Reform Commission, whose activities primarily relate to laws affecting the processing of disputes and crimes.¹⁰ The police, courts and prisons are vital components of a criminal justice system, based on three principles: deterrence, retribution, and rehabilitation as captured by Conklin:

The criminal justice system is sometimes based on the idea of deterrence, the notion that the threat of sanctions can prevent crime by creating a fear of punishment in those who might break the law. A second basis for the system is retribution, the idea that the offenders deserve to suffer for the harm they have caused

---

¹⁰While community values and customs for monitoring order in an informal way have a direct bearing on law and order, they are part of a broader perspective. They are not included in a definition of criminal justice system" (Clifford, et al, 1984:135).

and that their punishment should be in proportion to that harm. A third perspective is rehabilitation, which proposes that criminal sanction should aim to reform convicted offenders so they will stay away from crime in the future (1992:391).

Conklin further explains that the effectiveness of the criminal justice system in meeting the goals of deterrence, retribution, and rehabilitation depends on coordination amongst the various agencies of law enforcement. Critics (Biles (ed), 1976; and Clifford et al, 1984) have claimed that the criminal justice system in Papua New Guinea:

...is not really a system at all, in the sense of being a set of agencies that are coordinated with each other, seek the same goals and try to implement a single policy to deal with crime. There are important linkages among the police, the courts, and the prisons, but these agencies do not form a unified system. Thus, when we speak of criminal justice system we are talking about the different law-enforcement agencies and the linkages among them, rather than about a single, well coordinated system (in Conklin, 1992:391).

The police detect offenders. The offenders are prosecuted in a court of law and if found guilty of committing the crime, the offender is sentenced to jail. In this way, society exercises formal control over its members. The residual model views this criminal justice system as being non-productive in the sense of generating income. The criminal justice system drains public expenditure where large sums of money are required to sustain the day-to-day administration that aims to maintain law and order in the society.

From a residual planning perspective, it sounds logical to ask why Papua New Guinea should continue to provide large sums of money in budgetary allocations to the criminal justice system, when it is known from public perception and media outcry that law and order problems are escalating. From an incremental planning perspective, however, the system needs more funding to increase its capacity to carry out its societal mandate both effectively and efficiently. Such increases in budgetary allocations that are made are to keep pace with the cost of living.

Too much emphasis on the notion of "spiral effect benefit" has been unhelpful to Papua New Guinea in addressing law and order problems at this phase in the nation's development. The criminal justice system plays a significant role in maintaining law and order, at any point in time, while waiting for the so-called trickle-down benefit. As a case study, I will examine closely the main components of the criminal justice system (the police, the courts and correctional services). In doing so, their aims and functions, and any shortcomings confronted as obstacles will be explained.

THE POLICE

The 1990 Annual Report of the Royal Papua New Guinea Constabulary (RPNGC) specified its roles and functions as:

the protection of life and property, the preservation and restoration of peace and good order, the prevention of crime, the education of the community regarding their role in the preservation of peace and good order (in LOSWG, 1993:19).

The above are traditional functions and roles of police, adopted and reiterated by our force. The police in all cases and under all circumstances must maintain law and order in the society. Let us put in perspective the RPNGC and examine their specific functions and roles which are relevant to this thesis.

At independence in 1975, the current Deputy Commissioner for Police Administration stated that the population of the country was slightly more than two million, and the strength of the RPNGC static at 4,200, giving a ratio of 1:476, with low levels of crime. In 1993, the ratio of the force to the total population was around 1:833 and this is expected to worsen to 1:842 by the year 2000. (Ainui, 1993b:3). Ideally, as the population increases, so should the force increase in proportion. In opting for a long term solution through this trickle-down philosophy, increasing and strengthening the manpower within the force has been neglected. The Deputy Commissioner further said, less than 30 expatriate contract officers remained a year after independence. The gaps were

filled by local commissioned officers and an accelerated promotion course for non-commissioned officers. Few of these officers had more than five years of command experience.¹¹ We turn to examine the functional divisions of the police force.

The criminal investigations division carries out investigations into criminal offenses. The significance of investigation was noted by Clifford and others as the fact that:

Crime is prevented and criminals deterred more by the certainty of detection than the severity of punishment- so efficient investigations are important. In Papua New Guinea the risk of being arrested and successfully prosecuted for serious crimes is alarmingly low (1984:188).

The report noted further that criminal investigation requires special skills and knowledge. The investigation officer must be a well trained and experienced person. The majority of police working in criminal investigation in Papua New Guinea have never had training in this area. Investigation must be carried out properly and records kept. Thus, it is the responsibility of the Criminal Records Office to keep records of crimes committed.

The statistics of all crimes committed (sent to this section at the Police headquarters) help assess and measure nature, rate and the prevalence of crimes in the country. Unfortunately, as we have examined in our previous chapter, many like Clinard (1976); Clifford, et al, (1984); and LOSWG, (1993) have expressed concern that crime records are abysmally inaccurate and unreliable. Clifford and others maintained that in order to be reported, crime must travel through four stages:

Firstly, the police must know about the crime. Thus the crime must be reported to the police or detected by the police.

---

¹¹An address to the Australian Joint Service Staff by the Deputy Commissioner for Police Administration, Mr Graham Ainui. QPM, at Kambuingi room Travelodge Hotel on Tuesday, March 2 1993.

Secondly, the crime must be reported by the police in a crime report. This documentation is meant to create a number of copies, one for the National Crime Records office (NCO), one for the police station, and one to stay with the investigation officer. Third, the copy for the NCO must arrive at the NCO. Finally, at the NCO all submitted crime records are read and scored according to the proper crime category revealed by the facts in the crime report (1984:30-39).

Reported crime statistics include only those crimes that make it through this process. The problem identified was either that people do not report crime to the police, or police fail to detect crime. Not all reported or detected cases are recorded, if someone fails to produce enough copies. The copy for the NCO sometimes does not reach the NCO. Of those that do reach the NCO, human error can result in incorrect classifications and the miscounting of total figures. The police recording system must be improved to obtain a more accurate measure of the crime problem.

The Prosecution Directorate is responsible for all criminal matters referred to the courts by the constabulary. The police prosecute offenders in court (not in village courts). The law breakers are arrested and put on trial in a court of law and it is the role of the police prosecutor to argue before the court that the accused had broken the law and therefore must be punished in proportion to the damage/injury caused. Many cases have been struck out of the courts because the police sometimes fail to meet the high standard requirements of a Western court. The police must provide sufficient evidence and present their case with confidence against the defence council. Clifford and others captured this shortcoming:

The police are typically frustrated and disappointed when cases they have chosen to prosecute are not convicted. Whilst experienced officers understand the system and can be self-critical when things do not go all their own way, the inexperienced officer feels unhappy and somehow betrayed by the court which does not understand that he was doing his duty. He reacts more if the court has thrown out the cases after he has been attacked by defending council in court. He sometimes feels that he has been made to appear like the offender. They did not believe him

but they were not there at the time. He is aggrieved that the court preferred the accused's version of events to his own (1984:185).

The Police Mobile Force attends to matters of civil unrest and internal security, crowd control, beat duties and searches. The mobile force is a squad that controls public disorder (like riots and tribal warfare). In the previous chapter, I examined the riots in Port Moresby, Lae and Mount Hagen, where the front liners were the mobile squad.

The Rapid Deployment Unit was created under this section, particularly to protect mines and the extremes of violence/disorder/lawlessness in and around the mines - to keep the peace (Ainui, 1993a:3). This section has been created recently to protect mostly foreign - owned resource development sites. In this way, one can see how the residual approach does not operate on its own.

It can be seen that the police have moved slightly away from the original law and order functions associated with crime control. The process of social change entailing development of resources brings further social problems. The police must dig deep into their resources in order to cope with such a changing society.

The Community Relations Directorate, set up in 1985 and with widened operations since 1990, is responsible for media liaison, community relations, crime prevention through neighbourhood watch and crime lookout programmes and the development of the community-based policing programme. In addition, the community/school lecture and awareness squads, police youth clubs, youth gang liaison squads and village contact patrols are all part of the community relations of police duties. The aim is to restore public confidence and trust, and to build a closer and stronger relationship with the community.

However, in spite of the work of the Community Relations Directorate, complaints have still been raised of police brutality, cruel, ruthless and harsh

behavioural attitudes towards the community.¹² A lack of discipline amongst the members creates adverse images of the force, and presents an image of the RPNGC as being para-military in nature. The unfriendliness of the police force leads to fear, and the community do not cooperate with them on most occasions. The force's own corporate plan declares an emphasis on improved community relations:

more responsive to the needs and the feelings of the community and encourage greater involvement of citizens (RPNGC, 1991 in Dinnen, 1993b:12).

The views held by much of the general public are that "the gap between the rhetoric and reality has .... been a wide one" (Dinnen, 1993b:12). The police have been operating in the shadows and failed to achieve the force's real objectives. Immature and inexperienced members of the force allow emotions to control their behaviour, both under critical as well as ordinary police duties.

A significant achievement has been the recently introduced Special Constables/Auxiliary Police. This programme is funded under the Villages Services Programme (VSP) and comes under the control of the Community Relations Directorate. It began as a modest pilot project in the Port Moresby Kaugere settlement in 1991. Community special constables are recruited from the community and are given short training. They do not operate and carry out normal police duties but are link persons between the community and police and work closely with the Village Courts. The programme extended to 500 Special Constables in Port Moresby in 1993, and this figure was expected to increase in 1994 (LOSWG, 1993:35). It has made modest progress and has contributed to a decline in the crime problem in those particular areas where the scheme is focused.

---

¹²Out of immeasurable police brutality, The Post Courier reported few cases of police physically assaulting and manhandling people. The police could not lay any charges because the people assaulted were innocent members of the public. Post Courier, Tuesday December 28 1993 p.11

One can see, therefore, how this slight decline in crime is the result of an incremental planning approach rather than the residual notion. If the law and order problem demands this kind of emphasis, then there is a need to improve constraints within the force and channel resources accordingly.

There is a need for improved police recording of crime, a need to have well trained and educated criminal investigators and police prosecutors. There is also a need for an increase in manpower with better equipment to support their duties. At the time of my fieldwork, the police officers continued to maintain that the force has been neglected through insufficient funding. The old status quo has been maintained in the force by opting for the residual model rather than an incremental approach. I now turn attention to the court system.

THE COURTS

The courts in Papua New Guinea are based on English Common Law. Colonisation led to the imposition of western law derived from Australia and England. At independence, as with many other institutions, there was no alternative fully developed legal system based on Papua New Guinea traditional custom ready to take over responsibility for the colonial system of courts.

Colonial times (1884-1975) were an epoch-making period, where any thought of developing a relevant court system was superseded by a strong push for economic development. Although some may have been preoccupied with residual models of planning, I am also of the view that the colonialists were hungry for raw materials from our region. As seen in Chapter Three, a court system based on Papua New Guinean custom was not developed during the early stages of colonisation. Colonialists ushered the native people into their concept of a law and court system, upon which we rely heavily today.

The imposed laws were not only in the rules of law but in the methods of law making and dispute settlement. Legislation is enacted in Parliament and case

laws are developed by Judges from case to case. The courts are the custodian of these introduced laws and are an important part of the Criminal Justice System, functioning to bring about justice to members of the society and maintain equilibrium. The Western concept of law maintains everyone, alleged offenders included, is innocent until proven guilty in a court of law. The courts attempt to examine whether one is guilty or not guilty of an offense.

In Papua New Guinea, there are five levels of courts. The Supreme Court followed by the National Court, Grade 5 District Court, other District Courts and Local Courts, and the Village Courts. The Supreme Court is the highest court and is comprised of three or more Judges. This court hears appeal cases from National Courts and adjudicates matters relating to the Constitution.

The National Court hears matters relating to Constitutional Jurisdiction, unlimited civil jurisdiction, indictable offenses under the Papua New Guinea Criminal Code, disputed returns from both National and Provincial Elections, and appeals from the lower courts. The Grade 5 District Court is the highest level of District Court and hears less serious offenses in the Criminal Code which have a penalty of no more than 10 years in prison, and civil claims up to a maximum of K10,000. Other District Courts and Local Courts cover matters relating to simple and summary offenses, civil claims to a maximum of K8,000 in a Grade 4 Magistrate Court and K4,000 in a Grade 3 Magistrate Court. The District and Local Courts are administered by the Chief Magistrate and the National and Supreme Courts by the Chief Justice.¹³

The Village Court

The Village Courts, although last in the chain of the court system, are informal in nature. The courts impose penalties on offenders and are a form of social

---

¹³The description of roles and functions of courts was taken from Papua New Guinea-Australia Development Cooperation Programme: Final Report of the Law and Order Sector Working Group, July 1993, Pp.25-30

control in Papua New Guinean society. The above courts, except Village Courts, interpret the Constitution, with the magistrate or the judge presiding in a court basing their decision on the written law. Ignorance of the law is no excuse, but most Papua New Guineans are unaware of the laws. They are not able to follow the normal procedures of court sitting, are not confident in giving evidence and so forth because the system is an alien concept. With this in mind, the Village Courts were introduced in Papua New Guinea.

The Villages Courts' essence is that of a court that belongs to the local Papua New Guineans. The introduction of Village Courts has certainly bridged the gap between the village people and the State Courts. The Village Courts came into effect by virtue of the 1973 Village Court Act. This Act was a legal document that defined its powers, function and operations. After several amendments, the 1973 Act was recently repealed and replaced by the Village Court Act 1989¹⁴. The primary function remained as section 16 of the Village Court Act declares:

The primary function of a village court is to ensure peace and harmony in the area for which it is established by mediating in and endeavouring to obtain just and amicable settlement of disputes (in Clifford, et al, 1984: 176).

The Village Courts were not another State Court and therefore not official. They are located at the end of the court chain, but these courts have greater flexibility in their application of sanctions, and how they comply with the Act. Through the enactment of the Village Courts Act, the State may have given minimal formal recognition to informal structures and traditional methods of dispute settlement.¹⁵ However, nothing significant was done by the State to recognise traditional customs, or to integrate these into the official court system in Papua New Guinea.

---

¹⁴No 37 of 1989 (in force 1 March 1990).

¹⁵See Chapter Three for the informal social structure and form of traditional/customary social control system and methods of dispute settlement. The Village Courts are to be guided by the norms and values of each community and their decision must reflect the custom to which a Village Court is established.

The Village Court Magistrate applies in both a criminal and civil jurisdiction. They are located later in the amendment to the Village Courts Act 1989. Eighteen prescribed criminal offenses set out in the Village Courts Regulations¹⁶ include matters such as: spreading false rumours, fighting, drunkenness, sorcery, damaging a property and so forth. For an offense the court may impose a fine of K200, or order community work of up to 6 months. Upon failure of both, the court may then order limited imprisonment orders. In civil jurisdiction, such as compensation for injury, the maximum penalty is K500 except for matters relating to death and bride price where there is no limit on compensation orders. The court has no power over matters relating to land ownership, or driving of a motor vehicle, nor has the power to place a person on probation.

The Village Court administration is confronted with various constraints that impede the effective running of the court. Lack of facilities and not enough staff are major obstacles. There have been complaints that court officials have abused their powers. Women, in particular, involved in matrimonial disputes have been harshly and unfairly treated by village court sittings, especially in Enga, Simbu and the Western Highlands Provinces. (See Times of Papua New Guinea, Port Moresby, 18 July 1991 p.2). Many of these problems may intensify because of the lack of regular and proper supervision. Most Village Court Magistrates lack proper training and awareness of the Village Court Act, to the extent that improving this area must be a priority.

Apart from failures of the Village Court Secretariat, there are structural deficiencies which differ from province to province. "The reason for the difference between provinces in this regard are undoubtedly complex, and many include variations in the nature of traditional custom, and in the experience of colonial contact and administration, while also reflecting the

---

¹⁶Village Courts Regulation 1974 C44,s41

degree of change and disruption resulting from current social and economic development" (Jessep, 1991:74).

The Village Court system was not created to strengthen existing customary dispute settlements, but designed to integrate with the western bureaucratic administration. Thus, the court officials feel that they are part of the formal court system and slide towards being formal and official in ways that may even scare the local persons, both the complainant and the accused. The Village Court should be a village court and approaches should be simple, whereby the local person feels free to present and express him/herself with confidence in the best he/she could. Whatever shortfalls, the Village Court System is truly a court that belongs to Papua New Guineans.

Referring back to the theoretical framework on residual and incremental models of development planning, the advocates of the residual model would argue that what is vital is the notion of industrialisation to boost economic development. Development of a legal system that is relevant and appropriate to the needs of the changing society is not a matter of priority. The incremental approach would argue instead that laws are an important part of the society that should take account of prevailing customs and the needs of a changing society.

Consistent with an incremental planning model, the laws that guide society should be amended where it seems proper and needed. There is a need for major reforms in our laws, aimed at reflecting the evolving needs and aspirations of the country and to make it fair and simple for Papua New Guineans. As Chief Justice Arnold Amet asserted, "the legal and judicial profession.....should be simple, less formal, less complicated and less expensive so that it is accessible to the majority of the people".¹⁷.

---

¹⁷The quoted part and rest of Chief Justice Anorld Amet's call came in the Post Courier, Tuesday, August 24 1993 p.1

THE CORRECTIVE INSTITUTIONAL SERVICES (CIS)

As noted above, correctional services are often viewed as being economically unproductive and therefore funding on this should be minimal. In contrast, the view of the incremental approach would be to increase funding to make correctional services a matter of priority. The convicted criminals are there to be corrected which is good for both offenders and society in general in the longer term.

The traditional aim of imprisonment is to correct the offenders so that they do not carry on with criminality behaviours in the future. It is hoped that after release from prison, his/her attitude is changed and that person will become a law-abiding member of the society. This philosophy, however, hardly works, as reports indicate that recidivism rates have increased in many countries.

Looking at Papua New Guinea, rural lockups that operated during the colonial period and continued after independence have been closed, leaving the major corrective institutions to play a custodial role. These rural lockups were set up in government stations and were used to house short term detainees sentenced for minor offenses. These detainees were used as labourers in the government stations. Since the closing of the rural lockups, detainees have been sent to bigger prisons. The rural lockups were more or less rural-based reformatory centres, but closed because they could not be maintained or serviced to the standard required, inefficiency and lack of resources (Clinard et al, 1984:217-233). Many serious criminal offenders are sent to Bomana Prison Camp in Port Moresby, the biggest in the country.

The notions of deterrence, retribution and rehabilitation should stand as an important strategy in controlling law and order problems in Papua New Guinea. Prisons are an integral component of the criminal justice system. The police do the arresting and prosecutions in court, and the court decides who is guilty or not guilty. If found guilty, the person sent to prison and it becomes the

responsibility of the prison is to make sure that criminals are punished, rehabilitated and corrected.

A sentence of imprisonment may scare potential criminals, and thus their behaviours could be inhibited/restrained. In contrast to the explanations of deterrence and rehabilitation, "the principle of retribution does not contribute to the social good but simply aims to do justice by punishing the offender" (Conklin, 1992:493-4). Penalties should be proportional to the harmfulness of the crime. The criminal deserves to be punished. The passing of the controversial Capital Punishment Bill by Parliament in 1992 was based on the guiding principles of deterrence and retribution. Those inmates who have committed serious crimes and are harmful to society are thus incarcerated under maximum security in the prison camp.

Rehabilitation is particularly related to less serious offenders. The function of Corrective Institutional Services (CIS) is not only to provide secure institutional custody for detainees. The most strenuous responsibility is to rehabilitate. Not only should the CIS be involved in this rehabilitation process but it should also work in a collaborative and unified effort with a broad cross-section of the community. Sechrest et al (1979:20-20), explained the notion of rehabilitation, which:

...is the restoration of criminals to a law abiding way of life through treatment. More specifically, rehabilitation is the result of any planned intervention focused on the offender that reduces criminal activity, whether that reduction is achieved by changes in personality, abilities, attitudes, values, or behaviour. Excluded from rehabilitation are the effects of fear and intimidation- or specific deterrence- and the maturational effects that cause older offenders to leave a life of crime (in Conklin, 1992:497).

There are different types of rehabilitation programmes. Some deal with individuals and others deal with groups. Some seek to change personality and others are aimed at changing behaviour. Some equip offenders with vocational skills or educational credentials and others try to cure drug addiction or

alcoholism. The rehabilitation programmes are carried out both inside the prison camp and outside - a community-based approach. Without going into detail, the types of treatment programmes that are carried out in Papua New Guinea are: education and work programmes, individual therapy, casework and group counselling.

The Division of Welfare and Rehabilitation within the CIS is responsible for welfare and the rehabilitation of detainees. Education and work programmes emphasise the opportunity for inmates to be integrated into the community upon release. They can gain access to job opportunities and educational qualifications. Thus, as part of the rehabilitation programme, the inmates within the prison camp or out of the prison environment do vocational related jobs to gain skills.

The Final Report of the Law and Order Sector Working Group (1993) reported that the individual counselling approach assumes that the inmates are emotionally troubled offenders who need to solve the psychological problems that cause them to commit crime. The report also noted that the casework approach is where individual counselling is done with inmates. It is intended to help the inmates to cope with specific problems they face and realise their own capacities/abilities and potentials.

The Law and Order Sector Working Group (1993) further noted that counselling is where groups of inmates are given counselling services. This allows several inmates to be treated at the same time and at a low cost. In individual therapy, case work and group counselling, ideally professional social workers, psychologists, psychiatrists and others like criminologists should play a significant role. However, since the country lacks such professionals, the job is done by prison chaplains, wardens and others who may have some kind of knowledge in counselling. If counsellors are convinced that an inmate is rehabilitated through a well-developed sense of maturity and understanding, he/she is recommended for parole.

Such rehabilitation treatment may not alter the inmate's desire to commit crime. This is because there is not only a powerful tendency for offenders to continue crime, but the strain imposed by the society they live in may force them to enter into criminality again. Despite the criticisms, there is still a case for arguing that rehabilitation should be the key aim for imprisonment, and that greater emphasis should be placed on community-based rehabilitation programmes.

There is need for an effective prison system. Advocates of the residual model may opt for a privately owned prison system with minimal or no public funding in order for prisons to run efficiently and effectively. However, from an incremental planning perspective, it may not be a wise move to transform a public funded prison system into a business venture. The State should continue to intervene through increases in budgetary allocations for the prisons.

