EDUCATION AND CHANGE,

AN ENQUIRY AS TO THE ROLE OF INTRODUCED EDUCATION IN THE
PROCESS OF SOCIAL CHANGE,
with special reference to New Guinea.

Thesis submitted to the Anthropology Department
for the degree of Bachelor of Arts.

by Bernard Otto van Huenen.

November 1952.
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INTRODUCTION.

The selection of a problem connected with education as the subject for a thesis in Anthropology was in the first instance determined by a personal interest in practical problems. Because of the frequently recurring controversy as regards the question of applied anthropology and social engineering, and the position of the social scientist, some remarks may be made in this introduction which will clarify the writer's position and justify his interest, and which will also indicate certain restrictions on the investigation of our problem.

A great number of individuals working in areas which the anthropologists regard as their "laboratories" par excellence, are engaged in educational activities. Their aim is to bring about social and cultural change, and they regard education as their most potent instrument in their efforts. Many of these practitioners would welcome the advice of the anthropologists in order to improve, change, and, if necessary, to discard this instrument. Should the anthropologist help them in that way?

The main difficulty with the answer to this question is the need for the scientist not to become involved in value-systems, which are supposed to lie outside his field. The idea of frowning upon every change made in a native's way of life has now been abandoned by almost every anthropologist, one of the reasons being that such frowning almost inevitably implied a value-judgment, namely the idea of regarding the existing condition of the native peoples as the "ideal" state. The anthropologist may also regret that he loses the material which he would like to record in order to build up his science, but the only realistic attitude is to accept the fact that changes occur in societies, from within and from without, and his regret can be no more than that of the meteorologist who did not "freeze" yesterday's weather-conditions which could have provided him with new material for a new theory.
The anthropologist must be interested in social change as it is a social phenomenon. With this statement the question has not yet been answered whether he can be interested in social change as a practical problem. Where the main objection to the so-called practical, or applied, social science seems to stem from a reluctance to admit value-systems and subjective aims into the field of science, the following statements made by R. MacIver may be quoted as relevant:

(1) "Science is concerned not with the establishment of ultimate ends or values, but only with the relation between means and ends; the ends can never be demonstrated, but only the relevance or adequacy of means to postulated ends. (2) Science is concerned with what is, not with what in the last resort ought to be; and it must always avoid the confusion of the is and the ought, of the fact and the ideal. (3) Social science has as part of its subject matter the valuations operative in social institutions and organisations, but not the valuations of these valuations on the part of those who investigate them. (4) Social science in investigating the instrumental character of institutions and organisations, that is, their services and disservices as means to postulated ends, must always guard against the danger that the bias of the investigator will magnify those aspects of service or of disservice which give support to his own valuations." 1) 

These rules seem to be sufficiently adequate to safeguard objectivity in science. But they do not exclude interest in practical problems. We can discuss the adequacy of means to the postulated ends, for instance the adequacy of education for social change without regarding the latter as an ideal or something that

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1) R.H. MacIver, Society, p.520
ought to be. The writer of this thesis hopes to work in this direction during the present paper and to remain within the limits set by the above rules.

That this detachment is not always easily arrived at may be shown from Laura Thompson's book: "Personality and Government", where the writer speaks about 'scientifically-based working norms and goals relevant to community welfare', such norms, she believes, being available for the ecologic, the sociologic, the somatic and the personality sets of community welfare, but not yet for the psychosomatic and the symbolic sets and for the core values.\(^1\) Upon a closer examination it appears that these norms and goals are rather subjectively determined and it seems that they are more regarded as ultimate ends than as instruments or means. There is also an element of the difficulty that can be made against M.F. Ashley-Montague when he writes that he fails "to see why scientists cannot be propagandists. Since scientists are concerned with the discovery and statement of the relations between facts, namely the truth, I do not see why they cannot become propagandists of the truth"\(^2\). The difficulty is that the scientist is a specialist, and by that very fact one-sided in his knowledge of the truth, and in his appreciation of the truth, especially regarding the truth about the human welfare as a whole.

Where then do we stand with our problem of education and the development of native societies? If we recognise the limits of our knowledge, we may well say what we know. By our study of the social facts, we have discovered things which were unknown before, and we have found probable relationships between facts which hitherto remained unnoticed. It is true that an authority like E.F. Evans-

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1) Laura Thompson, Personality and Government, 1951, pp.184-5
2) M.F. Ashley-Montague, Anthropology and Social Engineering, Am. Anthropol., 1946, p.666
Firthard does "not think that there is any anthropologist anywhere who would seriously maintain that up to the present time any sociological laws have been discovered" and that it therefore cannot be applied, but he holds at the same time that anthropology "is a systematic body of knowledge about primitive societies and like all knowledge of the kind, it can be used to some extent and in a common-sense way in the running of affairs" 1).

This thesis is written not with the purpose of determining the educational policy of New Guinea. It only wants to indicate some of the sociological implications of education. We cannot regard ourselves as competent for drawing up curricula-programs or time-tables, but we may be able to construct a theoretical framework of social theory in which practical principles find a place so that we may say to the administrator, missionary or planter, as Prof. Elkin suggests, "Given this change for which you are responsible, or which you are planning, such and such effects will probably follow; therefore, you must be prepared for them, or else you should alter your method or policy" 2).

The conclusions which we arrive at, should be regarded as hypotheses, which can be handed over to the 'practitioner'. If he chooses to use them and to test them out in the social 'laboratory', then we may find the anthropological theory enriched with new evidence as regards its adequacy. Thus also from a purely anthropological self-interested point of view, our concern with practical problems is of great value.

A fuller exposition of the problem will be given in the first chapter together with the necessary information as regards the method of study and the sources of our material. For the sake of clear understanding it must be remarked here that the thesis is concerned

1) E. Evans-Pritchard, Social Anthropology, 1951, p.117
2) A.P. Elkin, Anthropology and the South West Pacific, Oceania, 1943, p. 7
with the people of New Guinea as a whole, irrespective of whether they fall under Australian or under Netherlands administration. The term "Papuan" is used to indicate the native inhabitant of the island. If the term "primitive" is used for these people, then all value-judgement should be excluded.

A final note concerns the references made in the thesis. At the end a full bibliography will appear with all the necessary information which must be given in a proper bibliography. In order to avoid too lengthy footnotes at the bottom of the pages, we will make them such that references can be easily identified as to the source of information and the time of its publication. The full bibliographic reference will then be found in the bibliography proper.
CHAPTER I. EDUCATION AND CHANGE, A PROBLEM.

Earlier during the present academic year (1952) a series of seminars was held in connection with a practical Research Project for the Honours-students in the Department of Anthropology. The general theme of these seminars was "Education and the selection of leaders" and the discussions centered around the problems of the function of the educational system in society and of its role in promoting social change. Questions regarding the dynamics of social and cultural change were touched upon. If enlarged and subjected to further analysis the theoretical implications of these questions could be compared with those that confront people who are using education as their principal means of establishing a new social order and of introducing new ideas among the so-called primitive societies. We propose therefore to analyse the seminar problems first and then to introduce our own problem. For the convenience of those readers who are not acquainted with the discussions in the seminars, a transcript of the summaries of the seminars concerned will be attached in a Appendix at the end of the thesis.

The titles of the respective summaries are: 1) The cultural basis of Education, 2) Education and social change, 3) Education as a means for social selection. The presumed functions which are attributed to education, may correspondingly be termed: the conservative, the creative and the selective functions. Education was defined as the conscious part of the process by which the young and immature are induced into the ways of behaving which characterize the members of the society, i.e., into the society's culture. Where the division of labour has been highly developed in a society, one finds special agencies for education of which the school is the most important one. The seminars, it will be understood, dealt mainly with the latter.
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1) See Appendix
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2) R. Hutchins
3) Z. Slesinge
4) M. Head, Or
belief in the effectiveness of education as an instrument in promoting change. In other words, the two writers are talking about different things, and where comparable passages are found they seem to be in agreement rather than opposing each other. For one thing, Slesinger is writing about social structure, Hutchins about "ideals" which anthropologists would classify under culture. Although social structure and culture are closely related, the distinction between the two is of great importance in the study of social change.

Slesinger's conclusion that the school must be rejected as a means of the revolutionary change in the structure of society, seems to be based on his assumption that "the public school ... is a state institution and as such its functions must coincide with those of the state i.e. the preservation of our class economy" 1). In other words, he regards the existing educational system as being determined by the structure of the society. If this were a closed system (i.e. society determining education, and education determining society), then it is strange that Slesinger quotes Broader as saying "The school system must itself be revolutionized before it can become an instrument of revolution- or of any serious social change " and that he adds a little later "The educator, if he will identify his interests with the interests of the workers, and consecrate his services to the liberation of the masses from class conditions and class domination, may become a significant force in determining the road which we shall take. To be sure, this will demand utmost determination, dauntlessness and devotion" 2). From the last quotation it would appear that even according Slesinger the educational system can be used to the advantage of a foreseen cause, namely through the identification of the educator with certain ideals.

1) Z. Slesinger, Education and the Class Struggle, 1937 p.294
2) id. pp.294-5
Turning back to Hutchins, it would be possible to quote a number of sentences from his book which would show a great deal of agreement in ideas with those expressed by Slesinger. For instance, as regards the domination of the educational system by the existing social system, the quotation cited above is immediately followed by the recognition that "the character of education is determined by the character of society". And earlier he said that "there is never anything wrong in the educational system of the country. What is wrong is the country. The educational system that any country has, will be the system that country wants. It will be, in general, adapted to the needs and ideals of that country as they are interpreted at any given time".

Here again then, if we were to regard the relationship between the educational system and society as one of absolute pre-determination, it would be easy to contradict the fallacious hope of changing society through education. Hutchins, however, sees a possibility of breaking through the hypothetical vicious circle. A political revolution is one way, but he prefers a spiritual revolution. Now, "the only way to secure a spiritual revolution is through education", but for this must first be determined "the ideals we wish to propose for our country..... If one college and one university—and only one—are willing to take a position contrary to prevailing American ideology and suffer the consequences, then over a long period of time the character of our society may change".

From this analysis it will appear that the opinions of Hutchins and Slesinger after all do not stand as far apart as was originally suggested. Certainly, there are points of distinction. We mentioned one already. Both authors write about a

1) R. Hutchins, op. cit., p. 58
2) id., p. 48
3) id., p. 59
revolution, Slesinger about a structural, Hutchins about a spiritual revolution. Which one is preferred is a question of taste. What matters here is that both recognise the possibility of gradual infiltration of a proposed change throughout the community by the educational system. When Slesinger sees the way open for using the educational system for his aim—the political revolution, then he is exactly at the point of ideology which is to become part of the equipment of the educator; in other words, change through education is feasible, if first a "spiritual" revolution has taken place in the educator.

lest we wander too far from our subject, it is necessary to break off our analysis of the writers at this juncture, and to consider the third author discussed at the seminars, M. Mead has attempted to show through her study of a homogeneous culture that there is a need for "modification in the characteristic American faith in education as the universal panacea." 1) Her argumentation runs as follows: Societies may use different methods for educating its young, but whatever methods are adopted, the result will be the same, namely that the society will continue on its trodden path. The reason for this is that "the forces of imitation are so much more potent than any adult techniques for exploiting them; the child's receptivity to its surroundings is so much more important than any methods of stimulation; that as long as every adult with whom he comes in contact is saturated with the tradition, he cannot escape a similar saturation." 2)

This seems to be true enough, but it is not without difficulties especially with regard to the way in which education

1) M. Mead, op. cit. p. 261
2) id., p. 260
is defined. Where at a later stage the influence is discussed, that methods in education may exert upon the rising generation, M. Mead distinguishes education from propaganda, but she does not seem to be consistent. Whereas propaganda in this case is confined to the spreading of cultural "elements" within one society, this exception is not made for education. "If education be defined as the process by which the cultural tradition is transmitted to the next generation, or in exceptional cases to the members of another cultural tradition - as is the case when a primitive people is suddenly brought within the sway of the organised forces of civilization - propaganda may be defined as methods by which one group within an existing tradition tries to increase the number of its adherents at the expense of other groups."

Apart from the question whether one is justified in defining education in terms of process (with the exclusion of the significance of methods) and propaganda in terms of methods, one has to face the objection of those who would find it difficult not to regard the transmission of Western culture to the members, young or old, of a primitive cultural tradition as a form of propaganda for European civilization. It is doubtful whether the distinction between education and propaganda as it is made by M. Mead can be consistently sustained.

It is stated a little later that "no child is equipped to create the necessary bridge between a perfectly alien point of view, and his society. Such bridges can only be built slowly, patiently by the exceptionally gifted. The cultivation in children of traits, attitudes, habits foreign to their culture is not the way to make the world over the world. Every new religion, every new political doctrine, has had first to make its adult

1) M. Mead, op. cit. p. 264.
converts, to create a small nuclear culture within whose guiding walls its children will flourish.)

If this is true, what are the consequences for the educators in primitive societies? Should missionaries withdraw their teachers from their many schools and concentrate their efforts on conversion of the adult community? Is "all" the money spent by Administrators on education wasted? Is the insistence from the side of anthropologists upon better and more educational facilities for these peoples all hocus-pocus? Or, is it that what has been said above, is but the one-sided illumination of a much more complicated problem?

It was said in the introduction that we were interested in practical problems, and that we wanted to investigate the theoretical implications of these problems. We want to know what is the role of those who call themselves the educational agents, in connection with the development of the peoples of New Guinea? What are the conditions under which they have to work? What are the reasons why their work is often frustrated? And, is there any pre-disposition, either on the part of the party to be educated, or on the part of the educational agency, which would facilitate success?

