EDUCATIONAL CHANGE FROM WITHIN:
DEVELOPING A VERNACULAR ELEMENTARY SCHOOL
IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA

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DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this thesis to
my co-researchers, especially
Bada Walipogi Gaho,
who has strongly supported the idea of initial vernacular education for the
Maiwala children, and taught me how to steer a Maiwala canoe,
and
the three Maiwala Elementary School teachers:
Mrs Ronah Lister, Mrs Bona Dickson and Mrs Aiva Dileina,
who shared with me their thoughts, feelings and ideas
throughout the process of developing their school.

(See Frontispiece)
1. Mrs Ronah Lister (with Yasuko)

Ronah is preparing pandanus leaves for weaving on the verandah at her home.
2. Mrs Bona Dickson (with some of her younger relatives)

Bona and the children are watching her husband and other men carving a large canoe at her home.
3. Mrs Aiva Dileina (with a group of preparatory class children and Yasuko)

Aiva and the children are pausing after demonstrating their lessons for the NDOE training video in their temporary classroom.
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>KB</td>
<td>Koyabule Mission Station</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LMS</td>
<td>London Missionary Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NDOE</td>
<td>National Department of Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-Government Organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAR</td>
<td>Participatory Action Research</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PMV</td>
<td>Public Motor Vehicle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PNG</td>
<td>Papua New Guinea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIL</td>
<td>Summer Institute of Linguistics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TED</td>
<td>Teacher Education Division</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TPPS</td>
<td>Tok Ples (Vernacular) Pre-School or Tok Ples Preparatory School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UPNG</td>
<td>University of Papua New Guinea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VOP</td>
<td>Village Oil Palm</td>
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This study presents a process of syncretising indigenous culture with Western culture from the indigenous people's perspective in Papua New Guinea (PNG). It also presents a research breakthrough in seeking genuine understanding of social change as a process, especially in the process of developing culturally more appropriate curricula content and practices. In particular, indigenous styles of assessment and evaluation were investigated and identified as a process in contrast to the product oriented strategies in formal schooling. In the past, educational changes were introduced by expatriates as the product of their plans from their perspectives. Using the method of Participatory Action Research (PAR), indigenous people in this study were empowered to play the major role of generating change from within their community. They were encouraged to be actively involved in the process of identifying and solving their own problems, as I, the researcher, played the role of catalyst and facilitator.

During the process of this collaborative research, the indigenous people and I were able to establish mutual relationships through two-way communication. We were able to share our thoughts and concerns frankly through dialogue in order to understand each other. In particular, I lived with eleven different families in the community and participated in their everyday life. Having placed myself as a learner in the local context, the local people began to play the role of teachers. As a result, typical asymmetrical relationships between superior expatriates and inferior locals were broken down, and symmetrical
relationships established. Thus, the process of research itself became a process of establishing close personal relationships.

Data were collected through my participation and observation. Informal interviews were also conducted throughout my interaction with the local people. As the host or hostess of each family checked each entry of my data, he or she became more aware of the existing indigenous education and its significant features. From categorising and sorting the data, five principles, incorporating various aspects of assessment and evaluation strategies in everyday life, began to emerge. As the elementary school teachers checked these principles for their accuracy, especially through the process of devising a more appropriate curriculum and classroom practices for their school, they became increasingly aware of the value of indigenous education.

In this way, asymmetrical relationships between Western knowledge and indigenous knowledge were broken down. Although indigenous education has been ignored in the past, it has now gained a prominent place in their society. In particular, the five principles underlying the local assessment and evaluation strategies found in this study have stimulated the elementary school teachers in their thinking processes. When the elementary school teachers compared these principles with the current educational practices of Western schooling, they were able to devise the best solutions from their perspectives. The process of comparing, thinking and implementing an innovation took place through trial and error in the time-frame of the local teachers.

Educational history reveals that expatriates tend to adapt what seems applicable from the approaches developed elsewhere in the world, without the consent of indigenous people. For example, there is a trend among expatriates to simply adapt the current, holistic, Western approach to the old mould of classroom practices in the PNG context. As this holistic approach has many
similarities to the indigenous approach, its differences tend to be overlooked by expatriates. As a result, the introduction of a new approach has the danger of becoming another example of imposed Western ideas.

By contrast, in this study, the holistic approach was not introduced to the indigenous teachers. Rather, the teachers were encouraged to utilise the knowledge they gained in their familiar environment within the local community. In particular, they compared the formal approach of the current primary schooling with the informal approaches of everyday life. They carefully weighed up the value of various points, from their perspective, in order to devise solutions, without being influenced by Western ideas. Through this process of constructing and reconstructing innovative ways, they have become empowered to think more critically.

This study demonstrates an effective process of establishing symmetrical relationships not only between the local practitioners and expatriates, but also between indigenous education and Western education. It also demonstrates the process of indigenous people syncretising Western values with their own, on the basis of their process oriented approach to assessment and evaluation strategies in the everyday life of the community. Throughout the process of collaborative research, this study shows that there are benefits to be gained from expatriates changing their role and perspective in order to bring about a successful educational change in PNG.
CANDIDATE'S DECLARATION

I certify that this thesis does not incorporate without acknowledgment any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any university; and that to the best of my knowledge and belief it does not contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text.

[Signature]

Yasuko Nagai
SUPERVISOR'S DECLARATION

I believe that this thesis is properly presented, conforms to the specifications for the thesis and is of sufficient standard to be, *prima facie*, worthy of examination.

Dr. G. R. (Bob) Teasdale
Principal Supervisor
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This work has come about because of the contributions made by many people. I would like to say *teinani ghaeghaena* (thank you very much) to those who assisted me with encouragement and advice. In particular, I would like to note with gratitude:

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And above all, I thank God who sustained me throughout the research study.
CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Context and Perspective of the Study

This study unfolds the story of a unique experience I have had in Papua New Guinea (PNG). In fact, it was the most exciting experience in the twenty-four years of my career as a teacher-linguist and literacy consultant. While working earlier with Aboriginal people in Australia, I witnessed the loss of many Aboriginal languages. As a result, I came to stand in the middle of cross roads, where I had to make a choice as to which way I should go. Then, in 1989, I was invited by the PNG Branch of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) to continue my career in PNG. In this way, I came to work with the Maiwala people in Milne Bay Province, and to become involved with them in this challenging but rewarding study.

My experience in PNG was built on my previous experience in Japan and Australia. I left Japan in 1973, because I found it meaningless to spend my valuable life conforming to an education system that is known as 'education hell'; one that had produced me as one of its élites. Instead, I chose to go overseas to work with underprivileged and marginalised people. As I came to Australia, however, I realised that I too was regarded as one of the peripheral people. I experienced countless vexing moments while I was trying to learn about the culture and dialect of Australians. I could understand the importance of competence in English in order to establish oneself in Australia. However, I
personally found it rather humiliating to have my worth judged on the basis of my lack of competence in English.

Nevertheless, I made an enormous effort to adapt to the Australian way of life. Now, I think almost like an Australian, despite the fact that I look Japanese. Thus, I frequently hear comments like, "Where are you from? You speak English very well." Why is the way we speak English so important? To me, what we think is more important than what we say. However, in this English speaking society, what we think has almost no value unless it is expressed explicitly. My experience of struggling from an insignificant peripheral person to a competent career woman in Australia has given me a very valuable foundation for my perspective, especially in working with minority groups of people, such as Aboriginal Australians. My work with the Aboriginal people gave me an even deeper understanding of how their languages and cultures have been dominated by Western culture, especially through the use of English language.

Moreover, I discovered that the English language and Western culture, represented by a relatively small group of people, have also dominated indigenous languages and cultures in PNG. Through the Western education system, the indigenous people's worth has been measured in terms of their acceptance of the values and ideas of Western society. As I learned the history of educational development in PNG, I could identify my experiences with those of the school children. They were not able to express their thoughts in English while trying to acquire the skills of spoken English. When the indigenous people in PNG shared with me their grief at the loss of appropriate manners along with the loss of their language, I could also identify with them. I had a similar experience when my Japanese manners were replaced by English manners by learning to speak English.
Hence, my experience became a valuable source of encouragement to the indigenous people in PNG. In Japan, a person is often assessed and evaluated on the basis of appropriate manners and behaviour. Most of these are learned from family members, especially when the learner is young and teachable. Once a child acquires appropriate manners in association with particular Japanese phrases, such manners become an integral feature of his or her identity. For example, when speaking in Japanese, my Japanese manner naturally accompanies me, such as bowing with a phrase, “Doomo arigatoo-gozaimasu” (thank you very much). Thus, I was able to assist indigenous people with my positive attitude for the maintenance of their culture and language, especially through their vernacular elementary school.

Although this study is not carried out in the field of linguistics, it recognises the significant role of language in the process of cultural change. In fact, the various features of a language cannot be understood in isolation from their cultural context. On the other hand, a particular culture is best explained by the particular language spoken by its members. Therefore, in this study, I endeavoured to learn the Maiwala language and the associated manners and appropriate behaviour in the meaningful context of the Maiwala community. Through my participation in the everyday life of the community, I also endeavoured to learn to view various events from the insiders’ perspectives. The purpose of my involvement in the everyday life of the community was solely based on my sincere desire to assist the members of the community in the process of the maintenance of their culture and language, especially through their vernacular elementary school.

The assistance that I have given to the indigenous people has quite a different nature to that given by other expatriates, who uncritically rely on their paternalistic viewpoints. Originally, Western education was introduced by expatriates for the purpose of improving the living conditions of ‘primitive’
people to the standards of Western society. Western education set out to replace indigenous culture with the 'superior' Western culture. As a consequence, indigenous cultures and languages were forgotten, and the children began to be alienated from their communities. In order to improve education, and to make it more relevant to the life of the indigenous people, expatriates continued to introduce educational changes. As these were considered desirable from the expatriates' viewpoint, the indigenous people were not consulted and did not consent to these changes. As a result, the outcome has been a passive acceptance and implementation of these introduced changes. The indigenous people have adapted to these ideas as best they could.

However, in recent years, the indigenous people have been encouraged to be involved in educational change. For example, the beginning of an initial vernacular education programme originated from parental dissatisfaction with English education in North Solomons Province. The idea of vernacular education was not to replace English education, but to ease the children's transition from informal everyday life to the formal education system. The more the benefit of initial vernacular education was recognised, the more widely it spread to other provinces of PNG. This non-formal vernacular education was left entirely to the indigenous communities to set up, while the formal primary school system was under the control of the government. In other words, the development of curriculum, staff and materials was dependent on assistance from the expatriates of Non Government Organisations (NGOs) working locally.

The term 'assistance' indicates the other's supportive role. However, most expatriates ended up taking the major role of developing teaching materials and methods for the indigenous people, who accepted this as the only available mode of assistance. However, this kind of assistance is based on the expatriates' false assumptions that 1) the indigenous people are not capable of
taking a major role in educational change, and 2) expatriates have the correct information concerning indigenous cultures.

By contrast, in this study, I encouraged the indigenous people to take the major role on the basis of my sincere belief that they are more than capable of developing a curriculum and appropriate classroom practices for their vernacular elementary school. I also believe that the indigenous people have the most appropriate views and ideas on the maintenance of their culture and language. My strong emphasis on the effectiveness of a bottom-up approach from the indigenous people's perspective is supported by my own personal experience of living in Western society. For example, grammatical mistakes in my spoken English were often commented on like, "It sounds like Japanese." My reaction to such comments was: "How can you say so without knowing Japanese grammar?"

In this study, I play the catalytic role, as I respect the indigenous people in their capabilities and perspectives throughout the process of developing their vernacular school. I show my genuine interest in their thoughts and actions, in order to assist them to accomplish their goals. In this local context, I am no longer a superior expatriate who has academic competence. I am an ignorant inferior novice who tries to learn from the local people, regardless of their academic status. On the basis of the expatriate's changed role, this study reveals a process of local people becoming aware of the value of indigenous education and the necessity for change in the formal education system. It also reveals a spiral process of the indigenous teachers becoming empowered to develop a culturally more appropriate curriculum and classroom practices from their own cultural perspectives.
1.2 The Focus of the Study

This study focuses on the process of indigenous people being empowered to become actively involved in the development of their own vernacular elementary school, through the breaking down of the previously asymmetrical relationships between superior expatriates and inferior locals. This study also focuses on the process of establishing symmetrical relationships between Western education and informal education, especially through the investigation of informal assessment and evaluation strategies. On the basis of the findings, another focus is placed on the process of the indigenous people syncretising Western values with indigenous values, in order to develop culturally more appropriate classroom practices.

The approach employed in this study is both radical and contrasting. In the past, numerous anthropologists have observed the local people and their cultures from Eurocentric perspectives. Later, other researchers began to use a method of participant observation, in order to view everyday life in the local communities from the standpoint of the indigenous people. However, in both cases, the research was conducted by the expatriate researchers on the local people. These expatriates considered indigenous cultures 'primitive' in comparison with the level of social and economic development of their own countries.

The expatriates' sense of superiority was also seen among the missionaries and colonial administrators. The imposition of the English education system under the colonial administration accentuated their feeling of superiority. Moreover, extensive teaching in English alienated children from their own vernacular languages. In this nation of diversity, losing one's own language is like losing one's own identity and culture. Languages play a vital part in the maintenance of indigenous culture as 'signifying’ practice (Bocock, 1992). In their
vernacular, people can best express themselves and best describe various aspects of their culture. However, when various indigenous groups interact with each other beyond their language boundaries, their languages change as they share parts of their languages and cultures. This is a natural phenomenon of language shift.

By contrast, imposition of English has violated the maintenance process of vernacular languages and indigenous cultures. As a result, many young people in the Maiwala community, nowadays, tend to borrow English terms heavily in their vernacular speech. They do not know equivalent Maiwala terms. When English terms are used in vernacular speech, the young people’s behaviour is indicative of European rather than local culture. The adults say the mixing of English terms with the vernacular is not desirable, and strongly wish to maintain their own culture and language. At the same time, they wish to learn the English language. Although they want both, they do not want to lose their identity.

This study highlights these dilemmas, and attempts to reveal the people’s thoughts behind them. More specifically, this study is involved in the establishment of a local vernacular elementary school in the Maiwala community, Milne Bay Province. The establishment of a community-based vernacular elementary school has proven to be a complex process. The original vernacular preparatory school did not meet the government's requirements for recognition as an elementary school in the new system. Despite their disappointment and despair, the teachers were encouraged to reopen their school, and continue to develop their curriculum. Through this achievement, they have shown the government what they can do, rather than waiting for something to be done for them.
This study builds on my previous work on the development of a curriculum and staff for elementary vernacular schooling (Nagai, 1993b). It focuses on the indigenous people's active involvement in the process of becoming aware of the existing problems and devising appropriate solutions. In particular, at their request, it focuses on the development of more appropriate classroom practices for the Maiwala Elementary School, and especially on culturally meaningful assessment and evaluation strategies. It begins with a reflection on my previous study and its relevance to the current work. This study is also sustained by the process of developing close personal relationships with the local people, in order to understand their viewpoint. By understanding the insiders' view, I can assist them to find their own solutions rather than doing this for them.

In order to be able to assist the local people, I endeavoured to learn to speak the Maiwala language. Learning a language is a part of learning the people's thoughts and actions in their culture. Although most Maiwala people have limited knowledge of English, most of them express themselves more freely in their vernacular. Learning to speak and analyse the Maiwala language helps me to understand the roles of English and vernacular in the community, and the people's attitudes and thoughts towards these two languages. My effort to learn the language also helps the local people to become aware of their role in the maintenance of their language and culture. The more I learn the Maiwala language, the more I begin to understand the insiders' perspectives.

Prior to this study, I had known about the problem of the vernacular preparatory school closure. However, the more I am 'bonded' (Brewster and Brewster, 1982) to the community, the more I begin to understand the attitudes and feelings of its members and come to know their needs. Knowing the insiders' view helps me to discover many hidden elements behind their dilemmas and frustration, as well as some potential keys to the solution. My understanding of
the insiders' view also helps the members of the community to understand the outsiders' view through the process of dialogue and negotiation with me.

Through the process of collaborative work between the local people and myself, the indigenous teachers are able successfully to syncretise Western knowledge with indigenous knowledge. It is not an adaptation of Western education, but a creation of a new education system in the nexus of Western culture and indigenous culture within the local community. As a result, formal schooling becomes closer to the community and more meaningful to the current and future lives of the children. It is a process in which the local people rediscover their own identity and pride.

The Maiwala people, who are involved as co-researchers, are the joint owners of this study. Therefore, findings and analysis are presented in a holistic, integrated approach to the Maiwala culture. This avoids the fragmentation and alienation of an objective, linear approach based on the Western research tradition. I endeavour to present the study in a 'reader friendly' style of writing and print format. This makes it easier for my indigenous co-researchers to read and understand.

1.3 Significance of the Study

This study has three most significant features: 1) discovery of assessment and evaluation strategies in the everyday life of the local community, 2) development of a new research methodology, and 3) documentation of how educational change was generated at the local level.

Firstly, this study is aimed at discovering informal assessment and evaluation strategies used in the everyday life of the Maiwala community. The more
indigenous people recognise the need to make school culturally appropriate, the more their styles of teaching begin to be considered. Despite the efforts at Maiwala to develop more informal and culturally more appropriate teaching strategies, there has not been a corresponding attempt to alter the existing assessment and evaluation strategies. In formal education in PNG, the purpose of teaching is to transmit segments of knowledge, and the results of this transmission are assessed and evaluated at the end, largely for the purpose of grading. As this kind of formal assessment and evaluation does not match the informal approach to teaching, it is likely to result in 'paradigm paralysis' (Betts, 1992).

Therefore, there is a need to examine assessment and evaluation strategies in relation to the teaching strategies used in everyday life. However, this need has to be recognised by the members of the community prior to any attempt to devise solutions. Hence, this study attempts to highlight how parents relate their teaching to assessment and evaluation, and vice versa. It also attempts to discover the important principles of informal strategies for assessment and evaluation. The process of investigation helps the local people to become aware of the existence of indigenous education and its value, and promotes their active involvement in the maintenance of their culture. The discovery of these assessment and evaluation principles also helps to stimulate the indigenous teachers' awareness of the necessity for change. Furthermore, it informs the process of developing a culturally more appropriate curriculum, and associated classroom practices, from the indigenous teachers' perspectives.

Secondly, the research methodology for this study is not an adaptation of Western methodology, but a methodology that is tailored to this particular research community. Collaborative research with the Maiwala people was initially developed in my previous study (Nagai, 1993b), and it matures in this study through my association with the community, especially in the process of
developing their vernacular elementary school. Since I am an outsider to the local culture, I recognise my inability to develop a vernacular curriculum for them in the way they desire. Although I am an expert in elementary education, I came to Maiwala as an ignorant expatriate who did not know the local culture and language. The recognition of my inability and my respect for the local 'grassroots' people are the basic elements of developing symmetrical relationships in this particular methodology.

This collaborative research with grassroots people is identified with Participatory Action Research (PAR) (Falls-Borda, 1991; Whyte, 1991). PAR, as reported in the literature, was carried out in workplaces of low-ranking people, such as in areas of industry and agriculture. This research of mine is very similar to PAR because of the involvement of grassroots people as co-researchers. It is also unique because it is being conducted in the field of education. My role as a researcher is initiated through my direct involvement in the development of a local vernacular school. Thus, there is no stereotyped division between the researcher and the researched but rather symmetrical relationships between the researcher and co-researchers. As a result, the local people and I are able to learn from each other and share each other's thoughts and ideas through dialogue within the meaningful context of the Maiwala community.

This study is also carried out during the natural course of educational change occurring in PNG. There are no artificial conditions being created in order to carry out this study, largely because there is no base hypothesis. Rather than imposing any preconceptions, I adapt myself into the way of life of the community, in which unexpected incidents occur, such as the closure of their preparatory school. Thus, during the process of the study, I pause to think, reconsider and rearrange the aims of the research. I abandon, for example, some of my original aims and intentions in relation to literacy. This is a
necessary exercise for me. I do not intend to impose my views on the people in any way, but to truly assist them to accomplish their current project.

Thus, through a spiral process of PAR, my tentative intention in my original research project simmers into something beyond my expectation in relation to educational change. Moreover, with additional seasoning of unexpected events during the simmering process, such as the appointment of one of the Maiwala teachers to another school, I continue to weigh up the problems, in order to determine what the people really want to accomplish. In other words, the process of PAR is a process of refining the aims of the study itself.

Thirdly, educational change in this study is not a passive acceptance of the government scheme by the local people, but is generated from within the local community. It has been the pattern in PNG that educational change was planned and brought in to, or rather imposed upon, the local people in a top-down approach. Despite dissatisfaction with the change, local people used to feel powerless and do nothing except follow what they were told to do. By contrast, in this study, through a spiral process of planning, acting, observing, documenting and reflecting in PAR, a significant change takes place in the minds of the local people regarding their role in educational change. As a consequence, they are empowered to think and act independently, in the process of developing their own vernacular elementary school, without the government’s recognition or financial assistance.

Through PAR, powerless people become empowered to act against government decisions that they consider unfair. However, their action is not portrayed in the aggressive manner of a political demonstration. It is a quiet, steady manner of pursuit, that becomes an excellent example of the beginning of a locally owned and controlled vernacular elementary school. The local government cannot go ahead with the current education reform without noticing this
school. Consequently, they promote it as the centre of teacher education in Milne Bay Province. In fact, it is the first elementary demonstration school in PNG. Here in the Maiwala Demonstration School, education reform meets in the nexus of the bottom-up approach and the top-down approach. This is a most significant experience in educational change in PNG history.

1.4 Limitation of the Study

During my association with the Maiwala people for the past seven years, I have learned and analysed Maiwala language and culture as much as I could, especially in the areas of teaching, assessing and learning. However, there are many areas that have not been disclosed to me. Although my understanding of Maiwala culture and language has been much expanded by the local people, my understanding is still limited. As I try to understand the people, they also gain an understanding of me: a unique expatriate, who wishes to share her life with them. In particular, they show interest in my experiences in both Australian and Japanese cultures and languages. There are still limitations in our understandings of each other. However, we are able to share each other’s thoughts and feelings towards the same goal, with the same purpose: the establishment of the Maiwala Elementary School, and the maintenance of the Maiwala culture and language.

This is a case study that is not intended for generalisation. There may be similar situations, but it would be extremely rare to have identical situations in a nation of more than 860 different cultural/language groups. In developing vernacular elementary education, each culture and language needs to be acknowledged for its own uniqueness. This study, however, has the potential to be adapted to other communities. For example, the Maiwala curriculum and teaching materials have been recognised for their applicability to other
cultural/language groups within the Milne Bay Province. Some of the materials have also been made available by the National Department of Education (NDOE) for adoption to meet the needs of other provinces. However, this process tends to become its generalisation. As a result, a most effective educational change, generated in a bottom-up approach, is likely to be lost in the old practice of imposing change in a top-down approach.

1.5 Structure of Thesis

Chapter 2 presents the overall background information of the historical development of educational change in PNG, especially in relation to language policy, curriculum and staff development.

Chapter 3 presents the methodology that is tailored to this study. In this chapter, initial research questions are raised in relation to the recognition of research problems.

Chapter 4 presents various features of the Maiwala community. This provides background information for the understanding of assessment and evaluation strategies in the everyday life of the community.

Chapter 5 presents the major principles and aspects of assessment and evaluation strategies in the Maiwala community. These principles and aspects become the important features that need to be taken into consideration in Chapter 6.

Chapter 6 presents the process by which the Maiwala Elementary School teachers devise assessment and evaluation strategies for their school, on the basis of the findings presented in Chapters 4 and 5.
Chapter 7 presents discussion of the findings of the initial research questions in relation to 1) the wider context of educational change in PNG, 2) the formal approach to the current assessment and evaluation at school, and 3) the holistic approach to assessment and evaluation in the Western context.

Finally, Chapter 8 presents conclusive remarks of the study and recommendations for ongoing educational change in PNG.

1.6 Definition of Terms

1.6.1 Non-Western Nation

Many researchers have used the term 'developing nations' when referring to nations other than the European, or nations that were established by a majority of people from Europe. Thus, in the 18th and the 19th century, the term 'development' was used interchangeably with the terms 'evolution' and 'progress' (Nisbet, 1980). However, in the 20th century the term 'development' refers to certain ideas about the nature of economic change (Williams, 1983), that denote "more specific, empirically measurable, forms of change" (Jaffee, 1990: 3), especially in relation to Gross National Product (GNP) or Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (Waddell, 1985).

Therefore, the term 'developing' indicates "becoming more like the West" (Foster-Carter, 1976: 172). It also indicates an imposed process of shaping 'underdeveloped' or 'less developed' into a world market controlled by the West (Williams, 1983). Thus, the term 'developing' indicates not only negative connotations, but also ambiguity. For example, some 'developing' nations (e.g., Japan) have become 'developed' nations, and some 'developed' nations (e.g.,
Australia) have typically ‘developing’ nation sectors, like Aboriginal people, the unemployed, the homeless, etc.

Others have used the terms 'north' and 'south' in relation to developed nations and developing nations. However, these geographical terms do not fit well with the relationship between Australia and PNG, as both of them are located in the southern hemisphere. Moreover, PNG is situated north of Australia.

The term 'third world' has also been used in reference to developing nations. However, this usage indicates ambiguity in an assumption that there are first and second worlds. This usage is based on the Eurocentric view, rating the nations according to their assumed superiority.

In this study, which is conducted in the Asia Pacific region, I have chosen to use the term 'non-Western' nations in reference to nations other than European and those established by Europeans. The term 'non-Western' nations includes the nations which have had colonial experiences as well as those which have not. The nations with colonial experience were influenced by the majority of people coming from Europe (Münch, 1989; Dirlik, 1990). Although others do not have colonial experience, there is a clear evidence of Western influence on their cultures. As a Japanese (i.e., non-Western) person, who has lived in a Western nation (i.e., mostly Australia) since 1973, I have identified myself with the people in PNG during the last few years of my life there. Hence, the choice of this term reflects my attempt to examine the people’s thoughts from the insiders’ point of view, by sharing the dilemmas and struggles, as well as the process of problem solving.