What is lacking is proper management with proper planning and the channelling of resources accordingly. In order to be effective and efficient, the notion that prisons are for those that are harmful to the society should be needed. Murderers, rapists, recidivists and other serious offenders must be kept under maximum security for lengthy periods. Most inmates are imprisoned for minor offenses. Prison should not be used for them. There must be some measure of compassion and leniency treatment applied. Community centres and probation/parole services are to be considered in this process.

Probation and Parole Services

The introduction of probation and parole services came into effect by virtue of two separate Parliament Acts: the Probation Act Chapter No. 381 and the Parole Act 1991. These Acts were legal documents that defined the framework in which probation and parole services were to operate in Papua New Guinea, and the powers and functions these services were to perform. In 1993, both probation and parole services had 22 offices and 61 staff distributed over 18 provinces and the National Capital District (LOSWG, 1993:15).

The idea of probation is designed to offer convicted offenders treatment outside prison where they can maintain their ties to conventional society. The parole system is where the inmate is released before completing the full sentence.¹⁸ The argument for probation is that it is not only less expensive than incarceration, but offers opportunities to integrate the offender into the community, where the community can take some responsibility for and participate in the effort to rehabilitate the offender. The parole system is partly to overcome crowding and also to alleviate the high cost of incarceration. However, just as importantly as probation, the community can take part in readjusting and rehabilitating the offender. The community should have a positive attitude towards an offender in probation or an inmate under parole.¹⁹ In short, the introduction of probation and parole may be proposed because:

- i) it is an economic use of manpower and capital resource, ii) it is desirable to involve the community in this way and/or iii) it is inevitable because some alternative to overcrowded institutions must be found (O'Collins, 1993:149-150).

The probation and the parole systems do not defeat the purpose of justice. Rather, they are an advance in the exercise of justice. The bottom line for rehabilitation of an offender is to deter him/her from committing crime again. In this respect, the concepts of parole and probation are a psychological victory in the part of the rehabilitation process.

The Final Report of the Law and Order Sector Working Group identified severe problems that thwart the management of the probation and parole systems:

- ...the inability of the Department to fund and attract qualified staff.
- ...the inability of the probation and parole services to tap community resources effectively and to encourage participation in the solutions to community law and order problems. Major

---

¹⁸See explanations of probation and parole services in Conklin, J. E., 1992. Criminology. New York: Macmillan. Fourth edition.

¹⁹The Victorian Parole Board Chairman Justice Frank called on all communities to be rational in accepting prisoners coming out of jail on parole. See Post Courier, Tuesday July 1993 p.4.

reasons for these are inadequate resources for training and insufficient incentives (not necessarily money) for volunteers (1993:18).

Probation and parole services are already in place: strategic planning, management and resource allocation to tap community support. The question is, why establish a probation and parole service and then not mend it properly? Despite the economists' view of such programmes as economically unproductive, in the long run, investment in such services is worth the cost for a safe and crime-free environment in each and every community. The constraints that impede the effective running of the probation and parole system should be addressed properly.

Overall, the criminal justice system must be seen as a network of services that seek to maintain law and order in Papua New Guinea, like elsewhere. The criminal justice system must be a system without overlaps in the processing of crime. The three main institutions of the criminal justice system (police, courts and prisons) must work together. The recently established high powered committees like the Law and Order Foundation or the Law, Order and Justice Council should work to tighten together the criminal justice system through proper coordination and management.

If that is to be done, then argument in support of residual models of developmental planning should not be accepted without thought given to these concerns. The Bougainville example shows only too well how residual planning towards mineral extraction had many incremental issues with which to contend. In the end, minds are closed. So long as the unsystematic dealing of the criminal justice system continues, the constraints that impede the effective administration of the system will remain. One is reminded that the incremental paradigm of developmental planning, although demanding of public funds, produces important benefits. Papua New Guinea cannot continue to wait and hope for the spiral effect benefits from economic growth and only then see a reduction in the crime problem. It is an important investment in the social

infrastructure and worth the cost in making sure that the criminal justice system is functioning effectively.

Although the answer to our law and order problems will not be found in the criminal justice system itself, it will continue to play a vital role, as society also seeks for other methods of reducing this problem. Attention turns to a presentation of my next case study on the National Youth Movement Programme.

CASE STUDY 2: NATIONAL YOUTH MOVEMENT PROGRAMME (NYMP)²⁰

Ideological Base for NYMP

Contemporary Papua New Guinea is a youthful society, the future generation. When youths are caught in conflict with the law, one turns to think about what the future holds for them and is disappointed. Shoemaker saw that:

Ours is a youth-oriented society, and it is the youth that is our asset and future.... It is not surprising, therefore, that as a society we are distressed, annoyed, disappointed, and diminished by the deviance and delinquency of our society's youth (1990:vii).

Any present adult group has a challenging task in making sure that this youthful group is in better shape, ready and capable of taking over this same task for their offspring. The task is to mould and shape this group so that they learn to respect and obey the social norms and values of society and become

---

²⁰Much of the information used was taken from:

(a). O'Collins, M., 1993. *Social Development in Papua New Guinea 1972-1990: Searching for Solutions in a Changing World*. Canberra: Australian National University. Political and Social Change Monograph 18.

(b). O'Collins, M., 1984. *Youth in Papua New Guinea: With Reference to Fiji, Solomon Islands and Vanuatu*. Canberra: Australian National University. Political and Social Change Monograph 3.

integral partners in nation building. The youths are often unsettled, impatient, anxious and enthusiastic young people who are not primed to settle but wander around often with subjective desires to fulfil. Maev O'Collins (1984:1) when writing about youth in Papua New Guinea asserted:

The period of youth in the life-cycle has often been described as the 'restless years', a time of experimentation and relative freedom before taking on family and community responsibilities.

O'Collins further saw that this may be why there is often a feeling that young people are likely to upset the balance and peace of society. Those unemployed youths who are pushed out of the formal school system are of special concern, as they are potentially deviant or delinquent, who need the attention of government and non-government agencies (1984:1). Succeeding governments have realised the importance of opening opportunities for youths to realise and utilise their potential abilities and skills.

Prior to the establishment of the National Youth Movement Programme (NYMP) in 1980, government and non-government agencies were concerned about unemployed formal school push-outs. Many youths migrated to the urban areas, particularly in the 1970s, and it seemed nothing could deter them from becoming involved casually in, or entering into the life of a criminal. The 1970s could be precisely described as a decade in search of solutions to problems of unemployed urban and rural youths. Ideas such as the National Youth Service (NYS) were considered but did not get any further support and thus the concept never materialised. Further pressures for immediate solutions to youth problems increased during 1978. Many youth workers were impatient, not only at the national government's apparent lack of response to their needs, but also because the government had no clear and coherent youth programmes in the light of the changes that were taking place.

In response to these mounting pressures, the national government brought external consultants in for advice. In 1979, Jean-Michael Bazinet, the United

Nation's Interregional Adviser on Youth Policies and Programmes, visited Papua New Guinea and outlined the basic structure for a national youth movement. Later in 1979, Andre Renaud, formerly Director of the Commonwealth Youth Programme reported on a National Youth Policy which could be used as the basis for youth programmes. Although, the programme was designed on the basis of internal information provided, it resembled programmes developed elsewhere without a careful study of PNG'S own social structure and institutions.

NYMP on the Move

In January 1981, the NYMP was officially established and expanded its activity throughout Papua New Guinea. The NYMP was aimed at mobilising youths to cooperate and participate in spiritual, cultural and economic developments in a particular community where a youth group was established. In so doing, it was hoped this would provide incentives for youths to be attached and committed to their respective society. It was shown in chapter 2 how youths left Kompiam and went to Port Moresby. Seven of our respondents indicated they went to look for employment. The NYMP was intended to encourage such job seekers to stay home and participate in this programme.

The NYMP was then administered by the Office of Youth and Recreation, although it still came under the overall control of the then Department of Community and Family Services. Provincial and district youth councils were established. In each district, a number of community youth coordinators were appointed. The Office of Youth and Recreation provided workshops and training programmes throughout the country on a number of major aspects of the programme, such as community participation and management of resources. Youths were asked to register in youth groups through the Provincial Youth Council (PYC). The NYMP defined "youth" as between 12 and 25 years of age, and only those within this age group were eligible. Through

the NYMP, registered youth groups were funded. Specific youth activities were designed by the headquarters and disseminated:

self-employment training including economic projects; sports, recreation and leisure; culture, spiritual development, and community service (Youth on the Move, 1981 1 (1):2,5 in O'Collins, 1984:34-35).

Income-generating and employment-creating projects were given high priority. The community youth coordinators were to work with village youth groups to help them set their projects. The tied grants to the provinces were to assist youth groups with small scale projects and the promotion of their activities. The programme was accepted by many in the country and in August 1981, a total of 2,537 youth groups were registered in all provinces except the National Capital District. This was achieved in less than 2 years of operation, although general management, monitoring, and accountability varied between provinces. In July 1982, the Office of the Youth and Recreation circulated guidelines on correcting management and accountability problems encountered by the provinces.

At the initial stage of the National Youth Movement Programme (NYMP), the National Capital District (NCD) was not included. However, because there was considerable concern over youth-related deviant and delinquent activities, the need for a more community-based youth group arose. This focused on the needs of unemployed, out-of-school youths. General NYMP guidelines were put in place:

(a) To build a strong and urban youth movement programme.(b) To improve the standard of living of urban communities.(c) To strengthen leadership within urban communities.(d) To introduce social planning into urban centres (O'Collins, 1984:40).

The above aims were to be achieved through a separate administration, rather than integrating with other youth related activities carried out by church groups. In mid-1983, the urban youth programme was reported to be working smoothly.

The separate urban youth programme was questioned by some youth workers who felt that this would create divisions amongst agencies that cared for the needs of youths. Such disagreement among youth workers continued to exist, overshadowing the philosophies and aims of the National Youth Movement Programme (NYMP).

The NYMP was a major effort by government to mobilise young Papua New Guineans together in an organised group so that they could be occupied by socio-economic activities at the local level. Government support has significantly declined, although the institution established in the first place has continued to function. One of the major priorities of government is its young people, but there has been a departure away from an emphasis on the NYMP itself as a mechanism for mobilising youths so that they remain attached to the community. Alternatives are continuously explored. The programme was active at the initial period of operation and there were high expectations. However, it has failed considerably to achieve its aims and has had little, or at worst, no impact.

Why NYMP Failed

The NYMP was introduced in line with an incremental model of developmental planning. The government made a budgetary allocation in order to mobilise youths and to involve them in socio-economic activities. Whilst the NYMP can be seen to have been established with an incremental approach, the contents of the programme package were based on the notion of residual planning at local levels. In a real sense, the youths were to operate as a business venture, as well as to engage in socio-cultural advancement in the society. Policy makers were of the view that spiral effect benefits would come through involvement of youths in economic projects at the rural level. This did not happen for reasons outlined below.

It was shown earlier in this chapter that one impediment to the pursuit of economically orientated projects is the notion of "traditional attitudes which are inimical to entrepreneurship". The programme was introduced into an arena where people at the rural level were fully occupied with their own cultural identities. There was a lack of knowledge by many youth workers and also by the planners about the community in which youth groups were established.

Although upon starting the youth groups, the villagers were excited, they had no managerial skills and were not used to the cash economy. From my own experience in the Enga Province, I know that many were of the view that as long as a youth group was registered, it could get free money from the Provincial Youth Council. People were unaware of the philosophy upon which the NYMP was established.

Still further, a significant criticism of the NYMP was the definition of 'youth' and the context in which it was applied. The programme defined youth as 12 to 25 years of age, but in a society where the Western concept of youth is not found, early planners ignored, or at worst were unaware of, this social fact. The elders assumed they were youths, as Maev O'Collins captured:

When I asked one Southern Highlands elder who were members of the youth group in his community, he responded: *Mipela olgeta! Mipela yut!* (All of us! We are youth!) (O'Collins, 1993:244).

She further wrote:

This mirrors the reality, which was initially rejected or ignored by national youth planners, that in most rural areas....youth is a transitional stage in the total life cycle of the whole community. Young people therefore share with other members of the community the same need involved in development (ibid.:244-5).

For such reasons, the NYMP was an inappropriate if not irrelevant policy aimed at meeting the needs of a youthful society. That youthful group comes from a wider community of which they are an integral part. A community is a group of

people that is not only defined by geographical considerations but of people having common felt needs. Youths can not be seen in isolation from the rest of the community. Any government programme needs to offer an integrated approach that is directed at the total community. It is consistent with this line of thought that the PNG government recently introduced the Village Services Programme (VSP).

CASE STUDY 3: VILLAGE SERVICES PROGRAMME (VSP)

The Village Services Programme (VSP) was introduced by the Wingti Government in 1992. The VSP was created from the perspective of an incremental paradigm of developmental planning. It was aimed at meeting the needs of communities at the local level. This programme was not designed to create yet another administrative institution but to be integrated into existing government and non-government institutions. As the name suggests, the programme was village-oriented, emphasising local development. Unlike the NYMP, the VSP looks at the community in its totality, regardless of its age composition and other distinguishing features.

The Village Services Programme (VSP) was introduced in 1992. The government adopted the VSP as a policy because it addressed the needs of the people at the local level. The VSP was designed to involve:

...local communities in economic and social development which is an essential element in any effective crime prevention programme. The main aim is to encourage greater self-help, reliance and responsibility and reduce dependency on State and external agencies. As such, it has potential benefits that extend well beyond the boundaries of crime prevention (LOSWG, 1993:35).

planning and development is justified because more than 80 per cent of the population live at the local level. It is for these reasons that government policies should focus at this level. Whether the VSP is an appropriate means of facilitating local level needs is subject to debate. What is more important is the recognition of and the attempt to improve welfare and wellbeing of people at this level. It allows people to participate and become partners in the development process of nation building. It is anticipated that a such policy approach would help to minimise social problems and provide incentive for youths in particular to remain in their local village or area instead of migrating.

The VSP is a scheme aimed at local development. In this analysis I confine myself to how the programme addresses problems of social order as integral components of local development. The major task of the VSP is the concept of community mobilisation. Steps have been taken to support and improve community groups and local administration. The following are specific programmes to be implemented:

- (a) community policing, (b) village administration,
- (c) village/community planning, (d) village community development and
- (e) community work order programme (ibid.:35-6).

One sees above how community policing is a community-oriented initiative. The notion is that local people should be participating in and becoming partners in the prevention of crime. The philosophy of community policing is that of a community caring for itself, with experts from outside acting only as catalysts or facilitators. The 500 special constables working in settlements and streets in Port Moresby of 1993, are projected to increase in numbers.

There is a huge number of villages in Papua New Guinea and the VSP aims to incorporate them into a single system of administration. The aim is "to strengthen literacy and dissemination of information, allowance, training and materials are being made available for literacy and awareness teachers and village recorders...." (ibid.:35). The village/community planning component of the

VSP is also part of the village administration. An information system is being developed which can be used by local communities for social, economic and crime prevention planning:

The basic units of the data base are the 16000+ Census Units, which in rural areas generally equate with villages, the 5500+ wards of local and community governments. The information is used to village or ward development committees as well as to planners at all levels (ibid.:36).

The identified village recorder maintains village record and documents any details of the village, like types of government services in the village or district, population, economic activities and so forth. The village recorder will send these details to the district headquarters, where a district data base will be compiled, which is then sent to the province headquarters for creation of a provincial data base. The national data base is based on the provincial data bases. In this way, information is made available to all levels of government planning and administration.

Village community development is aimed at providing the capacity for building or strengthening local government. Legislation was prepared defining how local government should function and it was passed by Parliament in 1995. (See chapter 3 for discussion on Constitutional Reforms of Provincial and Local Level Governments). Government recognised that local government has a greater role to play and can work more closely with local people. Local government identifies and knows about perceived problems and the needs of a community better than any level of government. Therefore, funds are guaranteed from national government and through Constitutional Reforms of Provincial and Local Level Governments, "local government will have much greater capacity to implement projects and programmes which are responsive to local needs" (ibid.:36). Local needs, such as education, health, sports, infrastructure, crime prevention programmes and others like promotion of business and tourism projects, can be addressed more meaningfully by local government.

The Village Services Programme (VSP) will be a key programme under the new **Provincial and Local Level Government** system. In the crime prevention programmes, the VSP will actively promote and support the community work order programme. It is the view of the VSP that for minor offenses, prison is not the place for offenders. Those found guilty in a village court should be placed on a community work order. Arrangements are made with the judiciary to plan and organise how this concept should take shape. It is intended that this programme would utilise existing resources at the local level. The VSP is prepared to provide small amounts for infrastructure development. An integrated programme under the village services scheme has been developed for the Port Moresby area covering urban government, auxiliary police, youth mobilisation and training in conflict resolution. This programme has gained community support in Port Moresby.

Like the NYMP in the earlier phase of development, people are excited about the prospects of the Constitutional Reforms of Provincial and Local Level Governments and Village Services Programme and have high expectations. The Constitutional Reforms and VSP emphasise an integrated approach by government and non-government workers, plus the community. However, the question remains as to whether these agencies can work together in an effective and lasting partnership with local communities (O'Collins, 1993:130). The benefits of Constitutional Reforms and the Village Services Schemes are also yet to be seen.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

This chapter began by providing an analysis of the two broad paradigms of developmental approaches: the residual and incremental models. In so doing, it was shown how Papua New Guinea has put firm emphasis on encouraging multi-national companies to make capital investment that will help boost economic growth. It has been hoped that the benefits should trickle down thereby helping reduce problems like the law and order. Although this theory

has seemingly worked in countries like Malaysia²¹, our different socio-cultural background and unstable political climate are likely to restrict the spiral effect to the extent that it will not eventuate as expected at this phase of development.

Whilst the residual paradigm of developmental planning should remain, there is a need for diverting attention to the incremental approach. The encouragement of foreign capital investment should be supported with careful controls on the management of national resources. As seen, we cannot afford to wait for the spiral effect benefits while the welfare and wellbeing of the people is endangered. Law and order problems cannot be dealt with any longer in a piecemeal fashion.

In tackling the law and order problem, specific programmes should be formulated based on needs assessment rather than on an ad-hoc basis. I have examined in this chapter how the criminal justice system, the National Youth Movement Programme (NYMP) and Village Services Programme (VSP) were developed in Papua New Guinea. The criminal justice system is there to maintain order in the society and one should not be optimistic about achieving a total reduction in the law and order problem through operation solely of an effective justice system. However, with sufficient funding and emphasis from government, at least some of the constraints the criminal justice system is confronted with should ease so that the system can carry out its duties with a rejuvenated mind and attitudes.

Much can be learned from the National Youth Movement Programme, (NYMP) and with that in mind the Local Level Government and Village Services Programme are put forward as a policy initiative aimed at meeting the needs of Papua New Guineans. There is a need to strengthen this local level institution

---

²¹See Malaysia's 20/20 Vision: With an emphasis on foreign investment and joint venture projects, the thrust of economy has switched from agriculture to manufacturing, in Post Courier, Wednesday July 20, 1994, p.11

and the village services scheme, to extend its capacity to provide local services and to do more research on how to be more effective and efficient in the implementation of this programme.

CHAPTER EIGHT

AN INTEGRATED MODEL FOR USE IN THE ANALYSIS OF LAW AND ORDER PROBLEMS IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA

INTRODUCTION

The social and cultural integration of Papua New Guinea is uniquely diverse and thus precisely referred to as "the land of cultural diversity". There are more than 750 different language groups (Turner, 1990), and 12,000 different villages with their own customs and ways of life (Levine and Levine, 1979). These heterogeneous societies were compressed and unified under one single nation. The social and cultural lifestyle with its norms and values in the contemporary informal social structure cannot be properly described as traditional (Clifford et al, 1984). Today's informal lifestyle is a by-product of socio-economic transformation, nothing purely traditional but a combination of both, or existing in parallel. Immeasurable and continual tidal waves of foreign influences, specifically western, are spiralling and swirling deep into local societies. The context and the spirit in which the pattern of tradition operated is being altered and new norms and values are released. It is anticipated that many rural societies will be affected by the spread of education and by industrial change and urbanisation (Clinard and Abbott, 1973). Today, Papua New Guinea's traditional practices are balanced on a tightrope (Turner, 1990).

Foreign culture, principally western, has penetrated itself into an arena fully occupied by traditional culture. This conceptualisation will remain a significant constituent of the analysis in this chapter. My aim will be to present an integrated analysis, illuminating causal factors of the law and order problem. In so doing, I intend to explain, in the context of modernisation, definitions established in Chapter Five. I am of the view that criminal behaviour is a multifaceted phenomenon and thus no single causal factor can be substantiated (Yablonsky and Haskell, 1970). In this regard, I offer a model that

elucidates possible causal factors of this problem of law and order in Papua New Guinea.

THE INTEGRATED MODEL

Figure 1 below depicts an integrated model incorporating theoretical explanations of Papua New Guinea's law and order problem. This model is taken from Shoemaker (1990:311) but has been refined to suit the purposes of this thesis. Many others (Johnson, 1979; Empey, 1982; Elliott et al, 1985; and Hawkins and Lishner, 1987) have also articulated integrated approaches in depicting the causal context of crime. This model is integrated to illuminate possible causal factors of the law and order problem. Theories of crime and delinquency developed in the West (See Chapter Four) are employed and incorporated to explain law and order problems in the context of our society.

The proposed model is a sequential explanation integrating causal determinants based on analysis presented in the previous chapters. From the outset, I must caution that this sequential model may not necessarily be in the order in which variables function to influence criminal behaviours. My intention is simply to explain more fully how Papua New Guinea's problem of law and order has developed. In the model below, the solid lines indicate strong associations whilst the double lines depict weak associations. The double arrows signify a reciprocal influence between two variables. For example, having lowered self-esteem affects the social control system whilst weakness in the social control system can cause lowered self-esteem which leads to increased influence on nonconformist attitudes and behaviours. The model presented below offers a simplified explanation of channels through which criminal and delinquent behaviours (and social disorder) take shape and develop. (Refer to each box from Figure 1, which introduces each section of the chapter in a deeper analysis).

Figure 1. AN INTEGRATED MODEL OF THE LAW AND ORDER PROBLEM

Two separate solid arrows have been used in this illustration to show strong associations. For example, peer group association is potentially at a high risk of having involvement with crime, through casual activity or entry into a life of delinquent behaviour.