These questions could be relatively easily answered if it were possible to determine the limits within which change is possible in a society such as the one we want to study, and also the significance that education has for later life. For instance, if it is possible to determine that the acceptance of changes in a society is restricted to those that link up with the existing traditions in that society, then is there a "law" which explains why in certain cases changes that were introduced did not have

1) H. Mead, op. cit., p.263
the expected success. Or again, if there is a law that the application of knowledge acquired at school depends upon the opportunities to use that knowledge for daily life, then we have found the reason (or one of the reasons) why the schooling in the 3 R's has had so little effect upon the native community life in New Guinea.

There is another side to these problems of the limits of changeability and educability, namely the question whether these limits are themselves changeable. Supposing that it is true that the acceptance of a change depends upon the existence of links in the society to be changed, does this mean that the non-existence of such links excludes every possibility of introducing such changes as are thought to be desirable? For instance, it has been said that the pre-christian conditions regarding sexual practices in Fusama and among the Trobrianders has determined the acceptance of the Christian sexual code by the puritanical Fusama people, but the rejection of this code by the Trobrianders who permitted a great premarital sexual indulgence.¹) Is it possible that even after their 50 year long negativistic attitude the Trobrianders will eventually accept the christian code? In other words, are the limits of changeability with regard to this point still the same as they were fifty years ago, when missionary teaching was first introduced?

It would be presumptuous on the part of anthropologists to assume at this stage that it would be possible to analyse the whole process of social change through education in this way. The difficulty is that as yet there are not enough social laws firmly established which could explain the social life of a community as a whole. Certain relationships may be known to exist

¹) See: R. Ian Hogbin, Transformation Scene, 1951 p. 293.
between some social phenomena and others, but certainly not for all of them, nor is our knowledge sufficient to speak of any definite laws of social integration. Anthropology and sociology are still in need of more investigation, comparison and testing.

From a methodological point of view the social sciences are faced with a very serious handicap which is inherent in their subject-matter, namely its complexity. This complexity reveals itself in the difficulty of determining the relevancy of the variables among the conditions of the phenomena under investigation, and in the difficulty of isolating the factors to be studied from the total situation. This fact accounts for the tendency in modern anthropological literature to give such detailed and elaborate descriptions, and the writer willingly admits that his description of the educational situation in New Guinea (Ch. IV) is probably too concise in that respect. If this thesis had been based on actual fieldwork, this difficulty could have been overcome to some extent.

In order to illustrate how dangerous it is to draw conclusions from the co-existence of certain conditions, let us compare two communities in which a great deal of social change has taken place. We read about "the high standard of education of Kvote and Catholic missions"1) in the Milne Bay area, and find that they have developed a company for the export of copra and for the establishment of a number of industries including a furniture factory, a house-building unit, a craft factory, fish canner and electricity supply. This scheme has had relatively great success under the leadership of a Kvote-trained native, Honeri Tenicoleka. On the other side, the people of the Furari Delta show

1) C.S. Balshaw, Economic Development in S.E. Papua, Circular no 9 South Pacific Commission, 1951 p.3. See also: Community Development in Milne Bay, Dept. of Edu., 1951, and C. Balshaw, Wagawaga, South Pacific, 1951 pp. 18-20
also a keen interest in progress and development. Under the leadership of Tomi Kabu they formed a trading Company and bought a boat for the shipment of sago and copra to Port Moresby. This scheme is regarded as a complete failure, though other aspects of the movement are regarded as more successfully. About the educational facilities in this area it is said that village schools had been set up by the London Missionary Society, but "little of real educational importance reached these people in the pre-war days". It would be tempting for anybody interested in the relationship between education and social development to draw conclusions from the contrast between these two societies. In the first case a high standard of education was reached, in the second case the educational facilities were almost nil. In Milne Bay the trading scheme has success, in the Purari Delta it is a failure. Is there any connection between the two series of facts? Only if we could be sure of "other things being equal", could this question be answered in the confirmative. Here, of course, most of our enquiries run on a dead end because of our inability to find comparable material.

R. MacIver discussing the effects that the introduction of an external instrument, such as a radio, has on the social life of a people, objects to the often heard assertions that the radio is responsible for the increase of homogeneity, the lessening of the distinctions between social classes and other changes in social attitudes and social relationships. These changes, he says, are not so much the result of the external instruments themselves, but depend upon the use that is made of them for specific purposes. "Men use what means are available for their purposes, and the

meaning of means is a function not only of the stage of civiliza-

For this reason, it "is much more profitable to look for effects
emerging within the specific process involved in the operation
of the neutral instrument or means... (because) there is a di-
rect nexus between the operation of the instrument and the skills
it calls for, the habits it engenders, the occupational speciali-
sations that grow out of its use" (2). A similar observation can
be made with regard to the instrument which is called the school,
when it is introduced in a primitive community, although admit-
tedly the school is a less "neutral" instrument in itself than the
radio. What new habits does it engender, what skills does it call
for, what new specializations does it create?

Yet, at the same time the appearance of these effects is also
dependent upon the conditions in the society in general, and when
the effects of the introduction of the school are under investi-
gation the total situation of the society must necessarily be taken
into account.

One of the major contentions of this thesis is then that the
process of social change is determined by the total social situa-
tion in which the community is living and is not attributable to
the introduction of any specific element; and also that the educa-
tional experience of the immature members of the society is not
only determined by that which they receive at school, but also by
the conditions of the society in which they grow up.

It is in the interaction between the introduced institutions
and the social life of the Papuans, and especially in the inter-
action between these introduced institutions and the Papuans
themselves as the carriers of their social life, that the social
changes exist. "The human meaning of culture change must not be

1) R. MacIver, Social causation, 1942, p.362
2) ibid. p. 363
sought in the changed cultural situation in itself, but in the altered interplay between the changing culture and the changing personality. It is here not a question of the change of 'things', because things have meaning in the human sphere only so far as they speak to men, 'say something'}, 1\). The school therefore can only be regarded as having changed the Papuan society only if it has given new motivations to the Papuans, a new outlook on the things he is using and new attitudes towards the introduced institutions (amongst which the school itself).

The material for this thesis has been gathered in the first place from a good number of books about New Guinea and also from the articles which the writer within the restrictions of available time could read. Very few of these dealt with the educational problem as such. Some comparative material has been derived from other areas, mainly from Africa and from the American Indian studies. This choice was determined not only by the similarity in conditions, but also and to a greater extent by the fact that the studies in these two areas are undertaken with different theoretical approaches, most of the African studies being made with the 'functional' background and the American studies within the framework of the cultural personality theory.

Contact was sought with the Australian school of Pacific Administration, with various Missionary Societies in Sydney whose members work in New Guinea, and with the Commonwealth Office of Education. Discussions were held with representatives of these bodies, and also with other persons personally acquainted with the conditions in New Guinea.

Finally, lengthy letters were received from two missionaries in the interior of New Guinea as a reply to a number of questions

1) G.J. Hold, De Papoea, Cultuurimprovisator, 1951, p.211.
put before them by the writer. Both these Missionaries have had training in Anthropology, and they knew what information was wanted. The following questions were meant to be no more than guiding lines for their answers: What is in your opinion the dominant culture in the contact situation? Are the children more attracted by the things they learn at school than by those they find at home? Is there any differentiation or selection in their choice according to certain criteria? What is the attitude of the adults towards the school? What are in general the effects you would attribute to school teaching? Are there any signs of psychological conflict in the children as the result of their choice between two cultures? Is much of the indigenous culture lost through the school and is any attempt made to 'blend' the two cultures? Do new leaders emerge as the result of the school? Do the educational agencies attempt to build the introduced system upon the basis of the existing indigenous culture? Have provisions been made that what is learned at school can be used when the children leave school? Does the school stimulate the 'wanderlust' of the children?

These questions were also kept in view by the writer when he read the published material. It is of course taken for granted that there is sufficient knowledge of the existing conditions in general when these questions are answered.

It is not in the writer's intention to answer the above questions one by one in the following pages. The answers will be discussed under entirely different titles.
CHAPTER II. SOCIAL CHANGE.

Changes occur in every society, in our own society as well as in those that are called primitive. The reasons for these changes may be found either within the society itself, or they may come from outside. How do these changes come about? How can the process of social change be analysed? Are there any regularities to be found in the way in which a society under certain circumstances adapts itself to these changes?

This chapter intends to deal with these problems in two sections. First we propose to give a short historical survey of the contacts of Europeans with New Guinea and its people, emphasizing differences in policies and aims under different circumstances, and showing how changes have occurred in these policies. This will be followed by a summary of the impact of the contact with European civilization on the native life. We look at the situation from outside as it were. In the second section a theoretical approach to the problem of social change is attempted in a more or less abstract fashion. We hope to find material which will help us later in the discussion of the role of education for social change.

Although New Guinea was first discovered by Europeans as early as 1512 and officially made a possession of the Spanish Throne in 1545, it was not until the middle of the 19th century that the direct and active influence of Europeans began to be felt by the Natives.\(^1\) It is true that before that time the Papuans had suffered indirectly from the Europeans, namely the

\(^1\) For this historical sketch see: W.C. Klein (Ed.), Nieuw Guinea, 3 vols, 1935-1938; S.W. Reed, The making of modern New Guinea, 1943; L.P. Huir, Australia in New Guinea, 1948; J. van Eschoud, Vergeten Aarde, 1951 (more popular).
Dutch East Indies Company which had recognised the sovereignty of the Sultans of Ternate and Tidore over large areas in the North-West of New Guinea, endorsing in this way the economic exploits and the blackbirding activities undertaken in the name of those Sultans and their subjects. However, the lack of economically valuable goods, the ruggedness of the geographic conditions and the reputed savageness of the inhabitants of the island, combined with the fact that elsewhere the European interests were much easier more easily satisfied, all these circumstances precluded direct and intense contact until the 19th century.

Since 1824 the Dutch Government regarded the Western portion of the island as its territory, but apart from a soon abandoned military garrison at Triton Bay (1828-1836) no attempts were made for permanent settlement, until in 1855 two German Protestant Missionaries established themselves on an island near Manokwari. From 1862 onwards these missionary enterprises in the Northern half of Netherlands New Guinea have been organised by the body known as the "Utrechtsche Zendingen Vereniging" (U.Z.V.).

During the 70's of the 19th century the German trading Company, the "Deutsche Seehandelgesellschaft", tried to expand its activities over the Eastern section of New Guinea, first in New Britain and gradually penetrating into the mainland. From 1880-1883 several trading posts were established in New Britain, and the alarm raised over these activities led to the proclamation of the British Protectorate in Papua in 1884. The latter was handed over to Australian Administration in 1906. Missionary activities in Eastern New Guinea began at about the same time as the trading companies and the Administrative forces established themselves. In 1875 the London Missionary Society was settled in Port Moresby, and was followed by two other Protestant Missionary organisation in the Territory of Papua, the Methodist Mission since 1890, and the Australian Board of Missions since 1891.
During the nineties Catholic Missionaries from Yule Island penetrated inland along the St. Joseph River and gradually expanded their field of activities. In the Mandated Territory the earliest missionaries were Germans. The Neusandtellsauer Verein started at Finschhafen in 1886 and the Rheinische Mission at Astrolabe in 1887. The activities of the latter were taken over by the American Lutheran Church in 1933. The Catholic Missions in the Mandated Territory began in New Britain in 1882, but the first station was not opened on the mainland until 1892 near Aitape.

Three different interests have been responsible for the contact of the Papuans with European civilization: the economic interests of traders and later also of the planters, the political interests of Dutch, German and British (Australian) Governments and the spiritual interests of the missionaries, which in themselves showed great religious, national and also personal differences. Differences in interests, in outlook and in the mode of approach have characterised the contacts to which the Papuan were subjected, especially during the first 70 years.

In Netherlands New Guinea the first Administrative centres were opened in 1898 at Manokwari and Fak-Fak, followed in 1902 by a post at Merauke. During the period from 1907-1915 large scale exploratory expeditions were undertaken on behalf of the Dutch Government in order to put the country on the map, and also to establish friendly contacts with the natives. These expeditions followed the main river routes, and they penetrated far inland at certain places, but as regards the contact with the Papuans not more than very superficial relations were made. One could hardly say that they were brought under control, except for the areas near administrative centres which were restricted to the coast. The few expeditions that were undertaken afterwards were mostly scientific expeditions, or preparatory expeditions for later
economic exploitation. The Administration took action against open attacks from the side of the Natives and also against those elements among the White population and other foreigners who endangered the welfare of the Natives. Its officers looked upon the time they had to spend in New Guinea as a period which they had just to "sit out". Legislation and ordinances came from far away places, Batavia, Ternate or Ambon, and were more often than not modelled after those that were based on conditions prevailing in Indonesia. There were no large plantations as in Australian New Guinea and a indentured labour system as it existed in the latter area, was never introduced. Exports consisted mainly in products that were collected by and bought from Natives and others, but which required no wage-labour system¹), products such as timber, copra, guano and the like, and before 1926 also the much wanted birds of paradise. Colonizing organisations which meant to have found in New Guinea a new homeland for the Indo-Europeans from Java, had based their statutes on the intention of forming self-contained communities, some of them explicitly excluding the help of Native labour. These colonies were concentrated around Hollanda and Manokwar and their attempts (1926-1937) were complete failures. Missions gradually expanded their fields, but kept to the coast, except for the Vogelkop area and in parts of the Southern half of the Territory. Their activities consisted mainly in the introduction of Christianity by means of schools²) and of hospital services.