1.6.2 Culture

In this study, culture is not viewed as static, but dynamic. Culture is not a mere product, such as reified artefacts preserved in a museum, but a process of
refinement and improvement in human relationships (Wagner, 1975) in every aspect of life including:

... know-how, technical knowledge, customs of food and dress, religion, mentality, values, language, symbols, socio-political and economic behaviour, indigenous methods of taking decisions and exercising power, methods of production and economic relations, and so on (Verhelst, 1990: 17).

In this sense, culture is a set of social practices by which meanings are produced and exchanged within a community (Bocock, 1992). Language plays a fundamental role in social practices in order for there to be meaningful communication between individuals. Language is "a system of signs that express ideas" (Saussure, 1990: 55-56), that consists of a 'signified' concept and a sound-image symbol of 'signifier' (Saussure, 1983 and 1990). Cultural practices that use linguistic signs (i.e., language\(^1\)) and symbols to make meaning are often described as 'signifying' (signifying) practices (Bocock, 1992).

In other words, cultural practice is a signifying practice. Language and culture are constituted by individual member's "bodies of knowledge, structures of understanding, conceptions of the world, and collective representations" (Ochs and Schieffelin, 1984: 284). Language and culture are not just factual knowledge or accumulation of information (D'Andrade, 1984), but open systems in which individuals interact and modify their socio-cultural knowledge throughout their lives (Ochs, 1990).

Through this signifying practice, the language changes within the society, especially through interaction with other cultural/language groups. The language changes, or rather evolves, under the influence of either sounds or

\(^1\)According to Saussure (1983: 66), "a linguistic sign is not a link between a thing and a name, but between a concept and a sound pattern." A language (i.e., linguistic sign) is the combination of a concept (i.e, signification) and a sound pattern (i.e., signal). "The sound pattern is not actually a sound . . . [but] the hearer's psychological impression of a sound" (Saussure, 1983: 66). The concept is an idea or meaning implied in the language. For example, the Latin term *arbor* carries the concept of 'tree' when it is heard.
meanings of other languages (Saussure, 1990). Although certain linguistic structures are not open to change, social and cultural knowledge can cause changes in the concepts and sounds of language (Ochs, 1990). Such changes are inevitable, as the primary function of speech is communication and social contact (Vygotsky, 1986).

Thus, discourse in communication is the main source of developing a new culture. Discourse relates the speaker to social and psychological context, and helps the hearer to make sense of the language spoken to him or her. In other words, the process of developing a knowledge of discourse is not only a part of linguistic competence, but also a socio-cultural competence in the knowledge of both language and culture (Ochs, 1990). In this socio-cultural competence, bidirectional change occurs and transforms the structures of knowledge and understanding vis-à-vis discourse and culture through interaction in their joint social activity (Ochs, 1990).

Hence, social practices, their meanings, as well as the beliefs and values of a particular culture, are expressed best in its particular language. All the information is accumulated as knowledge and symbol (D'Andrade, 1984; Ochs and Schieffelin, 1984). Ideas are first shared through communication by means of natural language and other systems of symbols (LeVine, 1984; Shweder, 1984; Vendler, 1984; Tenbruck, 1989; D’Andrade, 1990; Giddens, 1993), then learned and shown in actions in the system of values, norms, regulations, and expectations relevant to human actions (Haferkamp, 1989b).

Although culture, as an abstraction derived from the pattern of people’s thoughts, is not visible, it is often manifested in the particular actions of people or particular objects made by those people. As the patterns are interacted and mediated, meanings are produced among the participants of the culture.
Consequently, the process of cultural practice itself becomes meaningful to the participants of the culture.

For example, the distinctiveness of indigenous culture is not noticeable to those who grow up and live in it. However, it becomes noticeable when related to, or contrasted with European culture (Wagner, 1975). The process of making one particular culture noticeable, or 'visible', is called 'invention' of culture (Wagner, 1975). Consequently the inventor also invents his or her own culture as it becomes visible by making another culture visible. It is a process of 'thinking through others' (Shweder, 1991), or "using the intentionality and self-consciousness of another culture or person . . . as a means to heighten awareness of our less conscious selves" (ibid: 108).

1.6.3 Cultural Change

Invention of another's culture is a continuous process of examining others in social interaction and social practice (Shweder, 1991), and contributes to cultural change. Through the process of invention, culture constantly changes from within the community through the interaction of individuals, as well as through their interaction with outsiders. Through interactions with each other, a cultural change can become pervasive.

A pervasive change in human society is likened to the movement of a flock of starlings (Thompson et al., 1990). The shape of a flying flock constantly changes, as individual birds within the flock change their positions. These changes are caused by interaction among the starlings. Although the shape of the flock constantly changes, all the birds within the flock stay intact. In this view, cultural change is seen as ubiquitous and endogenous, neither unilinear nor unidirectional, while rival ways of life are constantly ebbing and flowing within the culture, reshaping it, but maintaining it as a whole.
Likewise, in a human society, the system of interaction among individuals is structurally linked into the whole web, while the significance of the individual parts contributes to the meaning of the social and historical aspects of society as a whole (Dilthey, 1990). A society can be seen in terms of the solidarity of different individuals. It can also be seen as an organised totality of individuals through common bonds (Durkheim, 1964). Common bonds are based on the knowledge of mutual understanding, or shared knowledge, among the members of the community about acting, doing and making things, and interpreting their experiences in a distinctive way (Holland and Quinn, 1987b).

When there is mutual understanding in communication, there is also a common system of symbols, or a common culture in the community. A common culture is an integrated system of the people’s various values, beliefs and expressions in the continuously changing society (Whiteman, 1984b and 1984c; Parsons, and Shils, 1990). What is held in common by the members of a society does not need to be uniform, but the individual ‘forms’ (i.e., ways of behaving) and their ‘content’ (i.e., meanings) may vary considerably (Cohen, 1985).

Thus, the integration of differences produces the continuous transformation of culture within a society. This transformation is efficient enough to convince individual members, who continue to invest the ‘community’ with ideological integrity through interaction with each other (Cohen, 1985). Through interaction, individual members find a preferred pattern of relationships between the unexpected events and their expectations. Thus, a constant change occurs as a result of the members of society changing their ways of life. As a result, culture, as a whole, is strengthened by maintaining stability and integrity (Thompson et al., 1990).

However, in many non-Western nations, Western culture has had a ‘disastrous’, ‘destructive’, ‘repressed’, and ‘dispossessing’ impact on indigenous culture
(Harris, 1990; Verhelst, 1990). This was the result of the imposition of Western culture, through its one-way transmission or 'acquisition'. The term 'acquisition' implies that there is little or no bidirectional transformation of knowledge (Ochs, 1990). Hence, acquisition of culture assumes that ways of thinking, feeling, and reacting should all be transmitted by social learning (Hart, 1959). Acquisition of culture also aims to distribute knowledge from the members of a dominant society to the members of the minority society in a hierarchical relationship. This concept of the reproduction of knowledge assumes that "what is taught is what will be learned" (Lave, 1990: 310), but ignores the process of reconstructing and conceptualising, conducted by the recipients of the knowledge (Ochs, 1990; Kamii and Kamii, 1990).

Therefore, the complete reproduction of culture cannot be assumed. Individual members of the minority society may acquire only aspects of the dominant culture, or 'protoculture' (Levy, 1984). Then, the dominant culture is reproduced as a result of individuals conglomerating their acquisition of the protoculture through an eclectic process, rather than an integrating process. In particular, the process of one-way transmission of Western culture becomes the main feature of the newly reproduced dominant culture, which dominates and makes changes to the indigenous culture. However, culture cannot be created as a sum of protoculture, but emerges from within a whole culture through bidirectional relationships among its integral parts.

1.6.4 Indigenous Education

In the South Pacific island societies in general, there were no schools for teaching and learning in the pre-colonial era, but all learning was an informal participatory activity, intimately embedded in the everyday life of the community (e.g., Harris, 1977; Ninnes, 1991; Thomas, 1993). All learning, except in sacred initiation ceremonies, was informal, with children observing and participating in family and community life, as well as learning from each
other through peer group interaction (Weeks, 1993). Learning certain skills, such as boat building and house construction, requires extensive instruction similar to an apprenticeship system. O'Donoghue (1994) suggests that apprentices are passive learners. However, in this study, interaction between the teacher and the learner, as well as between peers, was observed in learning certain skills. At Maiwala, this was observed in the carving of a canoe or an axe handle.

Indigenous education has a significant role to play in the maintenance of culture in each society. For example, indigenous education was responsible for imparting knowledge of self-reliance, and for the maintenance of contentment with village life:

Every skill learnt in the village was specially aimed at helping a child to get through his adult life with a maximum of security, and a minimum of inconvenience. Even the stories and legends handed down from parent to child had a meaning -- a moral to the story which taught the child a little more about his environment (Somare, 1974: 9).

In PNG generally, it is understood that teaching children is the responsibility of the family and the local community, in order to help them "to see the world through the eyes of the community" (Matane et al., 1986: 3). The parents, as the experts, are expected not only to teach children, but also to cultivate their willingness to learn. Parents encourage children by providing motivation, guidance, and reward for them, when the children's structure of habits needs to be changed (Whiting, 1941). During their learning, parents give appropriate assistance to them. Thus, skills of listening and paying attention are directly linked to learning. In the case of Ponam culture, attentiveness, obedience and effort are considered the main elements for successful learning (Carrier, 1982).

Kamasu people also teach physical skills that can be demonstrated by showing and advising, but they teach non-physical skills such as magic and ancestral stories by telling (Sanders, 1988). The manner of providing guidance and advising through oral instruction is not a confrontation or imposition from
above. A change is "generally sought from below, or mutually agreed upon (whether implicitly or explicitly)" (ibid: 127). In this way, the parents aim to cultivate a spirit of "co-operation and a communal approach to decision-making" (Thomas, 1972: 156). In PNG generally co-operation, and not competition, is encouraged. However, among the Abelam people, competition existed within co-operative living. They competed to grow the best yam, but not in an effort to exclude others (Coyne, 1973).

Generally in the South Pacific island societies, for all learning except initiation ceremonies, there are no time constraints as there are in Western schooling. Each child is allowed to learn various skills and knowledge gradually, in his or her own time-frame (Thomas, 1993). Although Coyne (1973) reported that there was no standard to be reached by a certain age in PNG societies, the Maiwala parents have intuitive knowledge of what children can do by a certain age.

More specifically four significant characteristics have been identified in indigenous education (Smith, 1975):

1) Technical skills are taught in relation to the current meaningful context, rather than in an isolated context of a school classroom.

2) Knowledge is taught for the cohesion of the community through inter-relationship of kinsfolk, rather than causing the creation of classes, communication breakdown between the parents and children, and the alienation of children from the village life.

3) Learning of knowledge and skills is associated with the necessities of village life, rather than learning about something that might be useful in the future.

4) All children are expected to learn the skills eventually, according to their varying interests and physical development, rather following a curriculum in a predetermined time-frame.
Indigenous education did not seem to aim at change in fundamental belief systems, except the adaptation of neighbouring cultures and languages over a period of several hundred years. Thus, each indigenous culture maintained its distinctive features in PNG. However, the integrity of the indigenous education system began to be shaken by the imposition of European culture through Western education. As a consequence, most of the responsibility of the parents and community in indigenous education was taken away by the Western school system (Matane et al., 1986).

1.6.5 Educational Change

Educational history has seen many changes, caused either by imposed or voluntary participation, on the basis of dissatisfaction, inconsistency, or intolerability in the current situation (Fullan, 1991). For example, in the Western context, since the beginning of the twentieth century, there have been attempts to bring changes, such as student-centred instruction, team teaching, and open-space architecture. However, many of these attempts have had little success, seldom altering existing organisational structures in the education system at large, except in individual classrooms and schools (Cuban, 1988a).

School reforms often failed due either to the mismatching of problems and solutions (or reforms) (Cuban, 1988b), or conservatism in a school system (Beeby, 1966); refashioning the reform as compromise to the existing value systems (Cuban, 1988b). Conservatism is constituted by five factors (Beeby, 1966): 1) lack of clear explanation to the teachers about the goals of the reforms, 2) lack of understanding and acceptance of the reforms among the teachers, 3) regression to the familiar system by the teachers who are the product of the old system, 4) actual adaptation of reforms not being observed due to isolation of the teachers in separate classrooms, and 5) variable progress in adapting reforms due to a wide range of teachers’ capabilities.
Real change does not come about easily but involves loss, anxiety and frustration (Marris, 1974). Nevertheless, a successful second-order change can be implemented by one of the following two methods (Fullan, 1991): 1) identification of the nature of innovation by clarifying specific roles of staff members in the change process, and 2) identification of the main themes of innovation by captivating the interest of the staff members to the dynamics of the change process. In either method, the direct involvement of the local teachers in the planning process is crucial for its success. However, in the case of PNG, the local teachers have often been the recipients of the change imposed on them. As a result, they have been confused by the changes, as they lacked clear understanding of the reasons.

Trying innovations also involves a risk of personal cost against others’ resistance to change (House, 1974). Resistance towards educational change is often the result of the individual teacher’s uncertainty of how the proposed change may affect him or her personally. Typically, teachers are conservative, resentful of the imposed change, and prefer to change as little as possible (Fullan, 1991). However, teachers (as the users of the changed policies or programmes) can be most instrumental in the changing process if the decisions for change are made by them (Fullan, 1991). In order to give teachers clear understanding of the meaning of the change, strategies for educational change need to be developed in close relation to the internal conditions of the school. In return, such a strategy will contribute to the overall school improvement, by strengthening the school’s organisation and implementing an education reform (Hargreaves and Hopkins, 1991).

In this way, educational change is seen in a practical situation of instruction and learning (Fullan, 1991). Implementation of educational change involves at least three dimensions (Fullan, 1991): 1) new or revised materials, 2) new strategies for instruction, assessment and evaluation, and 3) alteration of belief
systems. A change may be made only on the surface level with revised materials and the adaptation of new strategies without altering the fundamental belief systems. A change can also be made in the fundamental belief systems by altering the conceptions and behaviour of the teachers as well as the students (Fullan, 1991). The former may be called 'first-order change' and the latter 'second-order change' (Cuban, 1988a). First-order changes are substitute changes (Spindler and Spindler, 1982):

First-order changes . . . try to make what already exists more efficient and more effective, without disturbing the basic organizational features, without substantially altering the ways in which adults and children perform their roles (Cuban, 1988a: 342).

Various forms of first-order changes can be seen in history, such as in the development of technology\(^2\). Development of technology occurred to meet individuals' needs by improving the quality of what already existed with a substitution (Fullan, 1991). Substitution is not a transformation of a fundamental belief system to a new system but can be a stabilisation and continuity of the old belief system in the old culture (Spindler and Spindler, 1982). The first-order change can be achieved without the alteration of the existing authority, roles, time and space of the school itself (Spindler and Spindler, 1982; Cuban, 1988a).

On the other hand, individual needs can be met by introducing alternative ways rather than improving old ways with substitution. These are the second-order changes:

Second-order changes seek to alter the fundamental ways in which organizations are put together. They reflect major dissatisfactions with present arrangements. Second-order changes introduce new goals, structures, and roles that transform familiar ways of doing things into new ways of solving persistent problems (Cuban, 1988a: 342).

\(^2\)For example in Europe, tractors were substituted for drainage; animals and rototillers were substituted for hoe (Spindler and Spinder, 1982). Similarly at Maiwala, according to the legends, dugout canoes were substituted for rafts.
Second-order changes aim to alter the existing ways of solving problems with fundamentally new ways. Such fundamental changes threaten to break down the innermost values of old ways. Because fundamental value systems are completely broken down, there are no ways to compromise but only to allow regeneration into a burst of new life (Verhelst, 1990). This fundamental alteration or breakdown of the pattern of old ways is referred to as 'a change in principle' (Spindler and Spindler, 1982), 'significant conventional change' (Wagner, 1975), 'real change' (Fullan, 1991), and 'significant change' (Giddens, 1993):

Significant change involves showing how far there are alterations in the underlying structure of an object or situation over a period of time. . . what degree there is any modification of basic institutions during a specific period. All accounts of change also involve showing what remains stable, as a baseline against which to measure alterations (Giddens, 1993: 650-651, original author's emphasis).

In PNG, the introduction of Western education originally aimed at second-order change. As Western education was imposed on the indigenous people by ignoring the indigenous education, indigenous people had no option other than to participate in the change by adapting to it as best they could. As a consequence, indigenous people began to desire European ways of life. Although Western education aimed to create improvements, it resulted in the breakdown of human relationships in the community.

Thus, from the Europeans' point of view, Western education was first introduced as a necessity, i.e., in order to 'improve' the lifestyle and economic development of indigenous people. However, this kind of introduced change did not meet local needs but became 'irresponsible' or 'non constructive' to the indigenous society (Marris, 1974). As the negative effects of Western education became acute, there have been numerous attempts by expatriates to make improvements. However, it is necessary to carefully plan changes in education. Planning a change often requires a choice to be made "between a path to be taken and others to be passed by" (Hargreaves, 1994: 18). However, more
successful change requires the inclusion of 'others' in the process of planning and decision making, rather than to 'pass by' them passively.

### 1.6.6 Assessment and Evaluation

The terms 'assessment' and 'evaluation' have been defined in various ways that have caused much confusion. Some researchers and classroom practitioners have used these terms interchangeably. Others used them with distinctive meanings. Firstly, the terms 'assessment' and 'evaluation' are used for the gathering of information as well as making judgements, but on different entities: the term 'assessment' is used for appraisal of people, while the term 'evaluation' is used for appraisal of school organisation and curriculum (Choppin, 1985; Education Department of South Australia, 1989).

Secondly, the term 'assessment' is used only for the gathering of information or evidence (Griffin and Nix, 1991; Anthony et al., 1992), and the term 'evaluation' for making judgements of its worth or value (TenBrink, 1974; Anthony et al., 1992), in order to make decisions and actions for the future (Holt, 1981). The process of interpreting gathered information may be considered either a part of 'assessment' (Griffin, 1989; Griffin and Nix, 1991) or 'evaluation' (International Reading Association, 1990, cited in Routman, 1991; Cambourne, 1992; Cambourne and Turbill, 1994a). With these definitions, assessment and evaluation may be made on the people as well as the school organisation or curriculum.

Approaches to assessment and evaluation have changed in relation to the historical development of curriculum orientation (O'Hare, 1989, cited in Hill, 1989): 1) traditional, 2) liberal progressive, and 3) democratic. In the traditional approach, tests were the central means for assessing and evaluating fragmented skills. The liberal progressive approach, however, is an informal means of assessment and evaluation, based on the teacher’s observation and description.
of the student's learning process. Furthermore, in the democratic approach, the process of assessment and evaluation is negotiated through interaction between the teacher and students or among peer students. This is especially so in relation to the most recent development of the holistic approach to curriculum and instruction.

Traditionally, curriculum was designed by bureaucrats and handed down to classroom teachers for implementation. Students' performance was measured or graded by test results (Fehring, 1988) on the basis of their answers that were either right or wrong, in a specific context, within a specific time-frame, usually at the end of the term (Curtis, 1989). In order to get better grades, students learn, or rather memorise, large quantities of what is taught without thinking about it or understanding the meaning (Elliott, 1985, cited in Cohen, 1990).

The traditional approach to assessment and evaluation was carried out by tests with their focus on 1) products of learning rather than processes of learning; 2) the development of limited academic learning rather than social, physical, emotional, and cultural learning; 3) mechanical skills rather than comprehensive skills, such as creative thinking, critical thinking, and problem solving; 4) negative feedback rather than positive feedback; and 5) only a small portion of the total impact of learning. Moreover, tests do not reveal what students know. They only show which students know more about particular questions than others (Cohen, 1990; Stake, 1991).

Although this distorted education system, relying on testing, has been criticised, some tests can be useful for diagnostic purposes, especially in the early stages of learning (Chall and Curtis, 1987; Durkin, 1987), in order to determine: 1) strengths and weaknesses of a student, and 2) the most effective instruction to help the student with his or her areas of need (Chall and Curtis,
Certainly the role of testing in schools can be improved and utilised by its user (Brown, 1989; Valencia et al., 1989; Cambourne, 1992).

In contrast to the test-oriented traditional approach, conditions of teaching and learning, as well as the curriculum, in the holistic approach, are shaped by the on-going process of assessment and evaluation in the normal classroom environment (Kemp, 1992). Even the ways of assessment and evaluation can be negotiated and shaped through interaction between teachers and students (Field, 1982; Gray, 1983; Fairbairn, 1988; Rivalland, 1992; Christie and Rothery, 1990; Anthony et al., 1992). The process of assessment and evaluation is viewed as 1) preventative of learning problems, 2) a surveillance for ensuring students' progress, and 3) corrective of any conditions that might cause problems (Kemp, 1989 and 1992). Such an approach is not used for finding mistakes in, or grading, students' work as in the traditional approach. It is used for finding what students know and can do (Hood, 1989).

Therefore, assessment is mainly based on the teacher's observation and the evaluation outcome is utilised through the teacher's communication with the students for further achievement in their learning (Field, 1982; Education Department of South Australia, 1989; Kemp, 1992). For example, students' errors can be either interpreted as areas of special need (Kemp, 1992), or as 'signs of growth' when attempting and expanding into more difficult levels of learning (Weaver, 1982; Morrissey, 1989). The information on students' achievements is gathered during their learning process by the teacher 'monitoring' the students in the normal everyday classroom.

The process of monitoring or 'kidwatching' (Goodman, 1978) involves three aspects (Goodman, 1989): 1) observation of children, 2) interaction with the children, and 3) analysis of gathered information on the children's learning. The teacher assesses students' performance with careful monitoring, in order to
keep track of each student in divergent activities in a holistic classroom (Anstey and Bull, 1989). The importance of monitoring students' performance is not only to identify their strengths and weaknesses for their learning but also for the planning and practice of teaching (Anstey and Bull, 1989; Comber, 1989; Goodman, 1989; Neill and Medina, 1989).

In PNG primary schools, the term 'assessment' has been used almost synonymously with testing for the purpose of ranking. In this usage, 'assessment' includes gathering of information on the basis of the test results, as well as interpreting the numerical results for rating. This traditional approach to assessment and evaluation was introduced as a part of the Western education system, and has been established in PNG. In this formal education system, assessment and evaluation are separate events from teaching. Teaching proceeds during the term and assessment and evaluation occur at the end of term, through teacher-made tests. Moreover, in these tests, students are tested for their knowledge and skills in areas that are often irrelevant to their life in the community.

Taking into consideration the current classroom practices in PNG as well as in Australia (Cambourne, 1992; Cambourne and Turbill, 1994a) and the USA (International Reading Association, 1990, cited in Routman, 1991), I have chosen to use the definition of the term 'assessment' for gathering of information, and the term 'evaluation' for making judgements. This is to make a clear distinction from the current assessment (i.e., testing) practices in primary school classrooms, and to be in line with the current definitions used internationally.

With the understanding of the above definitions, this study, now, presents the historical development of education in PNG in Chapter 2.
CHAPTER TWO
HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT AND EDUCATIONAL CHANGE IN PNG

2.0 Introduction

This chapter examines the development of Western education\(^1\) in PNG. Educational development has been complex in PNG. This is due mainly to the diversity of cultures, languages and geographical contexts. Language policy was one of the major issues addressed in the process of educational change. At first, Western education was started by the missions, using the local vernacular. However, the colonial government persuaded an English only policy. Although initial vernacular education has become the national policy in recent years, its aim is to assist the children’s transfer to English.

Originally, teaching in English had a hidden curriculum: the teaching of values and the ideas of Western culture. Reproduction of Western knowledge at school was linked to the system of power relationships in the society (Giroux, 1983). As a result, indigenous culture was ignored and the children became alienated from their community. Various attempts have been made by expatriates to make education more relevant to local communities. However, most of these attempts have been unsuccessful as expatriates' views did not

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\(^1\) This study focuses only on the Western education for indigenous people, although separate schools for European and Chinese children existed where there were sufficient numbers of children. Although most of these schools were provided by missions, some Chinese schools were controlled by the Chinese Nationalist Party (Commonwealth of Australia, 1927, cited in Smith, 1987).
meet the indigenous people's needs. As a consequence, the problem of the alienation of children worsened. Thus, the maintenance of indigenous culture became another important issue in the designing of the curriculum.

Although indigenous voices are now more often heard, and local governments and communities have more input into educational decision making, alienation of children persists in PNG. Indigenous culture and vernacular are valued in recent education. However, expatriates still play a major role in innovation, from their own perspectives. This reality has caused frustration and many dilemmas among indigenous people. It has also raised questions, such as what is a truly relevant education? Despite the use of local culture in the curriculum, and local vernacular for instruction, there remains a gap between school and local community. It seems that this is the result of a contradiction between the style of teaching and the locally relevant contents of teaching. Staff development, then, becomes a further important issue to be examined in this chapter.

Although most literature on PNG's educational development is written by expatriates, I am trying to understand the 'other side of the story', in order to view the historical events as fairly as possible. In this chapter, I aim to illuminate the views and feelings of both expatriates and indigenous people, as well as their struggles and the dilemmas they face in trying to improve education.

This chapter is divided into six sections, tracing the historical development of education chronologically: 1) before World War II, 2) after World War II and the 1950s, 3) the 1960s, 4) the 1970s, 5) the 1980s, and 6) the 1990s. In each section, significant features of educational change, such as the development of the education system, language policy, curriculum, and staff development, are examined and discussed. The purpose of this chapter is likened to completing
the peripheral parts of the jigsaw puzzle picture, the centre of which will be filled in later.

2.1 Before World War II

2.1.1 Overview

Western education was first introduced to PNG by Christian missions, which began to arrive in PNG in the 1870s and the 1880s. These missions assumed their superior role over the indigenous people by providing education 'for' them (Dickson, 1976). These missions provided schooling only at the primary level, modelled on the pattern of the school system in their home countries, such as Germany, England (later Australia) and America (Louiisson, 1970).

The main aims of the mission schools were: 1) to spread Christianity and convert the 'heathen' (Smith, 1987), 2) to develop character and personality of children to become good Christians and 'useful' members of indigenous society, and 3) to advance and civilise the 'barbarians' (Louiisson, 1970; King, 1909, cited in Smith, 1987). However, school leavers with Western knowledge, which was considered 'advanced', began to show their attitude and behaviour as unfit in indigenous society:

The young men have more self-confidence, which shows itself in swank, disrespect for the old people, and contempt for what they say and command. "We are the people! We have seen, we know." Those who have been to school tend to despise those who cannot read and write (Newton, 1933, cited in Smith, 1987).