The model incorporates five categories of conceptualisation:

- (1) modernisation (social change);
- (2) structural condition (societal arrangement);
- (3) individual (biological and psychological);
- (4) social-psychological (social controls, self esteem and peer associations);
- and
- (5) criminal and delinquent behaviour (the end outcome).

Although not absolute, each factor corresponds to particular theories. (This makes reference particularly to theories of crime and delinquency causation analysed in Chapter Four and also the discussion on modernisation in Chapter Five).

As demonstrated in the model above, modernisation factors indirectly influence criminal and delinquent behaviours including social disorder. First, through structural conditions and consequently the impact of social control on self-esteem and peer association. There may also be indirect impact through individual and social control. Second, at times, there may be direct affinity between the processes of modernisation and criminal behaviour. As illustrated in Figure 1, structural and individual circumstances typically influence criminal behaviour both indirectly and, at times, directly. The feeble social controls generated by structural and individualistic circumstances in Papua New Guinea occupy a principal explanatory base in the model. This linkage between social bond and criminal behaviour is anticipated to eventuate via lowered self concept and increased (negative) peer associations. However, authors like Shoemaker (1990) have affirmed that there is ample evidence to justify postulating a direct correlation between weakened social controls and increasing numbers of criminals and delinquents. The correlation between structural conditions and white-collar crime and corruption is also an important consideration. White-collar crime and corruption are crimes in their own right but emerge also to be causal factors in the spread of crime. The general public gets inflamed, thereby provoking youths in particular to cause further crime. This may be done indirectly as the arrows in the model indicate.

The model is based on the notion that youths are attached with adults normally in conformity with values and norms of societal institutions. Weakened ties with the adult and the social institutions in which they have been socialised tend to decrease self-esteem and increase peer associations. Weakened social bonds, lowered self-esteem, or negative peer influence contribute directly to crime, delinquency and social disorder. In the case of social disorder like riots, delinquents may participate actively within the crowd, taking advantage of the situation, sabotaging and causing vandalism to benefit from whatever goods are of significant value to them. To this end, the analysis that follows will discuss the nature of associations between different variables that help to explain criminal behaviour in Papua New Guinea above.

MODERNISATION

Presentation of the integrated model begins with the notion of modernisation. Chapter Five examined how the concept of modernisation can be defined as a process of social change (Smith, 1973). In order to focus attention more closely to Figure 1, let us take out the first box that delineates "modernisation process" for analysis.

Figure 1.1 The modernisation process of Papua New Guinea societies from traditional ways to a Western type

Traditional social structures in Papua New Guinea were gradually changing from rudiments, advancing further in their own simple form. Durkheim (1933) stated that this process of social change involved a society changing from a

structure based on mechanical solidarity to a social structure involving organic solidarity (in Fenton, 1984), or basically, simple to complex.¹ The application of science and technology was elementary in nature. This gradual process was accelerated by colonisation; as with developments elsewhere, such processes are in a sense historical in nature and marked off by particular periods of time (Smith, 1973). The region has undergone and experienced social change at different rates and at varying degrees, since foreigners were first seen in the waters off Papua New Guinea in the 1550s (Turner, 1990). This social change continues to the post-independence periods and into the 1990s.

Once a society has entered the era of modernisation, the spirit, conditions and prevailing circumstances allow no turning back (Smith, 1973). Western institutions have now been implanted, if not, ingrained firmly into our society and will continue to have a profound impact and influence on our lives. Papua New Guineans need to adapt to the rapid modernisation process. If one analyses the problem of law and order in Papua New Guinea from this perspective, one needs to focus on what is an "adaptation process". The double lines connecting directly from modernisation to criminality, in Figure 1 above, depict this association. The behaviours of youths and adults alike in contemporary Papua New Guinea are a product of socio-economic transformation. People are not used to the changes emerging at a constant pace. They are thus confronted with the problem of adaptation, or difficulty in fitting into the socio-economic changes taking place. For some, this may lead to social disorder and criminal behaviour.

Modernisation fosters the development of values and attitudes generally associated with modern man (Clinard and Abbott, 1973). Crime is concomitant with industrialisation and urbanisation, or generally with rapid development

---

¹Refer to the analysis on modernisation and urbanisation in Papua New Guinea in Chapter Five. Also in Chapter Three, I made the point that Papua New Guinea societies were simple, independent and self-contained units existing but advancing further in their simple forms.

(Shelly, 1981). Without going into the notion of urbanisation² in any detail here, the uneven creation and the development of urban environments together with objective and subjective functions of rural-urban migration (Levine and Levine, 1979) has contributed significantly to urbanisation in Papua New Guinea. In the urban environment, Papua New Guineans are confronted with problems of adaptation in terms of both physical needs and psychological aspects of human adaptation, both prerequisites for public/social disorder and delinquent behaviours.

In the urban environment, particularly in Port Moresby and Lae, factories and other economic ventures operate. In the rural areas, mining and petroleum explorations have been going on and still further licenses are granted. Currently, while the Bougainville Copper Mine is shut down, Ok-Tedi, Porgera and Misima gold mines are all in full operation. The Kutubu oil field just completed its first full year of commercial production. Rainforest covers more than two thirds of the 462,840 square kilometre areas, and despite ecology problems, timber remains a major source of foreign currency (Asiaweek, 1994).

As shown in the preceding chapter, the country has placed its emphasis firmly on multinational companies to develop these natural resources. The locals are excited about the prospects of their share of the benefits from such economic opportunities. They see new developments often with excitement but also with confused minds. The giant projects like Porgera gold mine, in the name of development, have destabilised and dislocated existing patterns of social order. (Note the solid arrows in Figure 1 connecting structural conditions and the weakening of social control systems).

In the case of Porgera mine, the land owners were relocated into a small Western-type building near the mine site. They lost the land they were born into and resided in a peculiar building on the periphery of the project development

---

²Refer to Chapter Five for a more detailed analysis of factors of urbanisation and its related problems.

site. As time went by, the compensation money for their land ran out, royalty payments reduced, the giant mine continued to spout smoke into the air, making more money, causing environmental damage while the locals felt increasingly discontented and angered. In short, such giant projects generate money into the economy but the social costs are enormous, and often the unintended consequences of social catastrophe and more adverse effects are the result.

Modernisation and westernisation through social processes of industrialisation and urbanisation introduce a lifestyle that is, peculiar unfamiliar and disturbing to most Papua New Guinean people. Papua New Guineans are being forced to adapt to an arrangement of life that they are not accustomed to: fixed times of work, new communities in which they must live in to work and interact, new social groups that they encounter, interests and tastes, the introduction of cash and so forth. The new way of life presents a form of "culture shock" as claimed by Blumer:

To thrust a preindustrial people into this world is to subject them into culture shock and to induce psychological and social instability among them.... In having to fit their lives into this arrangement and meet its demands, people are thrown into a state of insecurity, anxiety, and hostility (1990:107).

The behavioural patterns of individuals begin to change in the face of modernisation, westernisation, industrialisation and urbanisation. (Note the double lines connecting the individual in Figure 1 above). The individual's views and perceptions are altered by the processes of change. The individual (migrant) is no longer the person that he/she was, the new environment begins to mould and shape his/her attitudes and behaviours. In so doing, the scene is set for a society with a larger number of its people facing adaptation problems, thereby at least partially explaining the increase in deviant behaviours.

The nature and prevalence of law and order problems were discussed in Chapter Six as these related to this problem of adaptation. From white-collar crime and corruption to violent crimes and social disorder, all are reflective of societal disorganisation and the breakdown of traditional social controls. With this in mind, I will develop in the following analysis structural conditions to try to explore the elements contributing to this increasingly disorganised society. In so doing, I seek to offer relevant theoretical explanations for crime and delinquency causation in Papua New Guinea. Most criminological theories have been developed in the Western world and do not always find ready application in other cultures and environments. One is guided by a notion that such theories "would still be applicable elsewhere, however, provided that conditions, factors, and variables discovered were found to apply to other societies" (Clinard and Abbott, 1973:3).

STRUCTURAL CONDITIONS: WHAT IS WRONG IN OUR COMMUNITIES THAT CONTRIBUTE TO OUR PROBLEMS OF LAW AND ORDER?

I intend to examine social disorganisation, anomie/stress and conflict theories of crime and delinquency causation and explain these in the light of the prevailing conditions in Papua New Guinea. Chapter Seven showed that the problem of law and order can be explained as a product of disruption and instability in the social structure. Such an explanation sees the law and order problem as a result of disrupted and unstable community-based institutions at the local level (Faris, 1955). On the other hand, the anomie/stress explanation assumes that the Papua New Guinea's law and order problem is to do with disruption and disarray in the larger societal institutions (Merton, 1957). Let us examine these two conceptualisations of disorganisation and society breakdown briefly. Figure 1.2 is taken from Figure 1 in order to focus our attention more closely.

Figure 1.2 The social disorganisation of community-based and larger societal institutions of Papua New Guinea societies

Community-based social institutions

As can be seen above how modernisation, westernisation, industrialisation and urbanisation have played a part in disrupting and breaking down bonds of relationship between members of social groups, and impair the functioning and coordination at local institutions. Our family, community, traditional customs, church and school systems at the local level have been disrupted and are thus weakened in their capacity to maintain social control.

The theory of social control generated by Hirschi (1969), as developed in Chapter Four, asserted that the law breakers are free from intimate attachment and moral beliefs that bind them to a conventional and law abiding way of life (in Conklin, 1992). One must be attached and committed to, as well as being involved in and believe in, the social institution to which he/she belongs (Hirschi, 1969). In this regard, what is wrong with PNG's local institutions? Figure 1.3 below depicts social control institutions which have been weakened through westernisation.

Figure 1.3 The community-based social control systems that have been reduced/weakened in Papua New Guinea societies

SOCIAL CONTROL SYSTEM	
REDUCED/WEAKENED	
1.	Family.
2.	Traditional norms & values.
3.	School.
4.	Religion (Church).

Many of our family institutions are broken down either through death, desertion or divorce. The family exerts the most profound influence on a youth's personality and behavioural pattern (Yablonsky and Haskell, 1988). Proper parenting involves both natural parents loving and caring for the child, giving a child the motherly and fatherly care he/she deserves, planning for the child's education and future, and teaching the child about the moral conduct of the society. (I will discuss early socialisation in early childhood development later in this Chapter).

I discussed in Chapter Two how one of the respondents, during the fieldwork, emphasised the need for proper family planning. In Papua New Guinea, the notion of proper family planning revolves around this concept of correct and appropriate parenting. It was seen in Chapter Two how a quarter of the youths interviewed talked about the lack of this proper parenting. One youth who was

born in Port Moresby a fourth in the family, complained that, while he was only three, his parents decided to have another child and thus he may have not gained the kind of love, affection, care and compassionate treatment that he needed at that age. At the time of the fieldwork, this youth was caught for his criminal behaviour and sentenced to a six months jail term at Bomana prison camp.³ It is in this sense that one can argue that proper parenting and a stable family unit are fundamental to a strong and trouble free nation.

It was developed in Chapter Five how development in general contributes to social disturbance and disorder by disrupting the traditional order of life. The totems, values and norms of a traditional society played a significant role in maintaining social order and harmony (Narokobi, 1989). Each society in Papua New Guinea like those in Kompam District had its own traditional beliefs about supernatural powers, customary rules and method of dispute settlement. (Refer to Chapter Three for discussion on traditional methods of social control). This informal social control system is by nature, elementary, but powerful and nonetheless effective in maintaining social order.

However, contemporary Papua New Guinea is not purely traditional (Clifford et al, 1984). Westernisation, together with industrialisation and urbanisation, operates to undermine and disrupt the established order. The introduction of a modern cash economy, where money becomes a central part of life, has undermined traditional systems of norms and rules. Changes of tastes and interests, the influx of machines and other foreign-made goods and so forth are the instruments and mechanisms through which the people become detached from their local society. In this way, traditional social control is weakened (Blumer, 1990). It is in this sense that theories of social disorganisation help to

---

³From simple observations, many families in the settlements in Port Moresby have an average of four to five children. Many of these children are not given the right to education or drop out of school because parents cannot afford school fees. They are left doing nothing in the streets filled with frustration and anger. In this way, they are forced to enter into crime.

conceptualise how traditional control systems in local communities breakdown and contribute to a society in disarray and disorder.

The school system is a form of social control that contributes towards some young people becoming deviant. First, let us look at the school as a social control system. It has been developed in Chapter Four how the school system generally keeps check on and controls the behaviour of young people at a critical stage in their lives. Through rules, guidelines and the curriculum, the school system shapes the students to be law abiding citizens. The students are encouraged to anticipate success and a better life through the education system. The successful student becomes attached and committed to the values, rules and guidelines established by the educational institution that one attends. Through success and achievement in the school system, the youth feels self-confident and determined to abide by the laws of the institution and the community in general. In that regard, one can generally assume that the school system controls youths' behavioural patterns by acting as a catalyst to distract the youth from entering into criminal behaviour. Most successful students live up to this expectation. However, the school system can also be a frustrating experience. The school system and institutions themselves may be stretched to capacity and in disarray, with inappropriate teaching techniques and an emphasis on inappropriate norms and values of society (Yablonsky and Haskell, 1988).

In Papua New Guinea the school system is designed in such a way that some youths are disadvantaged. 1980 National Census data indicated that, of the 660 013 youths who were out of school, 338 446 were male and 321 567 were female. 555 057 of the total number of out-of-school youths were living in rural areas while 104 956 were living in urban areas. (O'Collins, 1984:25). Every year many students are pushed out at different levels of education. They become frustrated and angered when they compare themselves with others who pass through the school system. Many of these so-called "school failures" contribute

to the social problems like rural-urban migration, which eventually lead to problems of law and order.

Religious and cultural values are important aspects of any social control system. Papua New Guinea is principally a Christian country having been evangelised earlier in this century. In many of the doctrines of the Christian denominations, the principles and teachings revolve around the realm of peace, harmony, holiness, righteousness, and in general, the goods rather more than the evils. Christian teachings clearly affirm that there is a creator called God, as opposed to the evolution theory. The world will end and individuals will be judged accordingly. Those who humble themselves and love everyone will be with God forever and those who disobey the teaching of God will be sent to hell for eternity. Two of the key informants interviewed during our fieldwork, as reported in Chapter Two, maintained that if all people were committed, dedicated, involved and believed in such religious values and principles, our society would surely be crime free. However, many were sceptical about such views. They thought Christian values would not have any significant impact on the society in reducing PNG's law and order problem. The strong desire for economic development fostered by the introduction of a modern cash economy reduces people's commitment to such beliefs.

Larger societal institutions

Thus far, discussion has focused on the breakdown in community-based forms of social control. Merton's (1957) anomie theory adds to this by looking further at the overall societal framework. Merton maintained that a breakdown of social order is a reflection of a disorganised society. In such societies there are inconsistencies between societal conditions and individual opportunities for growth, fulfilment and for realising their potential abilities (Merton, 1957, in Shoemaker, 1990). In Papua New Guinea, there are culturally defined goals for success, but at the same time, approved norms that regulate the achievements of these goals and needs. The Constitution proclaims equal opportunities for

all, regardless of any distinguishing features. Yet in reality, society is not structured in such a way that all have access to opportunities for achieving their declared goals. For instance, in order to meet social and economic needs, education and employment are prerequisites. The fact is that not all will be educated and likewise, not all will get a paid job.

In this regard, a question follows: How can one possibly meet these proclaimed goals for social and economic success without meeting the approved norms and rules? The needs of a person, may in fact, be so pressing that they test his/her survival. In such a situation, the person feels compelled to bypass society's approved requirements and survive through illegal means. In the streets of Port Moresby and in other urban centres, many youths survive through this notion of wantokism, or kinship customary obligations. It was shown in Chapter Five how those who have secure or well paid jobs look after those less fortunate (Ryan, 1977). Chapter Three enforced the idea that youths identify themselves with others of similar backgrounds, needs and problems and agree to enter into a life of criminal behaviour. Five of the youths interviewed in Port Moresby during my fieldwork in 1993-94 confirmed that they had no source of income. Even though they gained some form of lower educational qualifications, they stole to survive. Merton (1957) explained this scenario as a "means-end problem".

On a broader scale, Papua New Guinea as an economic and political system, is observed by the international community as a country rich in natural resources. It was noted in the previous chapter how Papua New Guinea leaders are optimistic of achieving a greater return when these resources are developed, thereby having a spiral effect on the economy at large (Wingti, 1993). Asiaweek (1994) noted that, the Papua New Guinean economy grew 9.5% in 1991, then 8.7% the following year. Growth in 1993 sizzled at 14.4%. Exports hit \$2.48 million in 1993, 38% more than in 1992 and nearly four-fifths bigger than in 1991. The report saw that the country's road to riches was paved with gold, oil, copper and timber. The government had not done much

for agriculture, education, health, housing and other basic services. The country is pre-spending its mineral reserves on the assumption that more will be discovered.

The Asiaweek report further noted that the country's economic growth was a measly 1.4% from 1983 to 1990. Papua New Guinea has yet to learn to manage its wealth. Spending has been rising 10% a year since 1989. The report indicated that many, like senior economics lecturer at the University of Papua New Guinea, Agogo Mawuli, complained of where the money was going. (Asiaweek, May 11 1994, Pp.52-57). As argued in the previous chapter, economic development and growth is not felt by the community at large. There is a lack of effective and efficient flow of goods and services to the peoples at the bottom level of the economy. In this context, our society fits the description of "disorganised" as suggested in Merton's (1957) the theory of social disorganisation.

In the latter part of Chapter Four, I examined the conflict explanation of crime and delinquency causation, which reflects a neo-Marxist analysis. This explanation, which stems from Marx's analysis of the class struggle between rich and poor (bourgeoisie and proletariat respectively), may not directly apply to Papua New Guinea. But it is still worth considering, given certain qualifications. Shoemaker (1990), while analysing a Marxist analysis of crime, described how there exist deficiencies within the larger societal framework that facilitate crime as a viable adaptation on the part of some members of the population. While there is no clear distinction of class structure in Papua New Guinea (in the Western sense), class can be measured in terms of status, income, wealth and economic position of the individual in principle. Shoemaker (1990) maintains that, in Marxist terms, those middle income earners and above could be seen as bourgeoisie and those below, the proletariat. The Marxist ideal holds that the privileged and the un-privileged are constantly at struggle, where the former work to maintain their advantage over the latter, and exploit them in a variety of ways for their economic and political benefits. From this

perspective, as seen by Chambliss (1975), our law and order problem could be said to be a reaction to the condition's of a persons social class.

First, the privileged group commits "crime" in the process of accumulating wealth and power. Usually, greed, materialism and selfishness lead to white-collar crime and public corruption. In Chapter Six, I showed how white-collar crime and public corruption is rife in Papua New Guinea, albeit on an insignificant level when compared with other advanced countries. The 1982 Executive Diaries scandal, the 1986 investigation of breaches of the Leadership Code of Placer Pacific shares, and the Barnett Forestry Inquiry in 1987 are three of the serious public corruption cases involving top political leaders.⁴

It was also noted in Chapter Six, how misappropriation was common amongst members of Parliament, particularly in relation to the Electoral Development Fund (EDF). Views expressed from respondents during fieldwork revealed that there is greater adverse social and economic impact from such crimes than other types of crimes. As one asserted, the most serious crime is white-collar crime and political corruption, because the amount of damage that is done to society is massive and serious in nature. This does generate feelings of injustice and lack of respect for authority.

If one analyses public corruption from our customary background and teases out the causal factors, one is likely to find that the community itself contributes to their actions. A politician or public servant may be categorised as part of the privileged class but is enmeshed in a spider's web-like network of mutual and customary obligations. In this respect, the relative comes with expectations and pulls the string to his/her benefit. A public office holder is usually implicated in corruption for favouritism entertaining the so-called relative (Turner, 1990). This does not, however, rule out the fact that the individual has his/her own interest

---

⁴Refer to the section on "conflict theory", in Chapter Four, on the explanation of how the ruling class uses its power and position to exploit cheap labour to enhance their wealth.

for entertaining the relative and therefore it comes back to materialistic greed and selfishness, as well as customary obligation.

In some respects, street and violent crimes may be reactionary problems in nature. Those that commit crime are not stupid or foolish, but intelligent youths. In particular, they are mainly school dropouts who have been pushed out of the formal education system. They observe carefully the political and economic condition of the country (Harris, 1988). They hear about public corruption and national resources being squandered while they live in an empty bamboo tank. They see and compare their social condition with these corrupt practices. From this perspective, the youths become frustrated and angered, and seek their share of benefit through illegal means. The responses from youths interviewed during my fieldwork confirmed a view that street and violent crimes may be partly a reaction to the corrupt actions of the privileged classes. The youths maintained that members of Parliament were stealing money (referring to political corruption and misappropriation) while ignoring and neglecting their needs. The problem is, if politicians, bureaucrats and businessmen are involved in committing crime in one way or another, then, who is to blame?

Turning back to the analysis on social disorganisation of larger societal institutions, it is important to examine how the criminal justice system operates. As shown in Chapter Seven, the police, courts and prisons function to bring about deterrence, retribution and rehabilitation. In this sense, the criminal justice system is seen as a system where the police apprehend a law breaker, prosecute him/her in a court of law and, if found guilty, sentence him/her to prison for punishment and rehabilitation. In reality, the so-called criminal justice system is not a system at all, in the sense of being an inter-related network of departments that are coordinated with each other, all seeking the same aims and trying to implement a single policy and programme to address the problem of law and order (Conklin, 1992). The Papua New Guinea criminal justice system is not made up of law enforcement agencies. They are not seen as a unified and well coordinated single body trying to achieve a common objective.

While lacking manpower and sufficient funds to properly implement government policies and maintain law and order, the police force has, in some respect, shifted away from building a strong community relations programme. I examined reports of police brutality and their para-military style approach to maintaining order (Post Courier, Tuesday December 28 1993 p.11) in Chapter Seven. To be effective, the police force must build a strong foundation of respect, and uphold the values and primary roles of the force as protection of life and property, preservation and restoration of peace and good order and prevention of crime (RPNGC, 1990). We saw reported cases of how young policemen in particular lacked discipline and how this fosters a fear among the community toward the police force in general. The police force therefore needs to face up to the attitudes of its personnel and how these are demonstrated in practice. At the same time, I would argue that the force should be a community-orientated force.