¹) W. Klein, op. cit. vol. II. pp. 598-708 gives interesting comparative material for the period up to 1935. It will be seen that the economic activities of Europeans played a much greater part in the Eastern part than in Netherlands New Guinea. Export products from plantations "show a marked superiority in quantity and value on the Australian side" (p. 709).
²) L. van Auperen, Zending en Zending-aandoening op Ned.N.G., 1936, shows how the number of the protestant schools increased from 5 in 1909 to 155 in 1933 (pp. 36 and 41).
Most of the missionaries were of the same nationality as the administrative authorities, and for their educational work they received good support from the Government. Rivalries between the various denominations, though they flared up at times, were never as strong as they were experienced in certain parts of Australian New Guinea.

A few years before the war of 1940-1945 a large Oil Company began its activities near Dabo; an intensive labour recruiting campaign followed, but because of the Japanese occupation the full strength of this was not felt until more recent years after the Company had re-established itself, now with Sorong as its centre. The impact of the war on the Natives has been similar to that experienced in the Eastern section of the island: compulsory evacuation, the departure of all Europeans, witnessing the relentless fighting in the combat-areas, compulsory service for Japanese and later for the Allied forces, the arrival of seemingly unlimited quantities of goods of the Americans and other Allies, and all that observers have noted as having had a deep influence on the outlook of the Natives.\(^1\)

The development in what is now Australian New Guinea shows some interesting points of contrast, although in general in both territories applies what Lord Hailey says of Australian New Guinea: "Throughout the period preceding the Japanese invasion, administration would appear to have been directed largely to dealing with the conditions arising from the expansion of European commercialism activities, rather than to any constructive attempt to deal with the native community"\(^2\). However, as we have already indicated, these conditions were somewhat different. We must also not forget what M. Hunter has to say about the development of contact, namely that

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1) Besides the generalised descriptions in L. Mair op.cit., and J. van Bechoff, op.cit., one finds detailed material in H. Ian Hogbin, op.cit., Ch. I, and in K. E. Read, Effects of War in The Markham Valley, Oceania, XVIII (1947-1948) pp.1-15

2) Lord Hailey, in Introduction to L. Mair, op.cit., p. XVI.
a knowledge of the history of contact of Native and European... (is) essential to an understanding of the present conditions of contact.\(^1\), because 'accidents' of history may be of far-reaching sociological significance.

The early German penetration was slow, but the basis was laid for two important features which have lasted up to the present, namely the plantation system, and the introduction of native village officials, the Lulusi and the Tultul, used for administrative control. With the establishment of the plantations came the need for native labour and a system of recruiting. After Australia took over the control of the area as a Mandated Territory (in 1921) attempts were made to bring a greater harmony in the Administration of the Mandated Territory and the Territory of Papua. This aim was not fulfilled until during the war the Australian New Guinea Administrative Unit was formed. Although one may suspect that there is some exaggeration in the way in which the German Rule formed a contrast to that in the Territory of Papua, it is true "that the legacy of German rule remained in the widespread assumption that natives can only be managed by harsh treatment, an assumption taken over by the inexperienced men who were given wide powers under the military administration, and handed on by them to too many of their better qualified and trained successors of today."\(^2\)

Under the Administration of Sir Hubert Murray, the government slowly, but steadily penetrated deeper and deeper inland. More often than not, however, administrative control followed after private persons had entered the area, as it also happened in the Mandated Territory. For both Territories the discovery of gold, first at Edie Creek and Bulolo and later at the headwaters of the Purari, was of great significance. New demands were made on the labour-

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\(^1\) M. Hunter, Reaction to Conquest, \$236, P.1

\(^2\) L. Mair, op. cit., P.14.
market. The governments tasks consisted for a great part in the provision of legislative measures to protect the Natives from exploitation on the labour-market, and the system of indentured labour was introduced and widely accepted. Missionaries expanded their christianizing activities mainly through education and hospitals, though under different circumstances (in Papua they received subsidies from the Government; not so in the Mandated Territory; there are also differences with regard to the language of instruction). Both Administrations accepted the help of trained anthropologists to help to solve the social problems. In some respects the conditions were different e.g., as regards taxation, the number of government officers and so on. In contrast with the situation in Netherlands New Guinea, one may also point to the fact of better shipping facilities and a greater use made of airplanes in the Australian dependencies, facilitating better and more frequent communication.

The war has brought great changes in policy, which consist in a shift from a protective and negative attitude towards a positively orientated policy aiming at development of the Natives in economic and political sense. The institution of village councils, the initiation of community development schemes and the like, are signs of this shift in attention.

In a general survey of the social conditions under which the New Guinea Natives live at the present, one can point to the great number of objects of European origin, which play a part in their daily life; objects ranging from beads and mirrors, razorblades and discarded tins to bicycles and sewing-machines and occasionally a communally owned ship, according to the varying degree of European contact. Most of the villages which have had contact with Europeans have a school of a type which will be described later, and also a church in which Christian services are held. The villages are visited at regular intervals by a European government officer,
and representatives of the Government of native origin have been given unprecedented powers for maintaining law and order. Wars between villages or greater units, and headhunting raids are dealt with by punishment, and crimes and delicts are tried in courts. Taxes in one form or another have to be paid, and personal services for the maintenance of roads, of the villages and of the dwellings of officials have to be given. Medical treatment can be received at hospitals in larger centres, or at dispensaries in the more remote villages. Most of the young men serve for some years in European employment, often far away from their own villages in labour compounds where they meet many others in similar conditions from all over New Guinea, and the return with some more or less useful articles bought at the trade-stores. Money economy is replacing the older barter system. Superficially Christian practices may be used for magical aims. Most areas have experienced and participated in that reaction to contact, feared by the Europeans because of its unknown nature: the cargo-cults, Vailala madness, Manusren cult or any of their related forms.

These are some of the changes that have taken place in New Guinea society, looked at from outside; these are also changes that most likely will occur in the future in the large areas still to be entered by the Europeans.

We have come to the stage where a theoretical approach to the problem of change in society seems to be profitable. These theoretical considerations, it is true, are not based on the observations made above, but they may well be applied to these situations.

Anthropologists have come to realise in recent years the importance of the fact that all societies change and that it is a great error to assume that the primitive societies could be regarded as static entities. Changes have occurred in these
societies before there was any contact with Europeans. Thus, for instance, it was shown by Dr. Held how the Waropeners had developed a system of hereditary status and leadership (a most un-Papuan feature), long before there had been any contact with the Europeans. And similar examples could undoubtedly be found in almost every area in New Guinea. The observation of this fact is important, because it implies that at the time of European interference the society already has its dynamic system for change, i.e., for adjustment to new cultural elements which are to be introduced.

The recognition of the dynamic character of primitive society also reflects a shift in conception of the integration of a society, in terms of an analogy, from a mechanical to an organic integration. Even this is not enough to F.E. Williams, who would speak of "involutions" rather than of "integrated systems", by which he means that cultures are only "approximations to a system". William's opinion is mainly based on his observation of the culture contact situation in Papua, which convinced him of the unanswerable of the dogmatic functionalism, especially with regard to the basic postulate that every element in a society must have a function. The cultures he studied "were evolved to some extent by a process of accretion... He recognised that some connections exist between cultural elements or between any element and the whole, but he claimed that whereas some connections are vital and significant, others, and they are very numerous, are fortuitous and without significance."

1) G. Held, Papoea's van Waropen, 1947, pp. 64 sqq., and 151-161
2) Whether contact with non-Europeans had any influence, is not explicitly stated.
3) L. Adam, Functionalism and Neo-Functionalism, Oceanica, 1946, pp. 1-25
4) A.P. Elkin, F.E. Williams (Obituary), Oceanica, 1948, p. 95
Theese conclusions of F.E. Williams are important in so far that they show the difficulties with regard to the definition of a culture. R. Linton draws attention to the fact that a distinction must be made between the "real culture" and a "culture construct" 1). The real culture of a society "consists of the actual behavior, and so on, of its members," whereas the culture construct is an abstraction, made by the investigator who for his purposes "establishes the mode of variations which are included within each of the real culture patterns and then uses this mode as a symbol for the real culture pattern". A scientist may go even as far as limiting his concept of culture to those elements which can be shown to have certain relationships to other cultural elements of the culture as a whole. This is what Malinowski does when he says "Culture obviously is the integral whole consisting of implements and consumer's goods, of constitutional charters for the various social groupings, of human ideas and drafts, beliefs and customs" 2).

The need of recognising the possibility of variations in the definition of a culture is of great importance for the study of social change; whether these changes come from within the society, or are introduced from outside, matters only to the limits beyond which the new elements fall further outside the limits of variability which the society allows. It is the that where changes come from within the society, the new element will be more congenial to the existing culture, but this does not mean that it will therefore more easily accepted, nor does it necessarily follow that the resistance against changes from outside will be stronger. It seems that the acceptance is related to the "covert" aspect of culture, as it is called by Linton, the psychological side

1) R. Linton, Cultural background of Personality, 1945, pp. 43-45
2) B. Malinowski, Scientific theory of culture, 1944, p. 36.
of the culture "that is, the knowledge, attitudes and values
shared by the members of a society"1), more than to the overt
aspect, which includes the material order and the actual ob-
servable behaviour (kinetic order). Linton then goes on to
describe the difficulties which are encountered when one at-
ttempts to determine the covert culture. An analysis of these
difficulties is not possible at this place, but it might be
appropriate to refer here to an article by F. Bartlett who
devised some methods for the determination of the 'hard' and
'soft' features of a culture2). His suggestions, however, are
to be regarded as tentatively only, as the author himself ad-
smits. Their validity and reliability are by no means established,
nor is it certain whether the methods can be used for other areas
than Africa. Apart from the question how useful such methods
would be, there is also an objection from the side of many
anthropologists who would regard such methods as falling outside
the field of their interest, because they are psychological de-
vices and not sociological methods.

A society must allow its members a certain measure of vari-
ation, which also includes a certain freedom of experimentation;
otherwise change could not exist. Change begins with an individ-
ual who invents something, or discovers something (for instance
in another culture). The acceptance of this new feature by the
society, a new material object, a new mode of behaviour, a new
viewpoint or belief, is a matter of time, sometimes of a long
time, sometimes of a short time. It is a time of adjustment for
the society, which implies that a certain disturbance has taken
place. Most of the theories which deal with the problem of social

1) R. Linton, Cultural background of Personality, 1945, p. 38.
   It will be clear that the view taken here does not contradict
   Linton on p.41: "the overt aspect of culture ...is the princi-
   pal agent in culture transmission.
2) F. Bartlett, Psychological methods for study of hard and soft
change seem to adopt the position that acceptance or rejection of the change is determined in the first place by the receiving culture itself, on the basis of utility and compatibility. It is obvious, however, that the utility of a new element, is not always clear from the beginning; a period of experimentation is necessary, but during this period it is also possible to revise and to recondition the old, existing culture. With regard to the compatibility, this is not always a problem, or rather, the problem is not how to bring harmony between the new element and the existing culture, but how to accept something new for which the culture had no equivalent so far. Herskovits uses the term "reinterpretation" which according to him "marks all aspects of cultural change, it is the process by which old meanings are ascribed to new elements, or by which new values change the cultural significance of old forms". However true it may be that new values change the significance of old forms, it is not so easy to agree with him that cultural change consists in the ascription of old meanings to new elements. In the initial phase of cultural change this will often be the case, but later in the process the new meaning of the new element will become clear if the conditions are favourable.

We have regarded the process of change as a process of experimentation, which a society allows to its members in order to find out the usefulness and implications of the changes. The limits of this freedom of experimentation seem to be determined not only by the existing cultural conditions, but also by the context in which the change is set. In general, primitive peoples have shown a very great willingness to experiment with the things Europeans have to offer, and they have gone further in this than they would have gone in accepting new things that have sprung

1) H. Herskovits, Man and his works, 1947, p. 553
up within their own society, or which they could have taken over from neighbouring primitive cultures. The (in their eyes) general superiority of the European culture may well be responsible for their attitude to "give it a go", unless, as it happens in certain circumstances, the initial contact has already turned the society against the Europeans. This experimentation is tentative, not final, and the acceptance of the culture depends for a great deal on the way in which the new culture accepts them. This view seems to agree with the facts as they are illustrated e.g. by Prof. Elkin for the Australian Aborigines who found the following stages in the process of contact: 1. a welcoming and almost avid acceptance of the incoming culture; 2. a disillusionment; 3. an attempt to return to the old ways in modified form 1).

A similar, though slightly different scheme was found by Keesing to have occurred in the wider area of the Pacific Islands. Two trends reveal themselves: one of change and disintegration, and the other of reintegration and stability, giving the following stages: 1. a drastic initial testing; 2. a re stabilization where the old and new are accepted together as inevitable; 3. disintegration, restlessness and a searching for more satisfactory basis of life; 4. a state of equilibrium. 2)

Although change inevitably causes some disturbance, it depends greatly on the mode of contact and in the way the incoming culture behaves itself with regard to the existing culture, whether or not this disturbance means disintegration. What are exactly the determining factors, is as yet not certain, but it seems sufficiently clear that the hypothesis of complete integration is not tenable. In this connection the following quotation from Radcliffe-

1) A.P. Elkin, The reaction of Primitive races to White Man's culture, The Hibbert Journal, 1936-37, pp.537-545; id., Society, the Individual and change, 1940, p.68

2) F.M. Keesing, South Seas in the Modern World, 1942, pp.79-80
Brown is probably relevant as he says that in his opinion change is "dependent upon function, i.e. on the laws of social physiology" 1), although later he admits that his hypothesis of function "does not require the dogmatic assertion that everything in the life of every community has a function", and further "that what appears to be the same social usage in two societies may have different functions in the two" 2). It seems possible to regard the initial acceptance of new cultural elements as one where the tentatively accepted element has no function; it is feasible that it never will have one, even if it is accepted with more decided finality. And further, the acceptance of such elements does not imply that they have the same functions as they had in the donating culture.