The more they saw and experienced the force of Western culture, the more they became alienated from indigenous culture, rather than becoming useful members of society.

The alienation of children was accelerated by the colonial administrations, with their racial prejudice. A system of 'native education' was ultimately created by
J. H. P. Murray, who assumed that higher education was unnecessary for 'inferior' Papuans (Dickson, 1976). As a result of his view that Western culture was superior, he aimed at disintegration and extermination of indigenous culture, through the policy of 'peaceful penetration' (Murray, 1920, cited in Smith, 1987). This policy aimed to bring indigenous people under the control of government. It also aimed at the subjugation of their past and the assimilation of their future, through their association with Western culture (Murray, 1932, cited in Jinks et al., 1973). Murray's perverse attitude of paternalism and prejudice was also characterised in the attitude among expatriates in general. In this way, Europeans brought a sudden disturbance to indigenous cultures and languages.

This sudden disturbance has caused a permanent change in indigenous cultures in PNG. Although such a change was meant for the good, at that time, from the paternalistic view of expatriates (Murray, 1920, cited in Smith, 1987), it turned out to have the negative effects of 'destroying', and 'demeaning' indigenous cultures (Harries, 1990). Disruption of indigenous culture continued, especially through the imposition of Western education.

In 1912, Murray had the idea of introducing technical education, from the example of Java, in order to produce "a skilled industrious native population" (Dickson, 1976: 23). In 1916, he had another idea of agricultural education in relation to native plantations, from the example in Nigeria. According to Murray, mission schools should be subsidised from a fund derived wholly or partly from native taxation. Thus, under the Native Taxes Ordinance of 1917, expenditure of funds was divided into categories of 1) education and 2) benefits. Education included primary, general, technical, special industrial, special agricultural, and publication. Benefits included medical services, a family bonus, the native plantations scheme, anthropological services, and other services (Dickson, 1976).
When Murray introduced his education system, he failed to realise that the disruptive social change was created by his education system. He also failed to realise that the education system should be developed in a way to accommodate such changes. Although missions realised that a social change was occurring among indigenous people, they did not want to become agents of the change proposed by the government. Consequently, the Papuan educational system was designed and provided on the basis of limited expectations of indigenous people, from the expatriates' point of view (Groves, 1936, cited in Smith, 1987; Dickson, 1976).

The German administration also entered the field of education in 1907, and had plans to develop a national education system in 1913. In the Mandated Territory of New Guinea, their education system was built on white supremacy more than in Papua (Fink and Grosart, 1963, cited in Jinks et al., 1973). The aim was to disseminate the German language and culture (Rowley, 1958; Jinks et al., 1973), in order to "raise the indigenous people to a certain cultural level . . . to impart a vigour and joy of life to the people, but also to promote a profitable economy for the Europeans" (Brief of Imperial Governor Hahl, 1913, cited in Louisson, 1976). However, there was no overall government policy that directed the mission education until 1920.

2.1.2 Language Policy

The language of instruction in mission schools was usually the local vernacular or a lingua franca (i.e., Pidgin English or Tok Pisin). In the case of Kwato Mission in Papua, however, it was English. Because primary education was mainly offered by the missions, it had the inseparable nature of religious and

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2Pidgin English (Tok Pisin) in the New Guinea region was spread under the German pacification programme and became lingua franca for communication between the peoples whose mother tongues were different (Scorza and Franklin, 1989).

In 1906, British New Guinea became an Australian Territory and was renamed 'Papua'. In the same year, the Royal Commission recommended compulsory teaching in English in mission schools, and the compulsory attendance of Papuan children in the schools in which English was taught (Commonwealth of Australia, 1907, cited in Dickson, 1976). Thus the use of a foreign language as the medium of instruction caused frustration to teachers and students alike.

Originally, English was taught on the basis of its cultural superiority (Bloomfield, 1935). It did not aim to provide an education to indigenous people, but to give advantage to the English speaking judge, magistrate, or employers in their communication with the indigenous people (Commonwealth of Australia, 1907, cited in Smith, 1987). In this way, indigenous culture was forced to change to suit the culture of expatriates. Although there arose some criticism of the use of English for the convenience of expatriates (Ainsworth, 1924, cited in Smith, 1987), such criticism was not powerful enough to change the direction taken by the colonial administrators.

Eventually the use of English was reinforced in the territory of New Guinea, when German New Guinea was acquired by Australia in 1914, and the mandate came into force in 1921. Although the language of instruction was often Pidgin English in the New Guinea region, the Australian administration considered that Pidgin English should be discontinued and replaced by 'good plain English' (Henley, 1927, cited in Scorza and Franklin, 1989). As the schooling was offered almost entirely by the missions before World War II, the Australian administration had a biased view on mission education, which had

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3Thus the two territories of Papua and New Guinea were governed separately by two Australian administrations.
been offered by Germans, who had been the enemy during World War I. The Australian administration tried to extend government control through the English education system. However, Pidgin English continued to be used in the New Guinean region as it was impossible to eradicate it\(^4\) (Hall, 1966).

In order to communicate better for the purpose of converting indigenous people to Christianity, many missions felt it necessary to use vernacular rather than English. Resistance to English education was also seen among some expatriates. These people considered themselves as the dominant minority, and wished to keep their distance from the indigenous people (Reed, 1943, cited in Jinks et al, 1973). Nevertheless, the government went ahead with the English education system.

For example, the publication of a newspaper, 'The Papuan Villager', was commenced in order to encourage indigenous people to write in English (Murray, 1929, cited in Jinks et al., 1973). Writers of the articles in this newspaper were restricted to indigenous people. However, everything had to be written in the English language, and the newspaper's circulation was mainly among expatriates. A small but increasing number of indigenous people wrote articles for the newspaper. However, very few expatriates had attained any knowledge of writing in the vernacular.

2.1.3 Curriculum and Staff Development

In early mission days, education was aimed at the training of local staff necessary for the work of the missions. Completion of mission school

\(^4\)Because of his 'violent antipathy' to Pidgin English, J. H. P. Murray attempted to replace it with Hiri Motu, a pidginised form of Motu, a local language used around Port Moresby (Hall, 1966). However, Hiri Motu was used especially by policemen in the Papuan region (Scorza and Franklin, 1989; Litteral, 1992a), while Pidgin English was continued to be used in the New Guinea region.
education provided employment for only a few, such as local catechists, evangelists or pastors, who then became the school teachers (Thomas, 1976b; Smith, 1987). Despite the lack of training and a minimum of equipment, these teachers taught village children basic literacy skills and basic numeracy (Ford, 1973). These teachers were instructed to follow every detail spelled out for them as their duties (de Boismenu, 1916, cited in Smith, 1987).

Later, teachers were trained more intensively in residential colleges run by missions. Some indigenous teachers even became college instructors. In some colleges, gardening occupied a prominent place in the curriculum, in addition to general subjects. Gardening included an introduction to the cultivation of new crops and methods. Supervision of students in gardening not only provided a food supply but it also ensured the educational significance of instruction given in the garden itself (McArthur, 1936, cited in Smith, 1987). On the other hand, other missions developed a school syllabus that was overcrowded with Western knowledge irrelevant to the local culture:

The present amended syllabus was prepared by a man who spent six months or so examining the native schools of Papua. It is the product of little experience, and was produced by one who has very little knowledge of the environment in which these children live, and the particular difficulties facing education in Papua. . . There is not time to give the pupils sufficient grasp of new matter taught to them. To comply with the syllabus more new matter must be ladled into the child's mind although the previous matter has not been assimilated. The result is that we move from the unknown to the more unknown (Watt, 1941, cited in Smith, 1987).

This kind of syllabus, designed by the outsider, was irrelevant to the everyday life of children in their local communities. The narrow concentration on learning English and technical trades was irrelevant to the indigenous people who were engaged in subsistence agriculture (Ainsworth, 1924, cited in Smith, 1987). Nevertheless the government continued to design an education scheme (McKenna, 1930, cited in Smith, 1987) by adapting local conditions of mission schools, such as religious, moral and industrial training, and gardening. Then, Griffiths (1933, cited in Smith, 1987) proposed a move towards the system of
government-subsidised mission education. However, Griffiths’ idea was rejected by the succeeding administrator, McNichol (Smith, 1987). In this way, decisions on educational policy were made entirely by the expatriate officials.

Although the missions’ religious aim differed from the government’s secular aim, both of them had the same strategy when it came to transmitting Western knowledge by cramming. Therefore frustration continued among teachers as much as among pupils:

I find the work of teaching not so nice as I thought. I get tired of going over and over the same things everyday. And then it is very hard for me when I ask questions about the work I have been teaching over and over, and the answers are wrong. Or there is no answer at all, and I must go over it all again. I am told to be patient, that I was just as hard to teach; so I try again. . . I wonder sometimes if I shall ever succeed in making them understand anything at all. But it is nice to see after a time that I am doing something and that they are learning little by little (Aiaia, 1940, cited in Smith, 1987).

There was no creativity either in planning lessons or teaching, but the teachers were expected to transmit the content of the syllabus. When implementing a given curriculum, indigenous people tried their best to put it into practice on the basis of their own understanding. In this process of implementation, they were compelled to adapt as best they could in order to function in the new conditions imposed on them (Whiteman, 1983). They either absorbed all the new culture or combined the new with what seemed good in the indigenous culture (Swatridge, 1985). In turn, students were expected to acquire what was taught to them obediently, respectfully and quietly (Ligeremaluoga, 1932, cited in Smith, 1987; Larking, 1973).

In addition to mission colleges, the Administration began to provide training for indigenous teachers for a few government schools, because it was perceived that there would be less language difficulty between the indigenous teacher and students, and because it was less costly than employing expatriate teachers (Groves, 1925, cited in Smith, 1987). However, Western education still aimed at
"innovation even to the point of encouraging social revolution and major value changes" (McLaren, 1975: 360). In other words, education was designed to be irrelevant to the everyday life of indigenous people (McLaren, 1975).

2.1.4 Reflections

Since the introduction of Western culture, indigenous culture has begun to change rapidly, especially through Western education. Since Western education aimed at one-way transmission of Western culture, indigenous learners were not in control of creating a new culture, but accepted what was taught and adapted it into their culture as best they could.

Ideally, diversity of cultural perspectives should be equally acknowledged (Giddens, 1993). However, in reality, history is full of the domination of European culture on marginal non-Western cultures. Indigenous cultures have been forced to change to be more like the dominant culture, especially through the Western education system. People also were forced to learn the language of the dominant culture. Consequently concepts and sounds of the vernacular began to change. The people also began to borrow words from the dominant language in their vernacular speech, forgetting the appropriate vernacular words.

In this way, Western education alienated young people from their own cultures and languages. As employment was scarce for school leavers, they had no outlet for their energies and training, and crime among them began to increase. Such changes were not desired by the indigenous people, but they realised that they were trapped in the midst of a serious problem, one that was the by-product of Western education. This irreversible problem began accelerating after World War II.
2.2 After World War II and the 1950s

2.2.1 Overview

Western schooling has provided the place for developing intellectual capabilities by transmitting the knowledge system of a foreign culture (Cole et al., 1971; Sanders, 1989; Thaman, 1991). Moreover, the purpose of schooling was to produce pupils who could pass formal examinations (Thaman, 1987), rather than to encourage them to achieve local skills and knowledge, which were the keys to survival in indigenous society (Thaman, 1991). In other words, things that were taught at school were foreign to the children, but more appropriate for employment in Western society (Williams, 1972; Thaman, 1992).

Attempts to reproduce Western culture in non-Western societies, especially through Western schooling, has led to the children's ineffective learning (Philip and Kelly, 1975). Western schooling was foreign to the indigenous people not only because foreign concepts were taught but also because its physical setting was alien to the pupils (Crossley, 1990b; Thomas, 1993). For example, the children had to wear laplap (loin cloth) and shirts (Tenari, 1976, cited in Smith, 1987) and sit still in rows, for hours. There was no physical or emotional closeness between the teacher and the children (Belshaw, 1957). The children's every movement was scheduled, and a day's lesson was divided into short segments of time. The atmosphere of the classroom was formal, the teacher delivering fragmented knowledge to the children who were expected to receive it passively.

In this way, cultural reproduction through Western schooling resulted in significant conflict in the value systems of indigenous cultures (Carrier, 1982). While the Western value systems emphasise individualism and competition, the indigenous value systems emphasise communal co-operation. As a consequence, Western education resulted in communication breakdowns

Despite the above negative effects, indigenous people have had a desire for Western education, as they have come to value the associated wage labour and the monetary economy (Carrier, 1982). As the government aimed to transform indigenous societies towards more 'advanced' Western living standards, good jobs and a good income became prestigious in the minds of indigenous people (Conroy, 1976; Johnson, 1974; Bray, 1984a; Sanders, 1989). In particular, the emphasis on the extension of mass literacy made indigenous people believe that Western schooling was an 'investment' (Kemelfield, 1976) or a road to 'cargo', whereby they would acquire European wealth, materials, privilege and power in many areas of PNG (Louisson, 1970; Swatridge, 1985).

After World War II, Western culture was continuously imposed upon indigenous culture by both the colonial administration and the missions. While the administration aimed to bring 'civilisation' (i.e., modernity and development of Western culture), the missions aimed to teach Christian ways and to raise the living standard in the village (Weeks and Guthrie, 1984). Although they had different aims, both of them advocated and imposed their ideas on indigenous people.

There arose a new awareness of developing a centralised system of educational planning for the whole Territory of Papua and New Guinea in 1946 with the appointment of W. C. Groves, the first Director of Education. His philosophy of education was based on his plans for co-operative educational enterprise between the missions and government:

The assumption . . . is that both government and missions must pursue the same general aim in connection with the future of the native peoples of the territory; and that each is prepared to contribute its utmost towards a common end - the development of a balanced, happy, healthy, progressive, self-reliant native community, living according to Christian
principles, retaining all their native virtues and cultural attainments while adapting or adjusting their mode of life to the changed environment and conditions resulting from the increasingly strong impact upon them of European civilisation and culture (Groves, 1946, cited in Smith, 1987).

More specifically, Groves planned to keep mission schools for the initial four years and to transfer children of sufficient merit to one of the Village Higher Schools or the Area Schools conducted by either missions or the Administration (Commonwealth of Australia, 1949-1950, cited in Smith, 1987). However, his plans turned out to be impractical for the following two reasons (Louisson, 1970):

1) The high dropout rate meant that there were insufficient numbers of children to enter the Village Higher Schools or Area schools.

2) The missions preferred to keep their own system of schooling for training teachers and ministers.

Moving into the 1950s, the government increased control over missions through the combination of legal coercion and financial persuasion. Then, in 1952, the framework for the co-operative work between the missions and the government was set up by the Education Ordinance, which came into effect in 1955 (Smith, 1987). The Ordinance declared the Administration's full control over the recognition, registration and exemption of schools, the certification of teachers, and the payment of grants-in-aid (Louisson, 1970). In 1955, educational objectives in PNG were declared by the Australian Minister for Territories: 1) universal primary education, 2) the blending of cultures, 3) the voluntary acceptance of Christianity by the indigenous people, and 4) the fostering of English as a common language (Louisson, 1970).

2.2.2 Universal Primary Education

The policy of universal primary education was considered as an essential part of uniform development throughout PNG, "explicitly designed to prevent the emergence of social and economic inequalities within the territory" (Smith, 1987: 215). Hence, this policy aimed at a rapid increase of the then current
enrolment of children, which was estimated to be 50 per cent of those of school age (Louisson, 1970). Expanding education meant a high demand for teachers:

In the 1950s, the demand to expand education, and the desperate need for teachers caused some of the children being taught in the schools to be ploughed back into the system as teachers. Most of these were taken from primary school senior pupils, so that large numbers of the earlier teachers not only had little formal education, but were given short and uneven courses to prepare them for classroom teaching (Ford, 1973: 149).

Thus, teacher education lagged behind the expansion of education in PNG, as the policy narrowly focused on the expansion of enrolment. Development of an effective education system does not depend on there being a sufficient number of teachers as much as on their quality. However, the policy of universal primary education valued quantity more than quality.

The policy of universal primary education put pressure on the Administration to eliminate inequality in the status of schools and their subsidy. It created the need to utilise available financial resources to their full extent, in order to provide education for all children, although the Administration made it clear that the subsidy was not to be used for the teachers' salaries but to assist mission education programmes. Nevertheless, some missions had to use it as salaries due to their lack of finance. This explains why teachers developed the idea that grants were meant to be used for their salaries.

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5In PNG, primary school has been called 'community school' (Minzey and Le Tarte, 1979; Bray, 1992). In the mid-1970s, it was intended to be open to adults as well as children in the community "as a village (or town) meeting place and resources centre, which would provide a focal point for educational gathering, and social events such as singsings [traditional festival with dancing and feasting], parties or dances" (Kemelfield, 1976: 240). However, it has only functioned as primary school, because adults viewed learning as belonging to the children. As a result, only children have attended (Kemelfield, 1976). In this thesis, I have used the term 'primary school' because it refers to the actual nature of the school.

6The focus on the expansion of quantity continued, even to the 1990s.


2.2.3 The Blending of Cultures

The blending of cultures was published by F. E. Williams, the Government Anthropologist, in 1951. Williams (1951) advocated the direct involvement of expatriates in the process of cultural change, in order to 'improve' and 'enrich' the indigenous culture. His idea was supported by Groves, the Director of Education. This idea, he suggested, was not to copy schools from another country, but to adapt them to the current life of the village community (Julius, 1953, cited in Smith, 1987).

However, the intention of adaptation was to remove the customs and beliefs of the indigenous culture and replace them with scientific ideas from Western culture. Groves (1953, cited in Smith, 1987) also viewed this kind of cultural change as inevitable. Thus, expatriates were making decisions on what they considered best for the indigenous culture to retain, and what could be removed or replaced by elements of Western culture. This approach was heavily influenced by the expatriates' view that indigenous culture was 'primitive' and 'inferior' in comparison with 'advanced' or 'developed' Western culture (Isoaime, 1974).

In this Western education system, indigenous people in PNG were expected to learn European ways, which were considered 'superior'. The Australian administrators aimed to develop the people of 'primitive' societies to the standard of the Western civilisation that was considered "incomparably richer than the native's" (Williams, 1951: 3).

2.2.4 The Fostering of English as a Common Language

Groves had ideas of initial education in vernacular or mission lingua franca for the first three years prior to the introduction of English in the fourth (and the
final) year of village school\(^7\) (Commonwealth of Australia, 1949-1950, cited in Smith, 1987). The government sponsored a linguistic survey by A. Capell in 1946 and 1947, and encouraged missionaries to write primers in the vernacular. Initial vernacular literacy was promoted further by inviting F. C. Laubach to instruct the missionaries on his method of teaching literacy (Papua and New Guinea Villager, 1950, cited in Smith, 1987).

On the other hand, Pidgin English spread quickly over a wide area, although its use had been condemned and its eradication advocated by the United Nations Visiting Mission in 1935. Teaching only in 'proper' English therefore continued to be reinforced, in order to educate the 'natives' to the Australian standard of getting the jobs done quickly (Ward, 1948, cited in Smith, 1987). Despite Hall’s (1955, cited in Smith, 1987) defence of the recognition of Pidgin English as a 'true language' and its usefulness as the lingua franca, only the English language was recommended to be taught in primary education (Hasluck, 1958, cited in Smith; 1987):

Teach them English, English and more English; this is what they want. I would condemn those who do not use English in every teaching technique. There is a crying need for mass education and those who persist in using Pidgin English or 'Police Motu' are thoughtless or are conceited in thinking they are bilingual - or there may even be some wicked enough to wish to slow down the development of the people (Gunther, 1958, cited in Smith, 1987).

The domination of English among the Legislative Council members was enough to convince two indigenous members to abandon Pidgin English, preferring to learn English in order to express their views:

. . . because of my lack of knowledge of English I feel I cannot adequately represent my people in the territory. I just want to say here, how

\(^7\)Grove's ideas for the education system consisted of four-year village schools, followed by four-year village higher schools, followed by three-year central schools. This system continued up to the mid 1950s. Then primary education was extended from four to seven years, comprising the preparatory year and six years of general education (McKinnon, 1968). The preparatory year in the formal education system was eventually terminated and the six-year system of primary education was established.
important it is for us to see that a native is well developed, educating him in the same manner as a European is educated. The point I would like to bring before the Council is the visit to this territory by Professor Hall, to make an investigation into the Pidgin English language. I would like to say that I am firmly opposed to his idea of the publication of a book on Pidgin English. I ask this Council to support me in my opposition, and I even ask the Commonwealth of Australia how we can do something about it (Commonwealth of Australia, 2 (4), 6 November 1954, cited in Smith, 1987).

The ultimate use of English was considered to be the only solution to overcoming the problem of linguistic diversity that was seen to be impeding modern development. However, the rapid expansion of the teaching of English seemed unrealistic (Department of Education, 1950, cited in Smith, 1987):

Universal primary education must also mean universal literacy in English. If the inhabitants of this island are to be one people they must have one language as a medium of communication (Roscoe, 1959, cited in Smith, 1987).

Although Roscoe did not deny the useful role of vernaculars in the everyday life of the indigenous people, his educational objective was to teach every child to speak, listen, read and write the English language. In this way, Western education aimed to overcome the local cultures by teaching Western culture in European languages (viz., German or English).

### 2.2.5 Curriculum

In the early 1950s, village schools were still under the control of missions, and taught by the local catechists or pastors, in accordance with the handbook provided by the missions. By contrast, on the basis of his ideals of academic freedom, Groves expected the government school teachers to develop their own curricula by adapting it to the local community. His ideals, however, made most Australian teachers unhappy, as they expected to have a syllabus which would provide a secure framework for them to depend on (Larking, 1973). Consequently, these teachers reproduced the curricula of primary schools from their own home states (Roscoe, 1958, cited in Smith, 1987). Later the existence of varying syllabi made Roscoe prepare a common syllabus because of his centralised view. Hence, in 1950, Roscoe adapted the Queensland syllabus,
which was officially distributed in 1955. In this way, Western culture continued to be reflected in the curriculum in the 1950s.

2.2.6 Staff Development

As the expansion of formal schooling was accompanied by a shortage of teachers, new training centres and three different types of courses were opened for indigenous teachers in 1954 (Commonwealth of Australia, 1956, cited in Smith, 1987):

1) Course A was conducted by the mission teacher training centres for the leavers of grade six, in order to qualify them as village school teachers.

2) Course B was conducted by the government training centres for the leavers of grades eight or nine, in order to equip teachers further through supervised teaching practice.

3) Course C was also conducted by the government training centres for the holders of the Course B certificate, in order to qualify them as teachers in intermediate schools.

Additionally, the idea of a competitive scholarship system to Australia was brought into operation at the beginning of 1954.

Once again, it was a case of "the Australian government moving too far too fast" (Smith, 1987: 207). Despite the rapid expansion of educational services, the quality of schools dragged behind (Lambert, 1958, cited in Smith, 1987). Although Hasluck (1958, cited in Smith, 1987) advocated the philosophy of 'gradual development' of Papua and New Guinea to a society of a common language and a common feeling of social identity, the pace of educational expansion did not seem to slow down.

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8The fast pace of educational expansion has continued to the 1990s elsewhere in the South Pacific nations because of its association with outside funding (Thaman, 1991).
2.2.7 Reflections

Western education was introduced as a part of cultural imperialism. It aimed "to shape the beliefs, values, and behaviour of children to meet the social and economic needs of those in power" (Cuban, 1988a: 341). The aim of cultural imperialism was also "to train the colonized for roles that suited the colonizer" (Carnoy, 1974: 3) by improving village life and developing a modern economy (Crossley, 1990b). Under the control of cultural imperialism, indigenous education was completely ignored and treated as though it had never existed. Rather, the colonial education system was imposed on the indigenous people.

As mission schools reflected the Western schooling of the missionaries' own countries, the colonial education system also reflected Western schooling in the colonisers' countries (Smith, 1975). The main function of Western schooling was to transmit "the social and economic structure from generation to generation through pupil selection, defining culture and rules, and teaching certain cognitive skills" (Carnoy, 1974: 13). Western schooling had a definite curriculum of subjects as well as a 'hidden curriculum'. Hidden curriculum conveys the message that "what is not taught in school is of little value, and that what is learned outside of school is not worth knowing" (Illich, 1976: 258).

Hence, the hidden curriculum influenced the children in their learning of values, attitudes and habits, and imposed upon them the rules of discipline and the authority of teachers (Giddens, 1993). As this cultural reproduction is to "help perpetuate social and economic inequalities across the generations" (Giddens, 1993: 438), the hidden curriculum affected children's future lives by the production of a new class structure for society (Illich, 1976; Pettman, 1984). Consequently, the system of schooling has become the mediating link between the system of power relations (Giroux, 1983).
In summary, Western education in PNG was designed by expatriates for indigenous people, who were the passive recipients. As Western education aimed to reproduce Western culture in indigenous society, things that were taught at school were unfamiliar to the children. Nevertheless, parents believed that schooling was the key to wage labour and the monetary economy.

The more children learned about Western culture, the more indigenous culture was forgotten. Communication breakdown between the parents and children, and alienation of children from village life, became common problems throughout PNG. Children's success was based on their academic achievement at school, although they failed to become useful members of local communities. No matter how expatriates tried to improve Western education, these problems persisted into the 1960s.

2.3 The 1960s

2.3.1 Overview

Following the independence of many European colonies in Africa in the early 1960s, the Australian administration began to consider self-government and independence for the territories of Papua and New Guinea. Another factor which influenced the decision of the Australians was the Dutch 'Papuanisation' of the public service in Irian Jaya (i.e., the Western part of the main New Guinea Island), which had begun in the late 1950s (Smith, 1987: 217). Thus, the administration began to make their educational aim the production of indigenous élites.