Based as it is on the English Common Law, the Papua New Guinea court system in many ways does not reflect our Melanesian society. The legal system and practices are alien in nature. We saw in the preceding chapter that a Professor of Law at the University of Papua New Guinea called for recognition of custom in our Constitution. The current laws are foreign in nature and it frustrates people. In a court demanding high standards of proof and evidence, sometimes a local person may not have committed the crime which he/she is blamed for, but because of failure on the part of him/her to present substantiated evidence in court setting, they may be found guilty. The poor local person cannot afford experienced lawyers to represent him/her in court cases. In this way, our legal system does not cater for the interests of the majority of the people. If it does, it does for the few educated and wealthy people. There is the example of Ted Diro, a former Member of Parliament and once Deputy Prime Minister, who could manipulate legal loopholes using experienced and expensive lawyers to escape prosecution. Any ordinary citizen faced with such charges would have gone to jail for many years. In principle the law applies to all regardless of social standings and any other human

distinguishing features. But in Papua New Guinea, as seen above, it appears to be the case that two laws exist: one for the privileged and another for the underprivileged. This signifies a disorganised society.

Without explaining further problems confronted by the courts and prisons that contribute to the breakdown of effectiveness and efficiency in running these agencies, official labelling of a person as criminal may contribute to this problem of law and order. As shown in Chapter Four, official labelling promotes the very thing a person is described as being (Thrasher, 1936 and Tannenbaum, 1938). A person convicted of a crime is given the status of a criminal, a stigmatising label, and the person alters his/her self image. The police arrest an offender who is brought before a court of law, where they are thus seen as a criminal and when ordered to prison, he/she is officially labelled as a criminal or a delinquent. This produces what Conklin described as "a self-fulfilling prophecy so that people behave in ways consistent with their altered concept" (1992:191). Release from prison is just like graduating with a qualification from an institution. Instead of corrections, the person comes out with confidence and with determination. Most importantly, he/she has experiences in prison life, which leave them feeling unafraid of going again. This time, they may cause more serious crime. For this reason, it was emphasised in the views obtained from our interviewees during fieldwork that prison must be used as a last resort. Alternatives like community work programmes, or prisons designed as community care centres are options worthy of consideration. The individual should be treated as a human being and a total member of the society. When talking about the individual, it is also important to examine how individual features may contribute towards people getting involved in crime.

INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS

As depicted in the integrated model (Figure 1 above), factors in the modernisation process can have adverse effects on individuals both directly

and indirectly. Internal deficiencies and disturbance within the individual may have both a direct and indirect link with criminality. This concept will become clear as I move on to examine how relevant biological and psychological characteristics of the person can influence criminality. In order to focus attention more closely, Figure 1.4 re-examines the biological and psychological characteristic on Figure 1 in the integrated model.

Figure 1.4 Biological and psychological characteristics of an individual that may influence criminal behaviour in Papua New Guinea.

The argument was developed in the opening part of Chapter Four how individual theories maintain that crime and delinquency is a product of some mechanisms internal to the person and their personality. Such an internal system may predispose some people to criminality behaviour. The physical body build and structure were studied early. A general assumption was that mesomorphic body type⁵ was related to criminality (Sheldon, 1949). Although this assumption may not apply in Papua New Guinea, to some extent there are still those who would like to think that the mesomorphic body structure tends to cause criminal behaviour. Normally, such types would play a leadership role in rascal gang operations. During my fieldwork in Port Moresby, five interviewees claimed they had given up rascal gang-related activities and

---

⁵Three body types were analysed: endomorphic; ectomorphic; and mesomorphic. The first two body types were seen to be physically frail and weak. The mesomorphic body type, or muscular and hard body, are adventurous, competitive, strong, energetic and potentially dangerous.

another five indicated that they were taking part. Their affirmed leaders were not of endomorphic and ectomorphic type physique, but of the mesomorphic type. Scientific validity has never been established for this explanation so it remains questionable, although to some at least, it remains a sensible explanation (Shoemaker, 1990).

Crime is explained as breaking the law. Thus every member of the society is aware of this. And yet, individuals commit crime. It can be seen above how it may not be entirely his/her fault in a society that inflicts pressure. By the same token, there may be internal chemical deficiencies affecting the thinking pattern and motor control in the brain, which drive an individual toward criminal behaviour (Hofter, 1978). Brain codes and biochemical impulses have been studied because of what is believed to be chemical changes in the brain that cause criminality. The proponents of such views advocate treatment of the criminal population, not punishment. The treatment, however, is medical, since crime originates in the biochemistry of the brain (Balkan, et al 1980:18). Chapter Four showed how this proposition influenced policies of some States in the United States in the early 1900s.

To date, such notions remain simply theories, without any valid scientific proof. However, the key idea worthy of further investigation is how exactly internal chemical impulses react to commit crime. It can be assumed that the deficiencies within the body respond at different rates to the causal variables which may activate to commit crime. Quite generally from this view, the consumption of excessive alcohol may directly interact with the body tissues releasing hostile and turbulent behaviour. I am not qualified to explain exactly how alcohol functions to effect criminality behaviour. But from a layman's point of view, I can assume that alcohol interacts with specific chemical codes of the brain which alter normal behaviour leading to aggressiveness and violent behaviour associated with crime (Collins, (ed). 1982).

Papua New Guineans have been allowed to drink alcohol since 1962 and since then it has influenced so many people. Many failed to understand that this substance was for social entertainment only and was not to be abused. Chapter Six showed how large numbers of indigenous people are arrested for drunkenness each week. Harris (1988) and the Morgan Report (1983) among others indicated that the law and order problem increased considerably straight after alcohol was introduced to the locals. In a society where people are not used to this substance the risk of abuse is considerably high. Today, alcohol abuse is a common language in Papua New Guinea and "is the main cause of fighting, assaults, damage to property, domestic violence and motor vehicle accidents" (Wingti, 1993. in Post Courier, Friday August 27 1993, p.1). Many are arrested and sent to jail for committing criminal offenses under the influence of liquor. The Post Courier reported that a man was sentenced to jail for setting the house of another man on fire. (Friday March 19 1993, p.4). Further, a soldier was beaten to death by a man who was under the influence of liquor (Post Courier, Monday 5 April 1993, p.1). One cannot escape the fact that alcohol remains a serious contributing factor to the problem of law and order in Papua New Guinea.

The psychological viewpoint maintains that criminality behaviour lies within the individual's pattern of development. It is a manifestation of internal underlying disturbances not later than early childhood and this becomes a characteristic part of the individual's growth (Shoemaker, 1990). In this regard, study of personality becomes significant and the best known of such studies, as seen in Chapter Four, was Sigmund Freud's (1920, 1927) psychoanalytic approach to the explanation of mental illness. In doing so, Freud developed the idea that three factors interact to produce a personality and behavioural pattern of the individual:

- a) instinctual drive (Id),
- b) the conscious personality (ego) and
- c) the conscience or moral training (super-ego).

The strong force of drives coming from a person is referred to as the "instinctual drive/s" (Id). These are forces like sexual desire, strength and competitiveness, habitual drunkenness, chronic criminal and so forth. For example, rape cases are common in Papua New Guinea. A male has an inner sexual desire at the subconscious level of the mind that replays to persuade his self-conception. This forces the person to satisfy his sexual desire by committing rape. These instinctual drives can be restrained through application of proper socialising (super-ego) agents such as teaching of religious doctrines, traditional values and norms, moral conduct and laws of society and so forth. Then, the control mechanism (ego) becomes strong and withstands the instinctual drives (Id) that come out.

If these instinctual drives are unrestrained through proper socialisation (super-ego), then the control mechanism (ego) is weakened, causing the individual to be unloving, guilt-free, impulsive and aggressive. Chapter Four showed how if a person is not socialised properly, bringing the Id and super-ego into conflict with each other, the person is inclined towards maladjustment that may lead to criminal behaviour.

It should be noted here that socialised group aggression is part of traditional rituals for young men in some Papua New Guinean societies. Like those societies in Kompiam, young men are taught to be alert, active and most importantly, aggressive. They are taught the techniques of tribal warfare and generally how to defend themselves and their land. The problems of law and order are as much to do with this "socialised group aggression" as anything. Many Papua New Guinean youths may not have this feeling of remorse and guilt but their socialised unfriendly and hostile behaviour can lead to crime.

Whilst socialised aggressive behaviour has been common for some traditional Papua New Guinean societies, contemporary Papua New Guinea cannot afford to maintain such traditions. In this regard, my position is that Papua New Guinea cannot afford to continue to socialising its children and youths in

aggressive behaviour. Modern society does not warrant aggressive behaviour unlike in traditional Papua New Guinean society. Therefore, proper socialisation which teaches the importance of being humble, gentle, tolerant, respectful, understanding and so forth are necessary ingredients at an early stage of a person's education.

Proper socialisation should be a major priority for every family unit in Papua New Guinea. It is during the child's development period that he/she learns more about their environment, first, the family unit and then within the school system. Children are taught of their cultural value systems, which shape a child's behavioral pattern. Cultural values include such things as: respect for elders and other people and their properties; to learn the importance of their own historical backgrounds, including art and custom, super-natural and religious beliefs and so forth. The school curriculum should be designed to incorporate such values into the education system. Criminal behaviour is a viable adaptation to un-socialised and unrestrained phenomena. In such cases, if a child grows up without any form of motherly and fatherly care and love, or correct socialisation in general, the possibility of entering into criminal behaviour is high (McCord and McCord, 1959 and Tutt, 1975).

Although many individual theories have not been scientifically proven, they remain common sense assumptions worthy of attention. I will now turn my analysis to look at how youths and other older members of our community turn to a life of criminal behaviour. In doing so, I am guided by theories of containment, labelling and subculture.

LOWERED SELF-ESTEEM AND PEER ASSOCIATION

Criminal and delinquent behaviour is the result of an interplay between internal and external control, where the latter is too strong for the former to contain. In urban environment context, social pressures such as adverse living and economic conditions, lack of opportunities and family conflicts, draw the person

away from accepted norms, to forms of relationship with "bad" companions and deviant behaviour. The social bond mechanism is weakened and thus unable to contain this pressure. In this regard, there is likely to be poor internalisation and low self-concept resulting in frustration and intolerance. This pushes one to criminal behaviour through inner tensions, associated with aggressiveness, feelings of inadequacy, inferiority and impairment. (Reckless, 1961 in Yablonsky and Haskell, 1988).

Without exploring in any detail how low self-concept, or self-esteem, is produced and changed, it has been shown how altered self-image can push one directly to criminality or indirectly out of the dominant culture. In making reference to the rural context, the social order of traditional societies has been affected through development projects that have weakened informal social control systems. (Refer to Chapters Three and Five). When this happens, youths in particular contemplate their future courses of action seriously. A youth may alter his/her perception and thinking that going to the city may be the best alternative.

In the rural villages, the traditional person was closer to traditional norms, values and beliefs. Today's person is different in many aspects, influenced profoundly by socio-economic changes. In the midst of these changes, people's self-concept has become altered and less well developed. They are no longer attached to, involved in, committed to or believe in the traditional norms and values of their respective societies. This leads to mobility and peer associations. Figure 1.5 below re-captures this conceptualisation taken from the integrated model in Figure 1.

Figure 1.5 Lowered self-esteem that leads to peer association which in turn leads to criminal and delinquent behaviour.

In my fieldwork analysis in Chapter Two, I showed how the villagers from Kompiam confirmed that societal conditions are changing and today's aspects of life are different to those of their youthful days. They maintained that this is all to do with socio-economic changes. With this in mind, I turn to peer associations and how these influence criminal and delinquent behaviour together with social disorder.

Lowered self-esteem is usually associated with becoming a school drop-out, or a push-out, because the youth is unhappy with the system or cannot afford the required fees. Cohen (1955) asserted that lower-class youths are measured and evaluated in the context of middle-class values: punctuality, neatness, cleanliness, nonviolence, respect, peace, love and so forth. These values stress goals that result in gaining status, and therefore status becomes a conventional goal in itself. The opportunities for reaching these goals are often available to the privileged group. The school system reflects middle-class value goals and uses them to evaluate those that enter. Underprivileged youths, because of their limited opportunities, are evaluated unfavourably by the school system and

Even for those that complete the school system, job opportunities are limited and many are unemployed. This lack of success leaves young people depressed and angry, especially when people describe them as unqualified. The youth questions his very identity and asks who he is and why. He wants to prove to the community that he is somebody. Eventually he/she gets acquainted with others of a similar background, more importantly with his peer group. (Harris, 1988).

A crucial point is that youths of similar socio-economic backgrounds associate together. These are modern youths left in poverty, filled with anger, unemployed and lacking opportunity created by the development process. Bruce Harris (1988) studied youth rascal gangs in Port Moresby and presented a detailed description of the history and turning points into the life of a rascal gang and their operational activities and locations. Harris (1988) also gave three possible scenarios of how rascal gangs may change in the future on the assumption that no realistic programmes or interventions are undertaken: (1) organised crime; (2) social protest and revolution; and (3) political cooptation. (See Chapter Six the development of rascal gangs in Port Moresby).

Supporting Harris' (1988) local conclusions, I have shown how sociological explanations of gang culture, and interpersonal and situation explanations for membership describe how a youth enters gang culture and participates in criminal activities. (Refer to Chapter Four). In summary, Cloward and Ohlin (1960) asserted that entering a gang culture is not that easy and prospective members must meet certain requirements. A new recruit must be physically fit, learn general techniques and most importantly, take on the norms and values of the gang group concerned. Those youths who cannot meet the above requirements - often, endomorphic and ectomorphic body type youths - may alternatively enter a life of alcohol and drug abuse. Although these conventional principles and concepts may apply in Papua New Guinea, our situation is practically different in terms of operation. The group may not be well organised, at least at this stage of development, but operate on an ad-hoc basis. As the

need arises, whether in the group or on their own, youths may display criminal and delinquent behaviours.

The integrated model in Figure 1 depicts the conventional factors that influence criminal and delinquent acts. The central problem examined is weakening control mechanisms through disorganised social institutions. In this regard, an important element to consider is the notion of a central value system of our society. With this in mind, the ensuing analysis, will explain further this idea of a central value system and make some comparisons with the Japanese culture.

THE CENTRAL VALUE SYSTEM OF A SOCIETY

In an effort to find ways of containing this expanding problem of law and order in Papua New Guinea, it is imperative that attention and consideration be given to the central value system of our society. The central value system of any society plays a momentous role in maintaining social control. It is, therefore, an indispensable component of the criminal justice system and other government agencies. As Westermann and Burfeind noted:

...a society's criminal justice system is shaped by the cultural environment of the society and study of the criminal justice system in any society must begin with an examination of the central values of that society (1991:150).

In order to evaluate the effectiveness of cultural values, it is helpful to use the comparative analysis between Japan and Papua New Guinea. Many, like Westermann and Burfeind (1991) and Smith (1973), have maintained that Japan's crime rates have been fairly stable or have declined since 1950. Suzuki (1985) reported that property crime dropped from a rate of 16 per 100 000 in the country to a rate of 9.98 in 1980. In this same period, despite a 46 percent increase in population, the actual number of bodily injury cases declined by 37 percent (in Westermann and Burfeind, 1991:3). Today, Japan is one of the most urbanised and industrialised nations in the world. The literature maintains that Japanese culture played a significant role in contributing to the decline in crime.

The Japanese culture has been integrated well into the criminal justice system, and is used as a form of social control in society.

The written history of Japan extends back 1400 years and the people are conscious of their history, seeing themselves in historical perspective and celebrating through ritual and drama. They are proud of their cultural heritage that has become a living tradition (Hall and Beardsley, 1965). They are homogenous and are united as one people. Although our history dates back to about 50 000 years ago (Waiko, 1993), in Papua New Guinea almost all are unaware that each cultural grouping has its own verbal history. Under the banner of the Melanesian ethnic grouping, it is seen throughout the country that more than 750 languages are spoken in about 12,000 different villages, each with their own cultures.

Whereas, in Japan, the country shares one historical and cultural tradition and one common language. The people feel bound to each other as an entity distinct from any other people (Ishida, 1974). Japan has a long history of political development. In A.D. 645, a group of reformers, after borrowing ideas from China and Korea, attempted to transform what was at that time a tribal-centred society, into a centrally organised society. However, this was not successful and in the 12th century, Japan moved to a feudal system, a period of continued intergroup struggle and conflict. In the 16th and 17th century, a centralised system of feudalism gradually developed. The emperor remained head of state but the real power was held by a single family (Tokugawa). During this period, Japan cut off all foreign contacts and entered a self-imposed seclusion that lasted more than two centuries (Reischauer, 1988). In 1868, this Tokugawa system collapsed, primarily because of western industrialism and its concomitant hunger for new markets. A strong centralised government was developed and feudal estates were dissolved. Japan, this time, worked to absorb foreign ideas of administration and integrate them into her cultural background. The Constitution was framed in the context of those already developed in the West, but also made sure that their central value systems

were incorporated. This was actually the beginning of Japan's rise as one of the most industrialised nations in the world. As Westermann and Burfeind captured:

By the 1880s Japan had developed to the point where it was ready for the adoption of a new constitution, modeled after those of Britain and Germany. This period also marked the beginning of industrialisation of Japan and its initiation into the modern world (1991:10).

Two things are important to consider here. First, for more than 1200 years, Japan had a system of hierarchy and ranking, whereas in Papua New Guinea, while in some places one could find a chiefly society, nothing compared to Japan's well structured system. Second, Japanese history emphasised authority and the people were habitually willing to do what the authorities wanted. They did not start with the notion of democracy, so the concepts of egalitarianism and individual freedom are not ingrained in the Japanese tradition (Masatsugu, 1982). By contrast, in modern Papua New Guinea, individual freedoms and rights are strongly held. But at the same time, traditional societies are based on duty and obligation, much like the Japanese system without any institutionalised hierarchical ranking system.

The central cultural value systems of Japan are: the emphasis on the group, homogeneity and harmony, hierarchy, and respect for tradition and authority (Westermann and Burfeind, 1991). These central value systems are well integrated into the criminal justice system and in other developmental plans. In traditional Papua New Guinea, the cultural value system is similar to that of Japan, but the context in which this exists is different. Before looking at the cultural value system, it is important to explore modern value systems in Papua New Guinea, value systems created through colonialism and its subsequent westernisation, industrialisation or development in general.

As has been maintained throughout, the institutions adopted after independence were western, thereby reflecting values of the West. But these

have been ingrained into Papua New Guinea as a modern society. The National Goals and Directive principles adopted into our Constitution are established guiding standards: (1) Integral Human Development; (2) Equality and Participation; (3) National Sovereignty and Self-reliance; (4) National Resources and the Environment; and (5) Papua New Guinean Ways.

Thus, central value systems of our modern society are enshrined in these goals and principles. The value of developing the human being as a person by fulfilling the total human needs of every citizen is the number one aim. The individual as a person becomes the central focal concern: that he/she has the freedom to participate in every aspect that matters in politics, and a social, economic and cultural way of life. A citizen has his/her right - as long as democracy survives - to have access to services, to express feelings, to movement and others like freedom to contest elections, as long as these actions do not violate the law.

In this regard, everyone is seen as equal regardless of sex, age, religion, race, or social status. At least theoretically, every citizen is treated equally by the law and everyone must abide by the law. The value of self-reliance starts from the community and then moves to the national level. Citizens must be self-reliant using what ever opportunity is available to the maximum benefit rather than being dependent. At the national level, the aim is to strive for full political and economic independence and become a truly self-reliant nation.

The notion of sustainable development of our resources must be the operational motto, however. Natural resources must be developed carefully, so as not to destroy the natural environment, and ensure it is used for the benefit of all people, at the same time developing programmes to conserve resources for future use. Above all, development must be aimed at and linked to Papua New Guinean Ways. It may be argued that these goals are merely indications of a national philosophy that is assumed to be functioning but is never likely to

materialise in any meaningful way. To date there has been a big gap between policy and practice that, in this regard, requires urgent attention.

The real value systems of our traditional societies have been overshadowed by these introduced values. Japan has a clear written history by which people are influenced and about which they feel proud. Papua New Guinea does not have a long written history. Almost the entire population is unaware of our archaeological and political history. (See Chapter Three). The central values system, like Japan, places emphasis on the group. The group extends from the immediate family, to relatives by kinship, to the clan, like in the Highlands region. In coastal areas, from the family unit to the village unit is their group.

In the Highlands region, there may be more than one village in a clan but the basic social unit which unifies them as belonging is the notion of the clan system. The village or the clan system may stem from a common historical background or be determined through paternal and maternal kinship relationships. The children are socialised and taught the cultural values and practices of the village or clan. This does not mean that the notion of individuality is absent, just that this sense of individuality stems from the group. In the Highlands, the individual is identified by his clan membership whilst on the coast it is by village membership. The individual is more secure whilst in a group, whether engaged in warfare, social initiations, dances, the making of gardens, building of houses and so forth. Homogeneity and harmony exist in the family unit and extends to the village or the clan members. People argue and have conflicts within the group but this is solved through traditional methods. (Refer to Chapter Three, analysis of traditional social control and dispute settlement).

What is central to the village or the clan system is custom. It was shown in Chapter Three how each society - the village or the clan system - has its own form of social control through application of its prevailing customs. The customs are ingrained as the central value system upon which the village or the

clan is built. The belief in supernatural powers, cooperation and unity, peace making processes, respect for the elders and so forth may function differently but had similar patterns and functioned for the same goal in fulfilling the general utility of society. In the village or clan, there is absence of a single hierarchical authority like in Japanese society. Unlike Japanese culture, Papua New Guinean culture is not homogeneous but correctly referred to as heterogeneous and diverse. Under the banner of a Melanesian society, patterns of social integration are diverse, not only in customs but also in ethnic groupings. In the midst of this social and cultural diversity, as Dinnen put it:

The most daunting political challenge facing a new state in a fragmented nation, such as Papua New Guinea, is how to appropriate for itself the powers of social control currently residing in the plethora of local organisations comprising civil society (1993:6).

It is not a matter of giving up courage in the face of a complex social and cultural background. The opportunity is there to apply instruments of technology to achieve an honourable style of existence. Papua New Guinea cannot escape from such cultural diversity and must strive to create a society that is capable of inventing history. In addressing law and order problems, the central values of both the modern and the traditional sectors need to be integrated to achieve a policy and planning model aimed at reducing this problem. In attacking our law and order problem, one would like to think that greater consideration will be given to the village or the clan system as a group. Integrated policies aimed at improving this village or clan group should become a priority whilst not neglecting other factors in this integrative model that contribute to problems of law and order in Papua New Guinea.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

In this chapter, major factors that contribute to our law and order problem have been examined. I noted that the problem of law and order is a multifaceted and complicated phenomenon. There is no single causal factor, but a range of

different factors that cause criminal behaviour. (Yablonsky and Haskell, 1970:341-2). I have not given separate attention to discussing how problems of poverty and inequality in Papua New Guinea contribute to law and order problems. The problems of poverty and inequality are socio-economic problems in nature, caused by the structural condition of the society. Accordingly, the integrated model above illuminates the root causes of crime problems.