These somewhat loose theoretical remarks have been intended to show that social change is always implying some disturbance in a culture; that the degree of this disturbance in the case of culture contact is not only determined by the existing culture, but also by the intruding culture; that the acceptance, rejecting or compromising between the two is not necessarily dependent upon the function which a new element can play in this accepting, rejecting or compromising culture; and that the process of change requires time, a long time at that, in order to give the culture the chance to readjust itself to the changed conditions. That education plays an important role in this process of cultural adjustment, that is what we hope to show in the following chapters.


Function was defined by the writer as "the contribution which a partial activity makes to the total activity of which it is a part" (p.181).

2) Ibid., p.184
With regard to the New Guinea Natives, Dr. Held has deduced from the great variety of cultural forms and behaviour that the Papuan is characteristically an "experimenter", taking over elements from other culture without much ado, but equally easily dropping them again, always ready to use the available means. He can be rightly called, according to Held, an improvisator by which expression is meant "that the Papuan is always conjoining the various culture elements with which he has to do in his culture, into mutually varying culture complexes improvisingly, without troubling himself to work out these culture complexes into a completed, elaborated form" 1). If this is truly a Papuan characteristic, then we have here an ideal situation for the study of culture contact and its many aspects.

1) G. Held, De Papoea Cultureimprovisator, 1951, p. 51
CHAPTER III. THE EDUCABILITY OF PRIMITIVE PEOPLE.

When one is asked: "Can the primitive New Guinea natives be educated", the immediate response: "Educated, for what?" is quite justifiable. But at the same time, one comes to the question of the definition of "education", which is by no means easily solved, unless a non-teleological attitude is adopted such as is done by O. Raum, who defines education as "the relationship between members of successive generations". A definition like this one, however, is too inclusive and too vague, as to satisfy any theorist.

There are a number of other definitions, which could be classed in two groups: 1) definitions which regard education as the process by which the traditions of a society are handed down to the growing generations, and 2) definitions which are based on the idea that education is a preparation for the adult life. In the first group of definitions the conservative function and the continuity of culture is stressed, whereas the second group is rather "neutral" in that respect. There are, of course, many variations possible and the two groups are not completely antithetical, for it is quite well understood that some cultures may regard the 'creative' element as essential, and therefore include this in the handing down of their heritage. The competitive, individualistic and innovative attitude is intentionally emphasized during the educative process since it is regarded as an essential feature of the culture. The two groups of definitions could be regarded as expressing two different aspects of education which might be called the continuative and the preparative aspects of education. In normal circumstances, that is when a society is to be regarded as a closed unit or when it is

1) O. Raum, Chaga childhood, 1940, p. 62.
adjusted to other societies, these two aspects are rather well in harmony. In the contact situation, however, the continuative function does not prepare the individuals for the changing conditions of adult life. In other words, the definition of education will vary somewhat according to the circumstances and the problems under investigation. It goes without saying that when we talk about 'introduced' education, we have in view the second class of definitions, or rather the preparative aspect.

Returning to the question of educability, this may be restated as follows: "Are the Natives of New Guinea capable of being prepared for the changed social conditions"? This question again can be looked at from the terminus a quo (the native) or from the terminus ad quem (the changing society). In the first case, the term 'education' is used in its true etymological sense of 'drawing out'; regarded from the terminus ad quem, the process should be called 'induction', 'in-drawing', a term which designates more than a purely philosophical toleology in as far as the society, consisting of human beings, really tries to draw the young members into its social and cultural sphere of influence. Two factors are thus to be considered: the capacity of the individuals and the pulling force(s) of the society.

As regards the innate capacity of the primitive Papuans, next to nothing is known with any degree of certainty. But there is also no reason why it should be different from that of other people, for instance that of Europeans. Psychologists1) have tried to measure the intelligence of the so-called primitive peoples, but the validity of their tests has never been accepted, as it is practically impossible to exclude 'cultural' factors from the tests; they always show a European bias, and can therefore not be used for purposes of comparison. It is therefore dangerous

1) W.C. Groves, Field-work in New Ireland, Oceania, 9932-33, p. 327 mentions that he applied mentality tests, the results of which I have not seen.
The draw any conclusions as regards the innate capacity of natives from the results of these tests. Whatever differences there may exist between the cultural achievements of different 'racial' groups, these can be explained by historical circumstances and cultural conditioning, as B. Malinowski says: "The clear lesson from the past is that cultural potentialities and latent capacity must not be confused with fully-developed achievement at any period of history." And from similar considerations Prof. Keesing concluded: "The neural systems of the great majority of humans everywhere have the potential and the plasticity to be trained at least reasonably well for participation in any cultural heritage i.e., to behave as human beings in whatever group they might be brought up."

In abstracto, thus, we have no reason to doubt, that if all factors which hinder the process of education could be removed, a Papuan could become a scientist of the highest degree, a social, political or religious leader who could rule the world, or whatever seems to be desirable among human beings. And what holds for the Papuan individual, could also be said of the Papuan society as a whole. Under the conditions named above, it is feasible that the Papuan society reaches a level of civilization which would be comparable to that of Western societies at present.

This, however, is talking in abstracto, regarding the Papuans as individuals with their innate disposition and not as human personalities forming a society. The problem of educability of the primitive Papuan natives becomes quite different if we look upon them as members of a society, and especially if the society as a

1) See: E.F. Nadel, Tests in the Anthropological field, in F. Bartlett e.a., Study of Society, 1939, pp. 184-197
2) B. Malinowski, Native Education and Culture Contact, International Review of Missions, 1936, p. 438
3) F. Keesing, South Seas in the Modern world, 1942, pp. 88-89
whole is to be attended to, which is the case in the culture—contact situation. The transplantation of an individual from a primitive society to another society with the view of making him bi-cultural, enabling him to maintain contacts with both worlds, i.e., as M. Mead remarks, a question of timing and selecting, a technical problem which could reasonably well be solved.

Where the education is to be given in loco, there account must be taken of those forces that work against the efforts of the educator. These impeding or contrary forces are to be found for a no small portion in the culture of the society itself, apart from personal inimical attitudes.

Recent investigations into the relationships between culture and personality, working from the hypothesis of basically similar physiological and psychological systems for all human beings (the position which we also adopted), these investigations have shown the influence of early training on the formation of what is called the cultural personality, or the “basic personality structure”.

As the educator, ambassador of the western culture, enters the field, he finds his potential pupils already conditioned to certain cultural patterns, the Manus-children with western education for a competitive life, a strong Ego-consciousness, high status emphasis and internalised conscience, or the Arapesh-children conditioned to just the opposite character development. And not only this (which could be overcome during a period of readjustment according to the needs of the educator), but also these forces remain to exert their influence during the whole period while the educator is at work. The society will deprecate what does not meet with the approval of its members. In Samoa, precocity in chil-

2) A. Kardiner, Psychological frontiers of society, 1946
dren is regarded as improper, among the Dakota Indians it is bad form to give an answer in the presence of some one who did not know the answer and so on\(^1\). The educator, whatever his terminus ad quem may be, has to face this fact, or the repercussions will be felt when he is making up his balance-sheet.

What this means is that the end-result, the future society or the future cultural personality, is formed not only by the efforts of the in-coming educator, but by the total experience of the growing individuals whereby the experience gained from the introduced educational system may be of far less importance than that gathered apart from this system. This fact can be noted for a Western society, but it is even more apparent in a situation as that of New Guinea societies under culture contact with Europeans. The educability of the New Guinea native with regard to the aims of the introduced educational system is thus determined by the social conditions under which the individuals grow up and by the educational forces which are part of his own society. Before we consider the introduced educational system, we have to look at these indigenous educational activities.

When one reads that "The native of a primitive society does not know about education of his children"\(^2\), then our agreement or disagreement with this statement must depend on the end-result which one has in view. It goes without saying that the Native is not fit to educate his children for a European civilization, and probably also not for the blending of the Native and European cultures. However, his attitude towards the introduced educational system will determine whether or not the latter will be frustrated. We will see later what these attitudes are, but we can already work on the presumption that he will go on to treat his children

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1) M. Mead, Professional Problems of Education in dependent countries, loc. cit., p. 349
2) N. van Asperen, op. cit., p. 45
in much the same way as he did before this intrusive system disturbed his order of things. Whether or not this was a good way of treating children can be left undiscussed, as we are primarily interested in the facts how it worked.

Here, of course, the problem of the great diversity of cultures in New Guinea presents itself immediately, and generalisation is possible only up to a point, where it perhaps loses its significance for the practical worker. However, drawing attention to the fact that these differences exist must suffice for the purpose of this thesis.

The first point of contrast with the European culture, is that the primitive societies have no specialised educational agencies in the form of schools and the like, unless one would consider the initiation periods and institutions such as the 'military schools' of the Bantus as the equivalents of our schools. But this contrast is not essential, as education is primarily a question of "learning", which can be done in a formal or in an informal way. There are periods of formal learning in primitive societies, but these generally are of short duration and they do not reflect an attempt to include the whole of the behaviour, as the schools and other educational institutions in our society do.

There is another contrast between primitive and modern education which may have our attention. On the one hand primitive education is more social than individual i.e. more concerned about "moulding" the individual towards the social pattern than about the drawing out of the latent talents of the individual; on the other hand, it is more personal than the modern education in the sense that there is a direct and personal interest from the side of the educator, an interest in the personal background of the child. This, again, is not an essential difference, but only one

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1) V. Brelsford, Some points of contrast between primitive and civilised theories of Education, Overseas Education, 1943, pp.1-2
of emphasis, which on closer examination is mainly one made in theory of the two groups of societies.

The New Guinea child learns by "doing" and by participating in the life of his society. He observes, imitates and receives encouragement (or discouragement) from those with whom he lives in ordinary life. He tries, and succeeds or fails, and gradually builds up his "experience". The physical environment plays a part in this process, but the human factor is for us more important, since here lies the main difference with our educational system.

Children in New Guinea are relatively free in the early years of their lives. The arrival of the babies is generally welcomed, although there is sometimes trouble when there are twins. For the first few years the contact is mainly with the mother and the father, but other relatives may enter the child's life from an early date. Once the children begin to walk, they gradually expand their field of experience and when they are about five or six years of age they have found their playmates. The boys go round in groups through the villages and further, the girls are required to do light duties in the households. During these years, the most important "utilitarian" skills are learned, and also a great part of the social and moral training is given. Finally comes in most societies the "finishing touch" in the form of the initiation ceremonies by which the young men (and women) become full members of the society and eligible for marriage.

These phases do not indicate the way the children are going. It is the encouragement and discouragement which they receive during this time, how they will behave. One may take shame as an example, of which Hogbin says: "the content of shame is probably much the same everywhere, but the actions which arouse it differ from place to place....The Manus girl who is ashamed at having to admit that she has shared the bed of one of the young men would undoubtedly be astonished to learn that Trobriand maidens
beast of their lovers"). Or compare the respect for other people's property in Manus and among the Kwoma. In the former "respect for property is taught to the children from their ear- liest years. Before they can walk they are rebuked and chastised for anything which does not belong to them". But about the Kwoma it is said: "Since the stealing of food leavings is a necessary step in carrying out the form of black magic most frequently practised by the Kwoma, some parents are reputed actually to train their children in the art of stealing."

Place the Marind-Anim with their strongly organised initiation cyclos against the Waropeners where the initiation ceremonies have a more casual character in the nature of intimate family affair, and there is no surprise that the former show "a deep religiousness, which is expressed in a all-permeating belief in which man and universe, land and people are connected into a strong unity", whereas the Waropeners' faith in the power of the ancestors is characterised as "sceptical". at times by C. Haida.

There is no need of multiplying these examples here; those that are given will show the diversity of cultural emphases in the cultures of New Guinea, which is apparent to the members of these societies from early childhood. The experience of these emphases of his culture prepare the individual for his participa- tion in that culture, but at the same time make him less educable for any other set of values, attitudes and practises which

1) M. Ian Hogbin, Shame, Oceania, 1945-7, p.386
2) M. Mead, Growing up in New Guinea, 1930, p.32
3) J. Whiting, Becoming a Kwoma, 1941, p.43. The writer, just like M. Mead mentions what happened with his own goods. The difference is quite striking.
4) J. van Baal, Godsdienst en Samenleving in Z.N.N.C., 1934, p.243
5) G. Held, Papoeas van Waropen, 1947, p.228
are contrary to his own. This is what we mean by saying that
the educability of the Papuan is socially determined. As is
said by Dr. Kaberry: "the conditioning of the individual ... 
presents two aspects; firstly, education in social responsibi-
lities and the inculcation of certain sentiments; the individual
is trained to act in certain ways, to accept as traditional and
right certain modes of behaviour. Secondly, there is the degree
to which a particular culture favours the emergence of personal-
ity types who possess temperamental qualities, which enable
them to adjust themselves more easily to their society, and to
respond to the demands made upon them".\(^1\)

H. Horkovits uses the word "enculturation" by which he
means "the aspects of the learning experience which mark off
man from other creatures, and by means of which, initially, and
in later life, he achieves competence in his culture".\(^2\) This
is to be distinguished from education as he wants to restrict
this term for the training the individual receives at the hands
of others, especially during the early years of life.\(^3\) It may
be important to make this distinction, because of the implica-
tions which Horkovits mentions later, where he says that "in
later years, enculturation involves reconditioning rather than
conditioning. The learning process is one wherein choice can
operate, wherein what is presented can be accepted or rejected.
As was suggested, a change in recognized procedures of a society,
a new concept, a reorientation of point of view can only become
evident when people agree on the desirability of change. It is the
result of discussion, of consideration by individuals who must
alter their individual modes of thought and action if it is

\(^1\) Phyllis Kaberry, Law in the Abelan Tribe, Oceania, 1941-2, p. 80
\(^2\) H. Horkovits, Man and His Works, 1947, p. 39
\(^3\) Id., p. 310
accepted, or argue preference for established custom in rejecting it" 1). Where enculturation operates on the conscious level, it opens the way to change 1). It is not wholly clear whether Herskovits' opinion is restricted to the changes which come from within, or whether the statement can also be applied to the conditions of culture-contact, where an intrusive system attempts to effect social change through education. It will be apparent, however, that the effect of this educational system depends upon the society-as-a-whole, on the relationship between the introduced system and the indigenous system of bringing up the young. This relationship will be the subject of a later chapter. A short descriptive survey of the introduced system of education must proceed.