Although most primary education was previously run by missions, government education expanded to 35 per cent of primary education during the 1960s. Correspondingly, however, mission education also expanded to 35
per cent of secondary education. Because of the emphasis on secondary and tertiary education, the growth of primary school enrolments slowed down after 1964. Nevertheless, it still grew at an average of four per cent per year, and a large proportion of school age children was enrolled in primary schools in the 1960s (McKinnon, 1968). Increasing numbers of primary school enrolments resulted in an increasing number of school leavers. However, job opportunities did not increase, because the government aimed to produce smaller numbers of indigenous élites by emphasising higher education. Thus, the majority of children were unable to go beyond primary school, though higher education was considered as "the key to social and economic betterment" (Titus, 1976: 126). It also was regarded as an investment for economic development and an enrichment of personal life (Commonwealth of Australia, 1964, cited in Smith, 1987).

Although missions trained their own teachers, they faced financial difficulty in maintaining the same salaries as the government teachers. There were two main characteristic differences between mission education and government education:

Firstly, missions aimed to achieve improvement in the welfare and development of local, predominantly rural communities, while the government aimed to build a nation with a modern monetary economy (Delpit and Kemelfield, 1985a). In other words, missions tried to provide some sort of education to as many children as possible, in order to convert them to Christianity. On the other hand, the government tried to produce smaller numbers of indigenous élites (Kemelfield, 1976), in order to achieve "independence, economic growth and higher living standards" (Weeden et al., 1969: 6-7). Thus, becoming educated meant becoming an élite through joining the ranks of "the professions, the skilled trades men and the men of affairs"

Secondly, the mission education system was based locally or regionally, while the government education system was controlled by the powerful Department of Education centralised in Port Moresby (Thomas, 1976b). The difference between the village-centred view of expanding primary education and the nation-centred pressure for the expansion of secondary education, brought conflict between the missions and the government. Although the missions were accustomed to view education from the viewpoint of the local people, the government administrators and planners of education were concerned with national goals and perspectives (Commonwealth of Australia, 1969, cited in Thomas, 1976b).

Although the missions had different educational aims, financial strains made them move towards a more unified education system in co-operation with the government. As some missions paid the mission teachers’ salaries through grants, the comparison of pay and conditions with those of Government teachers became a big issue. In 1962, inequality of salaries between the mission teachers and the government teachers was questioned by the United Nations Visiting Mission:

Certainly Sir Hugh Foot, head of the Visiting United Nations Mission in 1962, was asked the question more than once: "Why do mission teachers with similar qualifications to Government teachers and doing the same job get so much less pay?" The usual Government answer to this complaint was that mission teachers were dedicated men and should not expect high salaries. However, the teachers are [sic] not all missionaries and many had families to support for which their pay was inadequate. The missions' commitment was such that they could not afford to supplement the grant-in-aid that had become the teachers' salary. Some teachers attempted to supplement their income by extra curricular activities. This led to divided interest and often it was the school that suffered. Other teachers left to find more remunerative jobs . . . [although] teacher supply was so short of

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9A similar complaint was also raised by underpaid teachers in the 1990s.
the demand. Hence, pressure for equality of salary and conditions of service mounted (Louisson, 1970: 19).

Hence, in 1967, a unified national education system was proposed, in order to rationalise the efforts of the missions and the Administration, and to provide more popular control over education policy by the government. A unified education system was further recommended by an advisory committee in 1969.

The United Nations Visiting Mission also criticised the system of universal primary education for its inadequacy in the following areas (The United Nations Trusteeship Council, 1962, cited in Thomas, 1972): 1) provision of university education, 2) production of individuals capable of replacing Australians in other than unskilled or semi-skilled positions, 3) provision of a level of knowledge required to exercise responsibility in the fields of commerce or industry, 4) provision of positions for senior administrative and professional staff, and 5) generation of political confidence and leadership.

Education in the 1960s focused on secondary and higher education for the production of élites, rather than the expansion of primary education. During the 1960s new high schools as well as various tertiary level training colleges in fields such as, agriculture, dentistry, policing, marine and nautical studies, and administration, were established. The University of Papua New Guinea (UPNG) commenced in 1966, and the Institute of Higher Technical Education (later called the University of Technology) was established in 1967.

The opening of the university, before independence, aimed to produce indigenous élites who would take over positions held by expatriates. The PNG higher education institutions aimed to achieve Australian standards, UPNG being described as "a tropical edition of an Australian university" (Smith, 1987: 272). This led to questions being raised about the danger of producing 'carbon copies of Europeans', and the possibility of maintaining distinctive Papua New
Guinean features (Commonwealth of Australia, 1964: 8, cited in Griffin, 1976 and Smith, 1987). On the other hand, establishment of the university accelerated racial prejudice among some Europeans (Jinks et al., 1973), whose superiority over indigenous people was being threatened.

The focus on higher education resulted in primary education becoming merely "a pre-requisite for admission to high school" (Thomas, 1972: 153). As higher education aimed at the production of élites, children were taught and reinforced with the idea of going to high school, in order to take up jobs in town, forgetting their community. Consequently, the children were told to study for examinations (Giraure, 1976). It did not matter if what the teacher taught made sense to them or not. The essential thing was to win the prize of going to high school after the National Grade Six Examinations (McNamara, 1976).

2.3.2 Language Policy

The government promoted the use of English vigorously through the school system. This caused many children to drop out of primary school (Deutrom, 1991), while many of those who remained spent their years at school without any real understanding of what was going on (Avalos, 1991a). Although the government did not suggest the suppression of any vernacular, they promoted only English (McKinnon, 1968). Children were punished if they were found speaking in the vernacular at school:

All conversations had to be in English despite the fact that at this stage I had no English vocabulary. Teachers made sure we followed this 'golden rule' by forever shouting at us, "Hey you, speak in English." Large signs bearing the words, 'You must speak English only' were displayed throughout the school. Children caught breaking this rule were punished with grass-cutting, extra work or smacks. I remember being completely inhibited during my first years at school. I could no longer chat idly with my mates. I could no longer make fun through speech. My quick wit was of no use to me. I was like a vegetable. I was controlled by the limits of my vocabulary. My days were spent listening to my teacher. Many questions I wanted to ask remained unasked because I did not have the ability to express them in English. Eventually, I found it much easier just
to sit and listen rather than attempt to speak, so I sat and listened (Giraure, 1976: 62).

Thus, the process of teaching continued to be the one-way transmission of foreign knowledge and culture. Children were not given opportunities to think through the meanings of the things taught to them. Rather, they were forced to learn by rote songs, history, customs and cultures that were foreign to them. The local culture and language were ignored, and children’s competence in thinking was decreased (Donohoe, 1974). Although children were blamed for their failure to learn, it was more the result of their inability to understand English. It was also the expatriate teachers’ inability to communicate with them in a language other than English (Clignet, 1978). Hence, the children became alienated from the local community:

Most of what was being taught to us was as foreign as the English language it was taught in . . . Most of our dancing was considered evil . . . Instead they were replaced with a variety of Highland reels which were originally the war dances of the Scottish people, or by any one of a number of Fijian dances dating back to the old head hunting times. Our own songs . . . were neglected. These were not taught during our school time and because so much of our time was spent at school we did not learn them in the village either (Giraure, 1976: 62).

In this way, children were taught to grow away from their community (Delpit and Kemelfield, 1985b). Their culture and language became no longer theirs, as they were replaced by foreign culture and language. Losing language meant losing their culture and identity:

At no time were we taught about our own people. The way we lived was considered unimportant. Our legends and myths were never told to us. Our customs were never discussed. The big men in our village did not compare with the big men from overseas.

So we grew up in ignorance of the value of our own community. Our heritage which had been handed down for generations was being allowed to die. As more children went to school the dying process became faster and faster (Giraure, 1976: 63).

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10 For example, children had never seen a sheep but were taught the song, 'Baa-baa, Black Sheep'. They also were taught Fijian songs and dances without knowing their meanings, but were taught to remember the foreign words uttered by the teacher (Giraure, 1976). This mode of teaching continued even to the 1990s.
The establishment of English education had convinced indigenous people that English was the absolute necessity for employment in town (van der Veur and Richardson, 1966). It also accelerated social change through the alienation of children from the values, beliefs and life-styles of their society (Deutrom et al., 1990; Waiko, 1993). The more parents believed in the economic values of schooling as "the road to advancement" (Edward, 1968, cited in Conroy, 1976), the more they tried to gain social prestige through their children. Ironically, children began to learn to grow away from their own people rather than to accept their community (Giraure, 1976). The irony went further in the following two areas:

1) An increased number in primary school enrolments meant a narrowed chance of getting into further education.
2) An increased number of children alienated through Western education meant less chance for employment in town.

Originally, the medium of instruction in mission schools was the local vernacular or lingua franca (i.e., Pidgin English). The use of vernacular was eventually abandoned, due to financial assistance and encouragement from the colonial administration for the use of English (McElhanon, 1974). According to the government's point of view, it seemed to be natural to promote English as the common language because 1) only a few out of over 860 vernaculars were in written form with very few vernacular reading materials, and 2) the finance was not sufficient even to promote English (McKinnon, 1971). Consequently, encouraging the use of English resulted in discouraging the use of the vernacular.

Contrastively, Pidgin English continued to be used extensively in the New Guinea region and in Port Moresby among those who were from the region, despite the government's vigorous promotion of English. It also continued to be used in schools, unofficially, in the New Guinea region. Thus, the role of
Pidgin English was beginning to be recognised as a useful means of intra-national communication, while the function of English was primarily for international communication (Litteral, 1975).

2.3.3 Curriculum

In the centralised, top-down model of the education system in the 1960s, decision making was in the hands of the expatriates (Thomas and Postlethwaite, 1984a; Litteral, 1995). Indigenous people had no input into the development of the curriculum or education policy, but were passively involved in the implementation of a foreign designed education system (Litteral, 1995):

Frequently, the technique used is to gather together a group of the best available people [expatriates], in a central place, and give them the task of producing a local syllabus which reflects the most progressive educational ideas. The expectation is that the document will lead teachers to the use of modern techniques and content adapted to the needs of the country. Within a couple of years the syllabus is produced, printed and becomes official. Gradually it becomes accepted as 'the Bible' of teaching, teachers are trained to use it, and teaching materials are produced for it (McKinnon, 1976: 50).

In this sense, 'curriculum' was almost synonymous with the 'syllabus' that was to guide the local teachers step by step, using the courses and support materials that were provided. Thus, development of a detailed, unified 'local' syllabus was begun by a curriculum committee in the 1960s, as a replacement of the previous Roscoe's syllabus that was heavily based on the Queensland syllabus. Ironically, this 'local' syllabus concentrated on the teaching of English from the very beginning of primary school. A new syllabus of over two hundred pages was drafted, tried, reshaped, printed, and implemented through inservice courses in 1963. However, the production of teaching materials and textbooks lagged behind.
McKinnon, the chairman of the curriculum committee in the 1960s, considered that the most modern thinking then available was incorporated in the new curriculum:

We became preoccupied with attempts to devise a fundamental breakthrough of curricula or materials, in a way which would be able to be handled by our teachers and yet offer the chance of radical innovation in content and techniques, and the chance of a move up to a new plateau of quality in the schools (McKinnon, 1976: 51).

However, the teachers, who were the implementers of the new curriculum, were not able to handle the radical innovation.

Hence, this innovation did not bring a fundamental change. It brought only a superficial change with substitution of curricula or materials. Through this innovation, the teachers were expected to understand the nature of the new curriculum. In this centralised top-down model of educational change, the curriculum was designed from the expatriates’ point of view (McKinnon, 1973). As the staff development was dragging behind, McKinnon chose to use a subject by subject approach, within the restricted time frame. This approach was considered to be easier for the indigenous teachers to manage their class time, given their limited skills. He also misunderstood that the skill-oriented teaching practices were appropriate to the indigenous culture. Therefore, he considered that introducing a holistic, integrated approach would be too difficult for the indigenous teachers.

Although McKinnon considered the necessity of developing education from indigenous perspectives, he retained his paternalistic attitude. He also depended on research results from other cultural contexts, which suggested racial prejudice towards indigenous children's development (McKinnon, 1976). He also failed to understand the indigenous children's difficulty in learning a foreign language and foreign concepts in the unfamiliar, formal atmosphere of the Western school. Consequently, a new curriculum was developed by expatriates and was introduced to the local teachers for implementation.
The more English language and its concepts were taught, the more the alienation of the children was accelerated. As alienation of children from their community became acute, Matane (1968), one of the indigenous élites, reconsidered the purpose of education, after his visit to Africa in 1967:

Education has a purpose. It is the preparation of young people for their future life in society, so that they can live and actively participate in the society’s development (Matane, 1968: 27).

Matane also recognised PNG’s agricultural economy and its practicality in the development of the nation. Gardening at school was often associated with punishment (Giraure, 1976), and most parents and children did not consider agriculture a favourable occupation (Edward, 1968, cited in Conroy, 1976). Nevertheless, Matane, recognising PNG’s predominantly rural economy, advocated the necessity of producing "good farmers or rural workers - people who are happy to work on the land" (Matane, 1968: 28).

In order to produce 'good farmers', there was an attempt to introduce a scientific approach to teaching agriculture (McClymont, 1972). However, this approach turned out to be superficial, as it lacked the local people’s conviction for its necessity. The teachers themselves also lacked understanding of the concepts in the scientific approach to plant and animal production. Needless to say, the pupils' unfavourable attitude towards school agriculture was not changed by the scientific approach. This was because it continued to require a manual labour component of gardening under the hot sun (Sutherland, 1974).

Matane (1968: 29) also suggested that "primary education should be a complete education in itself," rather than a place for preparing the pupils for examination to enter into secondary education. Matane’s critical, radical expression reflected the indigenous people's dissatisfaction with their children’s alienation from their community. Matane also recognised that the alienation of children
was caused by the Western education system, which had been designed and controlled by expatriates:

We must change, so that education is developed for Papua New Guinea and not for the kind of life one will find in Australia or in other Western countries (Matane, 1968: 29).

McKinnon (1968) also supported the necessity of indigenous people's involvement in developing an appropriate curriculum for PNG, suggesting they should choose what they considered to be necessary from their own and Western cultures. The appropriate curriculum, which is designed by the indigenous people from their own perspectives, should be able to prepare children to cope with the changing society:

Children must acquire skills, attitudes and behaviour which will provide the tools with which they can adapt to change and extract order and stability from the world which impinges upon them (McKinnon, 1968: 6).

However, in reality, it was expatriates who continued to take control of curriculum development.

2.3.4 Staff Development

Because of the rapid expansion of primary schooling, a high demand for teachers continued in the 1960s:

Our primary schools were still staffed by thousands of teachers who themselves had only . . . a primary education and one year of teacher education. Using existing practices they could hardly do other than send on to further education, or worse, to training as teachers, pupils who were inadequately prepared. The vicious circle could be pushed out of shape in minor ways, but not completely broken (McKinnon, 1976: 51).

As a result of the shortage of teachers even those who had no inclination for teaching became teachers. Prior to the commencement of UPNG, the teachers' college was the highest educational institution. Hence, some of the students began to consider teaching as a stepping stone to another profession (Smith, 1987).

In order to spread English education rapidly and to meet the shortage of indigenous teachers, there was a widespread deployment of Australian
teachers in the 1960s through a six-month emergency training course. A shortage of adequate staff, in high schools and teachers' colleges, also became a problem. They were unable to give the breadth and depth of training necessary for producing more qualified teachers (Weeden et al., 1969).

2.3.5 Reflections
As the Australian administration moved towards the independence of the nation of PNG, education in the 1960s focused on the production of élites who could take over expatriates' positions. Parents were convinced that higher education was an investment for their children's future employment and cash income. In reality, however, the production of a few winners meant the simultaneous production of very many more losers. The lack of employment for the increasing numbers of standard six leavers became a significant problem in the latter half of the 1960s.

The preparation of PNG for its forthcoming independence was also seen in the process of further Westernisation. Vernacular was abandoned and English was taught in the education system designed by expatriates. However, some indigenous élites came to realise how the education system had both shaped them to suit Western culture, whilst alienating them from their indigenous culture. While the Administration focused on higher education, the indigenous people's concern about the maintenance of their culture began to grow stronger as the 1970s approached.

2.4 The 1970s

2.4.1 Overview
As the 1970 Education Ordinance (Department of Education, 1970, cited in Thomas, 1976b) encouraged localisation of educational decision making,
participation of indigenous people became increasingly evident, especially after Independence in 1975. The provincial governments were strengthened by their political stability, but the efficiency of the centralised system began to be weakened. As the provincial governments grew more confident and more effective, the missions also began to lose their power in controlling education.

The more that indigenous people became involved in educational planning, the more their concern for the development of a new education system grew stronger (McNamara, 1976). They wanted an education system that would not harm the village community, but would serve its needs (Conroy, 1976), and help to reduce the rural villagers’ disadvantage and their sense of inferiority:

Such education should be oriented towards a broad concept of community development, one in which basic knowledge could be shared by adults and children, and be available to communities as a whole (Kemelfield, 1976: 237; original author’s emphasis).

This kind of community development required local people’s active participation, rather than passive acceptance of instructions and assistance from Government officers. The concept of community-based education was implemented in a pilot project through action research (Kemelfield, 1972 and 1976):

A community-based education system should not only attempt to provide widespread opportunities for learning knew [sic] knowledge and skills. It should be one in which communities take a large measure of responsibility for the content and direction of their own education programmes, and also help to provide the resources for those programmes (Kemelfield, 1972: 9).

This community-based education system seemed to be the answer to the problems created by the Western education system. However, this new system was also planned and proposed by expatriate staff members and indigenous élites. Furthermore, it was implemented in a top-down approach. Consequently, implementation of the new system became problematic once again:

The greatest problem associated with the introduction of a new approach to education in Papua New Guinea is likely to be one of gaining
acceptance of it, both by local communities and by those involved in teaching in the present system (Kemelfield, 1972: 40).

Although the new idea of a community-based education system was innovative, communities were asked to accept it passively as they had been used to doing in the past. Ironically, the idea of community-based education and its implementation in a top-down approach became contradictory. A true community-based education system requires the involvement of the community members throughout the process of planning and development. However, in reality, the development of a new education system did not occur in the local communities, but among the government officials in their approach to 'advocate-innovator interaction'\(^{11}\) (Niehoff, 1966b). Thus, new ideas continued to be imposed on the local people.

McNamara's (1976) ideas on a new education system were also introduced in a top-down approach. His ideas were based on the system of linking school and the community, which originated in the Philippines. In this top-down approach, ways of effective implementation continued to be debated:

> Systems like education systems cannot usually be transplanted very well. They must grow from the seeds available in the country where they are, and within the climate provided by the physical, social, political and economic fact of life. Our education system is struggling with this problem. It must put down its roots and grow in the soil of Papua New Guinea (Tololo, 1976: 221).

After having had struggles, some teachers' colleges began to employ the idea of involving the teachers and the children in extensive practical work in the communities:

> Some colleges arrange for students to develop strong ties with village communities by arranging rural teaching practice sessions when students live with families and become members of the community as far as is

\(^{11}\)In the 'advocate-innovator interaction' approach (Niehoff, 1966b), indigenous people are the agent of a new idea introduced by an advocate who is an outsider. The role of the advocate is to propose his or her idea, which was developed in another cultural context, to the indigenous people, who are its implementers in their context. Therefore the emphasis is placed on the advocate's cross-cultural awareness that affects the indigenous people's understanding of the meaning of the new idea and its implementation.
possible for the period they are posted there. Such an experience provides opportunities for activities other than those especially designed for work in a school. Over a period of time it is possible for students to be involved in a continuing commitment to village or community projects (Trevaskis, 1976: 151).

Despite the above effort of paying attention to practical work, and de-emphasising the primary final examinations (Department of Education, 1972), high school selections continued to be based on the final examination and the children’s academic work. Consequently, adapting an education system from another country also brought its problems. As Reimer (1971: 28) says, "School necessarily sorts its students into a caste-like hierarchy of privilege." Thus, schooling in PNG had become "a product of the competitive consumer society," and even dropouts understood the message of its absolute necessity (Sheehan, 1976: 88).

Although the negative by-products of Western education were widely recognised, emphasis on higher education still continued in the 1970s. Despite parents’ expectations of their children’s future through higher education, the generation gap, which was rather the 'education gap' (Eri, 1976), was accelerated, especially through university training, in the following ways (Kemelfield, 1972; Sheehan, 1976):
1) The students could not explain to their parents in their vernacular language what they had learned in English.
2) The new values and attitudes learned at the university resulted in the breaking of traditional taboos.
3) The students' critical views of the village situation violated traditional power structures and became a threat to the status of the village leaders.

Nevertheless, parents continued to support their children financially, hoping that their children would bring financial assistance to them in the future. There was hardly any emphasis in the education system to divert the students' and parents' aspirations into their own village communities (Titus, 1976).
When the University produced its first graduates in 1970, a ‘class’ of black élites were dressed in white men’s clothing (Hart, 1974, cited in Kemelfield, 1976) and were ready to take up the positions left by expatriates. However, some of the élites realised that the current political, economic and social institutions were geared for the comfort of élites:

We do not shape the institutions but the institutions shape us. We just have to conform to their norms and rules, become unthinking parts in this long-established machine (Kasaipwalova, 1976: 132).

Hence, there was a danger of élites establishing a neo-colonialism, as they had a tendency to stroll into the existing institutions set up by their colonial masters. These élites formed the nucleus of the upper or better social classes by escaping the lower, uneducated class of people (Kasaipwalova, 1976). In this way, educational expansion continued rapidly towards the economic development of the nation of PNG (McKinnon, 1973).

2.4.2 Language Policy

The use of vernacular at an early stage of schooling was considered to be effective to "assist children to relate better to their own environment, appreciate their own cultural values, and make them more psychologically secure" (Somare, 1974). As initial vernacular education was supported by many others, applied linguistics courses were included in the UPNG, and vernacular literacy was included in some teachers’ colleges.

The concept of education in a familiar language began to spread in PNG, especially in rural areas. Teaching in the vernacular began in some primary schools in North Solomon’s Province in 1974 and 1975. Then, a Viles Tok Ples Skul (Village Vernacular School)12 Scheme grew out of an informal consultation

12Village Vernacular Schools were called 'Tok Ples Pre School (TPPS)' or 'Vernacular Preparatory School (Prep School)'. They are community based schools (i.e., not a part of the formal primary education) for children prior to their entry into grade one of the primary school. The main purpose of the vernacular preparatory schools is to teach basic literacy and numeracy in the
between the North Solomon’s Provincial Government and the UPNG’s Educational Research Unit in 1979:

The system was intended to have specific social, cultural and academic benefits. In terms of socialisation, the use of tok ples [i.e., vernacular] and the closeness to village life, with teachers drawn from the community, was intended to ease children’s transition from home into a Western-inspired education system, which has often been described by observers as daunting for children because of the abrupt move into a foreign language (English) (Delpit and Kemelfield, 1985a: 9).

The use of Pidgin English, which was once condemned, was also brought into focus because of the children’s difficulty in learning in English:

The recognition of Pidgin would, however, have its most important consequences in the political sphere. Pidgin is ready to be recognized as the national internal language of Papua New Guinea. If so recognized, it would promote a feeling of national unity, and [be] a vehicle for the expression of national aspirations, that could not be attained in any other way. For here we have a language which grew to maturity on the soil of Papua New Guinea, which was developed and spread by the indigenous people themselves, and which is now their property and their language, in a way no foreign language and no regional language can ever be (Laycock, 1976: 185).

In this way, vernacular and Pidgin English increasingly became recognised for their effectiveness as a medium of communication, and hence of instruction. However, there was a problem of inadequate literature supplies being available in most vernaculars. The use of vernacular also caused the fear of an ongoing difficulty with propaganda for national unity. Thus, in 1976, the National Executive Council favoured the continuation of the English policy, with some vernacular permitted for explaining concepts (Litteral, 1995).

2.4.3 Curriculum

During the 1970s, Matane, with his critical view of the current education system, influenced the Department of Education to make primary schooling more effective to prepare children for village life. Although it was essential to have indigenous people’s input in designing a more effective education system,
indigenous people seemed to have a tendency to sit back and expect the Department of Education to do something for them (McNamara, 1976). Such a tendency, however, was reasonable, as expatriate staff members had previously planned the curriculum for them (Isoaimo, 1974). This radical change of expected involvement perplexed indigenous people, and their attitudes remained largely unchanged.

In 1971, thirty-three Papua New Guineans were invited to discuss the aims and objectives of the primary curriculum, for the purpose of active involvement of indigenous people, in order to solve the following problems and dilemmas:

1) Although the Department of Education expected the teachers to teach children to become productive members of the village communities, both the teachers and parents still regarded staying in the village as second best for children because it meant failure to gain high school entry.

2) As the adults came to believe that material wealth and plenty of money through employment would be most desirable, the children naturally desired what their parents wanted. Hence, high school entry was considered the best way to gain employment.

3) Although the school curriculum was focused on the land and on village life, children still became alienated. What the people really desired was not village life but town life.

4) Although village life was said to be the backbone of PNG, in reality, the best students were picked out for high schools and this often led them to town life. Hence, the best children were the ones who fitted into town living, and the rest of the children had no other choice except to stay in the village.

5) As the children who were not selected to go to high school were considered as failures, and they already felt inferior, they were reluctant to accept the second best category of village life.

The above discussion was controlled by expatriate staff members, whose interpretation was that indigenous people were not able to express themselves
explicitly (McKinnon, 1973). In this way, indigenous people were assessed and evaluated from the expatriates’ point of view.

Involvement of field staff was also advocated in curriculum planning and revision (Department of Education, 1972). The theme for 1972 was chosen by the National Education Board as ‘Education for community living’, in order to reconstruct their cultural heritage through traditional dancing, drama, arts and craft, which included redecoration of schools with traditional designs (Thomas, 1972; Smith, 1975). Additionally, the Department of Education encouraged village experts to teach traditional arts and crafts in the school context (Smith, 1975).

During the discussions of the National Education Board in 1973, there was also a suggestion that separate curricula for urban and rural schools should be prepared. However, the suggestion was not favoured because of the rejection of elitism and special privilege. Rather, an emphasis was placed on equality through a common curriculum. Paradoxically, this had a strong tendency to follow the model of an Australian curriculum (McKinnon, 1973; Conroy, 1976). As a result, more sophisticated indigenous people struggled for equality with Australians by enrolling their children in schools for expatriates based on an Australian curriculum. Ironically, this tendency of favouring Australian schools created further inequality among indigenous people (Smith, 1987).