Papua New Guinea's law and order problem is analysed through its history of colonisation and its subsequent westernisation, which accelerated the gradual modernisation process more common to simple, traditional societies. I showed how our problem of law and order is a by-product of modernism, westernism, urbanism and industrialism: development in general. (Clinard and Abbott, 1973). One cannot avoid these concepts and their implications in society. They are integral components of our striving for a better life. Still, they are also accompanied by adverse effects. Its not a matter of escaping from these adverse effects, but rather a matter of managing and learning to live with them.

As was shown in Chapter Five, the development and creation of urban centres has been uneven - it has to be. Few urban areas become dominant socially, economically and politically. While there are many complicated factors of rural-urban migration problems in contemporary Papua New Guinea, concentration of efficient and effective public facilities and services plays a significant role in contributing to this problem. Although rural-urban migration may not be the direct cause of crime, my concern has been the social conditions in which these migrants end up. (Shelly, 1981). The literature has indicated that adverse social conditions together with little or no income can push people into criminal behaviour.

As a people, Papua New Guinean have been ushered into the limelight of an exotic and unfamiliar arena with hope and anticipation of success through progress and advancement. I have maintained throughout this chapter that the

institutions of parliamentary democracy and bureaucratic administrations are alien to a Papua New Guinean way of life. There is an adaptation problem. From this perspective, I should like to think that many of our law and order problems stem from inefficient and ineffective management of modern socio-economic and political institutions. One saw in this chapter, as reported by the *Asiaweek* (1994), how Papua New Guinea has yet to learn how to manage its resources. It follows that Papua New Guineans have yet to learn how to run modern and western institutions, not having adapted fittingly to the western fashion of administration.

Figure 1 showed how Papua New Guinea's societal arrangements are disorganised, which makes crime a viable adaptation. The weakening of social control systems in community-based institutions is a product of socio-economic transformation. But one needs to consider carefully the larger societal system. The criminal justice system, for example, needs to be a single coordinated system that is efficient and effective. (Conklin, 1992). White-collar crime and public corruption will continue to be a major problem in Papua New Guinea, unless a legal system that is independent, effective and fair is developed.

I also examined how an important aspect concerns proper socialisation at an early age of a child's life. There is a great deal of work to be done in this area in Papua New Guinea, and parents have the most important role to play. Striving for a crime free society needs to start from the family unit, with parents in the forefront. Studies have proven that improper socialisation of a child at an early age places that child at higher risk of entering into criminal behaviour. It is common for such youths to get to know other youths of a similar background, thereby strengthening their identity through a gang culture.

The law and order problem Papua New Guinea is experiencing cannot be addressed solely through the criminal justice system. It must be addressed by the entire community. By doing so, honest, dedicated and committed leadership is a must, where a leader must be a person of high integrity and

able to provide clear direction. Our cultural values are just as important and worthy as other cultures. Our customs are in no way inferior. The most important challenging task yet to be taken by Papua New Guineans is building a nation based on our own central value systems. The legal system and education system in particular should be re-focused to give greater support to our central cultural value system.

I have maintained throughout that crime is a multi-faceted phenomenon. Any policies aimed at addressing this problem must not only be directed at the criminal justice system but also aimed at areas like: rural-urban drift, demographic factors, urbanisation and town planning, squatter settlement issues, industrialisation without due consideration to adverse effects, limited employment opportunities, education system push-outs, growing inequality, corruption and white-collar criminality, breakdown of the social control system, alcohol and drug abuse and family violence. Policies in addressing the law and order problem should be aimed at correcting and adjusting those influential factors depicted in the integrated model above. My final chapter offers some guiding thoughts on how Papua New Guinea might best position itself to address its problem of law and order in the 21st Century.

CHAPTER NINE

LAW AND ORDER PROBLEMS AND SOCIAL POLICY FOR PAPUA NEW GUINEA:

SOME GUIDING THOUGHTS FOR THE FUTURE

INTRODUCTION

I began this thesis by introducing myself as being from the Tangaip tribe of Kompiam District, Papua New Guinea. This tribe has customary values and norms that binds its members together like other Melanesian societies. I belong to the Tangaip tribe and therefore I am guided by the customary laws of my tribe, as Nelson Mandela captured: "As long as I obey my father and abided by the customs of my tribe, I was not troubled by the laws of man and God" (Mandela, 1995:750). Cultural values and norms are internalised central value systems of society and a social control mechanism.

In this respect, this thesis has been developed with this conceptualisation in mind. Papua New Guinean societies are rich in diverse social cultural background, and the country can address its law and order issue by applying its customary laws and values. It is within this context that this chapter is developed to gather thoughts to address the pressing law and order issue in Papua New Guinea.

CRIME: AN INESCAPABLE SOCIAL PHENOMENA FOR PAPUA NEW GUINEA

Problems of law and order are to be an expected part of contemporary Papua New Guinean life. Current media outcry influencing the public perception that

law and order problems are escalating should not be seen as a surprise. One needs to be analytical rather than emotive, however. One needs to understand the background in which crime and social disorder is taking place. Ten factors fundamental to understanding the prevalence of law and order problems in Papua New Guinea are: (1) diverse culture; (2) socialised group aggression behaviour; (3) colonialist neglect of order; (4) secessionist and micro-national movements; (5) rapid socio-economic transformation; (6) uneven development; (7) rural-urban migration; (8) school "push-outs" and unemployed youths; (9) economic mismanagement; and (10) white-collar crime.

First, in a country where many different states exist independently, each with its own traditional culture, civil disorder and crime problems are inescapable phenomena. As Dorney (1990:288) correctly captured: "the difficulty with maintaining law has much to do with the astonishing rate at which more than seven hundred separate and tiny independent society states, each with its own language, customs and traditional practices, have been compressed into a modern nation state". It is difficult to build any sense of understanding and co-operation amongst such diverse cultures. Most, although affected by westernisation, continue to live in their traditional way of life. Their feeling of "belonging" is limited and confined to their village or clan unit. Influenced profoundly by traditional warfare, other villages and clans are their enemy.

Even after twenty years of independence, only a few dwellers in rural communities understand modern parliamentary democracy, bureaucratic administration and independence. This lack of knowledge is an obstacle to nationalism and unity. Some come to towns and cities for pure excitement, eager to see the urban environment without developing any sense of belonging. They are in a foreign land with foreign people, their real home is the home they were born into. In the modern cities of Port Moresby and Lae, under the banner of "Melanesian Cities", there are diverse multi-cultural groups. A real sense of unity, homogeneity, solidarity, co-operation and nationalist feeling has yet to be developed and seen. Crime and disorder are viable adaptations to

such conditions and, in this respect, our problem in Papua New Guinea should not come as a surprise.

Second, as has been indicated, "socialised group aggression" is very much part of some traditional ritual practices where the young men are socialised to be violent and aggressive. Thus, hostile behaviour is developed at an early age in many Papua New Guineans. When they migrate an urban environment, their socialised aggressive attitudes are part of them. Therefore, many are predisposed to deviate from the expected norms of an urban environment by instigating problems or entering into criminal behaviour.

Third, under colonial administration "emphasis to order was superseded by an orientation to development of assertion of constitutional rights" (Turner, 1990:185). The rules and laws that existed during the colonial era were primarily to safeguard and protect the lives and interests of the colonists. Colonial rule meant paramilitary techniques were applied against the indigenous people. Above this, the colonists failed to bring any order and peace among the people themselves. They failed to develop long term strategies to control law and order. Their need for raw materials was of a more paramount concern to them than thinking about any long term social order.

Fourth, the secessionists and micro-national movements prior to the dawn of independence fostered a feeling of separatism and segregation. These movements promoted an identity within regions and respective communities, which have emerged to threaten the stability of Papua New Guinea. The atmosphere is tense in Papua New Guinea with a feeling of "they and us" but not "we" as an independent country. A feeling of nationalism is yet to be ingrained into all Papua New Guineans. There is no real sense of respect, love and care for others and their properties. Crime and delinquent behaviours are a viable adaptation to a fragmented, detached and divided social environment. Thus, at the time of independence, Papua New Guinea was well on its way to create an arena full of disorderly and hostile behaviour.

Fifth, problems of law and order are concomitant with development. Maintained throughout this thesis is the idea that the period of colonialism ushered Papua New Guinea into modernisation, westernisation, urbanisation and industrialisation. Papua New Guinea has entered an arena of modernity in which its spirit and its conditions allow no turning back. The contemporary lifestyle is a by-product of socio-economic transformations. These transformations have brought about inequality, poverty and destabilisation of our social structures, making viable problems of law and order. The changes in Papua New Guinea have been rapid in nature and people have not been able to cope with them.

Sixth, colonialism has led to an uneven development of towns and cities, which also follows uneven development. The urban areas have emerged to be dominant socially, economically, and politically. It was said at a recent seminar in Port Moresby that development projects have pretended to switch focus from urban to rural development. Yet the urban centres continue to draw resources and grow, while rural areas remain neglected. This has resulted in rural decay on the one hand, and urban crime, unemployment and squatter settlements on the other. (Litau, 1993).

Following from this, rural-urban migrations are inevitable in the uneven development process. In fact, the issue of rural-urban migration is a multi-faceted and pressing social phenomenon. In most cases, it is the school "drop-outs" or "pushed out" youths who are most likely to migrate to urban areas. Motivations for such actions are influenced by objective, subjective and purely personal factors. The movement to an urban place in itself is not a problem and does not directly contribute to law and order problems. It is the adverse social and economic conditions that migrants end up in which is the issue in question. (Shelly, 1981). Adverse socio-economic conditions force migrants into criminal activities.

Further, school "push-outs" and unemployed youths are a pressing issue in Papua New Guinea. The Papua New Guinea education system is based on a model introduced by the British and Australians. The school syllabus and curriculum designs are based on Western models. The education system is highly competitive. Students strive intensely to progress in our "dog-eat-dog" type of education system. There are not so much of school drop-outs, but school "push-outs" due to lack of spaces available to accommodate all the students.

For those that enter school, the police figures reveal that about 40 000 youths are ejected from the education system each year. This means that an estimated 30 000 youths are added to the unemployment lines each year, when there are only jobs available for 10 000 youths. (Ainui, 1993b:3). There are hardly any jobs for young school push-outs. Even the successful students have no guarantee of a job, and many of these join the queue of jobless youths.

Furthermore, law and order problems are inevitable where there is economic mismanagement. Papua New Guinea, as an economic and political system, is observed by the international community as a country rich in natural resources. An Asiaweek report noted, however, that Papua New Guinea has yet to learn to manage its wealth. Spending has been rising 10 percent a year since 1989. The report indicated that many, like then senior economics lecturer at the University of Papua New Guinea, Agogo Mawuli, have complained about where the money is going. (1994:52-57).

Socio-economic development is not felt by the community at large. There is no effective and efficient flow of goods and services to people at the bottom levels. Recent reforms with the aim of decentralising administrative systems and

recognising the needs of rural areas, look promising. However, the anticipated benefits of such reforms are yet to be seen.¹

Finally, central to this economic mismanagement of the country is the issue of "white-collar crime and corruption". White-collar crime and corruption, usually entail misappropriation of large sums of money (which means they have a greater economic impact) but generate less fear amongst people living in the community. They do, however, generate feelings of injustice and lack of respect for authority, which may encourage further street crime.

The street crimes are reactionary problems in nature. Papua New Guinea youths seem to pay close attention to the political and economic condition of the country. They hear about public corruption and national resources being squandered while they live in an empty bamboo tank. They see and compare their social condition in light of these corrupt practices. From this perspective, the youths become frustrated and seek their share of the benefits through illegal acts.

MANAGING THE CRIME AND SOCIAL DISORDER

Over the years "state responses have generally been pragmatic and crisis driven" (Dinnen, 1993b:10). The problem, however, continues to generate media headlines. In this respect, pragmatic and repressive techniques are not only short term measures, but are recipes for retaliation and revolution. Such responses lead to more lawlessness and turmoil, demanding further increases

---

¹Parliament in 1995 amended the Constitution of Papua New Guinea to pass an Organic Law on Provincial and Local Governments aimed at recognising the local level. "The principal goal of the reform is to improve the delivery of services right down to the village level, and in doing so improve the lifestyles, standards of living and opportunities for all Papua New Guineans" (Post Courier, Thursday November 23 1995:8). The Post Courier further reported that, "The provision of K484 million to the provinces and districts in 1996 would represent approximately K200 million more than was appropriated for them in 1995 under the old Organic law on Provincial Governments" (Thursday November, 23 1995:8).

in public expenditure. Thus, Papua New Guinea has yet to address its law and order problems.

There is a need to get away from these pragmatic and crisis driven approaches, and to see the crime problem as being shaped by a complex mixture of factors. These include: rapid modernisation; political instability; bureaucratic inefficiency; political and public corruption; urbanisation; rural-urban migration; urban planning; growing inequality; education system "push-outs"; limited employment opportunities; alcohol and drug abuse; an ineffective criminal justice system; and a breakdown of family and traditional social controls.

However, there is more to it. As Clifford and others have argued (1984), long before all the technical problems are addressed, the law and order problem is a political issue. The government must position itself to maintain its control over the diverse, complex and many tiny states in Papua New Guinea. To maintain control is not to introduce pragmatic and crisis driven policies aimed at repressing the people. Addressing youth crime with pragmatic and crisis driven measures is not only a temporary measure, but harmful to the society in the long run, since it generates frustration, hatred and disappointment.

The way to maintain control over the diverse cultural society of Melanesia, is to give more recognition to the cultures of that region. The cultural values and norms of Melanesia are "central value systems" that function as important social control mechanisms. Laws and policies which are not based on the internalised customary values and norms of Melanesia will prove to be less effective.

A house that does not have a good foundation will collapse easily, but one that is built on good foundations will endure. A society built on its central and internalised value systems has a strong foundation, and will develop with less problems. While comparing crime and the criminal justice systems between the United States and Japan, Westermann and Burfeind noted: "a society's criminal

justice system is shaped by the cultural environment of the society and study of the criminal justice system in any society must begin with an examination of the central values of that society" (1991:150).

Recommendation One:

There is a need to adapt existing institutions and laws of Papua New Guinea so that they better reflect the social organisation and traditional value system of Melanesian peoples.

Recognition of traditional customs is not simply ideological posturing for "hopeful expression and some way other than western capitalism and communism" (Lepani, 1976:25), as claimed by those who support the status quo. It is about recognising one's own identity, belonging and destiny. A society that does not reflect its own central value system has no real identity and mirrors an ideological and fantasy world of somewhere else. Realising Papua New Guinea's internalised value system is about building integral human development, and is about living in a practical, meaningful and realistic world.

In Papua New Guinea the existing Western institutions are helpful and need to be seen as instruments of development. There is a need, however, to use these institutions and create a **"Melanesian Social Environment"** in order to build a society that reflects and is capable of finding its own identity. Any move to recognise cultural values and norms must firstly be a political one.

Recommendation Two:

There is a need to establish a "Customary Recognition Committee" within the Prime Minister's Department to coordinate this process of creating a "Melanesian Social Environment".

My traditional customs are powerful and indispensable. The problem of youth crime and civil disorder commences from a Melanesian social setting. It is, therefore, a Melanesian problem and, in this respect, requires Melanesian approaches in addressing it.

ADMINISTRATION AND CAPACITY BUILDING

Law and order is the single most important issue on the agenda of public debate in Papua New Guinea. No longer is it sufficient to use a piecemeal approach in developing a coherent response. The crime problem is serious and requires commitment and determination to use available resources wisely to address this issue.

Recommendation Three:

It is necessary to establish a modified administrative structure that is responsive to the needs and problems of law and order in Papua New Guinea as a matter of priority. It should be extended to the local levels where grassroots people are given an opportunity to participate and have a say in addressing the crime problem.

The law and order administrative structure should be headed by the National Executive Council (NEC). Others should be named as: Law and Order Coordination Team (LOCT); National Law, Order and Justice Council (NLOJC); Provincial Law, Order Justice Council (PLOJC); District Order Management Team (DOMT); and Local Level Order Management Team (LLOMT). The Criminal Justice System (CJS), National Research Institute (NRI) and University of Papua New Guinea (UPNG) should be vital components of this structure, playing a mainly advisory role. (See appendix 9 for the proposed law and order structure).

The proposed structure stretches down to the rural level where local participation is sought. Local level participation has been emphasised in many levels of government but in reality has been largely ignored. If law and order problems are to be controlled and prevented, the government will need to adopt, as a matter of priority an administrative structure. Our culture is so diverse that a policy maker sitting in a central planning body may know very little about the causal factors of law and order problems in areas other than

his/her own village. Therefore, it is important that every community makes their contribution to any attempts to reduce crime.

The Local Level Order Management Team (LLOMT) would consist of village leaders, councillors, village court magistrates, and church leaders within the community. A person with formal educational background should be chosen to facilitate the team. The aim of such teams is not only to identify potential problems and propose measures to address these, but also to play a leading role in their respective communities to negotiate for peace and harmony in the event of law and order problems. Since Papua New Guinea cultures are diverse, the nature and the scope of law and order problems are also diverse. Therefore, such a Local Level Order Management Team is justified to address each and every problem in respective communities of Papua New Guinea. The LLOMT should be accountable to the District Order Management Team (DOMT).

The District Order Management Team (DOMT) is primarily comprised of government employees. Whilst the district manager automatically qualifies as an advisor, and divisional heads being the core members of the team, the position of executive director of the team will need to be established. This is important for long term planning and effective implementation of projects. While performing relatively similar functions as the Local Level Order Management Team, the District Order Management Team is responsible for the provision of expert advice and oversees the performance of the Local Level Order Management Team. The District Order Management Team is accountable to the Provincial Law, Order and Justice Council (PLOJC).

While the Governor of the province heads the Provincial Law, Order and Justice Council (PLOJC), the chairman of every District Order Management Team automatically qualifies as the member of Provincial Law, Order and Justice Council. The rest of the members should come from respective law and order agencies in the province. It is also important to create a position of executive

director on the Provincial Law, Order Justice Council to promote effective administration of the council. Whilst the aims remain the same for the District Order Management Team and the Local Level Order Management Team, at broader provincial level, the PLOJC oversees and gives advice to the DOMT where necessary. The Provincial Law, Order and Justice Council would be accountable to the National Law, Order Justice Council (NLOJC).

The National Law, Order Justice Council (NLOJC) is already established and through the Law and Order Coordination Team (LOCT) reports to the National Executive Council (NEC). The purpose has been to propose ideas on how to control, reduce and prevent crime and to provide a safe and secure environment for citizens to develop themselves and contribute to national development as a whole. The issue is not just a narrow law and order problem in Port Moresby, but an issue that concerns the country as a whole. Therefore, the National Law, Order Justice Council cannot operate on its own or function in isolation. It requires a network of information flows and support to advise the NEC properly. The provincial, district and local level teams are therefore vital and justified in this sense.

The Law and Order Coordination Team (LOCT) reports to the NEC and performs the duties of a central coordinating body for crime in Papua New Guinea. This body was recommended by Clifford and others in 1984 and exists within the Prime Minister and National Executive Council. It is small in size but plays a significant and powerful role in policy reforms relating to law and order. The Criminal Justice System (CJS) should be responsible for feeding information on the nature and prevalence of crime problems in Papua New Guinea to the Law and Order Council Team through the National Law, Order and Justice Council. The Criminal Justice System should also suggest policy reforms and measures to combat criminal and delinquent acts.

The National Research Institute (NRI) and University of Papua New Guinea (UPNG) must not be ignored in any policy reforms. The two institutions are

"think tanks" and opportunities should be given so that they can offer constructive suggestions and challenge government law and order policies. The National Research Institute and University of Papua New Guinea should continue to provide the Law and Order Coordination Team (through the National Law, Order and Justice Council) with expert advice on the nature and prevalence of, and how to respond to, law and order problems. Whilst on this point, I make

Recommendation Four:

The Crime Studies Section of the National Research Institute should be strengthened to provide the capacity for carrying out more and comprehensive research into crime and social disorder in Papua New Guinea.

MANAGING RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION

Managing rural-urban migration is one of the key aspects associated with the control of law and order problems in Papua New Guinea. Rural-urban drift is a social problem with which Papua New Guinea is already confronted (Namaliu, 1993). The movement to urban places in itself is not a problem and does not directly contribute to law and order problems. But the adverse social and economic conditions that migrants are likely to end up in is the issue in question (Shelly, 1981). Adverse socio-economic conditions force many migrants to enter into crime or at least become involved casually.

There are options of direct controls that are forceful in nature by the State on rural-urban migration. This might appear to be the most effective means of reducing the flow of rural residents into the towns and cities. South Africa successfully passed laws to end this by requiring a "work permit" as a condition of urban residence (Hutt, 1971). China has reduced urban unemployment by issuing "ration tickets" for food and clothing that are only convertible into goods at certain locations (Reynolds, 1975). The government of Kenya has imposed direct controls in the form of "housing regulations" which exclude the shanties

of newly arrived migrants and the unemployed from the city centres, and has reinforced such regulation by setting fire to such settlements. The Tanzanian Government requires urban workers to have an "official card" certifying their employment, and it periodically 'rounds up' the unemployed and sends them back to the rural areas. Yet urban unemployment has continued to grow, suggesting that the imposition of additional controls and substantial investment would be required to make their systems work (Sabot, 1979:234-5).

There have been some debates on the Internal Security Bill and Repatriation Bill in Papua New Guinea about the forceful removal of unemployed migrants and others in the urban towns. Morobe Provincial Government has already tried unsuccessfully to remove squatter settlers by force. Direct control policies like work permits, ration tickets, house regulations and official cards are forceful, repressive and harmful in nature, against human rights and repugnant to the Constitution. Thus, such policies are not warranted in our society and should not become features of national policy.