1) H. Herskovits, ibid., p. 491
CHAPTER IV. INTRODUCED EDUCATION IN NEW GUINEA.

This chapter will deal in short terms with the educational system which was introduced by Europeans for the Native peoples of New Guinea. As Europeans have equated education with schools at least for a long time, our discussion will be concerned only with the system of schools; and such activities as are connected with youth organisations, boys' scouts movement, church younger sets and the like are not included in this survey. Also the more recent Adult Education or Fundamental Education campaigns will not be mentioned.

People who are familiar with the situation in New Guinea, will regard the term "system" as a euphemism in connection with the educational activities undertaken by or on behalf of the Europeans. It is true that there is little centralisation of these activities in New Guinea, both with regard to the aims and the methods of education, and this is sometimes deplored. On the other hand, close contact with the local communities will always be an essential in New Guinea with its great variety of cultures and centralisation which implies that these local circumstances are ignored, is certainly not desirable, and W.C. Groves attributes the failure of one of the Governmental educational schemes to the alienation of the youths through this centralisation. From the point of view of Administration, the policy has been to leave the education to the voluntary agencies, the Missions, and the lack of coordination must be attributed to the mutual disagreements between the various missionary organisations. However, a gradual development towards greater integration can be noticed. Generally speaking, one can say that historical as well as ideol-

1) W.C. Groves, Native Education and Culture contact in New Guinea, 1936, p. 73.
logical factors have led to the present-day situation.

With regard to colonial policy and its implications for the education of the Native peoples, the distinction is often made between the so-called British and French systems. As the Charter of the British policy one quotes the Colonial Office Advisory Committee on Native Education in Tropical Africa, 1925, saying "Education should be adapted to the mentality, aptitudes, occupations and traditions of the various peoples, conserving as far as possible all sound and healthy elements in the fabric of their social life, adapting them where necessary to changed circumstances and progressive ideas, as an agent of natural growth and evolution". In contrast, the French policy would stress the Europeanisation of the Natives, based on the idea of equality and brotherhood and on the idea that the French culture represent an ideal which must be made available to the Natives who are capable of and desirous of reaching it. In so far as this distinction has any meaning, one would be inclined to classify the attitude of the Australian Administration in New Guinea as reflecting the British policy. The educational experts of the Territories speak of "the blending of cultures" (F.E. Williams) and the "nativization" (W.C. groves) of education as the ideal to be aimed at. Yet, the variations on the themes of the two policies are so great that for practical purposes the distinction has little value. One needs only to refer to the question of the use of the non-indigenous language; F.E. Williams says that English should not be treated merely as one of the subjects of

See also: Educational Policies of Colonial Powers, in South Pacific, 1950, pp.157-160. Note that the French Policy in West Africa is directed towards "the adaptation of education to the customs and special needs of the population..." (p.159).
the curriculum on a par with others, but it should be regarded as the first and foremost subject, the principal aim of schola
tastic education.1) A statement like this one would be more in line with the French policy than with the British policy. The distinction implies rather a different attitude towards the indigenous culture which is determined not only by so-called political principles, but also by the actual circumstances. By this is meant that if the indigenous culture is not opposed to the adopted policy, then the Administration and the educational agencies will be sympathetic with the indigenous culture. In this sense, any attempt to suppress warfare between villages or tribes, headhunting, sorcery, and also uneconomic use of land, waste of food supplies, unhygienic practices and what not is un-sympathetic with the indigenous culture. One could hardly regard the British policy as being more tolerant in this respect than the French policy. One can only say that there is a difference in degree to which interference with existing conditions is thought to be necessary.

The difference in attitudes towards the native conditions is not only typical of the Administrative authorities, but also of the other agents of contact, notably the Missions who are largely responsible for the education of the Natives of New Guinea. These are differences reflecting national, personal and foremost religious and moral variations. Father John Hilles wrote "Some Mission bodies even frown upon activities in native life, such as dancing, bodily adornment, slaughtering of pigs, and eating pork" 2), and K.E. Read comments that "By implication we

1) F.F. Williams, The blending of cultures, 1935, p.29.
2) J. Hilles, The Kuman of Chimbu, Oceania, 1950, p.64. I would draw attention to the fact that everybody seems to be worried about the Seventh Day Adventists' prohibition of eating pork, but one hardly ever hears any comment on the same prohibition imposed on the Natives by Mohammedans in Western New Guinea.
should expect to find fairly wide variations in adjustment within the human tribal group according to whether the people concerned were in the Lutheran, Roman Catholic or Seventh Day Adventist sphere of influence.\(^1\) These differences are important and for a complete understanding of the influence of Mission teaching upon the Native life, one would have to study not only the indigenous culture, but also the teaching of the Mission body concerned, especially with regard to the theological problem of the relationship between the natural and supernatural order; as Father Niles wrote to me in a personal communication: "some zealous evangelists try to make the natives happy and push them into their heaven without human nature". In this respect there is not even a completely uniform attitude within one Missionary organization, as may be shown from the following instance mentioned by S. Reed: "The older, uncomprising attitude still crops up occasionally, as, for example, when a Catholic missionary on the Sepik River dragged four native women through a men's communal house. He hoped by this forceful means to advance the cause of women's rights by breaking the taboos on their entrance. Instead, as soon as he was safely away, the men beat the four women to death.\(^2\) This case, like many others, can be regarded as resulting from a lack of tact or rather of ignorance with respect to the possible effects, rather than from an insistence upon principle.

It was pointed out in an earlier chapter that Missionaries have always regarded the school as their most important instrument for christianisation of the Papuans. It goes without saying that the differences just mentioned have played a part in their success with their educational efforts, although one cannot say

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1) K.B. Reed, Missionary Activities and Social change in the Central Highlands of Papua and New Guinea, South Pacific, 1952 p.230
2) S.W. Reed, The Making of Modern New Guinea, 1943, p.238
that one Mission has more success than another Mission because its teachings are more congenial to the existing culture. The question of tactics and of methods enters also into the problem, and little material is available to show whether one Mission uses more persuasive methods against the threatening methods of another; more punishments or more rewards. A discussion of the relative effects of these methods is therefore not possible.

The organisation of the educational activities of the Missions is well-nigh similar all over New Guinea, although there are differences with regard to the integration into the Administrations' scheme. As it was mentioned earlier, in the beginning of Administrative control all educational concerns were left to the Missions. In the Mandated Territory, however, the Administration has made attempts since 1922 to establish its own schools, and as a consequence made no grants to the Mission schools. In the Territory of Papua, grants-in-aid were given to the Missions according to the number of pupils they catered for and to the standard of education they reached. No Government schools were established, but the Missions had to conform to a prescribed syllabus and were inspected by a visiting Australian inspector. A somewhat similar scheme operated in Netherlands New Guinea and is still adhered to, though lately some Government schools were set up.

The schools system of most of the Missions in Australian New Guinea comprises (4) the village schools where the instruction is in the local vernacular or in the native tongue of a chosen locality. The emphasis is on the 3 R's and on religious instruction with minor attention devoted to elementary hygiene and sometimes to handicrafts. Some of the Missions use Pidgin English as their main medium of instruction. The instruction in these schools is given by native teachers. The pupils who are most successful can be sent to
(2) Head Station Schools, which are under a more direct European supervision. The use of English in these schools is increased. There is an enlargement upon the earlier subjects, but in addition new subjects may be introduced such as geography, natural history and so on. Some Missions give also technical training at this stage to some of the pupils. Some also regard these centres as their teachers' training schools where they prepare the most promising boys for becoming catechists. Other Missions have

(3) a central training school where young men are trained as Native Pastor-teachers.

The Australian Administration in the Mandated Territory undertook in 1922 to develop its own scheme of education, which drew its pupils from the Missions' Village schools all over the Territory (which includes more than the part on the mainland of New Guinea). Its principal aim was to develop technical training and also to obtain suitable apprentices for the lower administrative positions. The scheme was not very successful, and the latter recommendations made by an educational expert, W.G. Groves, which included a scheme for closer contact with the villages and one for the establishment of central training schools for teachers, were never fully executed before the Japanese occupation. In 1942 the Administration of the Mandated Territory controlled one Government Technical school and six elementary schools (two of these took boarders). In addition, some training was given at some Government Agricultural Stations.

After the war, a Department of Education for the Territory of Papua-New Guinea was established and new schemes were initiated.

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1) Data for this survey are obtained from W.G. Groves, op.cit.; Education in the Territory of Papua-New Guinea, Education News, 1950, pp.3-5; C.H. Wedgwood, Some Problems of Native Education in the Mandated Territory of New Guinea and Papua, (Manuscript), August, 1944
In 1949, a number of sixty schools were provided directly by the Administration, of which there were 46 for the native population. These schools are classified as Area and Central schools (37), Technical Training Centres (7) and Higher Training Centres (2). The Missions run the Village Schools, to a total of about 2000 in 1949, and in addition 164 Intermediate and 32 Higher Training schools. Some of the latest figures are given in Appendix II A. Further changes which must be mentioned, are the educational conferences of representatives of Missions and Administration 1 leading to greater integration and a better mutual understanding, and also the fact that the educational task has been taken to include more than purely scholastic training.

In Netherlands New Guinea, the early development was influenced by the administrative links with the former Netherlands East Indies. The complicated system of desa-schools, continuation and link schools was devised in order to give Indonesians the opportunity to send the most suitable persons to the higher educational institutions in the Netherlands and other countries. The desa school was meant to be the school for the masses. It was not until 1938 that for New Guinea a new type of school was given an official status. This is the so-called "civilization"school, which forms a preparatory stage for the desa- or popular school. As the education was entirely in the hands of Missions and these organisations depended largely upon the financial assistance given by the Government, the schools had to conform to the conditions under which subsidies were granted.

1) The writer has been able to read the reports of the conferences held from 9-14 October 1946, 21-23 May 1947 and 29 November-9 December 1949.
2) This system is fully explained in A.D.A. de Kat Angelino, Staatkundig beleid en bestuurszorg in Nederlandsch Indie, 3 vols. 1929-30, Vol. II pp.216-287
Another feature reflecting the former links with Indonesia is the use of Malay as the lingua franca for the Territory. Instruction in this language plays an important part in the schools. Further, the native teachers, called guruhs, came up till 1948 largely from Indonesian Territory where the Missions were longer established. Protestant Missionaries used Ambonese guruhs, whereas the Catholic Missions supplied their schools with guruhs from the Kei-Islands. The political changes of 1949 have resulted in a speeding-up of the training of Papuan teachers; whether this has any deteriorating effect on the standard of education can as yet not be assessed. One could imagine such effect since the Papuans have had much shorter contact with Christianity than the natives of the other islands.

Since the material about the system in Netherlands New Guinea is not readily available, we may be more detailed about our survey. As in Australian New Guinea, the education is almost entirely conducted by the Missions. The Administration bears the costs for all schools for the Natives provided they conform to the conditions of the curriculum and of inspection. Each Missionary is responsible for the schools in the district in which he is working and which are established by his organisation. The organisations have their school-administrators who are the middlemen between the individual missionaries and the Government. The six Missionary bodies interested in education include 2 Catholic organisations (Sacred Heart at Merauke, Franciscans at Hollandia) and 4 Protestant organisations (The United Netherlands Mission, formerly U.Z.V., at Joka near Hollandia; Moluccan Protestant Church at FakFak; the Christian and Missionary Alliance at Emasotali; Mission Protestant Malsekoe at Merauke). There is one more private educational agency.

1) The survey is based on Onderwijsverslag over Nieuw Guinea, 1948; and on an extract from the report to UNO as found in Tijdschrift Nieuw Guinea, 1951-52 pp. 201-214.
namely the Netherlands New Guinea Oil Company which has a school-administrator at Sorong, but its activities are mainly devoted to the provision of education for its European employees. With the Government School Administrator there are thus eight authorities. Three School Inspectors appointed by the Director of the Educational Department supervise the activities of all schools.

There is a great variety in the schools, which may be mentioned briefly:

1) Village schools which can be distinguished in
   (a) Civilization schools for newly opened areas. A good deal of experimentation is possible. The first few years should be devoted to the bringing of the idea of civilization to the Natives and to make them accustomed to the idea of a school. Gradually the scholastic plan is introduced, consisting of 3 R's, Malay and Religion, but much time is devoted to singing, simple manual labour (cleaning, mat-plaiting, pot-making etc), laying out school garden, and sports.
   (b) Popular schools: the program of the civilization school is completed within 2 years instead of 3, and the program is correspondingly enlarged in the 3rd year.