In this way, the dilemma continued between the two extreme views of curriculum development (McKinnon, 1973): 1) the preference for more intensive literacy and numeracy, in order to prepare children for industrial employment, and 2) the preference for culturally familiar content, in order to minimise the gap between parents and children.
Giraure (1976), reflecting on his own experience of being, also suggested the necessity of having a new education system with a new curriculum. Such a curriculum should contain both Western knowledge and indigenous knowledge, in order to incorporate the changing nature of life in PNG (Giraure, 1976; Tololo, 1976). The purpose of the curriculum was not to conform to the Western society but to meet the needs of the people in the changing society.

Relevance of curriculum, however, should not only be evident in the content but also in the approach to teaching. According to research by Larking (1974), the majority of teachers’ college students and school children were classified as field dependent. In other words, they perceived parts within the context of a whole (Davis, 1991). In the past, the curriculum had been based on a field independent approach, assuming individual items were perceived without relating to the whole. As suggested by Larking (1974), consideration of indigenous learning styles and more holistic approaches to knowledge would be necessary in the development of a culturally appropriate curriculum and its implementation.

During the 1970s, there was increasing recognition of the necessity to move away from the imposition of Western views, and to develop a curriculum from the indigenous people's perspectives, by fostering pride in the country's way of life (Giraure, 1976). Involvement of local teachers was considered to be inevitable in the key stages of the process of curriculum development and implementation (Institute of Applied Social and Economic Research, 1979). However, with only the occasional participation of the teachers, the indication was that they were not the main curriculum developers.

In addition to the local teachers’ involvement, the necessity of parents’ involvement was also recognised. A new curriculum alone could not solve the
social problems without closing the gap between the teachers and the parents. In order to implement a new curriculum effectively, teachers and parents needed to share a common understanding of the purpose of schooling (Larking, 1973). Hence, the necessity of parents' participation was recognised in the process of designing a curriculum. If the local people were actively involved in the process of developing their curriculum, there should be community support and parents' co-operation in its implementation:

Decisions we will make in education will affect our entire culture - the basis on which we wish to build our nation (Somare, 1974: 12-13).

The community's initiative, responsibility and effort were seen to be the key factors for planning an appropriate curriculum and its implementation. Nevertheless, the gap between parents and teachers continued throughout the 1970s.

2.4.4 Staff Development

In order to reconcile the difference between the missions' village-centred view and the government's nation-centred view on education, the 1970 Education Ordinance provided a framework for teacher education through the Teacher Education Committee of the National Education Board. The functions of the committee were to advise the board on teacher education, on such matters as: 1) the development of teachers' colleges, 2) their standards for admission of students, 3) maintenance and improvement of courses and facilities, and 4) the appointment of staff.

The National Teaching Service was commissioned for employment of teachers. The ordinance also declared "a tripartite system of control which divided functions between 1) the Department of Education, 2) the voluntary educational agencies, and 3) the local government councils and district education committees" (Thomas, 1976b: 8). The ordinance focused on the movement from disparity of teachers' conditions to equalisation, and from an
authoritarian, centralised system to a decentralised or consultative-type system (McKinnon, 1971).

In the new system, the District Education Boards were also established with representatives from the Government, churches and missions, local government councils, teachers and the community:

Functions of the District Education Board include selecting entrants for primary, secondary and technical schools, appointing staff, determining school fees, administering education funds, and co-ordinating education activities within the district, in addition to preparing plans for the establishment and development of schools in the district, and supervising and carrying out these plans when approved by the National Education Board (Thomas, 1976b: 8).

It was the responsibility of the National Education Board to keep the economy and efficiency of the National Education System:

Its functions include advisory and supervisory duties, as well as the allocation of staff to districts and of students to teachers' colleges, and the establishment of national criteria for the selection of students for secondary schools and colleges (Thomas, 1976b: 8).

The National Education Board was responsible for determining teachers' annual full time inservice training, while the District Education Boards were responsible for the organisation of short term inservice courses for the first-year students (Trevaskis, 1976).

In 1972, when the Minister for Education issued a policy statement for the teachers' colleges, there arose conflicts, between policy and practice over the scope and nature of 'self-help' and associated community projects. Nevertheless, because of inflationary trends in the PNG economy and constraints on financial assistance from the Government, teachers' colleges saw the benefit of self-help in the preparation of students in a realistic way, especially for those living in remote communities. The policy also aimed to assist the teachers in maintaining ties with communities (Trevaskis, 1976). In this way, primary school teacher education continued, despite the emphasis on
higher education. In 1973, a total of 1,461 students were enrolled in nine primary teachers' colleges.

Approaches to staff development remained generally unchanged since the introduction of Western education about a century before. Typically, teachers in PNG tended to teach by rote, because they were 'trained' to follow set procedures (Donohoe, 1974). As the teachers themselves were not taught to think critically and dynamically, they could give the children neither the opportunities nor the reasons to go beyond the passive acceptance of knowledge. This inability was the result of the teacher 'training' they had received. They were not 'educated' as independent thinkers, but were 'trained' to follow the procedures laid out for them.

Therefore, teaching was thought to be the dispensing of knowledge and learning was thought to be the passive reception of it. As knowledge was imparted in this one-way direction from the teacher to the children, children's individual differences in learning were ignored. Thus, rote learning resulted in the children's failure to: 1) understand what was taught, 2) experience the benefit of what was taught, and 3) apply what was taught to another situation (Southwell, 1974). Moreover, all the children in the class were tested on their memory and their fragmented skills by the same test at the end of the term. Instead of producing information on the children's achievements, as a process, tests were used to make judgements on the product of learning, for the purpose of ranking.

In addition to teacher training, inservice courses were provided to the teachers, in the field, by the National Education Board. The purpose of inservice courses was to "select, train and eventually post Papua New Guinean officers to positions in the educational system" (Trevaskis, 1976: 153). Those who successfully completed inservice courses were promoted to higher positions or
advanced inservice courses offered by the Faculty of Education of UPNG. Although all the Australian teachers in primary schools had been replaced by indigenous teachers by 1972, the majority of high school positions continued to be occupied by expatriates, as staff development lagged behind\textsuperscript{13}.

2.4.5 Reflections

The Western education system caused a disruption to traditional social structures. The introduction of new concepts caused new avenues of social mobility (Conroy, 1976). In this changing society, contradiction was unavoidable between the traditional and the new structures (Foster, 1965). As the contradictions worsened, some indigenous people, as well as expatriates, came to recognise their responsibility to solve the problems.

In order to make schooling more socially responsive, there was also a need to slow down the pace of educational expansion. However, in reality, education in the 1970s was pushed forward rapidly, towards the production of a minority of élites. Despite this persistent emphasis on higher education, primary education continued to expand, with a focus on quantity rather than quality.

During this decade, the necessity of indigenous people’s participation in educational planning was increasingly recognised. However, expatriates were still in control of educational change, even after Independence and into the 1980s.

\textsuperscript{13}At the UPNG graduation in March 1974, there was only one Papua New Guinean diplomate among fifty-four, and five Papua New Guinean graduates among forty-eight (Trevaskis, 1976).
2.5 The 1980s

2.5.1 Overview
Despite the continuing education policy that aimed at producing indigenous élites, adequate education and employment still had not been offered to them, and even by the late 1980s a large number of higher technical and professional positions were held by expatriates (Avalos, 1991a). Difficulty in obtaining employment resulted in a large number of school leavers who could not fit into rural life. As they hung around in urban areas, many of them became 'rascals'. Despite the problem of the alienation of children from community life, education was assumed to be important for the economic development of the nation. The academic standards of schools and formal examinations were the major criteria for determining the efficiency of the education system (Kenehe, 1981, cited in Crossley, 1990b).

2.5.2 Language Policy
In the late 1970s, the idea of initial vernacular education grew out of dissatisfaction with English language education, and its alienating influence on children. Local indigenous people and expatriate educational officials in the North Solomon's Province worked together towards the opening of vernacular preparatory schools in 1980. Because of the children's successful transition from local vernacular to English, this idea spread to other provinces\(^{14}\). As increasing interest in and expansion of vernacular preparatory schools began to

\(^{14}\)East New Britain Province began their vernacular preparatory school in 1983, and Enga Province in 1985. It was in 1989 that a former primary school teacher in the Maiwala community in Milne Bay Province caught on to the idea of vernacular preparatory school. This account is documented in detail in the following chapter.
become significant at the local level, initial vernacular education was officially recommended nationally in 1986:

The language of instruction for these early years of education must be common to all agents, and must not exclude the parents from their role as educators. Research evidence indicates that children acquire literacy more effectively when they first learn to read and write in their own languages, and not through a foreign language. Knowledge of local history and tradition is best transmitted through the mother tongue\textsuperscript{15}. Again teachers can work closely with the community to achieve this (Matane et al., 1986: 18).

However, vernacular preparatory schools remained as non-formal, community-based schools, without being a part of formal primary schooling. Some local governments, such as East New Britain Province, organised a network of preparatory schools, ensuring community support and teacher training. Some other provinces depended on the interest of each of their communities and NGOs.

Once initial vernacular education became the national policy in 1989, both NDOE and many provincial education divisions began to encourage its expansion. This was originally based on research results that showed that pupils who received more initial instruction in the vernacular subsequently became more competent later in English (Cummins, 1980, cited in Litteral, 1986). This research evidence was successfully tested in North Solomon's Province and elsewhere in PNG (Litteral, 1994):

When these same students took the national grade six examinations in 1988, forty-eight per cent were selected for positions in high schools whereas approximately only fifteen per cent were selected from other rural schools in the area, equalling or surpassing many government or mission centre schools in the area (Litteral, 1994: 6).

Thus, the students with vernacular preparatory school backgrounds demonstrated their advanced performance when they entered into grade one

\textsuperscript{15}Mother tongue indicates a person's first language. In this study, I chose the term 'vernacular' rather than 'mother tongue' as a child can be immersed in two or more languages at home if his or her parents come from different language groups.
and throughout the school years, and even at the national grade six examinations.

Although the ultimate purpose of initial vernacular education was to facilitate a smooth transfer to English, it also contributed to the maintenance of indigenous culture and language. Encouragement of initial vernacular education began to assist the children to have pride in their culture. The children also began to achieve in their learning, as they could understand what was being taught to them. As a result, the children who went to vernacular preparatory schools showed better performance in their learning in English at primary school (Litteral, 1986).

2.5.3 Curriculum

Contrary to the emphasis on the improvement of academic standards, Matane et al (1986) advocated the necessity of making curriculum more relevant to community life. In order to contribute to economic development, as well as to sustain village community life, dualistic secondary curricula were re-introduced and articulated (Deutrom, 1989, cited in Crossley, 1990b). However, examination performance on academic subjects continued to be considered the major criterion for determining the students' success in the provincial high schools. Less emphasis was placed on the subjects which were relevant to community life (Crossley, 1990). Consequently, teaching objectives did not match assessment and evaluation objectives.

Primary school training aimed at the preparation of children for selection to high school. Hence, it continued to emphasise the importance of academic subjects. The irrelevance of school was criticised and the necessity of having a relevant curriculum was debated:

Community-based education will play a big role in making basic education more attractive because it makes education relevant and useful to everyone. At the same time, as more and more children are spending
their time in school, schools must spend more time ensuring that the traditional knowledge of their community is preserved [sic] and built upon. These factors make universal basic education a catalyst in the development of a much closer relationship between schools and communities (Tetaga, 1989: 3, cited in Crossley, 1990b).

On the other hand, wealthy élites preferred to send their children to international schools whose curricula were based on Australian curricula (Crossley, 1990b).

Nevertheless, the idea of more culturally appropriate curricula for vernacular preparatory schools spread rapidly. As these schools were not funded by the government, local missions and local NGO personnel were often involved in their curriculum development, materials production and teacher training. Their involvement was often in the same old mould of adapting the education system of their own countries for the indigenous people, who were the passive recipients.

Since initial vernacular education became the national policy, there seemed to be a necessity to develop a uniform curriculum on the national level (Litteral, 1986). In order to develop more meaningful education for the diverse cultures of PNG, Matane et al (1986) suggested that a curriculum should be developed as a joint effort between planners, writers and implementers. This idea, however, was based on the assumption that there was a clear distinction among the three parties in curriculum development. In other words, teachers were not considered as planners or writers. They were only thought of as the implementers of curriculum.

The involvement of indigenous élites in prominent positions seemed to make the inclusion of indigenous cultures in curricula easier (Crossley, 1990b).

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16 In the case of Maiwala, a former primary school teacher was not satisfied with what was offered to her, and began to search for something more relevant to the local culture. This account is documented in detail later in this thesis.
However, in reality, expatriates continued to take control of curriculum design. For example, expatriate contract workers at NDOE wrote the syllabus (Weeks and Guthrie, 1984). As these expatriate staff often lacked understanding of PNG culture, the newly developed curriculum continued to lack relevance for indigenous people. The process of curriculum development also became complex in relation to the existing political situation:

The curriculum issue is not simply a rational, technical matter but it is characterised by ideological influences and questions of political shifts in the balance of power and the nature of social control and stratification (Crossley, 1990b: 151).

Political competition among influential groups continued in the 1980s just as much as in the colonial era. Decision making for the curriculum also was influenced by the development of economic and social policies. Although the development of culturally more appropriate education was considered to be necessary, decisions for such a curriculum were often based on the expatriates' interpretation of the indigenous values. Involvement of indigenous people cannot guarantee the production of a culturally more appropriate curriculum. When expatriates take control of the development process, indigenous people tend to follow the 'masters'. Expatriates' inability to listen to the indigenous people's voices is not likely to result in the production of a curriculum that is truly appropriate to indigenous culture.

Moreover, a culturally more appropriate curriculum cannot be developed in a vacuum (Bullough, 1989). Meaningfulness of indigenous cultures does not exist in the curriculum development office but in the local community. It cannot be assumed that the expatriates' understanding of indigenous people is

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17This situation was similar to the educational practices for the black children in the USA:

"When you're talking to White people they still want it to be their way. You can try to talk to them and give them examples, but they're so headstrong, they think they know what's best for everybody, for everybody's children. They won't listen, White folks are going to do what they want to do anyway" (Delpit, 1989: 280; original author's emphasis).
correct, even though that understanding is based on extensive research they have carried out. This is often informed by misconception and bias. Consequently, innovations that are informed by Western views often lack an understanding of indigenous views. These innovations often resisted by the local teachers at the point of implementation (Guskey, 1985). After having many innovations imposed on them, local teachers understandably want to be assured that the new idea will work in their particular classrooms. They want to see some evidence of the benefits of the proposed change. For example, they might want to see vernacular preparatory schools in other communities.

A radical curriculum change does not come about easily, if the implementers are not involved in planning. Although it takes extra time and energy, clear understanding by the implementers is crucial to a successful educational change. It was necessary, therefore, for the expatriates to identify and give voice to alternative world views (Delpit, 1989). Furthermore, expatriates needed to let the indigenous people have equal opportunities to voice their views by breaking down the hierarchical, asymmetrical power relationships between the 'superior' expatriates and 'inferior' locals. In the process of making breakthroughs, expatriates also needed to slow down the speed at which new ideas were introduced, by adopting the more flexible time frame of indigenous people.

2.5.4 Staff Development
Throughout the 1980s, staff development focused on inservice education, in order to improve teachers’ qualities. It aimed at better education for the development of children as 'better citizens' (Weeks and Guthrie, 1984). In the past, education had been narrowly focused on future material benefits, such as

18For example, a passive style of learning (Coyne, 1973; O'Donoghue, 1994), rote learning (Stringer and Faracles, 1987; Stringer, 1992), and a formalistic style of teaching (O'Donoghue, 1992) were believed to be the distinctive features of indigenous education.
money and prestige, producing classes of people (i.e., élites and rascals). However, the new education system through initial vernacular education aimed at more relevant schooling in local communities.

Although English language education had been considered as a necessity for preparing indigenous people to express themselves in the modern world, the new generation had not achieved much in learning English. Since all the expatriate primary school teachers were replaced by indigenous teachers in 1972, pupils could no longer achieve their skills in English to the level of those who were taught by expatriate teachers (Avalos, 1991a; O'Donoghue, 1992). Teachers' lack of knowledge and skills in English resulted in a poor performance in their teaching of concepts and events to children. Some of these pupils later became teachers themselves. Therefore, there was a tendency to use rote teaching with an emphasis on words rather than meaning (Avalos, 1991a).

The style of teaching continued to be formal and authoritarian, as the teachers followed the structure set in the syllabus. Despite the encouragement towards student participation in problem-solving (Matane et al., 1986), the teachers were trained in a formalistic style of teaching in teachers' colleges (O'Donoghue, 1994). Thus, the teachers continued to be 'trained' to transmit knowledge rather than to be 'educated' to assist children's learning (McLaughlin, 1988). The emphasis was placed on the teachers' capability in "the 'doing' of things rather than in 'learning and understanding' the contents and processes" (Avalos, 1991b: 174). As a result, children were not given opportunities to raise questions spontaneously or to think critically (Avalos, 1991b; O'Donoghue, 1994).

In vernacular preparatory schools, the style of teaching likewise maintained a formalistic, rote approach. The medium of instruction was vernacular, which
was familiar to the children. Preparatory school teachers were usually trained by local NGOs through a few weeks of workshops. Formalistic teaching was the only way known to the teachers in the school context. There was no attempt to alter the style of teaching. There had been an assumption that rote\(^{19}\) learning was suitable to the indigenous culture (Stringer and Faraclas, 1987; Stringer, 1992). Thus, the informal style of teaching in the indigenous society had been ignored, and the physical environment of school remained formal. Consequently, there still existed a gap between school and community, despite the introduction of local vernaculars.

In order to close the gap, the purpose of education needed to be redefined from the indigenous people's perspectives. This was advocated in *A Philosophy of Education for PNG* (Matane et al., 1986), which was based on the following goals of the PNG National Constitution: 1) integral human development, 2) equality and participation, 3) national sovereignty and self-reliance, 4) natural resources and environment, and 5) Papua New Guinea ways. The first goal of 'integral human development' is considered particularly important for the establishment of an education system which would provide opportunities for individuals to develop themselves as whole persons (Matane et al., 1986). However, in reality, through one-way transmission of fragmented skills, education in PNG continued to focus on the children's intellectual abilities rather than their hearts and minds (Boorer, 1991). This brought attention to the need for improvement in the processes of staff development:

> The key to any education system's progress is the ability of its teachers to promote change and that this ability is itself dependent on the teachers'...  

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\(^{19}\)Rote learning ensured a one-way transmission of knowledge, ignoring the children's desire to ask questions. Because of their inadequate vocabulary in English, children remained silent (Giraure, 1976). On the other hand, teachers did not want to be asked, because they lacked the knowledge to explain (O'Donoghue, 1994). Thus rote learning had become a distinctive style of teaching at school. However, some researchers misunderstood this to be the traditional way of teaching and learning in indigenous culture.
level of general education and the quality of their professional training (O’Donoghue, 1992: 184).

However, trainee teachers’ varied academic knowledge was observed on entry to the different teachers’ colleges (Avalos, 1989). The range of their reading interests seemed narrow, such as reading only newspapers. In order to upgrade teachers’ skills, some colleges introduced additional remedial courses for the students who were lagging behind. On the other hand, the Teacher Education Division (TED) of NDOE decided to terminate students with poor basic skills. The decision was made on the basis of the result from the national examination given in the middle of Year 1. This examination brought pressures on the students to use short-term memory in order to pass it. Therefore, its effectiveness was debated and it was finally abolished in 1991 (O’Donoghue, 1992).

While the effectiveness of the above examination was debated, in 1985 TED began planning the extension of two-year courses at teachers’ colleges to three-year programmes. Then, in 1989, a task force was established to propose appropriate, cost-effective policies for the three-year programme (O’Donoghue, 1992).

2.5.5 Reflections

During the decade of the 1980s, provincial and community leaders gained increasing opportunities in education decision making, especially in the area of initial vernacular education. The idea of initial vernacular education eventually influenced the central government. Finally, inclusion of initial vernacular education was clearly stated in A Philosophy of Education for PNG (Matane et al., 1986), and was approved by the Parliament in 1989. NGOs and UPNG introduced vernacular training courses and there were numerous activities to implement the new policy throughout PNG.
Implementation of the policy was a further encouragement to the forerunners of vernacular preparatory schools. On the other hand, the new policy brought confusion to the indigenous people who had not been convinced of its necessity. For this reason, there arose the necessity to promote awareness about vernacular education. Because it had become a national policy, NDOE began to develop a unified curriculum. Consequently, the ideas, originally grown in the decentralised bottom-up approach, were reintroduced in a centralised top-down approach in the late 1980s and reinforced in the 1990s.

### 2.6 The 1990s

#### 2.6.1 Overview

The PNG economy in the 1990s is still heavily reliant on agriculture in which 85 per cent of the population is engaged (Fallon, 1992). Although *A Philosophy of Education for PNG* (Matane et al., 1986) advocated 'integral human development' based on the National Constitution, its ultimate goal of serving the 'common good of society' seems superficial. Adequate employment opportunities have not been created for school leavers, nor has the problem of 'rascals' been solved. Thus, the value of education has been downgraded in the eyes of parents, especially in rural areas (Avalos, 1991a). As disillusioned parents withdrew their children from school, absenteeism and dropouts increased (Bray, 1984b).

Despite these unsolved problems, the 1990s have seen some significant educational changes in the PNG education system in areas such as language policy, curriculum and staff development. Initial vernacular education has been incorporated into the national policy. The lack of primary school teachers' capabilities has been recognised and there has been a special course to improve the skills of teachers' college lecturers.
2.6.2 Language Policy

Under the vernacular language policy, local communities were encouraged to establish their own vernacular preparatory schools. The use of vernacular was also encouraged in grade one in places where there was no preparatory school (NDOE, 1990). Then, in 1995, the education system was restructured to accommodate three-year vernacular elementary schooling. According to the vernacular language policy, elementary education should relate to the child’s own culture by the use of vernacular language, for the following two reasons (Litteral, 1994 and 1995):

1) Vernacular vocabulary is the 'best' means for communicating all concepts, including scientific, thus meeting the child’s needs for at least the first three years of education.

2) Most foreign and national languages are inadequate for this contextualisation.

Although the new system of the initial three-year vernacular elementary school has been introduced, as shown in Figure 2, only a limited number of preparatory schools have been upgraded as a part of the new system\footnote{The previous system is shown in Figure 1, and the new system in Figure 2.}. The sole criterion for establishing an elementary school was the size of the attached primary school. Primary schools with a sufficient number of pupils are allowed to have 'top-up' grades seven and eight and to attach elementary schools. As a result, urban 'top-up' schools, which had sufficient numbers of children from various language groups, were 'appointed' to be either upgraded or to open new elementary schools.
Originally in the introduced Western schooling, the medium of education was the local vernacular, where each mission had a strong influence until the Australian Administration promoted the English language. Under the recent restructuring of the education system, especially in the case of Milne Bay Province, new urban vernacular elementary schools have chosen to teach in English. Although some parents recognised that children were quick to learn in the local language, English was preferred in these schools. Ironically, the maintenance of indigenous cultures and languages through vernacular education has been ignored in the new system of 'vernacular' elementary schools. Needless to say, elementary school teachers do not have sufficient knowledge of English to teach the children adequately.
As the implementation of the policy went ahead without adequate preparation, newly appointed elementary schools often lacked teaching materials or even school buildings. In many cases, teachers lacked training in vernacular education, and the local community lacked interest and support. Nevertheless, teachers of the newly appointed elementary schools were paid by the government, since they are a part of the government education system. This discouraged many vernacular preparatory school teachers, who were not adequately paid by their community. Some vernacular school teachers continued to teach with less pay, but others, who were well trained, considered the situation unfair and refused to keep on teaching\textsuperscript{21}. As a consequence, this top-down model of the new elementary education system defeated the original intention of community-based vernacular preparatory schools.

2.6.3 Curriculum

Two decades after independence, PNG is still dependent on foreign aid for finance and personnel (Avalos, 1991a; Luteru and Teasdale, 1993). Many higher technical and professional positions, especially in NDOE, are still filled by short-term expatriate contractors appointed by aid agents (Deutrom et al., 1990). Many of them are new to the PNG situation but eager to adapt experiences and ideas developed elsewhere in the world. However, some of the expatriate curriculum development staff have spent three decades in rural communities in PNG. Through the experience of working alongside the people in PNG, they have become aware of the necessity to change the formalistic, linear approach to teaching practices.

Although a change to a child-centred, holistic, integrated approach was considered to be necessary, its feasibility was debated because of the need for

\textsuperscript{21}Closing down of the preparatory school also occurred in Maiwala community, Milne Bay Province. The process of re-establishing the preparatory school, and developing it further to the provincial model of an elementary school, is discussed later in this thesis.
the production of a large amount of teaching materials, and the lack of well-
qualified lecturers to teach this approach (O'Donoghue, 1992). Many of the
expatriate staff members resisted change because of their misunderstanding
and biased view of the indigenous approach to teaching and learning, such as
passive, rote learning. A holistic, integrated curriculum for the elementary
level, which was developed by the local Maiwala people with me as facilitator,
was also examined for its applicability for wider use. As the local teachers,
who are the implementers, played an active role throughout the process of
curriculum development, it was adopted by NDOE by the culturally sensitive
expatriate staff members (NDOE, 1993b).

The new curriculum was made into a language inservice course and trialed in
Alotau, Milne Bay Province, in 1993. Primary school teachers who came to the
inservice course identified the relevance of the new approach to the informal
style of teaching in everyday life. They found it easier to understand the
objectives of teaching within such a meaningful context. However, they were
fearful of using this approach. Inspectors who were locked into the old
approach might not understand the effectiveness of the new approach (Nagai,
1993b).

The effectiveness of the locally developed curriculum has been identified by a
group of preparatory school teachers in Port Moresby. They came to the
curriculum development office to look for something better than the linear
approach, as the children were bored and not achieving much. When a staff
member introduced them to the new, locally developed, holistic approach, they
were delighted with it. Later, they came to report how the children had begun
to enjoy learning and were showing significant achievements (Litteral, 1992b).