Policies aimed at controlling rural-urban migration must address causal determinants of the movement itself. Therefore, objective and subjective factors of rural-urban movement become vital considerations. Rural-urban migration is not a narrow migration problem. It is an issue of managing rural population growth, dealing with land shortages, addressing tribal and group conflicts, creating rural employment opportunities, making the rural environment attractive and so forth.

Recommendation Five:

In the rural areas, integrated policies aimed at rural social, economic, cultural and spiritual development should be funded through the recent Provincial and Local Level Government Reforms as a matter of priority. These integrated programmes should be based on the clan and village systems and coordinated by the district manager.

Recommendation Six:

In the urban areas, industrialisation with its modern advanced and technological developments require highly skilled people. Many migrants do not meet the standards and requirements. Creating a "Melanesian Urban Environment" means creating more jobs that unskilled and simple Papua New Guineans can perform. For instance, trading with locally produced goods and services should be emphasised: encouraging and promoting restaurants with only local food stuffs. The Department of Trade and Industry has a role to play in promoting locally produced goods and services.

POLITICAL AND PUBLIC CORRUPTION

The problems of law and order cannot be observed through a microscope as a narrow social behaviour problem. Such problems can not be seen in isolation from the broader socio-economic and political fabric of the economy. The escalating law and order problem in Papua New Guinea, is a reflection of a society in disorder and in crisis. The crime problem is a problem of economic mismanagement. Papua New Guinea as an economic and political system is observed by the international community as a country rich in natural resources. But Papua New Guinea has yet to learn to manage its wealth (Asiaweek, 1994). Socio-economic problems are largely due to political and public corruptions by leaders and government officials.

Recommendation Seven:

Successive governments, since independence, have failed to address white-collar crime properly. It is a deliberate act, on the part of the politicians, to paralyse the Ombudsman Commission, whose prime aim is to act as a "watchdog" for white-collar crime. This is effectively done through insufficient funding. The Ombudsman Commission should be well-funded, improved and strengthened to carry out their functions and duties effectively. The Ombudsman Commission should be given independent power to act in respect of white-collar crime.

Recommendation Eight:

White-collar crime and public/political corruption are serious offences against the State and should therefore be classified along with other serious crimes like murder, rape and treason, and with application of harsh penalties.

CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM

The criminal justice system must function as inter-related parts or agencies working together for a common purpose of reducing the problems of law and order. The police force should maintain at all times their traditional functions and roles of apprehension and prosecution of law breakers, protection of life and property, preservation and restoration of peace and good order, and prevention of crime. The court system in Papua New Guinea should continue to maintain justice and impartiality. The prison system must be guided by notions of deterrence, retribution and rehabilitation.

The prison system is not meant for those that are not/less harmful to the society but meant for offenders who are more harmful. Whilst I agree that offenders involved in serious cases like murder, rape, severe physical assault, serious white-collar crimes and recidivists should be prosecuted and sent to prison with increased penalty, I do not agree that "capital punishment" is the right and appropriate form of deterrence. It is evident that the prevalence, scope and nature of the crime rate does not decline in response to capital punishment. Many are optimistic that with the reintroduction of capital punishment, the crime rate should decline, but capital punishment, or otherwise the harmful and forceful nature of crime policy, will not effectively control the law and order problem. But, instead it will instigate more law and order problems and therefore is an inappropriate policy approach in Papua New Guinea.

Recommendation Nine:

- (a) **Amendment is needed to the criminal code to delete sections that provide for capital punishment. Increases in the length of the penalty period should be introduced instead.**
- (b) **Serious offenders (murders, rapists, serious white-collar criminals) should be segregated from other prisoners and the community. A special isolated prison camp offering maximum security detention should be built to house these harmful offenders. The option of privatising such a facility should be looked into and if viable (a pilot project) should be trialed in the Port Moresby area.**

MANAGING ALCOHOL/DRUG ABUSE.

The association between crime and alcohol is well documented (Marshall, 1982; Clifford, et al, 1984; Harris, 1988). Since Papua New Guineans were allowed to drink in 1962, alcohol related problems surfaced and have steadily continued. Today, in almost every social gathering in urban areas, only a few groups would abandon a carton of beer. Alcohol drinking becomes a part of the cultural heritage of an urban environment. The act of drinking itself is not a problem but it becomes a problem when drinkers misuse and abuse the substance. In the daily "Post Courier" and "National" news papers and in "Saturday Independent", one can always read about alcohol-related crime. Although Papua New Guinea may lack a detailed account of the nature, scope and prevalence of alcohol related crime, the fact remains from simple observations that alcohol/drug misuse and abuse contributes to the escalating problem of law and order.

In light of this, how can the state manage the alcohol misuse and abuse? Enga Provincial Government banned the sale of beer in the province but proved incapable of effectively monitoring this. There were/are smugglers suggesting additional controls required and substantial investment. A nationwide prohibition would be an option, however, this means losing jobs, income tax and

sponsorship packages. The situation is worsened by home-grown marijuana in some parts of Papua New Guinea. This substance is used as a substitute for alcohol. There are no easy answers to the problem of alcohol/drug abuse.

Recommendation Ten:

- (a) **The only realistic approach to the alcohol and drug problem is to develop methods, not to eliminate substance abuse or even drastically reduce it, but to live with it and make sure that alcohol and drug users do not seriously harm themselves and others (Goode, 1984:254).**
- (b) **Discourage all alcohol/drug misuse and abuse. The correct techniques should include public education in schools and media warning labels, limit or even ban advertising, high taxation, limiting hours of liquor stores, and legal controls on when? where? and how? alcohol can be publicly consumed.**
- (c) **The legal document that controls alcohol usage and supply be well administered. Responsible authorities must control the allocation of licenses to sell alcohol.**
- (d) **Tougher measures must be taken against drug dealers, especially those that trade in narcotics like morphine. These drugs are harmful and severe legislation should be passed to control the supply and its usage.**
- (e) **The brewing industry and other agents selling alcohol are urged to give financial support not only to the sporting bodies but also law and order groups and Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) wherever the objective is to prevent civil disorder and crime.**

URBAN PLANNING AND SETTLEMENT MANAGEMENT

The cities and towns in Papua New Guinea are characterised by a heterogeneity of population, conflict of norms and values, rapid social change, increased mobility of population and emphasis on material goods and individualism (Clinard and Meier, 1992). Whilst huge infrastructure, commercial and industrial developments are rising, on the periphery, however, an

increasing number of unplanned illegal squatter settlements are emerging. Illegal settlements are often seen as homes for liquor black markets, distribution bases of dangerous drugs, places for promotion of prostitution and homes for criminals (Post Courier, Thursday 30 May 1991:16).

Recommendation Eleven:

- (a) Radically improved urban planning is essential. The physical geographical location and its operational functions of residential, commercial, industrial, institutional, and settlements need to be planned more carefully. Improved urban planning is closely linked to the needs of those living in the cities, creating opportunities for social and economic development regardless of social status in given communities.**
- (b) There is a need to involve people in the communities in which they live and the wider urban community. This involves developing local neighbourhoods as well as civic pride. There is a need to encourage home ownership through the provision of affordable houses and providing services to all communities. An important aim should be to break down the barriers separating people, including the marked contrasts in life styles that are apparent to all who live there.**

The illegal squatter settlements must not be seen as a place for breeding criminals. They are Melanesian people and therefore an integral part of the urban environment. Their adverse social conditions: being isolated, powerless, neglected and poor, makes them feel frustrated and useless. Their involvement in deviant behaviour can be seen in the context of the anomie/stress theory of crime. Their criminal behaviour is a "means-end" problem. This is worsened by authorities' labelling. The illegal settlements are given the status of criminal breeding places and settlers are living up to that stigmatised labelled. They think and act as being thrown and cast out of the dominant urban environment.

Recommendation Twelve:

- (a) There is an urgent need to plan the integration of all existing settlements. City and town boundaries should be clearly spelled out, with strict regulation on illegal settlements.**
- (b) There is a need to pay more attention to what settlers are saying about the nature of their daily existence in the urban context and the kinds of problems they face. There is need to provide settlers with essential services like water supply, electricity and health services. The youths of settlement areas need to be encouraged to organise themselves into groups and apply for jobs through the city council which can coordinate youth employment schemes in the city.**

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The media outcry that law and order problems of Papua New Guinea are escalating has influenced public perception of the problem. Listening to emotive calls by the public for tougher penalties, the government re-introduced "capital punishment" and other repressive measures, which are yet to make any marked impact. The law and order issue needs more formal analytical and less emotive reactions. There are no easy solutions and policy responses need more than emotional reactions to crime and violence.

The fundamental point is that law and order problems are multi-faceted social phenomena, that have challenged the knowledge of mankind. The crime problem becomes more complex as society changes and advances further. It is impossible to imagine total eradication. When one refers to crime and social disorder in a society, it becomes obvious that one has in mind the altering of a person's behaviour and his/her values, ideas and how he/she perceives the environment. To change human beings' pattern of behaviour is a challenging and difficult task because his/her deviant behaviour may have been influenced by some profound factors within him/herself and his/her family.

In this thesis, I have attempted to answer the basic question: why are there escalating law and order problems in Papua New Guinea? No easy answers have been forthcoming because of the very nature of crime. Although the problem may be within the biological and psychological make-up of the individual, this remains an assumption and falls short of scientific validity.

Individual personality explanations for the causation of crime and delinquency are important but still incomplete. Criminals and delinquents may have personality conflicts or poorly developed ego strengths which leave some individuals unrestrained and unmodified by social considerations (McCord and McCord, 1959). These inner drives are likely to be worsened by strains imposed by society. In this context, the whole sociological explanation of crime and delinquency is vital.

The explanation that crime and disorder are caused by strain inflicted on the individual by a disorganised social structure is solid and comprehensive. Social disorganisation refers to either: (1) "a breakdown in conventional institutional controls, as well as informal social control forces, within a community or neighbourhood" (cf. Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927), or (2) "the inability of the organisations, groups, or individuals in a community or neighbourhood to solve common problems collectively" (Shoemaker (1990:82-3). Thus, in a disorganised society, crime and social disorder are viable adaptations.

The question of "how societal arrangement exerts pressure for deviant behaviour" is explained by subculture theory. Whilst lower-class youths are measured against middle-class values and norms in school, and whilst crime is described as lower-class culture both remain sound explanations, the differential opportunity structure is a complete explanation. "In any social structure characterised by inequality, where the prospects of more privileged groups attaining widely shared culture goals through legitimate means are greater than those of the less privileged, crime among the latter group is more

likely to occur"². The process of entering into deviant culture is through interaction and learning. Some actions of criminal behaviour involve strategic planning whilst others are quite accidental and unpredictable.

Since the problems of law and order are inescapable social phenomena, some serious and constructive thoughts are required. Through the late 1990s and beyond to the year 2000, Papua New Guinea needs to address crime and social disorder, incorporating Melanesian values and principles. Since Melanesian culture is diverse, with small, independent states existing in their own, it is difficult to develop any comprehensive structure. However, where possible, appropriate customs and traditional practices must be integrated and have a place in PNG's Western dominant socio-economic and political institutions. I share the view of Jean-Marrie Domenach and re-quote her work to emphasise my point:

Development is not a matter of dressing in other people's clothes and imitating their way of life but of using the instruments of technology to achieve an honourable style of existence. It is not a matter of escaping from one's society and history, but rather of creating a society capable of inventing history (in Amarshi, et al, 1979:60).

I am of the view that this thesis has accomplished its aims and objectives. I realise that the law and order problem is a much more complex social phenomena than I assumed initially. I have attempted to examine all possible causal determinants of the law and order problem in Papua New Guinea. I hope that this thesis provides some additional insights for policy makers and politicians as they seek guidance on this issue for the future of my country.

---

²According to a paper presented at a crime seminar in Rabaul in 1992 by Sinclair Dinnen as reported in the Post Courier, Friday October 22 1993, p.41.

EPILOGUE

While this thesis has come to an end, there have been some significant developments that have occurred both in my local village and in Papua New Guinea as whole.

Touching news came from home that tribal warfare has erupted between my (Tangaip) tribe and a neighbouring tribe. (Both these tribes once enjoyed close ties, even to the point of there being no intermarriages). This tribal fight has cost eight human lives so far. Food gardens, houses and other properties of significant value to both warring parties have been destroyed. The particular village I was born into has been entirely wiped out by the opponent. Currently, the warfare has come to a stand still and both sides of the warring tribes are on look-out for each other.

The cause of this particular tribal fight can be analysed from a modernisation perspective. The fight was a result of a [political] development penetrating rapidly into village life and people have been unable to cope with such rapid transformation. These tribal peoples are yet to understand the principles and practices of Western forms of parliamentary democracy and bureaucratic administration. The tribal peoples identify every situation in the context of their tribal groups. Tribal supremacy and competition has been a part of tribes in Kompam and is still going strong.

Although this particular tribal fight erupted over a conflict regarding an Aid Post which was to be built, the root of it was politically motivated. A candidate from the other warring tribe contested an election, but did not muster sufficient votes to win. The candidate's tribal members were disillusioned in that the candidate did not win all the votes from my tribe. The feeling of anger against my tribe developed for some time after the election in 1992. The warfare instigated by the enemy against my tribe was related to a release of frustration over voting preferences.

Like other contemporary tribal fights, reliable sources informed me that powerful firearms were used in this fight. The dimension of traditional tribal warfare has changed significantly and has taken a new course. The traditional fight was fought within defined rules but contemporary warfare takes little account of these rules. Such internal tribal conflicts continue to threaten the stability of Papua New Guinea.

The Bougainville civil war which began in 1988 continues to claim human lives. The Papua New Guinea Government has lost revenues. Time International reported that: "Before the insurrection, the Bougainville mine was one of Papua New Guinea's jewels, producing 170 000 tonnes of copper, 15 000 killogrammes of gold and 50 000 killogrammes of silver. Its owners CRA now say it would cost \$A400 million to repair and reopen it" (1996:26-27).

The rebels are showing no signs of giving up, even though their dream of an independent Bougainville seems as remote as ever. So far it has claimed the lives of up to 15 000 Bougainvillians. A number of Papua New Guinea soldiers have been shot. After losing twelve soldiers to the self-styled Bougainville Revolutionary Army (BRA) in recent weeks, the Papua New Guinea Government finally lost patience with the deadlocked peace process and ordered its army to "restore order" on the troubled island. (Time International, 1996:26).

It is the view of the Papua New Guinea Government that the BRA is a criminal element existing to threaten the nation state. The government has exhausted all avenues of peace negotiation within its means since 1988 without success. The civil war has been financially very costly for Papua New Guinea and will eventually drain the country's budget if the government continues the peace process without success. The BRA is now facing the full force of the law as the Prime Minister Sir Julius Chan claimed: "To those criminals who continue to kill, destroy and destabilise, let just me say this: Your darkest hour has arrived... Your number has been called and you are now facing the full force of the law." (Time International, 1996:26).

The future for the Bougainville mine and its people seems dim. The civil war may come to an end after bloodshed. The island may secede from the rest of Papua New Guinea or it may not. For the Papua New Guinea Government, secession is not a negotiable issue. Whatever happens, the people of Bougainville will almost certainly never be the same. The psychological trauma of events that have happened on the Bougainville island has devastated not only the Bougainville people but Papua New Guinea as a whole.

In Port Moresby criminal elements continue to threaten the city and its people. The Government declared 1996 as the year of "crime prevention". A significant proportion of the 1996 National Budget was allocated to the Police Department to effectively carry out police operations. While this declaration was observed by the community as a breakthrough in addressing the problems of law and order, the fact remains that two policemen were shot by criminals in the suburb of Gerehu early this year (1996).

This declaration was intended for police to apply repressive techniques which is nothing new. Observers would argue that the killing of two policemen on duty was a direct retaliation by the members of the community when repressive approaches are taken to address the law and order issue.

In one way or another the problems of law and order continue to be a major problem for Papua New Guinea. The criminal elements in the form of white-collar crimes, social disorder, and violent crimes are threatening Papua New Guinea's independence and its people. The fact, however, is that:

Papua New Guinea will never be what outsiders want it to be. It will continue to perplex. It will find its own Melanesian way, sometimes to its own surprise, and oil and gold might keep it economically afloat. The changes taking place are so rapid and interest groups so many and so diverse that is difficult to make any prediction about the future. The best I can offer is what I have written.... (Dorney, 1990:318).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abercrombie, N., et al, 1988. The Penguin Dictionary of Sociology. London: Penguin Books. 2nd edition.
- Abramson, J.A., 1976 Style change in an Upper Sepik contact situation in H Graburn. Ethnic and tourist Arts Cultural Expressions from the Fourth World. Berkeley University of California Press.
- Abu-Lughod, J., 1977. 'Development and urbanisation', Habitat International, vol. 2, no.5/6, Pp.417-26
- Adelman, I., 1975. 'Development economics: a reassessment of goals', *American Economic Review* 65, p.302, quoted by Henriot, P. J. A. 1983. 'Development alternatives: problems, strategies and values', in M. P. Todaro, (ed)., 1983. The Struggle for Economic Development: Readings in Problems and Policies. New York and London: Longman. Pp.26-40
- Amarshi, A., et al, 1979. Development and Dependency: The Political Economy of Papua New Guinea. Melbourne: Oxford University Press.
- Anui, G., 1993a. 'Could it be that one of the main causes for the post-independence gradual decline in law and order in Papua New Guinea can be traced to official long-term neglect of the RPNGC?', A Discussion Paper. Port Moresby: Police Department.
- Anui, G., 1993b. 'An address to the Australian joint services staff college course', Port Moresby: Police Department.
- Arrest Statistics, 1983. National Crime Records Office, Royal Papua New Guinea Constabulary, Port Moresby: Police Department.
- Arrest Statistics, 1991. National Crime Records Office, Royal Papua New Guinea Constabulary, Port Moresby: Police Department.
- Arrest Statistics, 1992. National Crime Records Office, Royal Papua New Guinea Constabulary, Port Moresby: Police Department.
- Arrest Statistics, 1993. National Crime Records Office, Royal Papua New Guinea Constabulary, Port Moresby: Police Department.
- Artihulawa, J., 1983. 'Siane, Simbu Province', in R. Scaglione, (eds)., Customary Law in Papua New Guinea: A Melanesian Viewpoint. Law Reform Commission of Papua New Guinea. Monograph No.2 Pp.134-139

- Asiaweek, 1994. 'Wasting the wealth?', May 11, Pp.51-7
- Balkan, J., et al, 1980. Crime and Deviance in America: A Critical Approach. Belmont: Calif.: Wadsworth.
- Banks, C., 1993. Women in Transition: Social Control in Papua New Guinea. Canberra: Australia Institute of Criminology.
- Beaujeau-Garrier, J., 1966. Geography of Population. London: Longman.
- Becker, H. S., 1973. Outsiders. New York: Free Press. First Published in 1963.
- Bellah, R., (ed)., 1965. Religion and Progress in Modern Asia. New York: Free Press.
- Biles, D., (ed)., 1976. Crime in Papua New Guinea. Canberra: Australian Institute of Criminology.
- Biles, D., 1976. 'A framework for a crime prevention policy', in D. Biles, (ed)., Crime in Papua New Guinea. Canberra: Australian Institute of Criminology. Pp.39-46
- Black, C. E., 1967. The Dynamics of Modernisation. New York: Harper and Row.
- Blumer, H., 1990. Industrialization as an Agent of Social Change: A Critical Analysis. New York: Aldine de Gruyter.
- Bouchard, J. F., 1973. The Impact of Roads in the Gumine Region of Papua New Guinea. Department of Geography Occasional Paper, No.5, Port Moresby, University of Papua New Guinea.
- Bresse, G., (ed)., 1972. The City in Newly Developing Countries. London: Prentice-Hall.
- Brookfield, H. C., 1968. 'The money that grows on tree: the consequences of an innovation within a man-environment system', Australian Geographical Studies, 6 (2)
- Brown, L., 1974. In the Human Interest. Oxford: Pergamon.
- Burgess, L. R. and Akers, L. R., 1966. 'A differential association-reinforcement theory of criminal behaviour,' Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency. 2:1-22
- Bynum, J. E. and Thomas, E., 1989. Juvenile Delinquency: Sociological Approach. Sydney: Allyn and Bacon.

- Carrier, A. H. and Carrier, J. G., 1991. Structure and Process in a Melanesian Society: Ponam's Progress in the Twentieth Century. Melbourne: Hardwood Academic Publishers.
- Chambers, R., 1987. Rural Development: Putting the Last First. Harlow: Longman Scientific Technical.
- Chambliss, J. W., 1973. 'The saints and the roughnecks,' Society. 11:24-31
- Chambliss, W., 1975. Towards a political economy of crime,' Theory and Society. 2:149-170
- Cicourel, A., 1976. The Social Organisation of Juvenile Justice. New York: Wiley. 2nd edition.
- Clifford, W., 1976. 'Urban crime in Papua New Guinea', in D. Biles, (ed)., Crime in Papua New Guinea. Canberra: Australian Institute of Criminology. Pp.1-37
- Clifford, W., et al, 1984. Law and Order in Papua New Guinea: Report and Recommendations. Port Moresby: Institute of National Affairs and the Institute of Applied Social and Economic Research. Volume one
- Clifford, W., 1965. 'Problems in criminological research in South Africa of the Sahara', International Review of Criminal Policy. Vol. 23, p.18
- Clinard, M. B., 1976. 'The problem of crime in developing countries'. in D. Biles, (ed)., Crime in Papua New Guinea. Canberra: Australian Institute of Criminology. Pp.47-69
- Clinard, M. B. and Abbott, D. J., 1973. Crime in Developing Countries: Comparative perspective. New York: John & Sons Wiley.
- Clinard, M. B. and Meier, F. R., 1992. Sociology of Deviant Behavior. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanoich. 8th edition.
- Clinard, M. B. and Meier, F. R., 1979. Sociology of Deviant Behavior. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 5th edition.
- Cloward, A. R. and Ohlin, E. L., 1960. Delinquency and Opportunity. New York: Free Press.
- Cohen, A. K., 1955. Delinquent Boys. New York: Free Press.
- Collins, J. J. (ed)., 1982. Drinking and Crime: Perspective on Relationship Between Alcohol Consumption and Criminal Behavior. New York: Tavistock Publications.