2) Continuation schools for pupils who have completed the village schools. These schools have 3 classes and are boarding schools. The curriculum includes 3 R's, Malay, Dutch (passive), geography, history, natural history, hygiene, gymnastics and sports; provision is also made for manual labour.

3) Elementary schools (six years) for the central areas, either with Dutch or with Malay as language of instruction. Subjects are: reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, history, natural history, hygiene, gymnastics and sports. In the Malay schools Dutch is taught as an ordinary subject.
4) Advanced Continuation school at Joka; forms the basis for higher education for the Natives; 2 years. The school is in the experimental stage.

5) More advanced elementary school; 4 years. This school links up with the elementary school on the one hand, and with the educational system in The Netherlands on the other hand.

Other schools include: Administration Schools (3 years), Technical schools at Joka and Nerauko (2 years), Training schools for village teachers (2 years), Training schools for medical assistants (4 years), Training schools for agricultural assistants (2 years) and Practical Agricultural Courses (1 year). In Hollandia is also a Police Training School which turned out its first 200 Police Constables in 1950.

Some of these schools are almost exclusively for Europeans or Indo-Europeans, but I believe that there is no legal barrier preventing Papuans to enter the higher types of schools. For the present the most important schools for the Natives are those mentioned under 1), 2), 4) and some of the Training schools. Unfortunately, in the available figures no distinction is made between the different population groups. In 1949 there were 564 schools with a total population of 29,476 children (=10% of the population under control). There were two schools of the types 4) and 5) with 71 pupils, and 14 Training schools with a total population of 538 pupils, of whom 511 were Papuans. 1)

In some of the areas which have been under Mission influence for about 100 years (notably Biak) literacy is almost 100%, and from there come the personalities who have already played an important role in political decisions. One of them is the Native representative at the Educational Council.

A comparison between the educational systems in the two parts of New Guinea is a difficult task. Some points can be noted, but

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1) Some accurate figures for 1947 will be found in Appendix II B.
these should be regarded as being based upon a superficial knowledge of the two areas. In the first place the number of schools in Australian New Guinea seems to be much higher than in Netherlands New Guinea (some 3300 against 560) and so is the number of pupils (about 133,000 against 30,000). However, compared with the total populations under control, these figures do not have much significance. The population in Australian New Guinea is near 1,000,000, whereas it is about 300,000 in Netherlands New Guinea. The percentages of the populations receiving education are thus roughly 13.5% and 10% respectively. The difference can be explained by historical circumstances, and further, it should not be forgotten that in the Australian figure are included the people of New Ireland, New Britain, the Northern Solomonss etc. which have considerable populations; in some of these areas the educational efforts are very intensive, and this may push up the absolute number of the school children for the total area. Whether the population on the mainland is equally distributed over the two Administrations is not certain. What becomes clear from the figures is the fact that on an average basis the schools in Australian New Guinea tend to have smaller numbers of pupils than those in Netherlands New Guinea. It is admitted that the handling of such inaccurate figures is somewhat dangerous.

One could also make a comparison between the two areas with regard to the money which is made available for educational purposes. Exact figures are not on hand. In general, it seems that the expenditure for education is smaller in Australian New Guinea than it is in the Netherlands part. In order to find in this a valid instrument for measuring the material basis for the educational facilities, one should have knowledge of the cost of living, the contributions of voluntary agencies, the state of progress in the educational field and so on. Just to mention one fact, the transport rates for supplies from the Netherlands will
probably be higher than for those from Australia, thus raise the education bill.

It seems to be correct to say that Netherlands New Guinea has succeeded in a better integration of Missionary education into the Administrative development scheme than it has appeared to be possible in Australian New Guinea. This difference reflects a difference of organisation in the respective homelands, and also one of attitude of the European representatives of the two countries.

Many more differences could be named, but whether they will have any decisive influence on the development of the two parts, only the future can tell. Up to recently, the educational programmes of the two areas have been of an improvising character. Both areas have undertaken to develop the populations in accordance with the Atlantic Charter and with the Charter of the United Nations Organization. In the working out of these Charters by the two Administrations no definite trend is clear.
CHAPTER V. THE SCHOOL AND THE COMMUNITY.

Native life in New Guinea is essentially a village-life. Units consisting of more than a few hundred people are regarded as being unusually large, and villages of 100-200, or less, are more common. Contacts between the villages have mostly been of an intermittent, often casual, character, and even these were in most cases dividing rather than uniting. It is in these small communities that the Papuans are prepared for mobility in the wider world and for participation in a culture which is largely dominated by Europeans. It is important to know what is the place of the school, that European institution, in the village? How do the Papuans accept it? How do they react?

It was said earlier (p. 40) that it is impossible for the Papuan to educate his children for a new society in which Europeans play such an important and dominating role, but the attitude they adopt towards the introduced institution is one of the most important factors determining the result of the school. In defining his attitude towards the school, the Papuan is not always led by the same motives as those who introduce the school; in fact, he very seldom is. The attitudes and motives will change after some experience and finally coincide with those of the educators, but this often takes a long time.

There is no possibility of open hostility as seems to have been the case with the American Indians. When the Europeans in the beginning encroached upon their lands without regard for the rights of the original owners, using forceful means to push them back into the most barren areas, the atmosphere was a priori unfavourable for the later policy of acculturation. In the early 1900's attempts to get children for boarding schools seem often to have taken the form of kidnapping; and even promises of food, clothing and comfortable buildings did not persuade the parents
to send their children to the schools which were built on the Reservations. This was recorded for the Navaho's. Similar observations are made with regard to the Papago's, where in the past schools were established without regard to the wishes of the villages. In more recent years schools were opened only on request, but many parents are still opposed: "The conservatives saw the school as a symbol of encroachment, one of the improvements which might make their land more desirable to Whites and as one of the many techniques of the white man for doing away with Indian life." M. Mead writing about the pseudonymous Antlers comes to the conclusion that "The local school makes very little impression upon the children except as they learn English from their white playmates. The government schools harden their spirits and breed resentment and dislike of white people and white ways, at the same time that they spend years in teaching the pupils techniques which will be of no use to them when they return to the reservation." Similar reports come from almost every American Indian study (only the Sioux children are said to like going to school), and it is interesting to read an Indian autobiography telling "my parents often threatened to put me outside in the dark where a coyote or an evil spirit could get me, a Navaho could carry me off, or the whites could take me away to their schools and further "I learned little at school the first year, except 'bright boy', 'smart boy', 'yes' and 'no', 'nail' and 'candy'..... In October I returned to day school and continued until the following spring,

1) D. Leighton and C. Kluckhohn, The Children of the people, 1948, p.64
2) A. Joseph, J. Spicár, J. Chesky, The Desert People, 1949, p.100
3) M. Mead, The changing culture of an Indian tribe, 1932, p.130
4) L. Thompson, Personality and Government, 1951, p.84
5) L. Simmons, Sun Chief, the autobiography of a Hopi Indian, 1942, p.70
but I did not learn much. I was more interested in the stories told by the old people and especially in the kathina dances held in the kivas at night. It is true that in these reports several aspects of the educational system for the American Indians are criticized, but the positive hostility towards the Whites seems to have played a decisive role.

I do not know of such outspoken hostile attitude in New Guinea, although the initial contact with Europeans have not always been friendly. One rather finds an indifference in these cases, as among the Kwoma. Whiting and Reed reports: "A Catholic catechist of Yambon has been detailed to conduct a weekly lesson among the Hongwam but they show themselves indifferent to him." Such an attitude can change after some time to make place for a more positive one, as has been the experience of one of my informants. The initial indifferent attitude of the adults towards the teachers changed after a year or so into a friendly contact through the fact that he had influence on the children. From then onwards it became possible to confirm his educational activities with the help of the parents. Such circumstances, of course, require the utmost tact on the part of the teacher or catechist. One can ask why in the first instance the adults allowed the children to go to the teachers, and the answer seems to be found in the attitudes partly of resignation, partly of "experimentation". To the latter we refer again to Dr. Held's quoted statement on p.35. As to the resignation, it is to be noted that in contrast with the American Indians, the Papuans live in much smaller groups and will sooner be obliged to recognize that they are no match for the Europeans (this is dangerous for their rightful racial pride). Furthermore, the Europeans generally did

1) ibid., pp. 90 and 92
2) J. Whiting and S. Reed, Kwoma Culture, Oceania IX(1938), p.175
not come in such great numbers as they did in America which fact would explain that in New Guinea the Europeans are not regarded by the Natives as a potential danger to their existence (cfr. also the conditions in Australia and New Zealand, where the development has been similar to America 1).

The motives which lead the Papuans to accept the school will often be based upon the promises made by the Mission or by the Government representative, but more often than not only partly. The real motive of the Mission, Christianisation, is certainly not understood. Economic gain, prestige (other villages have a school) and plain curiosity are apparently among the most potent factors. C. Wedgwood relates these motives to the actual content of school education by saying: "The greatest incentive to education among the Natives is the desire to gain the knowledge which have enabled the White man to achieve material wealth and power" 2, but she also remarks that this may be interpreted in the magical train of thoughts: the unknown power of being able to read and write will give the Native an additional means for mastering nature. At other times, reasons of a more obscure nature may lead the village to ask for a school. L. van Asperen refers to a case in Biak where the village had a bad name with Mission and Government. When after some time the village chief was taken to Ternate for misbehaviour, the attitude of the people changed almost over night. Many years afterwards it was brought to light that the villagers had asked for a teacher after this incident solely because they wanted to have a hostage for the case their chief would die while in prison 3.

1) See: A.P. Elkin, Education in Pacific Countries, Oceania VII, 1936, p.153
2) C.R. Wedgwood, The aim of Native Education and the incentives which lead the Natives to desire it (Manuscript) Aug.1945,p.3
3) L.N. van Asperen, op.cit., p.51
That the true nature of school education is not understood is also shown by an example from the Western Central Highlands, Australian New Guinea. Many boys and girls were found eager to go to school. A few months later they began asking about tomahawks. Enquiry elicited the information that, in all sincerity, they believed they were entitled for being taught. Asked where they had conceived that idea, they told that the 'shikuru boi belong klap' received tomahawks. This incident is instructive because it shows a potential danger, which can disrupt the whole function of the school, namely the thought that the Europeans are introducing the school for their own benefit and that the natives ought to be paid for sending their children to school, thus assisting the Whites. In other words, before the school can be accepted by the community as something which belongs to them, and which is for their own benefit, the Natives must be convinced of the utility or necessity of the school. On this point, the crises seem to occur most frequently, and the school becomes disruptive rather than constructive. It may eventually contribute to these undesirable reactions in the form of cargo cults and the like. We have to enlarge upon this point.

Once the school has become to be accepted as a fact in the village and the attitude has changed from a submissive and tentative one to one which is co-operative (even if it is only that parents send their children to school because they fear punishment for negligence), the unexpected implications of the school make themselves felt whereas at the same time the Natives' expectations are not fulfilled. Among the unexpected implications are for instance the fact that the children are not available for work in the gardens or for other activities, they do not receive

the instructions which they need for participation in the village life, but on the contrary seem to be removed from it. On the other hand, the benefits of the school are not immediate; some of these may not come until after a very long time. Often the complaint is heard that the young are alienated from their elders. The school was originally accepted as a symbol of prestige, but the parents cannot share the actual value of this prestige while the children can. Even though the school-going child does not behave differently from other children, all his misdeeds will be attributed to the school. Attempts have been made at times to overcome this difficulty by opening the opportunity for the adults to follow classes, but they are not successful. S. Reed mentions for instance that the Rev. Banks thought that the old men kept the children from school and he decided to start a school for the chiefs; all of them came and attended for a few weeks, but then quickly dropped off\(^1\). It seems that this matter of alienation between old and young is sometimes exaggerated; if it is a fact, then the rate of change and the methods which are used, seem to be responsible.

One of the correspondents wrote that in his area at least an alienation was certainly not noticeable with regard to the children who were still at school, and he ascribes this to the fact that the children are encouraged to participate in the village life as much as they can. Direct interference with native feasts and so on exists only with respect to a few dances, but most of the ceremonies are left untouched. Young men are still initiated (with the knowledge of the missionary) and though for them the rites have lost their religious meaning and have become occasions of a more secular amusement, the external observance seems to satisfy the elders as long as their behaviour gives no reason for complaint. Similarly, Father Bills wrote that he was present at an initiation ceremony for boys. During the time of the usual instruction given by the elders one man told the youngsters to

\(^1\) S. W. Reed, *The Making of Modern New Guinea*, 1943 p. 113
attend the mission school where they would learn much of the social behaviour in order to become a good clansmen.

More serious seems to be the fact of unfulfilled expecta-
tions. The school does not contribute to the improvement of the village, and it is too much an institution apart from the community life. Of course, it would be an anomaly to expect that the school is going to satisfy all the demands which the Natives originally made; they expected almost everything from it. On the other hand, some immediate results would do much good to the mutual understanding. As things are (speaking in general) the curricula seems to be constructed with a view on the too remote future. It is expected that some of the better students will become teachers, catechists, leaders or special-
lists in some craft or agricultural methods; they need for that a good knowledge of the 3 R's in order to be able to follow the higher courses that are offered at more central institutes. We shall see in the next chapter what happens with these promising pupils in many cases. What we are concerned about here is the fact that the curricula in the village school are too much ba-
sed upon the selective function so that the average child does not benefit from it. Arithmetic is useless for a long time to come; in the village no complicated calculations are made, and if something has to be computed the old system will do. Even the handling of money does not seem worry the un-schooled. There may be a slight difference between those who have been at school and the others, but it does not seem to be important. Almost every report tells that arithmetic is the greatest stumbling-
block for the Natives and yet it receives so much attention in the curriculum. A more gradual introduction of this subject would appear to cause less frustration. Similarly, the other R's have too little bearing on the daily life of the average villager. The art of reading if it is to be useful, requires reading material; this is often not available, or the matters with which the exis-
ting literature deals, are too remote from the Natives' interest. Writing also is seldom used in practice until a much later stage, when the school has been in operation for a longer time. These criticisms do not imply that the schools should do away with these subjects altogether. The objection is rather that they are often introduced too soon in their full strength, and that the school-time is entirely taken up by these subjects. They are merely added on to the children without changing their outlook, and experience has shown that they are soon forgotten.