In the early 1990s, the locally developed curriculum was favoured by the
NDOE curriculum development staff who had worked in rural communities.
Thus, the curriculum was adopted by NDOE, and recommended to be used elsewhere in PNG. A few years later, after these staff members had left, however, the adopted curriculum was changed by other expatriate staff members to fit into the traditional mould of the Western school context. Ironically, the locally developed, holistic, child-centred curriculum was redesigned by expatriates in their offices, away from actual classrooms and indigenous teachers. The original curriculum has been fragmented to suit the skill-oriented, teacher-centred, linear mould (NDOE, 1996). When it was re-introduced to local teachers in the top-down approach, they encountered difficulties in its implementation, as experienced in other cultural contexts by Grundy (1987), Souaid (1988) and LeSourd (1990).

The modified curriculum is accompanied by attainment levels\textsuperscript{22}, which were suggested for use as a guide to assessment and evaluation (NDOE, 1993a). These attainment levels were not to be perceived as a curriculum (Calfee, 1987) but as a 'gauge' (Bailey et al., 1988). However, the use of attainment levels as a guide to assessment and evaluation may result in measuring children’s achievements for purposes of rating and ranking, as such objectives are often used by test makers (Kamii and Kamii, 1990). The process of developing an individual 'as a whole person' (Matane et al., 1986) cannot be assessed and evaluated by his or her memories of fragmented skills and knowledge through tests.

\textsuperscript{22} In the recent education reform in PNG, the term 'attainment levels' or 'attainment targets' has been frequently used as a statement of what a child can do within a certain period of time (NDOE, 1994b). These terms are also used in the Western education system (Salvia and Hughes, 1990; Burgess-Macey, 1994), referring to narrow, superficial, selected objectives (Kamii and Kamii, 1990). 'Attainment levels' are similar to 'scope and sequence charts' in the USA (Calfee, 1987; Bailey et al., 1988; Au et al., 1990). In Australia, however, other terms such as 'benchmarks' or 'standards' are used (Turbill, 1994). 'Benchmarks' or 'standards' are organised from 'pointers', 'indicators', 'signs' or 'markers' that indicate the level of the child's achievement (ibid).
In this way, the locally developed, holistic approach was pulled apart into segments made up of various strategies and materials. Although these segments were once tied together, they have lost their meanings in relation to the whole context of the local community. Consequently, the attempt to interpret the holistic approach in the old mould of linear classroom practices has caused a state of 'paradigm paralysis' (Betts, 1992). Furthermore, this mismatch has caused much confusion among the local teachers.

2.6.4 Staff Development for Primary Schools

In order to improve education, teacher education is one of the important elements that needs to be dealt with. 'Teacher education' is a new concept in PNG, because teachers used to be 'trained' (O'Donoghue, 1992). Originally, training of teachers was begun by the missions for the purpose of training indigenous pastors and religious workers. The shift from 'teacher training' to 'teacher education' is supported by the concept of 'integral human development'. In other words, each teacher should be given the opportunity to develop himself or herself "as a whole person in relationship with others" (Matane et al., 1986: 7).

Teacher education that focuses on the development of a person contrasts to teacher training aimed at the acquisition of skills. Teacher training has produced teachers who become like technicians, capable only of doing routine work (Matane, 1991). In contrast, teacher education develops teachers who are "inventive or creative enough to adapt and adjust their skills for a whole range of situations" (ibid: 142). However, instruction at teachers' colleges has often been based on the syllabus issued by NDOE (Avalos, 1991b). Trainee teachers are also trained to follow the syllabus in their classrooms. They are taught to prepare lessons based on structured 'question and correct answer' exchanges. Teaching proceeds through drilling, without much explanation of content, in a short period of time. This was exactly the teaching style that the teachers'
college lecturers used. It seemed that lecturers deliberately avoided situations where their lack of ability in English and their lack of content knowledge might become obvious to the students (O’Donoghue, 1994).

In this formalistic teaching approach, children’s differences in their learning progress was not taken into consideration (Pearse et al., 1989), although child-centred education had been advocated (Matane et al., 1986). There was not enough time allocated for each lesson and the teachers were unable to spend extra time with slow learners, even if they wished to give them extra instructions (Avalos, 1991b). Thus, teaching proceeded without assistance to the children who needed extra help. Moreover, children were tested on their capability, or rather ‘memory’, once or twice per term for the purpose of ranking. In this way, education continued to produce "prisoners to a system, prisoners to institutions" that have little relevance to the indigenous society (Narakobi, 1991: 26). Teachers who have been trained to fit into the institution have taught children in the same manner.

In her case study of student teachers, Avalos (1991b) noted that 'question and correct answer' exchanges between the teacher and pupils frequently concluded with the student teacher's acknowledgment of the correctness or incorrectness of the answer. Student teachers seldom redirected their questions in order to assist pupils to reach the correct answer. Moreover, pupils were seldom asked questions that required explanation or procedural descriptions (Avalos, 1991b). Needless to say, the teachers demonstrated the kind of training they had received at teachers' colleges:

Students are encouraged to follow strictly a structured plan of teaching and to teach according to what are considered to be the acceptable skills (Avalos, 1991b: 180).

Skill-oriented training made teachers focus on context and activities rather than fundamental principles (Froese, 1991; Pearse et al., 1989). Hence, student
teachers spent more time in planning activities without having clear objectives (Pearse et al., 1989).

In this way, teacher training emphasised the acquisition of skills in order to transmit or 'spoon-feed'\(^{23}\) (Biggs, 1987) knowledge. As student teachers were not taught to become aware of their own capabilities and potential but to follow what they were told to do, how could they practice teaching according to the view advocated in *A Philosophy of Education for PNG* (Matane et al., 1986)?

If the quality of teaching is to be improved, teachers have to move beyond the level of being practitioners imparting pre-ordained subject matter to one where they can choose appropriate content to meet various situations. Thus, they would need an understanding of the concepts of their subjects beyond the mastery of basics (O'Donoghue, 1992: 188).

Consequently, the improvement of teachers’ quality depends on the improvement of the teachers’ college lecturers (Avalos, 1992; O'Donoghue, 1992). In order to assist an individual child to grow as a whole person who is equipped with "knowledge, skills and attitudes for effective communication" (Matane et al., 1986: 21), teachers themselves need to be equipped first with such skills and abilities.

Thus, in the 1990s, emphasis in staff development has been placed on the improvement of the quality of teachers. In the beginning of 1991, all of the teachers' colleges replaced the previous two-year training course with the new three-year course. This new course was aimed at the development of reflective teachers. However, an attempt to adopt the Western approach of educating 'reflective'\(^{24}\) practitioners' (Schön, 1987) did not make a successful transfer to the

\(^{23}\)Spoon-feeding' was considered "eminently sensible in basic professional preparation" in non-Western nations where competence in the 'teaching' language was low (Biggs, 1987: 105). However, 'spoon-feeding' Western knowledge implies an expectation of the acquisition of knowledge. It is also educational imperialism.

\(^{24}\)Meanings of 'reflectivity' may be described in three levels (Van Manen, 1977: 226-227):
PNG context (Crossley, 1992). Once again, the expatriates failed to explore its meanings (O'Donoghue, 1994) and appropriateness from an indigenous viewpoint. Expatriates' attempts to impose 'the latest fads', from their own viewpoint (Thaman, 1991), did not form an 'instant technological fix' in the PNG context (Crossley, 1984).

Although Schön's (1987) concept of 'reflectivity' meant the highest level of constant critique, teachers' college lecturers were not accustomed to such an approach. They were more familiar with a formalistic, prescriptive approach (Avalos, 1992). As the lecturers had not been taught to think critically, and their knowledge did not go beyond grade ten, their understanding of reflectivity was demonstrated in the process of analysing and clarifying, through 'question and correct answer' exchanges. Along with 'reflectivity', a holistic, integrated approach to teaching was introduced. However, it also caused frustration among the lecturers. In this way, innovative approaches imposed by expatriates without consent of indigenous staff did not transfer well from the Western context to PNG (O'Donoghue, 1994).

Therefore, there was a necessity to improve the quality of teachers' college lecturers (Martinez, 1990). A professional development project was funded by the Australian Government and carried out at the Queensland University of Technology from 1990 to 1994. This project aimed to assist the lecturers reconceptualise their philosophy of teacher education, changing from the delivering of 'basic skills' to 'critically reflective practice' (Burke, 1996). In this

1) "the technical application of educational knowledge and basic curriculum principles for the purpose of attaining a given end;"
2) "the process of analysing and clarifying individual and cultural experiences, meanings, perceptions, assumptions, prejudgments, and presuppositions, for the purpose of orienting practical actions;" and
3) "the question of the worth of knowledge, and . . . the nature of the social conditions necessary for raising the question of worthwhileness in the first place," involving "a constant critique of domination, of institutions, and of repressive forms of authority."
project, current trends and policy changes, not only in PNG but also elsewhere in the world, were introduced. However, as these ideas were taught in isolation from the PNG context, their link to transformative action was debated (Burke, 1966), especially in relation to the experience in Grenada (Hickling-Hudson, 1988).

2.6.5 Staff Development for Elementary Schools

Despite the attempt to 're-educate' teachers' college lecturers, 'training' of teachers has continued in PNG. Although primary school teachers have been trained in teachers' colleges, preparatory school teachers have been trained through informal workshops conducted by various NGOs and local governments. Since the new structure of the three-year elementary school system began in 1994, a uniform training programme was developed for the training of elementary school teachers. According to the programme, those who are chosen to be trainers are trained first in the Port Moresby Inservice College, and later they transmit their knowledge to elementary school teachers in their provinces.

Similar to the selection of teachers' college students, the selection of the potential trainers was based on their qualifications, rather than their motivation or personal character. Although the trainers, who were previously trained through informal workshops, viewed motivation and personal character as the most important factors for the selection of teachers and trainers, the government required only formal qualifications. As many participants of this training course lacked motivation, there was a high percentage of absenteeism during the course, especially in 1996.

Ironically, many lecturers of the training course were appointed from NDOE or NGOs, despite their lack of qualifications in early childhood education. These lecturers expected that they could just transmit their knowledge and skills to
the participants, who would then become trainers. They did not set out to educate them to become reflective thinkers and innovative teachers. As most participants expected to be taught or spoon-fed with the skills they would need, many of them refused to think innovatively. Moreover, lecturers were advised to conform to the old mould of formalistic teaching practices, by dispensing knowledge and skills to the participants in an artificial classroom environment. Thus, segments of a holistic approach were taught without relating them to the whole meaningful context of elementary school classrooms.

The instructional approach to the 'training the trainers course' is skill-oriented, because the participants are taught segments of holistic strategies in isolation. Therefore, the trainers' future performance, in transferring their knowledge from an artificial context to a real context, became of doubtful value. In this way, the re-training of former primary school teachers into elementary school trainers was conducted in a formal, context-free environment, through a linear and logical approach to teaching. Contrastively, indigenous education is conducted through an informal, context-embedded, holistic and intuitive approach. Hence, an attempt to teach the holistic approach in a linear context also resulted in 'paradigm paralysis' (Betts, 1992).

In order to bring a fundamental change in the system of teacher education, it is necessary to understand fundamental principles before making decisions on content and activities. Fundamental principles are best understood by the participants of the community who generate the new ideas. This is seen in the previously developed teacher training programme in Milne Bay Province (Nagai, 1993a).

The locally developed ideas and actions are effective, as the members of communities understand the fundamental principles and feel responsible for
their actions. Likewise, the ‘training the trainers’ course can be improved, if the participants have the conviction and the fundamental reasons for change:

I believe that if we can develop teachers and trainers who are excited about knowledge and ideas, we will be moving more positively towards taking knowledge in the same way a potter takes the soil, the earth and shapes it into a pot with the capacity to contain water. However, if we insist on a particular perception of what that pot should look like, take the clay and slavishly shape it into that pattern, then in a very short time we will find it will not be able to contain the water needed to nourish our society (Narakobi, 1991: 28).

The process of developing teachers and trainers should not be a simple, one-way transmission of knowledge. Rather, it should involve the transformation of one's thinking into action. In this sense, the concept of ‘training’ needs to be changed to the ‘education’ of the individual person as a whole. Teacher education is a process of innovation, that allows a new constellation of ideas to emerge (Barnett, 1953).

The centralised system of the training programme does not recognise any of the pre-existing local programmes and those who were previously trained in Milne Bay Province. However, the province has successfully co-ordinated the central system with the provincial system. This has utilised the previous trainers' skills and knowledge about educating others in the familiar meaningful context of the Maiwala Elementary School.

2.6.6 Reflections

In the 1990s, education reform continues in PNG. Initial vernacular education has been formally recognised for its value, and the educational system has been restructured to accommodate it. However, the development of curriculum and teaching staff for elementary schools are lagging behind. Although there has been an emphasis on the improvement of primary school teachers' quality, this does not seem to be the important factor in training elementary school teachers.
According to the PNG Constitution and *A Philosophy of Education for PNG* (Matane et al., 1986), education should be designed for integral human development. However, a locally developed, integrated elementary curriculum, which aimed at the development of a whole person, has been pulled apart to suit the old linear mould of educational practices. Nevertheless, the teachers of Maiwala Elementary School, who are the original developers of the integrated curriculum, continue to shape their curriculum in a way that will meet the needs of their community. The relevance of their curriculum is not only its value in the area of what and how to teach, but also in how to assess and evaluate children's achievements in their community.

The process of developing assessment and evaluation strategies is integrated into their everyday classroom practices. In this way, individual teachers can continue to devise the best suited ways, by modifying their existing ideas under the influence of Western schooling (Carrier, 1982). This process is also a process of on-the-job staff development. This kind of approach to developing staff and curriculum is sustained by continuous hope and patience (Narakobi, 1991) throughout the process, in the indigenous time-frame, as demonstrated in this study.

2.7 Summary

In this chapter, I have traced the historical development of education in PNG, and examined its process. Western education was first introduced by various missions in the 1870s and 1880s. Their aim was to convert indigenous people to Christianity. After World War II Western education was expanded by colonial Administrations, who aimed to develop indigenous society to the Western standard. Although the missions' religious aim differed from the government's
secular aim, both assumed the superiority of Western civilisation, and imposed Western culture on the indigenous culture.

During the past century, the introduction of Western education has allowed indigenous people's technology to advance from stone axes to computers (Litteral, 1996). Correspondingly, Western education has caused a breakdown of traditional culture. As indigenous education was totally ignored and replaced by Western education, indigenous culture and the vernacular were forgotten and children became alienated from their communities. In order to solve the problem, numerous attempts at educational change were planned and introduced by expatriates without success.

Until 1962, the education system aimed at the expansion of primary education. Then, the priority for education was placed on secondary and higher education, in order to produce indigenous élites for the independent nation of PNG. In the late 1960s, indigenous élites came to notice how they had become the products of the institution. They began to give voice to the necessity to change the education system, making it more relevant to indigenous culture. The idea of initial vernacular education also grew from local people. The first vernacular preparatory schools began in 1980 in North Solomon's Province, and spread all over PNG. In this case, the active involvement of local people brought a successful change to the Western education system.

Through the establishment of vernacular preparatory schools, indigenous culture and vernacular schooling began to be valued in Western education. Finally, in the late 1980s, initial vernacular education became the official government policy. The emphasis on vernacular education was reinforced further by the restructuring of the education system in the 1990s. However, the curriculum was often designed from an expatriate's viewpoint, and school remained foreign to the children despite its location within the community.
Although indigenous people have been increasingly involved in educational decision making in recent years, it seems that expatriates, who are the majority staff of the NDOE, are still in control. The framework of the changes is usually set by expatriates, from their perspective. Indigenous people are invited to contribute their knowledge and ideas to the expatriates. In this way, indigenous people have not been given adequate opportunity to take control of planning, from their perspective. Rather, they have been made to fit into the Western system that was imposed on them.

Two decades after Independence, this hierarchical relationship between the 'superior' expatriates and 'inferior' locals still exists in PNG. A new curriculum, which was introduced to (or imposed on) the local teachers by NDOE, is supposed to be more relevant to the local culture. However, it has caused much confusion among the local teachers, who lack understanding of this curriculum, designed by the curriculum development staff, from their own perspectives. In tracing the historical development of Western education in PNG, it has become clear that the expatriates' paternalistic view was often reflected in the various changes that they had introduced.

Therefore, expatriates need to give way to indigenous people, allowing them to become responsible for their own educational decision making. Although this kind of innovation may involve a great deal of frustration and many dilemmas, it has become a worthwhile exercise in the case of the Maiwala people. They were actively involved in the establishment of their vernacular elementary school and the related teacher education programme. This is fully documented and discussed in the following chapters.
CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I presented the historical development of the Western education system in PNG. Western education was first introduced by various Christian missions, and later reinforced by the colonial administrations. Through Western education, indigenous education was almost ignored, and Western culture was imposed on the indigenous peoples. As a consequence, children began to be increasingly alienated from their communities. In order to solve this problem, numerous ideas have been unsuccessfully introduced by expatriates from their paternalistic perspectives. Although an increasing number of indigenous people have been invited to take a part in the improvement of education in recent years, especially in the development of initial vernacular education, it is still the expatriates who play the major role in educational change.

This study demonstrates how indigenous people can generate effective educational change, especially through the establishment of symmetrical relationships between the local indigenous teachers and an expatriate educator. For this particular process, I have developed a tailored methodology, which is described in this chapter. In order to examine the process of cultural change in PNG, I determined that an interpretative case study was the best methodology for this study for the following two reasons:
Firstly, in a multi-lingual and multi-cultural nation, such as PNG, it is difficult to determine which is the most typical group, or which are the two opposite or extreme groups to compare for the purposes of generalisation. Rather, a case study in a local community can provide data and analysis about a particular phenomenon at a particular location and a particular time (Hammersley, 1992). Because of the existence of diverse cultures in PNG, a case study on a micro level was considered the best method for this study. Although the purpose of a case study is not for generalisation, as in a macro level study, the findings may be transferable to similar circumstances elsewhere.

Secondly, it is considered in this study that culture is not static but dynamic. For the investigation of a cultural group in a context of change, it is more accurate and valid to conduct research in its natural setting rather than in an artificial, experimental setting (Burgess, 1984). Culture is a signifying practice expressed in language and actions among the members of a society (Saussure, 1983). In order to examine how the members perceive changes in their own culture, the social world needs to be investigated subjectively in terms of meanings rather than objectively in terms of causes and effects, as in conventional scientific research (Hitchcock and Hughes, 1989). Thus, my skills in the linguistic analysis of the Maiwala language and my knowledge of the Maiwala culture are fully utilised in this study. My familiarity with the members of the community from a previous research study (Nagai, 1993b) helped the people to understand the intentions of my current study more easily.

In universities, research methodologies are taught to the students, who are expected to put the theory into practice in their subsequent research. My approach to research methodology, however, was the other way around. I put my practice in the field, into theory at university. In other words, my research methodology did not begin in a university classroom, but in my experience.
For example, I did not choose to use participant observation because I agree with its theory. Rather, on the basis of my own experience, I am convinced that it is the best way for me to learn about different cultures and languages. Throughout the process of my learning about other cultures and languages, I have made frequent inquiries through informal interviews. These inquiries in a meaningful context have also helped me to understand the implicit meanings embedded in various cultures and languages.

My experience of participant observation and informal interviews began in 1973 when I stepped out of Japan. Ever since that time, I have learned to live among different kinds of people: Australians, Australian Aborigines, Americans, and the people of PNG. As I moved from one culture to the other, I tried to learn to speak the language and adapt to the different lifestyles. By doing so, I have experienced and learned that every culture is unique, and that within every culture, there are unique individuals.

In response to this experience, I have developed a unique methodology for this study. By contrast, there is a tendency among researchers to apply the same methodology elsewhere in the world. I disagree with the assumption that a method that works well in one situation should work in another. There may be very similar conditions in some respects, but it would be extremely rare for them to be identical conditions, especially when different people are involved. If we respect each culture and acknowledge its uniqueness, we would be less likely to fall into the trap of imposing one particular methodology on other settings. Instead, we would be inclined to develop a methodology tailored to each research community.

This chapter is presented in three phases, as suggested by Hopkins et al. (1989): 1) before the fieldwork, 2) during the fieldwork, and 3) after the fieldwork. The methodology of this study is described according to the chronological order of
the three phases. Each of these phases is further divided into several stages. Explanation is also given as to how this particular methodology has been tailored to suit this particular research community.

In the preliminary phase, I start by identifying myself as the researcher. Then I identify research problems and raise three sets of research questions as tools for investigation. Thirdly, I identify Maiwala in Milne Bay Province as the research community of this study. Fourthly, I identify data collection methods in the historical development of qualitative research, and the particular methods tailored to suit this study. Fifthly, I conduct a literature review.

The fieldwork is divided into two stages: 1) initial negotiation, and 2) building up relationships. Throughout the period of the fieldwork, I continue to collect data and generate categories by the use of a computer programme, MacLex (Waters, 1994). During the fieldwork, data are also analysed continuously for initial theory formation. Finally after the fieldwork, the findings from this study are presented in this thesis.

3.1 Preliminary Phase Before the Fieldwork

Traditionally, the preliminary phase involves four stages: 1) identification of the research problems, 2) identification of the research community, 3) identification of data collection methods, and 4) review of the literature. While preparing my research proposal, I came to realise that there was another important preliminary stage which should be included in this study: recognition of the researcher. This study began with this crucial stage: recognising who I am and what, as a researcher, I expect to do in this study.
3.1.1 Identification of the Researcher

Having worked in cross-cultural situations since 1973, I have learned to identify with various people through the process of learning their language and culture. It is not easy to go and live among unknown people in an unknown culture. However, I have always been determined to make my life meaningful in each situation by overcoming many frustrating experiences.

In the mid-1970s I taught at three new preschools in Perth, Western Australia. These schools were open only to Aboriginal and disadvantaged non-Aboriginal children. Two of the schools operated once a week and the other three times a week. One day my adviser asked me if I could have a male university student as an observer, as he wished to do research. I asked her what kind of research he wanted to conduct, as I wondered why a male student was showing interest in the female-dominated field of preschool teaching. Her answer was vague and all she could tell me was that he wanted to observe Aboriginal children in one of my preschool classes for two weeks. Reluctantly and politely, being Japanese, I accepted my adviser’s request.

When the university student came to my class, I asked him the purpose of his research. He said he wanted to have more understanding about Aboriginal children. Each day, he came and observed my class. Sometimes he sat with the children and did jigsaw puzzles with them. He neither made the purpose of his research clear to me, nor did he ask me why certain incidents had occurred in my class. As the days went by, I became increasingly uneasy about having him around and I was very glad when his final day came.

A few weeks later, my adviser showed me a copy of the student’s research report. As I read it, I regretted that I had agreed to have him come. His comments on the children’s behaviour often showed a biased view. Why couldn’t he have asked me the reasons for particular incidents that had
happened in the classroom? Later, when my adviser asked me again if I could have another research student, I said 'No', decidedly and firmly, being Australian.

The above experience made me feel during the research that I was a mere subject in a laboratory. I was not given any opportunity to voice my feelings or thoughts, but my children’s behaviour was observed and interpreted independently by the researcher through his eyes. I was extremely unhappy with the way the research was conducted, because a university student with no teaching experience took the role of the superior researcher and I, a more highly qualified person, was an inferior research subject. There was a clear distinction between the researcher and the researched. Although the researcher participated in some of the children’s activities such as making jigsaw puzzles, he basically used the method of observation only for his research.

Later I wondered why this university student researcher had not shown me due respect. Perhaps it was because he had a preconceived idea about me, an Asian woman, whose English was not as good as his. A similar incident occurred when I first came to the Flinders University in 1993. By this time I had had many experiences of teaching in Australia, PNG and USA. Yet, the majority of the university staff members around me were doubtful about my capability. In particular, my innovative approach to research methodology, and the topic of my choice, were not welcomed. This made me feel discouraged and depressed, but something within me did not let me give up my intentions for my research.

After struggling for six months, I was finally encouraged by my present supervisor and a group of student colleagues, to pursue my study in the way I originally intended. The literature reveals the historical development of research methodology, showing evidence of previous researchers’ innovative
ideas. Traditional methodologies are frequently improved by these innovations. The literature also reveals how one person’s new discovery contributes to further studies. I am thankful that I was given an opportunity to pursue my innovative ideas and to make a contribution that may constitute a new discovery.

3.1.2 Identification of the Research Problems

PNG is still dependent on foreign aid (Thaman, 1993; Luteru and Teasdale, 1993) especially through NGOs, "which in effect extends and consolidates the earlier missionary and colonial influences on education" (Luteru and Teasdale, 1993: 299). There still remain a large number of expatriate staff in NDOE and in the teachers’ colleges, who tend to adopt a Western style of curriculum and Western pedagogy without examining whether they are appropriate from the local people’s perspectives (O’Donoghue, 1994).

However, a number of independent collaborative research projects in developing curriculum and teaching methods have been conducted in recent years in PNG (Vollrath, 1991; Jesudason, 1992; Bugenhagen, 1992; Nagai, 1993b). The results of these research projects have made a significant contribution to the development of culturally more appropriate education based on indigenous culture and values. They also have contributed to the ownership of education by indigenous people, as recommended at the Rarotonga Seminar sponsored by UNESCO in 1992 (Teasdale and Teasdale, 1992).

This study follows up my previous collaborative research in PNG (Nagai, 1993b), in order to develop a more culturally appropriate curriculum through the cultural 'syncreticity' of Western and indigenous culture (Williams, cited in Ashcroft et al., 1989). Collaborative research between the expatriate researcher
and local practitioners is considered to be appropriate to this study for the following reasons:

1) The people in PNG desire to create a new culture while 'being rooted' in the ancient elements of the indigenous culture (Narakobi, 1990).

2) The traditional style of investigation in PNG is to reach solutions through negotiation and compromise (Bray, 1984).

Education in PNG has followed the historical pattern of Western education, as it was designed by expatriates who often adopted the school curriculum from their home countries. Children's differences were ignored and they were taught within a restricted time-frame. Moreover, children's achievements were assessed by tests and evaluated according to the standards of Western culture. In this way, children were taught to prepare for the standard examinations for entry to high school. However, the children's diverse cultures, languages and geographical backgrounds are often ignored in standard examinations (Edelsky, 1991).