- Conklin, E. J., 1992. Criminology. New York: Macmillan. 4th edition.
- Conklin, E. J., 1981. Criminology. New York: Macmillan.
- Connor, D. W., 1970. 'Juvenile delinquency in USSR: Some quantitative and qualitative indicators,' American Sociological Review. 35:283-297
- Conroy, J. D., 1973a. 'Urbanisation in Papua New Guinea: a development constraint', The Economic Record, 49 (125)
- Conroy, J. D. and Stent, W. R., 1970. 'Education, employment and migration: an analysis of the aspirations and expectations of school leavers in Niugini', Search. Vol. 1, no.5
- Conroy, J. D. and Curtain, R., 1973. 'Migrants in the urban economy: rural school leavers in Port Moresby', Oceania. vol.44, no.2
- Constitution of the Independent State of Papua New Guinea, 1975
- Conyers, D., 1982. An Introduction to Social Planning in the Third World. New York: John Wiley and Sons.
- Cooper, N. 1992 The Bougainville Land Crisis of 1969 The Role of Moral Re-Armament Occasional Paper No 1. Christchurch. Cooper and Machmillan.
- Cortes, B. B. and Gatti, F. M., 1972. Delinquency and Crime. New York: Seminar Press.
- Coser, A. L., et al, 1983. Introduction to Sociology. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
- Dakeyne, R. B., 1965. Stability and change in the Yega economy: a geographical study of land tenure, land use and settlement in Northern Papua, M.A. thesis, Geography Department, University of Sydney.
- Davis, K. 1965. 'The urbanization of human population' Scientific American

- Dinnen, S., 1993b. 'Public order in Papua New Guinea- problems and prospects', A Discussion Paper. Port Moresby. Crime Studies Division, National Research Institute.
- Dinnen, S., 1992. 'Crime, development and criminological research in Papua New Guinea', Waigani: National Research Institute Discussion Paper No.66
- Dinnen, S., 1989. 'Crime, Law and order in Papua New Guinea,' Melanesian Law Journal. 17:10-25
- Dominion, Wednesday 7 April 1994, p.15
- Dorney, S., 1990. Papua New Guinea: People, Politics and History Since 1975. Sydney: Random House.
- Durkheim, E., 1933. The Division of Labor in Society. London: The Free Press of Glencoe. First published in 1893.
- Eisentstadt, N. S., 1953. 'Analysis of pattern of immigration and absorption of immigrants,' Population Studies. 7:167-80
- Eitzen, D. S. and Timmer, A. D., 1985. Criminology: Crime and Criminal Justice. New York: John Wiley and Sons.
- Elliott, D. S., et al, 1985. Explaining Delinquency and Drug Use. California: Sage.
- Emerson, M. R., 1969. Judging Delinquents. Chicago: Aldine.
- Empey, L. T., 1982. American Delinquency. Homewood, Ill.: Dorsey. Revised edition.
- Empey, L. T. and Lubeck, G. S., 1971. Explaining Delinquency. Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath.
- Epstein, T. S., 1968. Capitalism, Primitive and Modern. Canberra: Australian University Press.
- Epstein, A. L. (ed)., 1974. Contention and Dispute: Aspect of Law and Social Control in Melanesia. Canberra: Australian University Press.
- Evans-Pritchard, E. E., 1963. The Comparative Method in Social Anthropology. London: Athlone.
- Faris, L. L. R., 1955. Social Disorganisation. New York: The Ronald Press. 2nd edition.

- Fenton, S., 1984. Durkheim and Modern Sociology. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Fink, A. E., 1938. Causes of Crime. New York: A. S. Barnes.
- Fischer, C. S., 1984. The Urban Environment. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich. 2nd edition.
- Fitzpatrick, P., 1982. 'The Political Economy of Dispute Settlement in Papua New Guinea', in C. Sumner, (ed)., Crime, Justice and Underdevelopment. London: Heinemann: London. Pp.228-247
- Freud, S., 1920. A General Introduction to Psycho-Analysis. New York: Liveright. Translated by Joan Riviere, 1935.
- Freud, S., 1927. The Igo and the Id. London: Hogarth. Translated by Joan Riviere, 1949.
- Foster, J. D., et al, 1972. Perception of stigma following public intervention for delinquency behaviour,' Social Problems. 20:202-209
- Garnaut, R., 1974a. 'Exploring why some people come to town,' Yagl-Ambu. 1:1
- Garnaut, R., 1977. 'Urban growth: an interpretation of trends and choices', in J. R. May, (ed)., Change and Movement: Readings on Internal Migration in Papua New Guinea. Canberra: Australian National University Press. Pp.71-95
- Germani, G., 1965. Migration and acculturation,' in M. P. Hauser, (ed)., Handbook for Social Research in Urban Areas. Paris: UNESCO.
- Gibbons, C. D., 1973. Society, Crime, and Criminal Careers: An Introduction to Criminology. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall. 2nd edition.
- Gibbons, C. D., 1974. 'Effects of juvenile legal procedures in juvenile offenders' self-attitudes,' Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency. 11:51-55
- Giddens, A., 1990. Sociology. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Giddens, A., 1993. Sociology. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Glaser, B. G. and Strauss, A. L., 1967. The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research. Chicago: Aldine
- Glasser, D., 1956. 'Criminality Theories and Behavioral Images,' American Journal of Sociology. 61:433-444

- Glueck, S. and Glueck, E., 1950. Unravelling Juvenile Delinquency. New York: Commonwealth Fund.
- Goddard, M., 1992. 'Big-man, theft: The Social Organisation of Gang in Port Moresby', An Australian Journal of Anthropology. 15 (1):24-34
- Good News Bible, 1988. 'Genesis', Ingleburn: Bible Society of Australia. Pp.1-61
- Goode, E., 1984. Drugs in American Society. New York: Knoff. 2nd edition.
- Griffin, J., 1982. 'Napidakoe Navitu', in R. J. May, (ed)., Micronationalists Movements in Papua New Guinea. Canberra: Department of Political and Social Change, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University. Political and Social Change Monograph 1. Pp.113-138
- Griffin, J., et al, 1979. Papua New Guinea: A Political History. Victoria. Heinemann Education Australia.
- Hagan, J., 1985. Modern Criminology: Crime, Criminal behavior, and its Control. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Hall, J. W. and Beardsley, R. K. (eds)., 1965. Twelve Doors to Japan. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Hardiman, M. and Midgley, J., 1984. The Social Dimensions of Development: Social Policy and Planning in the Third World. New York: John Wiley and Sons.
- Harding, T. G., 1971. 'Wage labour and cash cropping: the economic adaptation of New Guinea Copra producers', Oceania, Vol. 41, No.3
- Harris, B. M., 1988. The Rise of Rascalism: Action and Research in the Evolution of Rascal Gangs. IASER Discussion Paper No. 54, Papua New Guinea Institute of Applied Social and Economic Research.
- Harris, G. T., 1972. 'Labour supply and economic development in the Southern Highlands of Papua New Guinea', Oceania, Vol. 43, No.2
- Harris, G. T., 1973b. 'The determinants of internal migration in Papua New Guinea: an examination of economic rationality in a less developed country', thesis submitted for degree of M.Ec., La Trobe University, Melbourne.
- Harris, G. T., 1974a. Internal migration in Papua New Guinea: a survey of recent literature. Yagl-Ambu. Vol.1, No.2

- Harris, G. T., 1974b. The Determinants of Internal Migration in Papua New Guinea: A Multiple Regression Analysis. Economics Department Discussion Paper No. 12, University of Papua New Guinea, mimeo.
- Hauser, P., 1965. 'Urbanisation: an overview'. in P. Hauser and L. Schnore, (eds)., The Study of Urbanisation. New York: Wily. Pp.37-8
- Hawkins, J. D. and Lishner, D. M., 1987. 'Schooling and delinquency', in E. J. Johnson, (ed)., Handbook on Crime and Delinquency Prevention. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press. Pp.179-221
- Hayes, G., 1993. 'The demographic situation in Papua New Guinea and its policy implications: an international perspective,' in T. Taufa and C. Bass, (ed)., Population Family Health and Development. Port Moresby: University of Papua New Guinea. Vol. 1, Pp.28-67. Papers from the 19th Waigani Seminar
- Hennet, L. J., 1975. 'The case for Bougainville succession,' Meanjin Quarterly. **34** (3):286-293
- Henriot, P. J. A., 1983. 'Development alternatives: problems, strategies and values', in M. P. Todaro, (ed)., The Struggle for Economic Development: Readings in Problems and Policies. New York and London: Longman. Pp.26-40
- Hepburn, J. R., 1977. 'The impacts of police interventions upon juvenile delinquents,' Criminology. **15**:235-262
- Hinners, E. J., 1973. 'Soviet correction procedures for juvenile delinquency,' British Journal of Criminology. **13**:218-226
- Hippchen, L. J., 1978b. 'The need for a new approach to the delinquent criminal problem' in L. J. Hippchen, (ed)., 1978a. Ecology-Biochemical Approaches to the Treatment of Delinquents and Criminals. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold. Pp.3-19.
- Hirschi, T., 1969. Causes of Delinquency. Berkely: University of California Press.
- Hitchcock, N. E. and Oram, N. D., 1967. Rabia Camp: a Port Moresby Migrant Settlement. New Guinea Research Bulletin, 14, Canberra, Australian National University.
- Hofter, A., 1978. 'Some theoretical principles basic to orthomolecular psychiatric treatment', in L. J. Hippchen, (ed)., 1978a. Ecologic Biochemical Approaches to the Treatment of Delinquents and Criminals. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold. Pp.31-55

- Hooton, E. A., 1939. Crime and the Man. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Hudson, B. B., et al, 1959. Problems and methods of cross-cultural research', Journal of Social Issues. vol. 15, Pp.5-19
- Hutt, W. M., 1971. The Economics of Colour Bar. London: Merrit and Hatcher
- Iamo, W., 1983. 'Aroma, Coast Central', in R. Scaglione, (ed)., Customary Law in Papua New Guinea: Melanesian Viewpoint. Law Reform Commission of Papua New Guinea. Monograph No.2 Pp.161-170.
- Ibeauchi, G. B. E., 1986. Developing child and care services in Nigeria. Unpublished PhD. thesis. University of Sterling.
- Ishida, E., 1974. Japanese Culture. Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press. Translated by Teruko Itachi.
- Jarrett, F. G. and Anderson, K., 1989. Growth, Structural Change and Economic Policy in Papua New Guinea: Implications for Agriculture. Canberra: National Centre for Development Studies, The Australian National University. Pacific Policy Paper No.5.
- Jensen, F. G. and Rojek, D. G., 1980. Delinquency. Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath.
- Jessep, O., 1991. 'Customary family law, women's rights and village courts in Papua New Guinea', in Melanesian Law Journal, University of Papua New Guinea. Vol.19, Pp.65-78
- Johnson, E. R., 1979. Juvenile Delinquency and its Origins: An Integrated Theoretical Approach. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Johnson, L. W., 1983. Colonial Sunset: Australia and Papua New Guinea 1970-1974. Brisbane: University of Queensland.
- Kemelfield, G., 1975. 'Alternative education on trial: pilot projects for a community-based education system', in J. Brammall and R. J. May, (eds)., Education in Melanesia. Canberra: The University of Papua New Guinea and The Australian National University.
- Keesing, R. M., 1982. 'Definition of people and place,' in R. J. May and H. Nelsen, (eds)., Melanesia: Beyond Diversity. Canberra: National Australian University. Research School of Pacific Studies. Pp.3-4
- King, D., 1993. 'Urbanisation in Papua New Guinea: Trends from 1966-1990', in T. Taufa and C. Bass, (eds)., Population Family Health and

- Development. Port Moresby: University of Papua New Guinea. Papers from the 19th Waigani Seminar. Vol.1:28-67
- Koroma, J. F., 1977. 'A study of the Bundi people in urban Goroka', in J. R. May, (ed)., Change and Movement: Readings on Internal Migration in Papua New Guinea. Canberra: Papua New Guinea Institute of Applied Social and Economic Research and Australian National University Press.
- Laub, J. H. and Sampson, J. R., 1988. 'Unravelling families and delinquency: a reanalysis of Glueck's data,' Criminology. 26:355-380
- Law and Order Justice Council, 1993. Law and Order Draft Policy. Port Moresby.
- Lawrence, P., 1969. 'The state verses stateless societies', in B. J. Brown, (ed)., Fashion of Law in Papua New Guinea. Canberra: Butterworth and Co.
- Lea, D. A. M., 1964. 'Abelam land and sustenance: swidden horticulture in an area of high population density, Maprik, New Guinea', Ph.D. thesis, Department of Geography, Australian National University.
- Lea, D. A. M. and Weinand, H. C., 1971. 'Some consequences of population growth in the Wosera area, East Sepik District', in Population Growth and Socio-economic Change, New Guinea Research Bulletin, 42, Canberra: Australian National University.
- Leibrich, J., 1990. Centennial Fellowship Research: A study of Desistance from Crime. Project Proposal and Detailed Monograph.
- Leibrich, J., 1993. Straight to the Point: Angles on Giving up Crime. Dunedin: University of Otago Press.
- Lemert, E. M., 1951. Social Pathology. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Lepani, W. 1975 Planning in small dependent economies a case study of Papua New Guinea. A paper presented at the Seminar on Planning in Small Dependent Economies Institute of Development Studies. Sussex University in Amarshi, A. et al. 1979 Development and Dependency. The Political Economy of Papua New Guinea. Melbourne Oxford University Press.
- Levine, B. H., 1976. The formation of urban units in urban Papua New Guinea. Ph.D. dissertation. State University of New York.
- Levine, B. H. and Levine, M. W., 1979. Urbanisation in Papua New Guinea: A Study of Ambivalent Townsmen. London: Cambridge University Press.

- Liazos, A., 1978. 'Social alienation and delinquency,' Crime and Delinquency. 24:355-370
- Liazos, A., 1979. 'Capitalism, socialism, and delinquency,' in L. T. Empey, (ed)., The Future of Childhood and Juvenile Justice. Charlottesville, va.: University Press of Virginia. Pp.336-379
- Lilly, J. R., et al, 1989. Criminological Theories: Context and Consequences. London: Sage Publications.
- Litau, J., 1993. 'Uneven Development and Migration in Papua New Guinea: Implications of 1980 Interprovincial Flows', in T. Taufu and C. Bass, (ed)., Population, Family, Health and Development. Papers from 19 Waigani Seminar, Port Moresby: University of Papua New Guinea. Vol. 1. Pp.301-331
- Lloyd, D. and Freeman, M. D. A., 1985. Lloyd's Introduction to Jurisprudence. London: Steven's and Sons Ltd. 5th edition.
- Lombroso-Ferrero, G., 1911. Criminal Man. New York: Putnam.
- LOSWG, 1993 Final Report of the Law and Order Sector Working Group. Port Moresby, Papua New Guinea. Australia Development Cooperation Programme.
- MacPherson, S., 1982. Social Policy in the Third World. Brighton: Wheatsheaf.
- Mabogunje, A. L., 1980. The Development Process: A Spatial Perspective. Hutchinson: Hutchinson University Library for Africa.
- Mandela, N., 1995. Long Walk to Freedom: The Autobiography of Nelsen Mandela. London: Abacus
- Marshall, M., 1982. Through a Glass Darkly: Beer and Modernisation in Papua New Guinea. Port Moresby: Institute of Applied Social and Economic Research, Monograph 18.
- Marx, K., 1909. Das Kapital, translated by Moore and Areling. Chicago: Kerr.
- Masatsugu, M., 1982. The Modern Samural Society: Duty and Dependence in Contemporary Japan. New York: American Management Association.
- Matane, P., 1995. 'Is it worth all the efforts', in **The Reporter**. Issue No:1174 29 September, Lae: Papua New Guinea University of Technology. Pp.6-8
- Matza, D., 1964. Delinquency and Drift. New York: Wiley.

- May, R. J. and Skeldon, R., 1977. 'Internal migration in Papua New Guinea: an introduction to its description and analysis', in J. R. May, (ed)., Change and Movement: Readings on Internal Migration in Papua New Guinea. Canberra: Australian National University Press. Pp.1-26
- McCasker, A. W., 1972. Report of the Committee of Enquiry into Local Government Finance and Borrowing in Papua New Guinea.
- McCord, W. and McCord, J., 1959. The Origins of Crime. Montclair: Columbia University Press.
- McCord, W. and McCord J., 1964: The Psychopath: An Essay on the Criminal Mind. Princeton: Van Nostrand:
- Mel, M., 1982. Highlands Liberation Front an insider's statement in R J May (ed) Micronationalist Movements in Papua New Guinea Political and Social Change Monograph 1 Canberra. Department of Political and Social Change. Research School of Pacific Studies. Australian National University pp 415-418.
- Merton, R. K., 1957. Social Theory and Social Structure. London: The Free Press of Glencoe. Revised and enlarged edition.
- Miller, B. W., 1958. 'Lower-class culture as a generating milieu of gang delinquency,' Journal of Social Issues. 14:4-19
- Minol, B., 1983. 'Melanesian Way?' in B. Narokobi, The Melanesian Way. Port Moresby and Suva: Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies and Institute of Pacific Studies. Pp.163-5
- Mishan, E. J., 1977. The Economic Growth Debate: An Assessment. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd.
- Momis, J. and Organ, E., 1972. 'A review from Bougainville,' in M. W. Ward (ed)., Change and Development in Rural Melanesia. Canberra: University of Papua and New Guinea and Research School of Pacific Studies, Australia National University. Pp.106-118
- Moore, E. W., 1963. Social Change. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.
- Moresby, J., 1876. Discoveries and Surveys in D'Entrecasteaux Islands. London.
- Morgan, L. R., 1983. Report of the Committee to Review Policy and Administration on Crime, Law and Order. Port Moresby: Government Printer.

- Naibuka, S., 1983. 'Namatani, New Ireland Province', in R. Scaglione, (eds), Customary Law in Papua New Guinea. A Melanesian Viewpoint. Law Reform Commission of Papua New Guinea. Monograph No.2. Pp.73-79
- Namaliu, R. L., 1993. 'Opening address', in T. Taufa and C. Bass (ed), Population, Family, Health and Development. Papers from 19 Waigani Seminar, Port Moresby: University of Papua New Guinea. Vol. 1
- Narokobi, B., 1983. The Melanesian Way. Port Moresby and Suva: Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies and Institute of Pacific Studies, University of South Pacific.
- Narokobi, B., 1989. Law Bilong Yumi Yet: Custom in Melanesia. Goroka and Suva. Institute of Pastoral and Socio-Economic Services and the University of the South Pacific.
- National Statistics Office, Papua New Guinea, 1983b. 'Special tables on youth population, 1980 National Population Census'.
- Nettler, G., 1984. Explaining Crime. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- O'Collins, M., 1984. Youth in Papua New Guinea: With Reference to Fiji, Solomon Islands and Vanuatu. Canberra: Australian National University. Political and Social Monograph 3.
- O'Collins, M., 1983a. The 1980 census: a data base for social concern', Yagl-Ambu, 10 (3):59-68
- O'Collins, M., 1993. Social Development in Papua New Guinea 1972-1990: Searching for Solution in a Changing World. Political and Social Monograph 18. Canberra. Department of Political and Social Change. Research School of Pacific Studies. Australian National University.
- Olsson, G., 1965. Distance and Human Interaction: A Review and Bibliography. Philadelphia, Regional Science Research Institute Bibliography Series, no.2
- Olsson, G., 1970. 'Explanation, prediction, and meaning variance: an assessment of distance interaction models', Economic Geography, 1 (2):42
- Ogburn, William Fielding, 1966. Social Change with Respect to Cultural and Original Nature. New York: Delta.
- Oram, N. D., 1964. 'Urbanisation - Port Moresby', South Pacific Bulletin, 14 (4):37-43

- Oram, N. D., 1965. 'Health, housing and urban development', Papua New Guinea Medical Journal. 8 (2):41-51
- Oram, N. D., 1967. Social and Economic Relations in a Port Moresby Canoe Settlement. New Guinea Research Bulletin, 18, Canberra, Australian National University.
- Oram, N. D., 1968a. 'Culture change, economic development and migration among the Hula', Oceania. 38 (4):243-75
- Oram, N. D., 1968b. 'The Hula in Port Moresby', Oceania. 39 (1):1-35
- Oram, N. D., 1976. Colonial Town to Melanesian City. Canberra; Australian University Press.
- Pacific Islands Monthly, 1996. 66(2) 2-6.
- Paliwala, A., 1982. 'Law and Order in Village: Papua New Guinea's Village Courts', in C. Sumner, (ed)., Crime, Justice and Underdevelopment. London: Heinemann. Pp.192-227
- Palmer, R. 1994. Tribal fighting in the Upper Mendi, Post Courier, May 1994 (Port Moresby) P1.
- Papua New Guinea Criminal Code (Amendment) Act 1991. No. 25 of 1991.
- Papua New Guinea Parole Act 1991, No. 16 of 1992.
- Papua New Guinea Probation Act, Chapter No. 381.
- Papua New Guinea Village Court Act 1973.
- Papua New Guinea Village Court (Amendment) Act 1989, No. 37 of 1989.
- Papua New Guinea Village Court Secretariat Annual Report 1988. Port Moresby. Justice Department.
- Papua New Guinea-Australia Development Cooperation Programme: Final Report of the Law and Order Sector Working Group, July 1993. Port Moresby.
- Pfohl, S. J., 1985. Images of Deviances and Social Control: Sociological History. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Polk, K., 1984. 'The new marginal youth,' Crime and Delinquency. 30:462-480
- Pospisil, L., 1978. The Ethnography of Law. Menlo Park. California: Cummings Publishing Co.

- Post Courier, Monday 10 July 1989, p.1
- Post Courier, Monday 27 May 1991, p.1
- Post Courier, Thursday 30 May 1991
- Post Courier, Monday 30 September 1991, p.1
- Post Courier, Tuesday 15 October 1991
- Post Courier, Friday 19 March 1993
- Post Courier, Monday 5 April 1993
- Post Courier, Tuesday 3 July 1993, p.4
- Post Courier, Tuesday 13 July 1993, p.1
- Post Courier, Monday 2 August 1993, p.4
- Post Courier, Tuesday, August 24 1993 p.1
- Post Courier, Friday, 22 October 1993, Pp.33-34 and 41
- Post Courier, Tuesday, 28 December 1993, p.11
- Post Courier, Monday 19 May 1994, p.1
- Post Courier, Wednesday, 20 July 1994, p.11
- Post Courier, Thursday, 23 December 1995, p.8
- Post Courier, Wednesday, 7 December 1995, p.5
- Quinney, R., 1977. Class, State, and Crime. New York: David McKay.
- Quinney, R., 1980. Class, State, and Crime. New York: Longman. 2nd edition.
- Radzinowicz, L., 1966. Ideology and Crime. New York: Praeger.
- Ranger, T., 1978. 'Growing from the roots: reflection from peasant research in Central and South Africa,' Journal of Southern Africa Studies, 5 (1): 48-133
- Read, E. K., 1955a. Morality and person among the Gahuku-Gama,' Oceania. vol. 25. Pp.233-282.