On the one hand the school has given knowledge which is rather useless, on the other hand little is done for the village in a positive sense. If the teacher in consultation with the village leaders could lay out gardens, keep the village clean, make paths and roads and the like, during school-time, then the immediate results will show that the school has some use. It is also a good idea to invite adults into the school to instruct the children in certain native specialities such as art, canoe-building, pottery making etc. If certain of their methods can be improved, the teacher can make his suggestions. In this way the school would become a real village-institution, what it should be in order to fulfil its function. In the initial stage the school cannot be an institution for intellectual training, if this is understood as storing up of abstract knowledge. It must be the place where the village is set in a wider world and where new ways are opened through practical experience.

This may seem to give the school a function which is preserving the old culture rather than one which leads to change. This, however, is only partly true. From what is said in an earlier chapter which dealt with the problem of the educability it has become clear that educability is relative to the society in which one is living, and that within the culture factors are working which make it impossible to educate a growing generation to an unlimited degree. Whereas it is possible to introduce some
features into the life of the children, an institution which has no relation whatever to their daily lives has no results and will only create frustrations. The creative function must go together with the continuative function. When the child leaves the school, he finds in his community not one but a dozen teachers. If his school-life has never become integrated into the life of the community, then the school-teacher's efforts have been wasted.

There is also another aspect for which we quoted Prof. Herekovits (pp.44-5), namely that the enculturation takes place in two phases, the early enculturation and the reconditioning phase. If the early period has not been gratifying, then the later choice will be against change and against the school. It is possible that such phenomena as the "Vailala madness", the Maseren-cult and the like would not have occurred if the educational system which was introduced had been better adapted to the community life. Thus says Dr. de Bruyn: "A study of Messiah cults in other areas shows that where the clash between old and new cultures have been too violent, the resultant changes prove too drastic, disillusionment in religious and political matters becomes rife, and thus there is a fertile soil prepared for Messiah-expectations". The school which tries to be drastic in introducing change, may only cause disillusionment.

There is still another social phenomenon to be mentioned in this connection, viz. the existing class-barrier between Whites and Natives. In an environment such as in New Guinea the Europeans have always been concerned about the "white prestige". The tendency is to make the Native feel that he is inferior in every respect and that he is to remain so. One of the motives which led the Natives to accept the school, was the hope of equaling the power and the knowledge of the Europeans. Even if it is the ultimate

1)J.V. de Bruyn, The Maseren cult of Biak, South Pacific, 1951, p.5.
aim of the educator to bring the Natives on an footing of equality with the Europeans, this aim cannot be reached immediately, nor by the mere ability to read and write. By emphasizing the 'scholastic' achievements in the curriculum the hope of Europeanization becomes overstrained and the disillusionment almost unbearable. A change of outlook, an understanding of the wider perspective of the changing conditions, seems to be more important than the learning of a few new techniques.

This is probably one of the most difficult problems which the educator has to share with others responsible for the welfare of the Natives. The Report of the United Kingdom Colonial Office of Education on Mass Education remarks: "Nothing is more frustrating than the sense of being the plaything of impersonal forces". The Native who went to the village school where the emphasis was on those pupils who would receive further education for teaching or missionizing, and who has been left to his own devices for his return to village life or for employment with the Whites, becomes suspicious of the good intentions of the few Europeans who had his welfare at heart. Under special circumstances such as have occurred during the war in New Guinea, the dissatisfaction finds expression. Hogbin records for instance that a Native who did not join up with the Allies and who was asked why he did not, replied: "The American Government taught the Negroes to read and write and so made it possible for them to understand all about war. Our Government gave us nothing. The little learning that we had came from the Missions". And L. Mair also referring to the influence which the appearance of

2) M. Ian Hogbin, Transformation Scenes, 1950, p. 11.
Negro soldiers had on the Natives, goes on to relate the Natives’ reaction to the difference between the ‘English’ and the ‘Australians’, a distinction which came into use during the war period. The ‘English’ were the pre-war Europeans who had been too much concerned with their ‘prestige’ to give the Natives education; the ‘Australians’ are the more friendly Europeans of the war who showed that they depended upon the help of the Papuans. With the ‘Australians’ came the Negroed “men with black skins who had apparently not been debarred from acquiring the material goods of the whiteman, or from learning whatever it is that gives the white man his wealth and power. The New Guinea natives, too, could learn these things if only the ‘Australians’ could stay in their country and teach them”¹). The extraordinary circumstances of the war has certainly influenced the Natives’ demand for better and more education. We cannot say that the pre-war system has failed because it did not prepare the Papuans for these unusual war conditions, but it becomes clear that the village-school was not entirely understood by the Natives. The wider perspective, the implications of the school for the community remained obscure, because the school was not an institution of the community. To a lesser degree than during the war the same situation will arise with the increasing contact with Europeans. Ways must be opened which introduce the Papuan into the world of the Europeans, but this can only be done by changing his own world. The village school has an important role in this process of change, but only if it is a part of a wider scheme of village welfare in general.

¹) L.P. Mair, Australia in New Guinea, 1948, p.201
CHAPTER VI. THE NATIVE TEACHER.

The most important person in the New Guinea educational process is probably the native teacher. Upon his training and his skill depends the success or failure of the whole scheme. His position should be briefly examined here from a sociological point of view. Two important aspects are to be mentioned namely the fact that he generally is a catechist or mission-leader at the same time as he is a teacher, and secondly that he is a man from another social environment than that in which he is working.

W.C. Groves states with some authority "Village education is, and must be, mission education, recognised by the Government" and he goes on to say that the teachers will be first and foremost missionary teachers. But he must be more than that; with the help of the Government, he is to become village leader. This is certainly an ideal, which should be aimed at, but which has certain implications that make the practice difficult at times. The Papuans have shown themselves eager to accept Christianity and to become converts. The teacher-catechist is regarded as their leader because of his training and knowledge of the new religion. The Government, however, appoints its own representatives, men from the local group, who often cannot read or write, but who have the backing of the District Officer and higher authorities. This fact has often led to great difficulties as it gave rise to a division within the group. As Hogbin remarks: "Struggles for power were not uncommon, each side marshalling its forces to the best of its ability and not infrequently calling upon the local European missionary or administrative officer for aid".

In Australian New Guinea was added to this the fact that most of the European missionaries were Germans, which often gave to the representatives of the Administration an opportunity to throw doubt upon the Mission's loyalty. These insinuations may have been mere fabrications, but they reflect a more general attitude on the part of certain officers and other Europeans who are prejudiced against the Missions. This attitude is felt almost everywhere. In such cases of friction the Natives generally take sides with the Mission, but certain dissatisfied elements play upon the prejudice of the Europeans and often find themselves given right. The difficulties in Busama with Luluel Bumbu form one illustration of this case.

On the other hand, it would be dangerous if the teacher-catechist had unlimited powers. He is held in high esteem by the village because he is the one who does something for the community. The District Officer is seen only at irregular intervals and can spend more than a few days to hear the most important matters. The same can be said with regard to the European missionary who makes his visits. The teacher may under these circumstances make excessive demands on the Natives, and if he is not imbued with a great sense of responsibility, he may become a tyrant. Cases of exploitation by the teacher are sometimes reported. In general, however, one can only admire the missionary zeal of the native teachers and the devotedness to their task.

In Netherlands New Guinea, the Missionaries sometimes make a distinction between the guruh agama, who is a catechist, and the guruh sekolah, a school-teacher. One hears the complaint that by the acceptance of subsidy from the Government, the guruh's tend to lose their missionary spirit, to restrict their task to

1) See: H. Ian Hogbin, op. cit. pp. 46 sq.; also in Transformation Scene, 1950, pp. 150-182
pure teaching and some activities explicitly mentioned by the Missionary, he is not concerned about village life as such and does not take any part in it. They work hard but only to finish the school-program and to meet the requirements of school-inspection. Whether this tendency is due only to the fact of subsidy and better payment, can be doubted. Probably the teacher training scheme has more to do with it.

As regards the second point, we mentioned that in Netherlands New Guinea Protestant Missionaries used mainly Ambonese gurah's and Catholic Missions derived theirs from the Kei-Islands. A similar condition occurs all over New Guinea; the teachers come from other areas than the one in which they are working. This fact implies that they are inclined to interpret the existing cultural and social conditions in the light of these of their own area. Even where the Missionary would be sympathetic towards the native culture, it appears that the Native teacher is seldom able to take such an attitude. More often than not he looks down with a high degree of disdain upon the indigenous culture, and at times substitute their own customs for those they found in the village. If the school-program prescribes native storytelling then they may relate the myths and tales of their own country. A Missionary who had instructed his teacher in a village near Hollandia to teach the children native dances and songs, found at his next visit the whole school staging Moluccan dances! This fact illustrated that the Missionary's intents are easily misunderstood. On the other hand, it is understandable that the teacher could not do what was wanted from him, because he did not know the indigenous dances himself.

This fact again seems to illustrate that the training of the Native teachers is often too much on the intellectual line and has devoted little attention to the social studies. To this fact refers Grèves' remark that it is impossible "for the native teacher, trained in semi-European institutions to become the
native community's leaders and trusted guide towards a new adjustment" 1). That the teacher educated with intellectual virtues is not necessarily the most important leader in the changing conditions may be illustrated by reference to the success of the Kwato Mission. Although disagreeing with the policy of destruction of Native culture, F.E. Williams recognises the true spirit of leadership which the Mission has been able to instill in its evangelists. He mentions that "the leaders were all men of personality... None of these men are educated.... But if the Amau leaders' education did not amount to much, they certainly lacked neither intelligence nor character. There can be no doubt that this little band of zealots, aided and abetted as they are by enthusiastic fellow-villagers, must have a very strong influence on the whole Main Range population" 2). It would appear from this quotation that leaders are more important than teachers. If the two can be combined, then it is all the better. However, teachers who are not leaders in the community, unless by harsh and brutal methods, can hardly be regarded as agents of change.

1) W.C. Groves, Native Education in New Guinea, 1936, p.75
2) F.E. Williams, Mission influence among the Koveri, Oceania, XV, 1944, pp. 114-5.
CHAPTER VII. THE EDUCATED NATIVES.

One of the greatest problems facing the African Administrations is that of the educated Negroes, the evoluees who are at the same time deracinees, belonging not to the culture from which they were taken to go to school, but neither to the culture to which the school belonged. A similar problem exists in New Guinea though the smaller numbers of people involved may make the phenomenon less apparent.

The object of the educational system in New Guinea has been the formation of an elite, of a group of native people who would become helpers for the Whites in the propagation of Christianity and civilization. When Groves traced the history of a number of boys who had been at the Government school in Rabaul, he found that 3 of them were assistant teachers, some were home in their villages after long years of indentured labour. "One, who subsequently spent two years at school in Melbourne and acquired a facility in English and a good standard of general attainment in European school subjects, completing the Victorian Qualifying Certificate course, is at home at Tatau Village (Tabar Islands). He is unmarried and as I saw him while I lived in his village for some months, an alien to his people, a Kanak snob causing much mischief amongst the villagers". Some boys died. One is a Government clerk; one or two are linesmen, some are at a technical school etc. "Not more than half a dozen of them have any real understanding of English, the teaching of which was one of the main aims of the system at the outset." 1) Altogether a rather unsatisfactory state of affairs. If this is to be the outcome of all educational efforts, then the Anthropologist may well advise the practitioners to spend the money and energy on more profit bearing causes. However, if we analyse the situation in

1) W.C. Groves, Native Education and Cultus Contact in New Guinea, 1936, p.73.
in greater detail, certain facts become apparent which suggest that the educational scheme must be given a new direction, rather than that it should be abandoned altogether.

In the first place, it is clear that the school has changed the Natives of New Guinea in the religious field. Where missions have been working for some time, real Christian communities have come into existence. It is true that the new practices are often mere substitutions for the old pagan rituals, that prayers have taken the place of the magical spells, and that God has taken the place of cause of sickness and death which was formerly held by the ancestors or the spirits. But it is also true that where the missions are longer established and good guidance is given, the real religious spirit begins to permeate into the daily life, sorcery gradually disappears, a sense of brotherhood towards other Native groups develops and the status of women is raised. The school which has been the main instrument of the missions may certainly be held responsible for these changes. New friends are made at school; whereas formerly no Native would appear at the meeting place of another clan except that of his near relatives, the mission station and the school is the meeting place for everybody. They learn new words which will be helpful in their contact with Europeans, see new things and hear of places which they have never dreamed of before. This makes them desire for a change and stimulates the wanderlust. On the one hand the mission-school has a cementing and unifying influence upon the Natives, on the other hand it provides them with a new outlook on the world.