In recent education reform in PNG, there is a trend to move away from the linear and towards a more holistic approach to teaching. Although a holistic approach was originally developed locally (Nagai, 1993a and 1993b), it has been adopted by NDOE and changed to suit the old linear mould. Consequently, a culturally relevant curriculum is expected to be taught by a culturally irrelevant approach, causing 'paradigm paralysis' (Betts, 1992). This paradox reflects the historical pattern of expatriates designing the curriculum and syllabus for indigenous teachers from the expatriates' perspective.

In this study, however, indigenous teachers and I worked together to develop the curriculum and methods for instruction, assessment and evaluation from the indigenous people's perspective. Making school more culturally relevant requires not only an appropriate curriculum but also an appropriate pedagogy.
Furthermore, if teaching strategies are developed on the basis of local cultures and values, assessment and evaluation strategies should also be developed on the same basis.

Therefore, this study pays special attention to a group of indigenous elementary school teachers in PNG. These teachers are actively involved in the process of devising culturally more appropriate assessment and evaluation strategies in their classrooms. Although other expatriates have a tendency to introduce Western ideas, this was not my intention. Some university staff members expressed doubt about the creativity of indigenous teachers, insisting that I introduce Western ideas. However, I was determined to continue my role as an encourager and facilitator. I believed in the capability of the indigenous teachers in creating their own curriculum, one that is appropriate and meaningful for life in the community and in day-to-day classroom practices.

In order to pursue this collaborative research, the following specific questions were raised when I proposed this study. These questions arose on the basis of my understanding of the Maiwala people, gained through my previous research study (Nagai, 1993b).

Firstly, questions were raised for the investigation of various features in informal, everyday life. This is to clarify the context of the research community.

1) Who is expected to teach, assess and evaluate children's achievements?

In indigenous education, there is no school, but all learning is a participatory activity within the context of normal, everyday life. In each culture within a kinship relationship and community structure, certain skills are taught by certain people. In order to identify what kinds of skills and knowledge children are expected to acquire, first of all it is necessary to identify the people who are responsible for children’s learning.
2) How do members of the local community perceive the cultural change that is occurring through their interaction with Western culture, especially in the Western school system?

In the past, Western education has made a significant impact on indigenous culture. As Western values were considered superior to indigenous values, indigenous education was almost forgotten. Indigenous people perceived Western education as a necessity for effective participation in a monetary economy and the means for a better lifestyle. As a result, children began to be alienated from their community, and some parents were disillusioned. In order to solve this problem, initial vernacular education has been promoted in recent years. However, many parents still seem to value Western education. Therefore, it is necessary to explore the perceptions of the members of the local community towards the changes to their culture, especially through Western education.

3) What are the perceptions of the local community members about having a vernacular elementary school?

In recent years, many indigenous people have become aware of the importance of maintaining their language and culture. At the same time, they also value Western schooling. Therefore, they want their language and culture to be taught in the context of Western schooling. For example, the development of a curriculum based on local culture and values, in the recent education reform, indicates adaptation of indigenous culture into the context of Western schools. Examining what the members of the community expect from their vernacular schooling helps to identify how they perceive the interaction of their culture with Western culture. Identifying their understanding of the role of their vernacular school also helps to explain how Western culture is syncretised into indigenous culture.
Secondly, further questions were raised for the investigation of assessment and evaluation strategies in the everyday life of the community. Through these questions, I intend to uncover various features of indigenous education. Indigenous education was once ignored, but its important features need to be recognised, in order to develop culturally more appropriate classroom practices.

1) **How do the adults teach, assess and evaluate their children?**

Previous research studies have revealed the children's participation and observation in both extensive apprenticeship learning and informal learning. They also revealed that these learning styles are integral parts of everyday life in indigenous culture. These discoveries have contributed to the improvement of Western schooling among indigenous peoples. In order to make further contributions, in this study, I pay special attention to styles of assessment and evaluation. Understanding indigenous strategies for assessment and evaluation helps schooling to become more relevant to indigenous culture, and to enhance children's achievements.

2) **What major criteria are used for assessment and evaluation of children of elementary school age?**

Discovering the major criteria of children's achievements at home helps to develop a local vernacular school more appropriate to life in the local community. In particular, understanding what children have done and can do, at elementary school age, is valuable as a baseline study, in order to determine what children are expected to achieve at school. Therefore, the findings help to plan a school curriculum and classroom practices from the local people's perspective.

3) **How do the adults know the extent of the children's achievements?**

While assessing and evaluating children informally at home, adults gain knowledge of children's achievements. Identifying indigenous ways of gaining
knowledge concerning children’s achievements helps the vernacular elementary school teachers to determine what are the more natural ways to assist children’s learning at school. The findings also help them to develop culturally more appropriate approaches to assessment and evaluation in their classrooms.

4) How do the adults explain their reasons for making assessments and evaluations?
The adults assess and evaluate their children's achievements in informal, everyday life. The reasons for their assessment and evaluation are investigated, in order to determine their expectations for the children's learning. Their reasons for making assessments and evaluations are also investigated in relation to various socio-economic factors in the local community. These factors might become a valuable source for the vernacular elementary school teachers to plan a more appropriate curriculum and classroom practices.

Thirdly, questions were raised concerning a local vernacular school on the basis of the above investigation.

1) Which subject areas of the curriculum do parents and teachers perceive as the major priorities of the vernacular elementary school?
The findings from informal, everyday life provide evidence that children are taught, assessed and evaluated by certain family members. In other words, family members play the role of teachers at home. However, in the vernacular elementary school, teachers, who are not necessarily related to the children, are responsible for teaching them. Originally, the vernacular preparatory school was developed for the purpose of teaching basic literacy and numeracy in the local vernacular. Although subject areas for the elementary level have been expanded as suggested by NDOE, it would be helpful to identify parents' expectations in order for the teachers to assist children more effectively through assessment and evaluation.
2) **How have the teachers been assessing and evaluating the children in their classrooms?**

In the school curriculum, based on local culture and values, teaching strategies are carefully designed and planned as informally as possible. These teaching strategies are similar to the ones at home. Despite the development of ‘planned informal’ (Northern Territory Department of Education, 1988) teaching strategies in the vernacular elementary school, there has not been an attempt to devise ‘planned informal’ strategies for assessment and evaluation. Nevertheless, the vernacular elementary school teachers have been assessing and evaluating the children in their classrooms. The process of investigation helps the teachers to become aware of the current approaches used by them.

3) **How do the teachers know the extent of the children's achievements?**

Through the use of certain assessment and evaluation strategies, the teachers gain knowledge of the children's achievements. The process of identifying how the vernacular elementary school teachers accumulate their knowledge helps them to examine the effectiveness of their strategies. The teachers are encouraged to compare various features of the assessment and evaluation strategies in their classrooms with the ones at home. This comparison might help the teachers to determine how best they could improve the currently used strategies or devise new ones for their vernacular elementary school.

4) **What reasons do the teachers give for making assessments and evaluations?**

At home in the community, family members have certain reasons for making informal assessment and evaluation of the children. Likewise, the teachers also have reasons for assessing and evaluating children at school. Findings relating to the vernacular elementary school teachers’ reasons for assessment and evaluation are compared with the findings about the family members’ reasons.
Similarities and differences found in these comparisons, help the teachers to become aware of the necessity to have a clear purpose for teaching, assessing and evaluating.

5) **How do the teachers perceive the effectiveness of currently used assessment and evaluation strategies?**

Having a clear purpose for teaching helps the vernacular elementary school teachers to have clear reasons for assessment and evaluation. This also helps them to become aware of the necessity to have appropriate assessment and evaluation strategies. By examining their currently used strategies, the teachers might become aware of the necessity for a change. Their awareness might also help them to identify the areas in need of change. As a consequence, they might be encouraged to devise culturally more appropriate strategies, in order to assist the children to make further achievements.

6) **Do the teachers perceive any necessity to improve the present strategies or to devise some other strategies?**

In the past, it was expatriates who introduced new ideas for the improvement of education from their own perspectives. However, examining their currently used strategies helps the vernacular elementary school teachers to become aware of their active roles and their responsibilities. Their awareness helps them to become more confident in determining how they can make their school more appropriate to their culture. Their active involvement in the process of creating new strategies might indicate the processes of maintaining their own culture.

7) **How do the teachers syncretise their cultural values with those of the Western school system in the process of devising assessment and evaluation strategies?**
Western schooling was isolated from local culture and values until the Maiwala Preparatory School came into being in 1990. Although vernacular literacy was taught in the local vernacular schools, the method of teaching has remained foreign to the children. Consideration of local culture and values has contributed to a significant improvement in the process of developing a culturally more appropriate curriculum. Likewise, consideration of strategies for instruction, assessment and evaluation is likely to assist the current classroom practices in becoming more culturally appropriate. The process of improving currently used strategies in classroom practices may reveal how indigenous teachers weigh up the values of Western culture with their own.

The above questions were not raised as individual inquiry, but as effective tools for the investigation of the whole picture. These questions were also useful in assessing and evaluating the collected data during the fieldwork. They were constantly reflected in the process of generating categories as integral parts of the whole context of the Maiwala community. In return, the process of categorising data contributed to raising further questions, in order to identify hidden elements or keys to theory formation, as discussed later in this thesis.

3.1.3 Identification of the Research Community

Traditionally, a research community is chosen on the basis of the interests of, and benefits to, the researchers. Thus, the choice of a research community is often justified for various reasons. In this research, however, it was the community who first chose me as their literacy consultant. When I was invited to help them to establish their vernacular preparatory school, I initiated an associated research study (Nagai, 1993b). Since then, I have developed a sense of belonging or 'bonding' (Brewster and Brewster, 1982) to the community. I believe that 'bonding' is crucial to the understanding of social interaction from the insiders' viewpoint. Consequently this research was carried out for the interest and benefit of the research community. It was on the basis of my on-
going association with the people, that I chose Maiwala as the research community for this study.

The Maiwala community is one of 862 cultural/language groups (Grimes, 1992) in PNG. It is a small community with a population of approximately 550, situated along the Maiwala River at the neck of Milne Bay. Members of the community speak the Maiwala language that belongs to the Taupota language family in Milne Bay Province. Many of the older people at Maiwala also speak Kwato Suwau, the mission language developed and used by the Kwato Mission. During my association with its members, I have discovered the unique features of this community. One of them is the writing of their language. Oral languages were often written first by outsiders who were non-native speakers. However, it was the Maiwala people who first wrote their own language themselves in 1990.

Another unique feature is the Maiwala canoe. In the pre-missionary days, Maiwala warriors were the fiercest in the Milne Bay region. Nowadays, Maiwala people are the only ones in this region, who paddle canoes without outriggers. Because of the community being spread along the Maiwala River, and there being no bridge over the river, canoes are an essential part of everyday life. The Maiwala paddlers won the canoe race at Samarai during the Pearl Festivals held in 1973 and 1995. Maiwala is also known as one of the best organised and closest-knit communities in Milne Bay Province (Loney, 1995).

Additionally, Maiwala has become a significant community in PNG history, due to its unique elementary school. Because of the recent promotion of initial vernacular education throughout PNG, some of the communities are well ahead with their schools, but others have not caught on to the idea of education at all. The Maiwala community lies in between these two extremes. For example, while vernacular preparatory schools in North Solomons Province
have been operating for more than a decade, there are no vernacular schools or primary schools in some remote areas in Gulf Province. Maiwala Elementary School (formerly Maiwala Preparatory school) is relatively new, as it was started in 1990.

The Maiwala Elementary School has played a significant role in recent education reform in PNG. The teachers were actively involved as co-researchers with me throughout the process of developing a culturally appropriate curriculum and teaching strategies for their school (Nagai, 1993a and 1993b). Since then, their curriculum and teaching strategies have been recognised and adopted by NDOE.

This project was originally initiated by the local community and a former primary school teacher, on the basis of her conviction about the culturally inappropriate school curriculum (Nagai, 1993b). Therefore, the community was already familiar with me, the researcher, and with the collaborative research methodology. I was also familiar with the local culture and the language. Although I had not yet become a fluent speaker of the Maiwala language, my knowledge of its grammar and phonology, already gained through previous research (Nagai, 1993b), became a useful tool in this study.

This study considers that the meaning of human behaviour is best understood in the context of the social world, as advocated by Blumer (1969), and Hammersley and Atkinson (1983). Therefore, this study was not carried out in an artificial, experimental, hypothesis-testing setting, but in the natural setting of the Maiwala community. In this natural setting, members of the community are actively involved in their normal life and teachers are engaged in their normal day-to-day teaching practices.
Participant observation was conducted using informal interviews throughout the period of eight months of fieldwork. The main informants (or rather co-researchers) of this study were the members of eleven families who had children of elementary school age or under, their extended families, neighbours, and the teachers of the elementary school in the Maiwala community. All three Maiwala Elementary School teachers and their families were included in the eleven, as they had children of elementary school age or under in their families. Thus, the host or hostess of each family played the role of co-researcher.

3.1.4 Identification of Data Collection Methods

3.1.4.1 Historical Background of Qualitative Research Methods

Originally, in anthropological studies, a method of observation was used to describe cultures in non-Western nations from the Westerner's point of view, as shown in Figure 3.

![Figure 3. The Observation Method](image)

However, the development of participant observation made it possible to describe situations "from the standpoint of participants" (Jorgensen, 1989: 12), and to present the culture "as seen by the participants in the culture" (Jacob, 1987: 13). Participant observation is a method of study about the actions and

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1Harding (1987: 2) distinguishes 'method' from 'methodology' in qualitative research: Method refers to "techniques for gathering evidence," while 'methodology' refers to "a theory and analysis of how research should proceed" in a particular research project.
their implications of a particular group of people, through the researcher’s participation in those actions (Becker et al., 1968). Using the method of participant observation, the researcher aims to describe the meanings of various social experiences subjectively, rather than objectively (Burgess, 1984). In this sense, the researcher is directly involved as a participant in the research community. However, research is still conducted for the interest and the benefit of the researcher, retaining asymmetrical relationships between the researcher and the researched, as shown in Figure 4.

![Figure 4. The Participant Observation Method](image)

Participant observation reduces the distortion of data. Through the researcher’s participation, his or her perceptions can be checked against the interpretations of the participants of the research community. However, even through participant observation, the researcher is in danger of constructing Eurocentric perspectives. Although the researcher tries to understand from the insiders’ point of view, he or she cannot be completely free of his or her own cultural values when dealing with the different values (Quantz, 1992). This danger applies to any scientific research that employs both quantitative and qualitative methods.

Nevertheless, the researcher’s interaction with the participants of the research community helps him or her to witness, examine and interpret the process of social interaction from a viewpoint, that is as close as possible to that of the participants (Woods, 1992). In particular, data collected in the language that is actually used can give access to particular concepts in the culture (Burgess, 1984). Furthermore, the collected data and its interpretation can be checked by the members of the research community.
Since it is difficult for a researcher to be able to participate in many different situations, participant observation is well suited to small scale exploratory and descriptive studies. Thus, participant observation is not based on existing theories or hypotheses, but aims to "generate practical and theoretical truth about human life grounded in the realities of daily existence" (Jørgensen, 1989: 14). Thus, participant observation has the following beneficial factors (Burgess, 1984): 1) gaining access to situations that through time, place, or other factors are 'closed', such as an individual's biography and career history, 2) obtaining details of situations which the researcher did not witness, and 3) gaining entry to situations, such as classrooms, where teachers may otherwise prefer that the researcher was not present.

Interviewing is another method commonly used in qualitative research. In particular, informal interviews are considered as having a greater value than formal interviews, especially when there is a cultural and language barrier between the researcher and the researched. Informal interviews are often conducted in conjunction with participant observation in the informal atmosphere of normal activities. In this way, the researcher's definite purpose is kept implicit in casual conversations in his or her informal relationships with the researched (Burgess, 1984).

Although participant observation is conducted by a researcher involved in social investigation (Burgess, 1984), participatory research is conducted by a researcher and participants of the research community seeking together to bring about social change from a collaborative method of inquiry. Participant observation and informal interviews try to identify what the present culture is, and how it is changing. Participatory research tries to identify how the members of society are changing their culture, especially through their active involvement in the process of problem solving. Participatory Research
generally does not have action objectives. However, it could aim at practical objectives through the process of Participatory Action Research (PAR), similar to Action Research:

Action research is a form of collective self-reflective inquiry undertaken by participants in social situations, in order to improve the rationality and justice of their own social or educational practices, as well as their understanding of these practices and the situations in which these practices are carried out (Kemmis and McTaggart, 1988: 5; the original authors’ emphasis).

Action research was first developed by Lewin (1946) with the idea of research for social management and social engineering. Action research adopts a spiral procedure, shown in Figure 5, involving planning, action, and ‘fact-finding’ about the result of action. The process of ‘fact-finding’ is a process of reconnaissance that has four functions (Kemmis and McTaggart, 1988): 1) to evaluate the action that occurred, 2) to gather new general insight, 3) to be used as a basis for planning the next step, and 4) to be used for modifying the ‘overall plan’.

Figure 5. The Action Research Spiral
(adapted from Kemmis and McTaggart, 1988)
Action research is concerned with individuals as well as the culture of the group. Members of the group take responsibility for their decisions and actions throughout the process of constructing and reconstructing their culture for improvement (Kemmis and McTaggart, 1988). Although the competence of the local practitioners as co-researchers has been criticised by such researchers as positivists, cultural knowledge is best derived from the local practitioners’ experience. Furthermore, in PAR, local people with few academic qualifications demonstrate their expertise and knowledge based on their experiences.

According to Whyte (1991: 7), PAR is "a powerful strategy to advance both science and practice" by involving participants of the research community as co-researchers throughout the research process. They can be involved in identifying the research problems and the designing of the research project, gathering and analysing data, and acting on the outcomes of the research. Whyte (1991) differentiates PAR from other action research strategies in the following three areas: 1) social research methodology, 2) participation in decision making by 'low-ranking' people in organisations and communities, and 3) socio-technical systems of thinking regarding organisational behaviour.

Firstly, according to Whyte (1991), PAR has the position of applied science in social research. In pure science, the researcher is not directly involved in action but only involved in discovering basic scientific facts or relationships. However, in applied science, research and action are closely linked to each other. In other words, in applied science, "research advances science as well as producing practical results" (p. 8).

Secondly, in American research history, management people have come to recognise the importance of worker participation in decision making.
According to Whyte (1991), in PAR, the idea of worker participation is further advanced, to involve the participation of both management and workers in the process of decision making. In other words, the dynamics of their organisation or community are discussed, consulted and interpreted into actions by both management and workers. The idea of PAR therefore contrasts sharply with top-down models of research, in which professionals study to devise solutions about what might be done for the group of 'low-ranking' or 'grassroots' people.

Thirdly, in the socio-technical framework of a workplace, factors such as behaviour, rather than technology, should be considered (Whyte, 1991). In PAR, both social and technological factors need to be integrated in order to understand behaviour at work (Whyte, 1991). In order to integrate technological knowledge with social research, the researcher tries to learn "something about the technology from those who create it and those who implement it" (p. 12). In other words, in PAR, the practitioners of the technologies (or particular skills) are not treated as passive informants. Rather, through the symmetrical relationships shown in Figure 6, they are treated as active co-researchers.

![Figure 6. Symmetrical Relationships between the Researcher and Co-researchers](image)

In PAR, the researcher plays the role of the facilitator or catalyst, while the local people play the role of co-researchers. When working with 'low-ranking' people, this catalytic, supportive role of the researcher is one of the basic elements of PAR (Rahman, 1991 and 1993). The more the local people are encouraged to become conscious of the particular conditions, the more they become empowered to take responsibility for their decisions and actions.
(Freire, 1972; Shor, 1992). Co-researchers can often contribute a rich understanding of their cultures and values, which are very important but often hidden from the researcher (Salmi, 1985). Thus, there has been a growing awareness of the value of collaborative research in non-Western nations (Crossley, 1990a).

Distinctive features of PAR include the use of: 1) shared ownership of the research enterprise by involving the local practitioners as co-researchers in most or all aspects of the research process, 2) the method of community-based learning with reflective dialogue\(^2\) through collaborative investigation or experimentation, and 3) community-initiated action by applying what the local practitioners have learned (Maclure and Bassey, 1991). Indeed, PAR is an experiential methodology that contributes to "the acquisition of serious and reliable knowledge upon which to construct power, or countervailing power, for the poor, oppressed and exploited groups and social classes - the grassroots - and for their authentic organizations and movements" (Fals-Borda, 1991: 3).

3.1.4.2 The Methods of this Research

Data collection methods employed in this study are two-fold: 1) participant observation with informal interviews, and 2) PAR. PAR is built on the basis of establishing my relationship with the people through participant observation and informal interviews. While aiming to solve the problems through PAR, I also aimed to describe the people's patterns of thoughts.

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\(^2\)Senge (1990) differentiates 'dialogue' from 'discussion'. He defines 'dialogue' as from the Greek \textit{dia-logos} meaning "a free-flowing of meaning through a group, allowing the group to discover insights not attainable individually" (Senge 1990: 10). He defines 'discussion' that has "its roots with 'percussion' and 'concussion', literally a heaving of ideas back and forth in a winner-takes-all competition" (ibid).
During my previous research (Nagai, 1993b), the Maiwala Preparatory School teachers and I worked together to develop a culturally more relevant curriculum and make their classroom practices culturally more appropriate. Both the teachers and I recognised the on-going nature of this process at the end of the research. Although the teachers recognised the need for developing alternative assessment and evaluation strategies, they did not realise their potentially active role in developing them. When I went to conduct the first part of my fieldwork for the present study, there was another need (i.e., arising from the closing down of the Maiwala Preparatory School) that needed to be dealt with first.

As I lived among the people and we shared our thoughts about the role of their preparatory school through PAR, the people began to realise their active role in re-establishing the school. During this process of building up our close relationships and learning from each other, the people began to recognise the existence of indigenous education and the parents’ role as teachers in informal, everyday life. Understanding the values of indigenous education made the people become aware of a gap between school and community. This was evident in relationships between primary school teachers and parents, and the contents and styles of learning at primary school and those in everyday life. As a consequence, the local people began to be actively involved in the design of culturally more appropriate assessment and evaluation strategies for their newly established elementary school.

In response, during the second part of my fieldwork, the newly opened Maiwala Elementary School teachers and I, again using PAR, worked together through PAR towards 1) the development of assessment and evaluation strategies for their school, and 2) the closing of the gap through the development of culturally more appropriate curriculum and classroom practices.
In this study, the local people\(^3\), and the local elementary school teachers who were less trained\(^4\) than the Maiwala Primary School teachers, played the role of co-researchers. They were fully involved in the research process by not only identifying the existing problems, but also devising and applying solutions in their own vernacular school. Although their academic qualifications were not comparable with mine, they were able to contribute to the study with their rich understanding of their own culture, language and values. The Papuan people’s capabilities in adapting introduced ideas and taking responsibility for their own actions were well recognised by early missionaries (Williams, 1972; Dickson, 1976). However, their capabilities in developing educational practices had not been activated until they were involved in this research through PAR.

It has been the expatriate staff of NDOE who have played the major role in the improvement of education in PNG. They have tended to introduce new ideas from their point of view without the consent of indigenous teachers (O’Donoghue, 1994). As a result, indigenous teachers could not understand why the change was necessary. Hence, they tried to replace old ideas with the new within the old education system. In contrast, a true sense of cultural change involves the alteration of fundamental belief systems (Fullan, 1991), especially through the involvement of stakeholders in the research process. Consequently, direct involvement of stakeholders makes them feel responsible for the outcome and its implementation (Crossley, 1984; David, 1988; LeSourd, 1990). Thus, PAR in this study contributed to the process of generating fundamental changes that affected the curriculum and classroom practices.

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\(^3\)Many of them were school leavers at grade six.

\(^4\)These teachers were grade eight and nine school leavers. They were not trained through a teachers’ college, but through local workshops sponsored by the community and taught by me, a literacy consultant.
In this way, PAR has an advantage for local practitioners in making them fully responsible for their decisions and actions. The effectiveness of PAR has been recognised by some United Nations agencies, in order to overcome the paternalistic, 'dependency-fostering' practices of many expatriates (Rahman and Fals-Borda, 1991b). PAR also has an advantage for professional researchers, enabling them "to gain insights that allow for reformulation of research questions and more realistic interpretations of data" (Maclure and Bassey, 1991: 191). In particular, in the present study, while local elementary school teachers were trying to devise assessment and evaluation strategies, I was able to collect data on how they syncretise Western culture with indigenous culture.

The data were analysed and checked with the co-researchers for initial theory formation, thus allowing preliminary conclusions to be drawn, that reflected the perceptions of the insiders of the culture. Thus, the process of PAR challenges the typical model in which expatriate staff develop a culturally appropriate curriculum from their own perspectives. Instead, PAR empowers indigenous teachers to express their points of view and to develop a curriculum and classroom practices more appropriate to their culture and values. This research therefore is not framed by a hypothesis of adapting one of the assessment and evaluation strategies that are available in a Western context. Rather, it is open to me, as the researcher, and the local people, as co-researchers, to create new strategies through the spiral process of planning, acting, observing, documenting and reflecting. This spiral process contributes to the formation of new theory, rather than to the examination of a hypothesis directed against the existing theory.

This research is not funded by any organisations for the purpose of generalisation, but the process of the research itself and the results can be transferable to other situations. The outcomes of this research contribute not
only to other researchers and to the literature, but also to the people in the PNG research community. Salmi (1985) points out that the outcomes of many research projects in non-Western countries have not been made available to the indigenous researchers of the country being researched. However, the outcomes of this research are made available to everyone in PNG for the exchange of information in a culturally appropriate way. While the outcomes of the research are shared with others, this research protects the confidentiality of all the data collected. Although the true names of the people are recorded in the original data, they are represented by single alphabetical letters in this thesis, in order to protect the privacy of the co-researchers.

3.1.5 Review of the Literature

Traditionally, a literature review is considered to be a preliminary task before conducting fieldwork. The literature review aims to provide the theoretical framework and the background information of the study. The process of reviewing relevant literature is useful, especially when conducting research with a hypothesis. However, PAR does not have a hypothesis. It employs a spiral process, producing unexpected problems and outcomes. Thus, the necessity to review further literature arises during this process. In reality, however, there is not much literature available when breaking ground for a new area of study.