- Reckless, C. W., 1961. 'New theory of delinquency and crime,' Federal Probation. 25:42-46
- Reischauer, E. O., 1988. The Japanese Today. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Rew, A., 1974. Social Images and Process in Urban New Guinea: A Study of Port Moresby. St Paul: West Publishing Company.
- Reynolds, L., 1975. 'China has a less developed economy', American Economic Review. Vol. 66, June
- Richard, M. T., 1979. Social Policy: An Introduction. London: George Allen and Unwin.
- Rios, J. A., 1976. 'Shantytowns and urban developments in Brazil', in D. Biles, (ed)., Crime in Papua New Guinea. Canberra: Australian National Institute of Criminology. Pp.71-8
- Roberts, B., 1978a. Cities of Peasants: The Political Economy of Urbanisation in the Third World. Beverly Hill: Sage.
- Rogers, J. W. and Mays, G. L., 1987. Juvenile Delinquency and Juvenile Justice. New York: Wiley.
- Rosen, L. and Neilson, K., 1978. 'The broken home and delinquency,' in D. L. Savitz and N. John, (eds)., Crime in Society. New York: Wiley. Pp.406-416.
- Rowley, C.D. 1965 The New Guinea Villager. A Retrospect from 1964. Melbourne H.W. Cheshire.
- Rosner, L. S., 1986. The Soviet Way of Crime: Beating the System in the Soviet Union and the USA. South Hadley, Mass.: Bergin and Garvey.
- Royal Papua New Guinea Constabulary, 1976 Report, Port Moresby: Police Department.
- Royal Papua New Guinea Constabulary, 1990 report, Port Moresby: Police Department.
- Royal Papua New Guinea Constabulary, 1991 Report, Port Moresby: Police Department.
- Ryan, D., 1968. 'The migrants', New Guinea, 2 (4)
- Ryan, D., 1970. Rural and urban villagers: a bi-local social system in Papua. Unpublished PhD. thesis, University of Hawaii.

- Ryan, D., 1977. 'Toaripi in Port Moresby and Lae', in J. R. May, (ed)., Change and Movement: Readings on Internal Migration in Papua New Guinea. Canberra: Australian National University Press. Pp.147-154
- Sabot, R. H., 1979. Economic Development and Urban Migration: Tanzania 1900-1971. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Sali, W. G., 1996. 'The political economy of violent crime among youth in Papua New Guinea'. A paper presented at the 11 Annual Conference of the Australian and New Zealand Society of Criminology 1996 at the Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand.
- Sali, W. G., 1993. 'Urban crime among the youths in Port Moresby', A Research Proposal. Wellington: Victoria University.
- Salisbury, R. F., 1972. 'The rural-orientated strategy of urban adaptation: Siane in Port Moresby', in Weaver, T. and White, D. (eds)., The Anthropology of Urban Environments. The Society for Applied Anthropology Monograph Series, Monograph No. 11, Washington.
- Schauss, A., 1981. Diet, Crime and Delinquency. Berkeley, Calif: Parker House.
- Sechrest, L., et al, 1979. The Rehabilitation of Criminal Offenders: Problems and Prospects: Washington, D. C.: National Academy of Sciences.
- Seers, D. 1969. 'The meaning of Development', International Development Review, no. 4, p.3
- Seers, D. 1969. 'The meaning of development', International Development Review, no. 4, p.3. in Akin, L. Mabogunje, 1980. The Development Process: A Spatial Perspective. London: Hutchinson University Library. p.35
- Seiler, D. G., 1972. Aspects of movement and socio-economic development in the Maprik Sub-district Papua New Guinea, B.Ec. (Hons) thesis, University of Queensland.
- Sheldon, W. H., 1949. Varieties of Delinquent Youth. New York: Harper and Brothers.
- Shelly, I. L., 1981. Crime and Modernization: The Impact of Industrialization and Urbanisation on Crime. Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press.
- Shoemaker, D. J., 1990. Theories of Delinquency: An Examination of Explanations of Delinquent Behaviour. New York: Oxford University Press. 2nd edition.

- Shulman, H. M. 1957. 'A social science review of delinquency causation and control', in F. J. Cohen, (ed)., Youth and Crime. New York: International Press Inc.
- Siegel, L. J., 1992. Criminology, Theories, Patterns, and Typology. New York: West Publishing Company. Fourth edition.
- Slater, D., 1986. 'Capitalism and urbanisation at the periphery: problems of interpretation and analysis with reference to Latin America', in D. Drakakis-Smith, (eds)., Urbanisation in the Developing World. London: Croom Helm. Pp.7-21
- Slee, P., 1993. Child, Adolescent and Family Development. Sydney: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
- Smith, A. D., 1973. The Concept of Social Change: A Critique of the Functionalist Theory of Social Change. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Somare, M., 1975. Sana: An Autobiography of Michael Somare. Port Moresby: Niugini Press.
- South Pacific Magazine, Vol.3, no.2, Pp.11-13
- South Pacific Post, 19 September 1966.
- South Pacific Post, 26 June 1967.
- South Pacific Post, 5 February 1968
- Statistical Digest 1992, Department of Trade and Industry, Papua New Guinea.
- Steinbauer, F. (ed)., 1974. Shaping the Future: Papua New Guinea Personalities. Madang Christian Press.
- Stella, R., 1983. 'Banoni North Solomons Province', in R. Scaglione, (ed)., Customary Law in Papua New Guinea: A Melanesian Viewpoint. Law Reform Commission of Papua New Guinea. Monograph No.2. Pp.78-102.
- Stratton, A., 1981. 'Compensation: should there be a new law?', in R. Scaglione, (eds)., Homicide Compensation in Papua New Guinea: Problems and Prospects. Law Reform Commission of Papua New Guinea, Monograph No. 1. Pp.5-24
- Strathern, M., 1975. No Money on Our Skin, Hagen Migrants in Port Moresby. New Guinea Research Bulletin no. 61. Port Moresby and Canberra: New Guinea Research Unit, The Australian National University.

- Stycos, J. M., 1960. 'Sample surveys for social science in underdeveloped areas', in R. N. Adams and J. J. Presiss, (eds)., Human Organisation Research. Homewood: Dorsey. Pp.375-388
- Sumner, C. (ed)., 1982. Crime, Justice and Underdevelopment: Beyond Modernisation Theory. London: Heinemann Educational.
- Surmon, A. V., 1971. The residential pattern of a colonial town, Port Moresby. Unpublished M.A. thesis. University of Papua New Guinea.
- Sutherland, E. H., 1939. Principles of Criminality. Philadelphia: Lippincott. 3rd edition.
- Sutherland, E. H. and Cressy, D. R., 1978. Criminology. New York: Lippincott. 10th edition.
- Suzuki, Y., 1985. 'Crime' in Encyclopedia of Japan. Tokyo: Kodansha. 2:44-6
- Sykes, G. M. and Matza, D., 1957. 'Techniques of neutralization: a theory of delinquency', The American Journal of Sociology. 22:664-670
- Tannenbaum, F., 1938. Crime and the Community. New York: Ginn and Company.
- Tappan, P. W., 1947. 'Who is the criminal?' America Sociology Review. Vol. 12:96-102
- Tawali, K., 1984. A Mural at the University of Papua New Guinea.
- The Independent, January 12 1996 p.46
- Thomas, W. I. and Znaniecki, F., 1927. The Polish Peasant in Europe and America. New York: Knopf. Vol. 2
- Thrasher, F. M., 1936. The Gang. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Second Revised edition. First Published in 1927.
- Tilbury, F. E. and Tilbury, R. N., 1993. 'Urban migration from the Mount Brown area of the inland Rigo District of Central Province, Papua New Guinea', in T. Taufa and C. Bass, (eds)., Population, Family and Development. Port Moresby: University of Papua New Guinea Press. Papers from 19th Waigani Seminar. Vol. 1, Pp.105-124
- Time International, Auckland 8 April 1996
- Times of Papua New Guinea, Port Moresby, 18 July 1991

- Tittle, C. R. and Paternoster, R., 1988. 'Geographic mobility and criminal behaviour,' Criminology. 28:271-299
- Turner, M., 1990. Papua New Guinea: The Challenge of Independence. Victoria: Penguin Books.
- Tutt, N. S., 1975. Care or Custody: Community Homes and Treatment of Delinquency. New York: Agathon Press.
- United Nations, 1979a. 1978 Report on the World Social Situation. New York. United Nations.
- Vold, G. B., 1980. Theoretical Criminology. New York: Oxford University.
- von Hentig, H., 1948. The Criminal and His Victim. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Waiko, J. D., 1993. A Short History of Papua New Guinea. Melbourne: Oxford University Press.
- Ward, R. G., 1968a. 'Inaugural lecture: reshaping New Guinea's geography', Port Moresby: University of Papua New Guinea.
- Ward, R. G., 1968b. 'Some aspects of labour migration', Canberra, mimeo.
- Ward, R. G., 1970. 'Internal migration', in G. R. Ward and A. D. M. Lea, 1970. An Atlas of Papua and New Guinea. Glasgow: Department of Geography, University of Papua and New Guinea and Collins-Longman.
- Ward, R. G., 1971. 'Internal migration and urbanisation in Papua New Guinea', in Population Growth and Socio-economic change: Papers from Second Demography Seminar. New Research Bulletin, 42, Canberra: Australian National University Press.
- Ward, R. G., 1977. 'Internal migration and urbanisation in Papua New Guinea'. Change and Movement: Readings on Internal Migration in Papua New Guinea. Canberra: Australian National University. Pp.27-51
- Werthman, C., 1970. 'The function of social definitions in the development of delinquent careers,' in G. P. Garabedian and C. D. Gibbons, (eds), Becoming Delinquent. Chicago: Aldine. Pp.9-44
- Westermann, T. D. and Burfeind, J. W., 1991. Crime and Justice in Two Societies: Japan and the United States. California: Brooks/Cole.
- Wilson, J. and Herrnstein, R. J., 1985. Crime and Human Nature. New York: Simon and Schuster.

- Wingti, P., 1993. 'Provinces stripped of liquor functions', Post Courier, Friday August 27 p.1
- Wramainken, M., 1983. 'East Palei, West Sepik Province', in R. Scaglione, (eds), Customary Law in Papua New Guinea: A Melanesian Viewpoint. Law Reform Commission of Papua New Guinea. Monograph No.2. Pp.1-7
- Yablonsky, L. and Haskell, M. R., 1970. Juvenile Delinquency. Chicago: Rand McNally and Company.
- Yablonsky, L. and Haskell, M. R., 1982. Juvenile Delinquency. Boston: Houghton Mifflin. 3rd edition.
- Yablonsky, L. and Haskell, M. R., 1988. Juvenile Delinquency. New York: Harper and Row. 4th edition.
- Yabsley, G. R., 1984. Nunavut and Inuit Customary Law: Report to the Nunavut Constitutional Forum. Unpublished paper, Yellow Knife, N.W.T.
- Yeates, B., 1995. 'Partnership: challenges to social work educators in Papua New Guinea'. A paper presented at the Asia-Pacific Regional Social Sciences Conference 1995 at the University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand.
- Youth on the Move, 1981 1 (1): 2, 5.

APPENDIX 1

INFORMED CONSENT FORM STATEMENT OF CONFIDENTIALITY

I, **Garry Sali**, do solemnly declare that the information obtained during this interview will be used only for the purpose of helping to inform my PhD thesis research on problems of youth crime in Port Moresby which is being undertaken at Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand. I also undertake to ensure that any material from your interview that is included in the thesis will be used in such a way as to protect your identity and integrity.

Signed .....

Garry Sali

Date .....

AGREEMENT TO THE MATERIAL USED

I, ... agree to take part in the research study conducted by Garry Sali as part of his post-graduate studies at the Victoria University of Wellington and to the interview being taped and recorded. I agree to the material from the interview to be used in his thesis write-up, only to the extent that the declaration about confidentiality is observed and honoured.

Signed .....

.....

Date .....

APPENDIX 2

CHECKLIST QUESTIONS FOR POLICY MAKERS ACADEMICS AND RESEARCHERS

URBAN CRIME AMONG YOUTHS IN PORT MORESBY

1. Why do you think there is a rapid rise in law and order problems amongst the youth in Port Moresby and what do you see to be the causes of these problems?
2. Do you think that our law and order problem in Port Moresby is more of a group gang problem or an individual problem involving people trying to obtain necessities for survival? Please explain.
3. "**White-collar crime**" is mainly caused by businessmen, government workers and politicians while "**street crime**" is usually caused by ordinary people who are poor. Which of these crimes do you think has a greater and profound impact in our society today? [and] Why?
4. What do you think can be done to solve the problem of crime and delinquency in Port Moresby?
5. In Port Moresby, there are many people of diverse cultural backgrounds living and working. This makes it hard for people to have any sense or feeling of belonging; or of having respect for one another. How do you think we can foster a sense of belonging and build up mutual cooperation and understanding among these people?
6. In what ways do you think that our traditions and cultural practices play a part in our efforts to solve the law and order problem?
7. Do you think that Christian values and principles should be integrated into our policy approaches? If so, then how?
8. What do you think is required to help our law enforcement agencies to be more effective in dealing with the law and order problem, especially for young people?

9. In what ways might our traditional and customary approaches to dispute settlement be integrated into our criminal justice system and overall policy planning process?
10. Should prison be used for both those who are harmful to society as well as and those that are not harmful to society? Please explain? What alternatives might be used for those who are not harmful?
11. Are there any other comments or points that you like to make about how we might better deal with the law and order problem amongst youths in our country?

APPENDIX 3

CHECKLIST QUESTIONS FOR UNEMPLOYED YOUTHS IN PORT MORESBY

PERSONAL DETAILS

- (1) respondent _____ (2) age _____ (3) place born _____

FAMILY BACKGROUND

- (1) Where are your parents?
- (2) Were your parents educated? If Yes, what education qualification do they have? If no, why? What is their occupation?
- (3) How many brothers and sisters do you have? [and] Where are they? Have they been to school? What is their educational level?
- (4) Do your parents care and love the children?

THE RESPONDENT'S BACKGROUND

- (1) Have you enrolled in school?
If yes, what is your education level? If no, why?
- (2) Have you ever got a job? If yes, why and how did you get out of this job?
If no, are you looking for one?
- (3) Why are you unemployed?
- (4) In what month/year did you come to Port Moresby?
- (5) What is the most important reason that you left the village?
- (6) What other reasons for coming to Port Moresby?
- (7) Who met your transport cost, if any?

- (8) Whom are you staying with in Port Moresby?
- (9) Do you have enough money to survive? If yes, who gives you? If no, how do you manage to survive?
- (10) Have you ever got involved in any criminal activities? If yes, what type and what made you commit the crime? Have you ever been convicted in court and sent to jail?

LAW AND ORDER PROBLEM

- (1) Why do you think there is a law and order problem in Port Moresby? [and] What do you think can be done to reduce the problem?
- (2) What do you think the government can do so that migrant youths can return to the village?

FUTURE PLANS

- (1) Would you like to return to the village? If yes, how soon? If no, why?
- (2) Do you have any plans for the future? If yes, what are these?
- (3) Is there any other point/s you would like to say that I have not asked?

APPENDIX 4

CHECKLIST QUESTIONS FOR VILLAGE YOUTHS

WHO VISITED PORT MORESBY

respondent _____ age _____ place _____

- (1) Have you been enrolled in school? If yes, what grade did you finish? Why didn't you continue school? If no, why didn't you go to school?
- (2) How long ago have been to Port Moresby? Where did you get the money to buy airfare? Whom did you stay with when arrival? How long did you stay?
- (3) Who gave you money for daily use or transport cost? Was that money enough? Why?
- (4) What is the most important reason that made you go to Port Moresby? [and] What other factors/reasons, if any?
- (5) Have you achieved your aims, desires, or needs?
- (6) Have you been told about the life in Port Moresby before visiting? If yes, what things did you expect to see? Did you see and experience every thing when arriving? [and] Did you like them? If no, what have you had in mind of Port Moresby would be like?
- (7) Have you ever had the desire of seeing Port Moresby?
- (8) Now that you have been to Port Moresby, do you want to go again? If yes, why? If no, why?
- (9) What things you saw in Port Moresby that you liked most? and why? What things that you saw in Port Moresby that you don't like most? and why?
- (10) Why did you return to the village?
- (11) When you stayed in Port Moresby, have you been involved any criminal activities? If yes, what type? Did you know that you were doing wrong? Why did you commit such offense? Have you been convicted and sent to jail?

- (12) What do you think that the government can do so that young boys can stay in the village?
- (13) Is there any other point/s you would like to make regarding how to address law and order problems?

APPENDIX 5

CHECKLIST QUESTIONS FOR VILLAGE YOUTHS

WHO HAVE NEVER VISITED PORT MORESBY

respondent _____ age _____ place _____

- (1) Have you been enrolled in school? If yes, what grade did you finish? Why didn't you continue school? If no, why didn't you go to school?
- (2) Have you been told about life in Port Moresby? If yes, what were the things you have been told? Was that interesting? Why?
- (3) Have you ever thought of going to Port Moresby? If yes, why? If no, why?
- (4) Would you like a visit or permanent settlement? Why visit? Why permanent settlement?
- (5) In your view, is life in the village better than the life in Port Moresby, or life in Port Moresby better than the village? Give reasons.
- (6) Have you ever committed an offense in your community? If yes, what type? Was that settled in the community by traditional methods of settlement, or was it settled in a formal court? Did you know that you were doing wrong? If yes, why did you commit? What was the reaction from the community? How did you respond to it?
- (7) If you have never committed a crime, what do you think about the other offenders? How do you think a crime be solved: (a) that the matter should be settled in the village and why? (b) That the matter should be brought before a court of law and why?
- (8) Do you think there is a law and order problem in this community, district and province? If yes, what do you think the government should do?
- (9) Is there any other comment/s that you would like to make?

APPENDIX 6

TRADITIONAL DISPUTE SETTLEMENT

CHECKLIST QUESTIONS FOR VILLAGE ELDERS/LEADERS

1. What type of dispute/s have you been asked to resolve?
2. Who was the principle mediator?
3. What was the mediator's decision based on?
4. What were the likely decisions?
5. Under what circumstances the dispute was not settled?
6. If the dispute was not solved, what happened?
7. What are the most important reasons for people not deviating from the traditional ways of this village?
8. Who was respected the most in the society and why?
9. How did the family or community bring up their children? What kind of skills, values and principles would be taught to the children?
10. Did people have fears or beliefs about religious sanctions or the intervention of gods and spirits? If yes, why?
11. Have there been changes in the traditional ways of solving disputes? If yes, what are these specific areas of change?
12. How did the colonial administration change the traditional ways of solving disputes? Is the change in the best interest of the locals or was it imposed? Why?
13. What do you see to be the differences between our traditional ways and the present method of solving dispute in this community?
14. Are there now fewer or more problems/disputes than in earlier times? Why do you think this is so?

15. Do you think that a return to the old and traditional ways of solving disputes would help maintain law and order more effectively?
16. What can the people do now to maintain social order?
17. If you want the government to help and assist in maintaining law and order in this community, how do think government can help?
18. Do you know of person who has left and gone to Port Moresby? If yes, why did that person leave? Does the community still need him and why?
19. Why is it that people from this community have never been to Port Moresby?
20. Is there anything else you would like to say regarding law and order and problems in our country?

APPENDIX 7

NATIONAL GOALS

1. **Integral Human Development:** We declare our first goal to be for every person to be dynamically involved in the process of freeing himself or herself from every form of domination or oppression so that each man or woman will have the opportunity to develop as a whole person in relationship with others.
2. **Equality and Participation:** We declare our second goal to be for all citizens to have an equal opportunity to participate in, and benefit from, the development of our country.
3. **National Sovereignty and self-reliance:** We declare our third goal to be for Papua New Guinea to be politically and economically independent, and our economy basically self-reliant.
4. **National resources and environment:** We declare our fourth goal to be for Papua New Guinean's natural resources and environment to be conserved and used for the collective benefit of us all, and to be replenished for the benefit of future generations.
5. **Papua New Guinean Ways:** We declare our fifth goal to be to achieve development primarily through the use Papua New Guinean forms of Social, political and economic organisations.

(Constitution of the Independent State of Papua New Guinea, 1975)

APPENDIX 8

PAPUA NEW GUINEA EIGHT AIMS

1. Rapid increase in the proportion of the economy under the control of Papua New Guinean individuals and groups in the proportion of personal and property incomes that goes to Papua New Guineans.
2. More equal distribution of economic benefits, including movement toward equalisation of incomes among people and toward equalisation of services among different areas of the country.
3. Decentralisation of economic activity, planning and government spending, with emphasis on agricultural development, village industry, better internal trade, and more spending channelled to local and area bodies.
4. An emphasis on small scale artisan, service and business activity, relying where possible on typically Papua New Guinean forms of business activity.
5. A more self-reliant economy, less dependent for its needs on imported goods and services and better able to meet the needs of its people through local production.
6. An increase capacity for meeting government spending needs from locally raised revenue.
7. A rapid increase in the equal and active participation of women in all forms of economic and social activity.
8. Government control and involvement in those sectors of the economy where control is necessary to achieve the desired kind of development.

(These Eight Aims were formulated in December 1972 and were approved by the House Assembly. They appeared in *Papua New Guinea's Improvement Plan for 1973-1974* and have featured in annual planning documents since then.)

Source: Turner, M. 1990. Papua New Guinea: the Challenge of Independence. Victoria: Penguin Books.

APPENDIX 9

Figure 1

Law and order administrative structure

====> Information and policy reform channel
——> Monitoring, evaluation and coordination channel

Abbreviations used:

- NEC - National Executive Council
- LOCT - Law and Order Coordination Team
- CJS - Criminal Justice System
- NLOJC - National Law, Order and Justice Council
- NRI - National Research Institute
- UPNG - University of Papua New Guinea
- PLOJC - Provincial Law, Order and Justice Council
- DOMT - District Order Management Team
- LLOMT - Local Level Management Team