1) I may refer here to an unpublished article by Fr. Nilles in which he mentions that the Natives from the Kuman area contributed to the Mt. Lamington Disaster Fund which shows how the thinking and feeling of the Kuman has grown out of their former limited area.
This does not mean that the old ways and views have disappeared altogether. Often old and new co-exist side by side, and the old is kept back in case it may be wanted when the new appears unsatisfactory, as it happened in the Messianic movements. If the old was irrevocably lost, new native cultural forms may appear. Sometimes old and new do not exist side by side, but the new is interpreted in the light of the old culture. The educated Native influenced by two cultures probably feels this duality more than anything else. They want to be in the new, but do not wish to be scolded as outsiders in their own group.

One of the reasons why the educational scheme seems to have failed, is that the Native society has no idea of the 'educated' man. The following example is from Africa, but it could equally well be applied to New Guinea. A teacher talking about fishermen in England heard amusement expressed by a Native in the following words: "But you told us that everyone in England can read and write! How then can there be fishermen?" It is clear what the Native expected from the school and what he thought of the 'educated man': something different from the bush native. Groves met three native lads at Finsa who spent the weekends in their village while they were at a boarding school: they were treated as high guests among their own villagers; they were regarded as superior, privileged people. The village did not look upon the school as their own, but as "something belong white man". In other words, the educated Native as he actually was formed in the schools of New Guinea had no place in his own community. His reaction is too often that he does not want to play a part in that community. Whereas his fellow-villagers combine

1) M.J. Field, Towards Tribalised literacy, Overseas Education, 1940, P.1.
2) W.C. Groves, Native Education and Culture Contact in New Guinea, 1936, p.70.
to build a church, to make a road or clean the village, he regards himself as being above that, and the others are inclined to agree.

This problem seems to arise mainly among these youths whose education is not complemented by a task which corresponds to their schooling. The teacher whose training is completed in the teachers' training school, finds a job ready for him. Though he may be disappointed and return home because of homesickness, the complaints are generally not about him. For those who fail before obtaining the certificate, or who have been at a central or area school, no provision is made. They may attempt to find employment with Europeans as clerks or interpreters but often do not find satisfaction in these jobs, mostly because of the colour-bar. These are the unhappy elements who cause most of the trouble. It seems to be a problem of after-care and of a bitter link between school and community.

The average school-boy whose education is finished with the village school, or who has received some technical training will go to the plantations or goldfields or work with the Oil Company. Europeans often accuse these youths of being lazy, dishonest, inefficient and what not. Reed points out that this must be understood as a rationalisation on the part of Europeans who in general have a strong prejudice against missions. The Mission educated Natives show a greater sophistication than the untouched Papuans and this is also disliked. Further, it should not be forgotten that these natives live in an atmosphere of strongly conflicting social ties, especially when they have been taken from their villages to labour compounds. But, Reed concludes "Court returns do not disclose whether the incidence of crime among mission natives is greater or less than among pagans; ... what matters is that Europeans think that it is greater". 1) It is clear that European

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employer fears that education will make the native less amenable to labor. Reed quotes Pitt Rivers as saying: "The progress of native Education along European lines serves to stimulate the process of antagonism of the white man, for it means that the coloured man, as he becomes divorced from his native life and is equipped for trade and handicraft, becomes a competitor instead of being merely a hewer of wood and a drawer of water". It is true of most of the vices which are attributed to the mission educated natives, what Williams says of one of them "Some educated Papuans are dishonest in spite of their religious training, but surely not because of it". With the recognition that sometimes the school or the mission has not been able to remove undesirable features in the Natives (does it in a European society?), the suggestions may be attributed to the prejudice and the ban under which "all coloured persons fall...irrespective of their background and education". It is clear that this lack of sympathy which the Natives experiences in his contact with Europeans will frustrate many of the attempts to bring social advance. Referring to an incident we mentioned earlier (p.17), namely the failure of a development plan for the Purari Delta, we said that it was dangerous to make any conclusion as regards the efficiency of the education that was given. With the knowledge of the existence of the colour-bar, we find a more probable explanation in Mair's remark that "Tommy Kabu was refused the use of the warf belonging to the saw milling company at Port Moresby".

From the foregoing it becomes then clear that the education in New Guinea has brought changes in ideals and practices among

2) F.D. Williams, Mission influence amongst the Kevery, loc.cit., p.121
3) H. Ian Hogbin, Transformation Scene, 1950, p. 278
the Papuans. However, these changes remain restricted to their own society. In the attempts to penetrate into the European society a resistance is evoked which results in much confusion and makes a mutual understanding impossible. In other words, the school forsters attitudes and expectations with regard to the European society, but it cannot fulfill all these expectations. It would then appear that first and foremost the Papuan society as a whole must be worked up to a level where it becomes a match for the European civilization, and that the educational efforts must be concentrated on the New Guinea society itself, for a long time to come. One of the most important factors is whether the school can preserve the racial pride of the Papuan community.

Too often Natives do not understand the meaning of the things of Europeans, nor do they comprehend that the things which their educational training introduced, are given for and should be used in their own village life. Trained doctor-boys hand out bandages which are used for decoration in dances, but not for the dressing of wounds; the calendar which was introduced into the schools, is used only for the activities for which the European culture is directly or indirectly responsible\(^1\). It is with these things the same as it is with the clothing to which the Papuan seems to be attracted as soon as he sees a European. In Western civilization, as Held says, clothing fulfills a number of functions: a protection against climatic conditions, a decoration, a indication of status and occupation, but it also expresses a certain need of play between the sexes. For all these functions the clothes must be strong, attractive, but also decent and seemly. When the Papuans take over clothing from Europeans, it becomes clear how much depends upon the human attitude. That they, especially in the beginning, look much more dirty and even indocent than without, is not through the fault of clothing but of the

\(^{1}\) R. Ian Hogbin, Transformation Scene, 1951, p.35.
human beings who wear it. The Papuans seem to regard it as some sort of a status-symbol and decoration and often do not cover these parts of the body which in our opinion ought to be covered. If one hopes, thus says Dr. Held, that the Papuans will adapt themselves to the opinion of the greater part of the world as regards clothing, then one must hope that they learn to feel and behave differently. Then the adoption of a new way of body-covering means also a search for and a finding of a new relation between oneself and the world. The school in New Guinea seems to have helped in bringing many new attitudes and desires and in changing old attitudes, but it has not changed the Papuan as long as these attitudes concern only the outward form of the new things that attracted him. This requires a long and patient guidance on the part of the educator, but with this change without disillusionment is not impossible.

1) G. Held, De Papoea, Cultuur-improvisator, 1951, pp. 211-12.
CONCLUSION.

When in the first chapter the question of education and change was introduced by reference to our own society, it was clear that there was something in society which made us aware of the fact that education cannot do everything we often think, or like. The process of change—through—education is to be a process of spiritual revolution which requires patience and makes itself felt only after a long time.

We have tried to examine the problem with relation to New Guinea, where schools are introduced by Europeans in order to establish a new order for the Papuans who are drawn into the wider world. How much could these schools, and how much did they change the New Guinea Natives? In the discussions it was brought out that the schools have brought new objects, new attitudes, new desires and aspirations to the Natives, but it was pointed out that the aspirations and desires often surpass the limits of the realizable. On the other hand, many of the opportunities where change could be made were not seized upon, or were not worked out in full. The limits of change seems to be set by two conditions: the existing native culture and the European culture. Where the latter offers no barrier, as is the case with Christian Missions, there does the native culture gradually change into the direction of the new ideals; and education plays an important role in this process. The same thing could be said of the political changes which take place and which are evidenced in the Native Village Councils. Where the barrier is kept up, as it is in the social and economic sphere, education leads to aspirations which result in disappointments and frictions.

If the hypotheses which we had in mind testing in this thesis may be translated in some practical recommendations, then they could be worded: If education in New Guinea is to have success then it should link up with the existing local cultures; it should
be directed to the society as a whole; the intellectual training should not exceed the limits of what can be used in practice; Europeanisation in the sense of equality (in act, not in worth) with the Europeans should not be the immediate aim.

The school in New Guinea can contribute towards change, but it is to be regarded as a part of a wider plan of social development. Only then will the New Guinea cultures—as-a-whole—change.
I.A. The cultural basis of Education.

In every society there is the problem of inducting the young and immature into the ways of behaving which characterize the members of the society, i.e. into the society's culture. This process goes on informally to some extent, but in advanced societies, specialized agencies, such as schools, are set up to make it more efficient and to teach those systematic skills and knowledge which cannot be acquired through merely incidental learning. Socialization is the whole process of cultural induction. Education is that part of it which is the result of conscious intention by some adults; specialized education refers to the work of definite teaching organizations, such as schools, colleges, universities etc.

The elements of culture have been divided by Linton into 3 categories: universals, specialities and alternatives. Being inducted into a culture, then, may be considered from these 3 angles; and so, in consequence, may education itself. The curriculum of common education in any society will be based on cultural universals; and special education will be based on the dominant specialities; which in our society are mainly of a vocational or class character. On the whole, primary schools are concerned mainly with the transmission of universals, and secondary and tertiary education are increasingly concerned with specialities. There is often much confusion about what is class education and what is vocational education (especially in societies where certain vocations are associated with particular social classes). There is also in these times a tendency for confusion to exist between class education and general education. The problem of devising a truly democratic general education in secondary schools and universities has in
modern times become not only urgent and complicated, but also bound up with social conflicts extending far beyond the confines of the places of education.

I.B. Education and social change.

Granted that education tends in any age to produce a type of person conforming to a particular culture, we may ask: Can a form of education be devised which will fashion a type of person who conforms not to the pattern of culture which exists while he is at school, but to a pattern which is foreseen by the educator in the future. In a period such as ours, when the common orientation of people has become seriously upset, so that communication among them breaks down, can the school point the way to a new cultural synthesis, in which a new core of universals and specialities will overshadow a relatively small portion of alternatives?

Many modern educational theorists hold out hopes that the school can take the lead in promoting this new cultural synthesis. Thus R.H. Hutchins sees education as "the great peaceful means of improving society". "Liberal" educators, such as Counts and Newlon frankly advocate indoctrination in favour of more socialistic democracy. The Marxists, however, tend to be sceptical of the role of the school as nurseries of revolution, and tend to agree with Slesinger that in view of the class character of our society we must be sceptical about the importance of the school system as an instrument in effecting a revolutionary change in the present social order.

In this view, the Marxists are enthusiastically supported by most anthropologists who have considered education. The most comprehensive statement of the thesis that the school must always lag a little to the rear of social change, is probably that of Margaret Mead, who in Chapter XVI of Growing up in New Guinea, argues at length that "the cultivation in children of traits, attitudes, habits foreign to their cultures is not the way to make over the world. Every new
religion, every new political doctrine, has had first to make its adult converts, to create a small nuclear culture within whose guiding walls its children will flourish".

Mead's position has been effectively challenged in recent times by "Social reconstructionists", who, led by T. Bramald, hold that a curriculum can be designed to assist in expanding the common orientations of our culture. While admitting that the school alone cannot do this, they believe that it can make a major contribution in this direction.

I.C. Education as a means of social selection.

So far we have considered education as cultural transmission, and as an agency in facilitating social change. A third major function of education is that of selecting and training children for social mobility. This selectivity has two sides to it. On the one hand, as Lloyd Warner shows, school systems serve the children of different classes in different ways; and on the other hand the school system selects a minority and trains them for social mobility. "The one aspect" says Warner, "operates to preserve the status system, and the other aspect operates to help some children secure the reward of climbing within the status system".

Just how a school system may do both of these things, may be illustrated with particular force, by an examination of English secondary education since the re-organisation provided by the Act of 1944. The roles of the Public Schools, the Grammar Schools and the Secondary Modern schools may be considered against the class structure of England quite as instructively as against the purely psychological and educational classification into which they are commonly assorted in much official discussion.
APPENDIX E1. SOME FIGURES REGARDING EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES IN NEW GUINEA.

II.A. Under Australian Administration.

Answering some question asked in the Legislative Council, Port Moresby, 21st Febr., 1952, the Director of Education gave the following information:

Number of Administration schools in Papua-New Guinea 81
Number of Missions schools at present in Papua-New Guinea 3185
Number of pupils in Administration school (30.6.1951) 4562
Number of pupils in Mission schools 127,760
European teachers in Administration schools 65
European teachers in Mission schools 363
Native teachers in Administration schools 155
Native teachers in Mission schools 3784
Total number of European staff in the Department of Ed. 115
Total number of Native staff in Department of Education 216

In the post-war period, from 1946 to 30th June 1951, the overall cost to the Administration for education £1331210
Grants-in-aid to the Missions given from this £ 215005
Total cost to Administration for school requisites and educational stores during the same period £ 117118
Cost of schools requisites and educational stores supplied gratis to the Missions £ 53000
II.B. Under Netherlands Administration.

The educational report over 1947-8 gives the following details:

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<td>North N.G.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sacred H.</td>
<td>150 6 1 1 158 158 30 7041</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.P.C.</td>
<td>11 3 14 14 - 440</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.P.M.</td>
<td>5 5 5 5 5 149</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Governm.</td>
<td>1 1 4 4 138</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>308 186 5 3 499 378 266 24,964</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(In 1950)</td>
<td>(564)(517)(255) 29,476</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

c.s. = civilization school  
p.s. = popular school  
ct.s. = continuation school  
e.s. = elementary school  
N.P. = Non-Papuans  
Pap. = Papuan  
U.N.M. = Netherlands United Missions  
Franc. = Franciscans  
Governm. = Government  
M.P.C. = Moluccan Protestant Church  
Sacred H. = Sacred Heart Mission  
M.P.M. = Mission Protestant Malakula.
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