Nevertheless, I have reviewed a wide range of literature that might possibly be involved in the development of this study: firstly, in the area of culture and cultural change, secondly in the area of education and educational change, and thirdly in the area of literacy, assessment and evaluation. However, during the process of my fieldwork I came to realise that literacy was not the main interest of the local community. They were more concerned with their vernacular school as a whole. As a result, I needed to review further literature in order to understand the historical background of education in PNG. Consequently,
most of my preliminary literature review has been summarised in the definition of terms in Chapter 1, thus providing a theoretical framework for the study. Some other parts have been expanded to cover the historical development of education in PNG, presented in Chapter 2.

In this study, I aimed to develop theories from the local level in a bottom-up approach. In the past, expatriates tried to introduce Western ideas in order to improve education in PNG. By contrast, I tried to encourage local people to incorporate their ideas into the local vernacular school. In order to maintain my dialogue with the local people, I consciously avoided situations where I might impose preconceived ideas gained from an analysis of the international literature. Rather, I endeavoured to present the genuineness of the local people's viewpoint, especially through their active involvement in the process of PAR.

Throughout this study, I have respected the members of the local community as my co-researchers. Through mutual relationships, I trusted in the capabilities of the local people in the process of developing culturally more appropriate classroom practices. I expected theories to be generated independently in the Maiwala context, without being influenced by any theoretical frameworks from a Western context. In other words, I intended to establish symmetrical relationships, not only between the researcher and local people, but also between Western ideas and the ideas of the 'grassroots' people. Nevertheless, in writing up the outcomes of the study, I have revisited theoretical issues and perspectives in Chapter 7 to allow a comparative analysis.
3.2 During the Fieldwork

3.2.1 The Process of Data Collection and Analysis

Traditionally data is first collected, and later analysed in the following four stages (Becker, 1958; Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Hopkins et al, 1989): 1) immersion in the data and the initial generation of categories, 2) validation of categories through frequency and distribution of concepts (Becker, 1958) and integration of categories and their phenomena (Glaser and Strauss, 1967), 3) organisation and interpretation of categories, and 4) action (i.e., presentation of theory or conclusions). Becker (1958) makes these stages distinct by the expectation of different conclusions at each stage. However, Glaser and Strauss (1967) argue that each stage provides a continuously growing process of analysis, contributing to each successive stage for the development of the theory.

This study also took the form of a growing process of data collection and analysis towards theory formation. However, in this study, the process of data collection was not left till a later date, but continued during the fieldwork through PAR. As the local people and I were continuously interacting with each other, through a spiral process of PAR, the insiders’ views were reflected in the process of data analysis towards theory formation.

When I first arrived in the research community, I began to collect data relevant to the first set of initial research questions. The process of data collection was not a one-way investigation. Rather, it was a process of establishing mutual understanding with each other. As I lived with eleven different families, and shared my life with them, the local people observed me as much as I observed them. In this way, we learned from each other and developed symmetrical relationships. As I continued to learn about the insiders' attitudes and feelings and 'know' their needs, I was able to think with them. I maintained this
involvement with the members of the community as they considered the best ways to meet needs like reopening the vernacular school, and closing the gap between school and community. Throughout the process of PAR, I played the role of facilitator for the benefit of the participants of the community.

By respecting the members of the research community, I was acknowledging them as co-researchers and encouraging the frank sharing of concerns. It was not a simple process of data collection, but a process of building up human relationships. This kind of interaction helped me to understand the process of social interaction in a way that was consistent with the insiders’ viewpoint (Woods, 1992). In this way, a combination of different methods, such as participant observation, informal interviews and PAR, contributed to the analysis and description of parts of the culture while still recognising it as a unified, consistent whole (Jacob, 1987).

As data were collected, they were analysed, categorised and sorted simultaneously. The validation of categories was also conducted frequently, based on the research questions. Through simultaneous data collection and analysis, frequency of occurrence and the distribution of concepts began to emerge. Consequently the process of data collection and simultaneous analysis contributed to theory formation and the interpretation of findings, as in the idea of ‘grounded theorising’ (Glaser and Strauss, 1967).

Data in this study were collected from different sources: field notes, photographs\(^5\), official government records collected in the field, personal

\(^5\)The Maiwala people were very happy to have their photographs taken. Some of them took advantage of me having a camera and asked me to take certain photographs. So I promised them that I would give them prints later. After the field work, I made two prints of all the photographs and sorted them according to the families or individuals. They were very pleased to receive small albums of their own photographs.
documents (memos from telephone conversations, discussions and dialogue with colleagues, journals and letters), and reference readings from the preliminary phase. The data were recorded either first on paper and then transferred to computer, or entered directly into the computer and later transferred onto paper. In this way, I always kept two copies of data. Each entry of data was read and checked for accuracy by the host or hostess of each family. Then, the data were categorised and compared simultaneously for initial theory formation. Initially formed theories were checked by the elementary school teachers for reliability from the insiders’ point of view through triangulation.

Triangulation is a useful technique in qualitative study. It involves three basic processes: 1) observation, 2) interrogation, and 3) documentary and oral data collection (Hitchcock and Hughes, 1989). The validity and reliability of qualitative data are often criticised by positivistic researchers because of their relatively unstructured and open-ended nature. However, through triangulation, the validity of data in a qualitative study may be determined by assessing the accuracy of the description of particular events. Likewise, the reliability of data is determined by the consistency of the evidence from a range of different sources (Becker, 1958; Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983; Hammersley, 1992).

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6 The term 'triangulation' is derived from "a loose analogy with navigation and surveying" in order to pinpoint the exact position from more than two landmarks (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983: 198). This technique was employed in a classroom situation by Elliott and Adelman (1976, cited in Hopkins et al., 1989) when gathering data from three different points of view: the teacher, the students and the participant observer. According to Hammersley and Atkinson (1983: 198), triangulation in data collection of the same phenomenon relates to "different phases of the field work, different points in the temporal cycles occurring in the setting, or, as in respondent validation, the accounts of different participants (including the ethnographer) involved in the setting."
Triangulation is designed to overcome the danger of incorrect analysis from a single piece of data. However, multiple pieces of data may have a systematic or random error built into them (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983). In order to overcome invalid data that might lead to incorrect analysis and conclusions, this research fully utilised triangulation. By the use of triangulation, the validity of emerging concepts was examined in comparison with different kinds of data, from different sources, through categorisation. Through the process of repeated analysis and testing of data, in relation to research questions, some categories were discarded, while others were modified, refined or amplified. This process served to validate each category, in order to accumulate specific information (Hopkins et al., 1989). The frequency of categories was examined not only by myself but also by the members of the community.

Systematic categorising and sorting of the data collected from various sources was made possible by the use of the computer programme, 'MacLex'\(^7\). MacLex was first developed for the purpose of dictionary sorting by Bruce Waters of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL). Waters has further revised and developed the programme, especially for the purpose of systematic analysis of observational data. This programme allows for the inclusion of all the above information, gleaned from various sources in the same database, while maintaining cohesion between entries from each single source.

Before using MacLex, Waters (1994) suggests some preliminary analysis, such as having some idea of naming categories; having them written on paper; having decided on the 'header' (i.e., the first one in every record) token for referencing purposes; and having decided about using hierarchical categories. Waters points out the importance of first developing a system that handles

\(^7\)See Appendix 1: Excerpts from MacLex Documentation (Waters, 1994) for more detailed information.
limited data well. Failure to do this will result in spending extra time
modifying categories later.

By the use of MacLex, the data were categorised under sorting tokens according
to the source of data, as shown in Figure 7.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>95/11/5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>\ref: CN18 \mc ass-ev \2c dis \3c app; n-pun \mis norm; obs \date</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t S' foster brother, SA (nine years old), went to Sunday School and did not come home for the evening meal. After the evening meal while we were sitting and talking, S said to me, &quot;Can you hear the noise?&quot; I could hear someone pulling the pandanus strips. S was sure that it was SA who was pulling his foster mother's pandanus strips from the yard and putting them under the house. S said to me that SA was doing so, as he knew that his foster mother would scold him for being away till dark. The mother and S called SA.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;SA, una nei.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(SA you-will come)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[SA, come in.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>So he came in. His foster mother neither scolded him for coming home in the moonlight, nor thanked him for bringing in the pandanus strips. Instead, she gave him hard biscuits and a drink.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 7: A Sample of Categorised and Sorted Data

In MacLex, the use of tokens brought coding and corresponding categories
together so they could be shown at the same time. The data were sorted,
assessed and evaluated regularly for simultaneous analysis and initial theory
formation. This was to avoid not only the accumulation of a thick volume of
information for sorting, but also the collection of invalid data. Validity of data
against research questions was made possible by sorting the same data by
different levels of tokens. For consistency, sorted data was compared within
the 'same' categories as well as with the ones in 'different' categories.

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\textsuperscript{8}Note: \ref CN18 indicates: \reference, 'CN' as the initials of the host, and '18' as the number of entry; \mc ass-ev indicates: \main category, assessment in everyday life; \2c dis indicates: 2nd category, discipline, \3c app; n-pun indicates: 3rd category, appreciation, non-punishment; \mis norm; obs indicates: \miscellaneous, normal everyday life, observation; \date 95/11/5 indicates: \date of data collected was 5 November 1995; and \t indicates \text of collected data.
During the first part of my fieldwork, I focussed on the collection of data in order to discover answers to the first two sets of research questions. Then, during the second part of the fieldwork, I focussed on the third set of research questions. Throughout all fieldwork, participant observation with informal interviews was conducted as a baseline study for the purpose of establishing symmetrical relationships necessary for PAR. This process was divided into two stages: 1) initial negotiation, and 2) building up relationships. In fact, there was no end to the process of building relationships. It is an on-going process throughout PAR.

3.2.2 Initial Negotiation

As mentioned previously in this chapter, I had already built up a close relationship with the Maiwala people, especially the elementary school teachers, during the period from 1990 to 1993. Since then, they had kept up correspondence with me regarding the development of their school, and about staff development generally in Milne Bay Province. However, for approximately one year from 1994 to the middle of 1995, none of them wrote to me. The reason for their silence was unknown to me until a few days before my departure for fieldwork in July 1995. It was explained in a letter from Z, one of the vernacular school teachers:

"Our School was running well last year, however, we have decided to close it for this year. It is because we Maiwala teachers, were not paid [by the government] for three terms last year, and our community hasn’t done anything to support us. Y is no longer the non-formal education co-ordinator, and the new co-ordinator has not recognised our school as elementary school" but left it to remain as TPPS [Tok Ples (vernacular) Preparatory School]. [In the new education system,] elementary school is funded by the government and TPPS is not. That’s why we have not been paid. . . I will not write much because you are coming soon. All the prep

9Elementary school in the new education system consists of preparatory, grade one, and grade two. In grade two, however, a small amount of English is introduced. It is to prepare the children to transfer from the vernacular to English in grade three.
[preparatory] school teachers and I will be glad to see you again and discuss with you about our problems.”

With the above information, I left Australia wondering how I could proceed with my fieldwork. As soon as I arrived in Alotau, I visited Maiwala community and contacted Z. Two days later, Z and other Maiwala vernacular school teachers came to visit me at the SIL Diwala Centre, where I was staying. When they poured out their disappointment and frustration, I expressed my desire to continue working with them through this research study.

At that time, the teachers were discouraged and very bitter about the current problem of their vernacular preparatory school. Their school had once been recognised as a model school and used for the NDOE training video (NDOE, 1994). However, it had not been recognised under the new education system of elementary schooling. The teachers also felt that they were being abandoned by the government, having allowed NDOE to adopt their curriculum and teaching strategies, and having helped the local Department of Education with the training of preparatory school teachers. Thus, the teachers, especially Z, felt like abandoning their preparatory school altogether, rather than re-establishing it. However, after a couple of hours of dialogue with me, they became convinced that they should re-establish their school, and work with me once more, in order to develop culturally appropriate assessment and evaluation strategies.

Although the teachers agreed to work with me, I needed permission from the councillor of the Maiwala community and the chairman of the Maiwala Preparatory School board. Since the chairman was in hospital at that time, the teachers and I decided to visit him. I signed up for the use of an SIL group vehicle and soon we were on the way to the Alotau General Hospital. When we arrived at the hospital, we saw the chairman who had just been discharged. Fortunately, the councillor was also there, as he was visiting the chairman. When I explained to them clearly about my intentions, the councillor said, "You
are welcome to come to our community to stay, and do whatever you wish.” The chairman nodded to show his agreement with the councillor.

Now that permission had been given to me by the councillor and the chairman, I had to find my first home in the community. I asked the teachers if I should stay with different families, in order to observe any crucial incidents that might occur at any time of the day. I also asked them if I should stay with each family for two weeks. Then the teachers, showing relief, said, "Oh, two weeks aren't long! But, who will have her first?" All of them had many excuses about their 'inadequate' facilities at home. The teachers had preconceived ideas of me, as 1) they remembered how I was unwell when I left in 1993; and 2) they had a stereotyped view of an expatriate’s expectations from their previous experiences of working for the missionaries who lived on a mission station.

Thus, they repeated what Z had mentioned in her letter previously:

We are worried about your accommodation. You will not feel comfortable in our homes, because of mosquitoes, no tap water, dust [during the dry season], and muddy ground and flooding during the rainy season, and many other inconveniences.

However, they felt more at ease when I showed them many bottles of natural health products which I planned to consume. After much dialogue among themselves, X, one of the teachers, offered to take me for the first two weeks.

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10Subsequently, my estimation of two weeks turned out to be the most acceptable length of stay for each family as every host or hostess thought that a two week period was not too long and wouldn’t be burdensome to him or her. I also estimated two weeks to be the optimum times for my data collection. Some families organised their children to behave well during my stay with them. However, such a high expectation of them could not be expected to last long. In one family, children began to show their normal behaviour after three days, while other children in another family after ten days. By the end of two weeks with each family, I was able to observe and assess the real situation of each family. On the other hand, some other families continued on with their normal everyday life even with my being present.

11For example, they recalled when they had to prepare the missionaries' bucket shower by boiling hot water and mixing it with cold water. They also knew that expatriates have their toilet and bathroom facilities inside or adjacent to their houses.
"But," she said, "wait for three days for my husband to complete our new toilet."

As promised, after three days, X came to meet me at the Centre. I signed up for the use of an SIL group vehicle and both of us went shopping in Alotau. I bought some food\textsuperscript{12} to share with X and her family. Then, after having lunch, which I prepared, I paid for the mileage and asked the centre manager and his wife to take us to Maiwala community in an SIL vehicle. When we arrived in the central part of the community near the church, my small suitcase\textsuperscript{13} and some food bought in town were unloaded, carried by the women and children to the river and loaded onto a dug-out canoe. Everyone who was there watched every movement I made, especially when I was trying to get into the canoe. It was my first canoeing experience:

When X paddled the canoe to take me and my gear to the other side of the river, she commented that I was the first expatriate who was willing to ride in a dug-out canoe without an outrigger\textsuperscript{14}. X said, "Even the husband [expatriate] of my sister-in-law refused to ride in a canoe and never came to visit our home!"

The house of X was right on the waterfront of the Maiwala River. Since there were only two small rooms in her house and two families (four adults, two teenagers and three small children) were living together, X’s daughter (fourteen years old) shared her room with me. I slept on the hard floor without a mattress, bathed in the river, and ate all the local foods they prepared. Everybody in the community was very curious, as I was the first expatriate who had ever lived with the Maiwala people in their homes. X and her family

\textsuperscript{12} The kinds of food I provided for each family were rice, flour, sugar, salt, tea, coffee, cordial, oil, milk powder, hard biscuits, and sometimes leftover margarine, jam and butter from my stay at the SIL Diwala Centre where I had to feed myself.

\textsuperscript{13} Later, the wife of the Centre manager commented on how little gear I had in comparison with other SIL members when being allocated to work in a community.

\textsuperscript{14} A dug-out canoe without an outrigger goes faster but is very unstable.
members, as well as the neighbours of X, watched my every movement, and those who paddled up and down the river always asked X, or her family members, how I was and what I was doing.

Then Z, another preparatory school teacher opened her home to me for the following two weeks. Z was worried at first about my meals, however, her worries disappeared when she learned from X that she had cooked no special food for me, and that I had eaten everything she prepared. One day, while staying with Z, she said to me, "You are not a dimdim [expatriate]!" In this way, she indicated that I did not fit into the stereotyped model of an expatriate. These two teachers, X and Z, had children of elementary school age or younger. Through their experiences of having me in their homes, they were able to demonstrate to others that they did not find it a problem to have me live with them. This made it easier for them to find four other families with young children, to have me stay for the rest of the first part of my fieldwork. Some of these families even offered their homes for me to stay longer than two weeks.

The longer I stayed in the community, the more the people became relaxed about having me among them. As a result, several families expressed their wish to have me stay with them in 1996, when I would return to the community for the second part of my fieldwork:

There was a young couple, who had just begun to build their house. One day their three-year-old daughter told them that she wanted her ghoghau (grandmother) to come to stay with her. When the couple discovered that their daughter was referring to me, they began to work very hard to complete their house.

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15The term 'dimdim', from the Motu language which is spoken in the Port Moresby area, originally referred to white skinned people. It has spread widely and now is being used along the Papuan coast in reference to expatriates in general.
Although this couple could not complete their house before the time of my departure, they wished to have me stay with them if I ever return to Maiwala. There are others who also wished me to come and stay with them:

One elderly couple wanted me to come and stay with them. "But," Z said to them, "you don't have small children for Yasuko to observe." Then they said, "She can watch our grandchildren, because my daughter [high school student] wants to discuss with her about school assessment."

When I returned for the second part of my fieldwork, I first stayed with the family next door to this elderly couple. I then continued moving from home to home every two weeks. I stayed with a total of eleven different families, in eleven different locations in the community, during the whole period of the fieldwork.

Throughout the fieldwork, I aimed to establish symmetrical relationships between the local people and myself. Although I had tried do this in my previous study (Nagai, 1993b), I realised that some asymmetric relationships remained. When I reviewed the conditions of my previous study, I recognised a few points that had hindered a break-through in the barrier between myself, an expatriate, and the village people.

Firstly, I lived in the SIL Diwala Centre, 13 kilometres from Maiwala, and commuted to Maiwala each day during the workshops and inservice courses. Although I ate everything the people served, and sat and worked on the floor with them, I did not fully participate in the everyday life of the community. In fact, because of their stereotyped view of an expatriate, the Maiwala people did not think that I was able to live in the community.

Secondly, I did not seek the same status as the local people. Instead, I had expected them to assume an equal status as co-researchers. By doing so, I did not realise that I was expecting them to change their views rather than me having to change mine, as shown in Figure 8.
At first, the local people could not believe that I had much to learn from them. It was because they had never seen me learn anything in their community. In fact, they used to believe that they were the learners and expatriates were the teachers. Moreover, local cultures and languages have been almost ignored in Western education. By contrast, in the recent education reform, local cultures and languages are being promoted. However, local people were not yet fully convinced that their culture and language were as valuable as the English language and culture. Therefore, they could not see anything that I could learn from them. For example, when I said that I wanted to learn to cook their way, they said, "Why? You have a stove at the SIL Centre."

Thirdly, the earlier research was conducted in my time-frame. Because of my extremely busy schedule of travelling extensively in PNG, I was under constant time constraints. As a result, Maiwala teachers had to fit in to my schedule. From time to time, I felt that they did not have enough time to reflect on what they thought and to experiment through trial and error. No wonder the teachers did not feel equally able to control the research.

Therefore, I set out to improve on the above conditions in this study. I explained to the teachers what I intended to do. I also apologised for having put them under time constraints during the previous study, and assured them that, in this study, we would work together within their time-frame. At first
everybody was worried about me coming to stay in the living conditions of the community. However, by observing me living there, the people became increasingly at ease. I placed myself in the position of learner by showing every entry of my data to the host or hostess of the family, so that they might check its accuracy. This interaction with the individual members of the community helped me to build a symmetrical relationship with them, as co-researchers, regardless of their educational background\textsuperscript{16}, as shown in Figure 9.

![Figure 9. The Researcher Placing Herself on the Co-researchers' Level](image)

During my stay at Maiwala, I learned many skills in the meaningful context of everyday life, such as scraping a coconut, making a fire, and paddling a canoe. I even owned my own canoe! While I was learning to steer a canoe, the people watched me, shouting, "Paddle on the left!" "Steer!" "Now, straighten it!" etc. They also laughed when I failed to steer and the canoe turned around in the middle of the river.

Whatever I was doing, I almost always had someone watching me, even when bathing in the river. Living with the people made them feel that I was not different from them. They soon discovered that I was not superior to them but inferior, especially when I attempted to learn various skills. In particular, my attempts to learn to paddle a canoe made the people think that I was a completely ignorant novice in the community. By watching the process of my

\textsuperscript{16}Many of the hosts and hostesses were grade six school leavers.
Figure 10. Yasuko Videduwei (the Captain)

Figure 11. Au Voe (My Paddle), carved by Bada Walipogi
learning and achievement, I began to hear comments like, "Keduluma Maiwalei [Maiwala woman]!" and "Yasuko vigeduwei [the captain]!" (See Figure 10)

By seeing my learning struggles, teachers began to understand that teaching at school also involves learning. When having a dialogue with them about assessment and evaluation in the vernacular classroom, I shared with them my discoveries on assessment strategies in everyday life and let them check the accuracy of my observations and conclusions. By doing so, they began to recognise the mismatch between their culturally more appropriate curriculum and the old system of instruction, assessment and evaluation. Every time I had a dialogue with the elementary school teachers about teaching, assessing, and evaluating children, I referred to relevant events in everyday life.

This exercise of bridging the gap between school and community life helped the vernacular school teachers to think more clearly about how they wanted to develop assessment and evaluation strategies for their school. In the past, most of the teaching practices at primary school have not been relevant to the everyday life of the community. However, the process of developing assessment and evaluation strategies made the Maiwala Elementary School teachers feel that the school and community were coming together. Through this process, the teachers began to recognise the important role of indigenous education and began to change their views towards the place of Western schooling.

During my fieldwork in the community, I returned to the SIL Diwala Centre for about one week in every four to six weeks. Being away from the community allowed me to review and assess my observational data more objectively and to

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17 I did not mean 'learning' as a mere acquisition of more information for teaching in the school, but a lifelong generative process of expanding our ability to produce something we truly want in life (Senge, 1990).
plan for the next period of stay in the community. This experience gave me an unexpected insight into living between two cultures. In the community, people live on garden produce and help to satisfy each others’ needs. However, the interaction between the expatriates, who have lived away from the local people, was more for social occasions rather than to meet the needs of their neighbours.

For example, one day when E and I arrived at the SIL centre, having notified them previously of my intentions, there was neither an SIL vehicle nor a PMV (Public Motor Vehicle)\(^\text{18}\) available for us to go to town to buy some food. If we were in the community, we could have borrowed fire to boil a kettle. We also could have borrowed some food. I tried to do the same at the Centre, as there was no food in the house and the gas bottle was empty. When I asked an expatriate couple, who permanently lived there, to lend me some food for our lunch, they chose not to, but invited me for the evening meal with other expatriates for a social gathering. On another occasion, an expatriate couple, who have lived among the local people, were temporarily staying in the Centre. They brought me some food soon after my arrival. They also invited me for the evening meal to save me travelling to Alotau to buy food.

3.2.3 Building up Relationships

During the fieldwork, I conducted participant observation and informal interviews. When I moved into each home, I explained to the host or hostess of each family what I intended to do. I also told him or her that I would write stories from what I observed. I then asked him or her to read and check all the

\(^{18}\text{PMVs have blue licence plates. Some are small buses and others are large or small trucks. Although these PMVs run between Alotau and certain points, they do not have a strict route or timetable. The passengers sit and wait on the roadside until a PMV arrives. Most PMVs run in the morning, after lunch and late afternoon. So, if anyone wants to catch a PMV in mid-morning or mid-afternoon, he or she may end up waiting for a couple of hours. All the PMVs can be hired for tourists at times, thus no transport becomes available for the local people.}

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stories, in order to make sure that I understood each incident correctly. At first the host or hostess just said "OK" after reading my data. However, after a few days, he or she began to comment or ask me questions:

While staying with V, she asked me, "Are you going to make a book with all that you have written?" I explained to her, "No. I will use only some of them." I also assured V that real names would not be used but would be represented by alphabetical letters, in order to protect each person’s privacy.

The host or hostess of each family checked every entry of data written on index cards (7.5 cm X 12.5 cm). Reading data also helped them to clarify their perspectives and my intentions:

At V’s home, after reading several stories, V said, "It’s so true, what you have written."

One day at Z’s home, she said after reading a few cards, "Now I really understand what you mean by 'assessment'." She also said, "I used to wonder why school teachers used to tell us that 'the parents are the first teachers', as I couldn't teach what the school teachers teach. I couldn't even understand what children are learning at school. But now, I know that I have been teaching my children how to speak, how to behave, and how to do many kinds of work at home or in the garden."

At another time, T said, "I think that the principles of assessment and evaluation apply more than the teaching of children. They also apply to the process of building human relationships in our families."

Reading data often led the host or hostess to think about how he or she could deal with existing problems with their children. After having dialogue with him or her, I was always willing to help, if I was asked:

Both Z’s son and daughter went to Maiwala Preparatory School. Her son was taught by the syllable method, while her daughter was taught by phonics. Although her daughter could work out spelling by sounding out, her son could not. Thus, Z thought that her son could not spell words in English. Z wished and said, "I wish to know how to help my son." So I said, "Would you like me to check the spelling abilities of your son and daughter?" "Oh, yes, please, Yasuko."

As I checked their stories written during 'Book Week' at school, her daughter had numerous spelling mistakes while her son had none. So I praised the work of both and encouraged them to polish up their stories
by the process of ‘conference writing’. Then I typed their stories onto the computer and printed them out page by page. Both children watched with amazement. Then they drew pictures on each page for their respective stories. When I stapled and completed each book, not only the children but also Z were extremely encouraged and happy.

About a week later, while visiting P, Z said to her that her son was now improving in his school performance. Z said, “Thanks to Yasuko for her encouragement to him while staying with us. I was underestimating my son, and was a discouragement to him before she came to stay with us.”

Through my mutual relationships with the people, I continued my role as the facilitator and encourager. I always interacted with the people with my positive attitude towards solving their problems, motivated by my genuine interest in helping them. I frequently asked questions, especially when I was not sure if I understood certain incidents correctly from my observations, or when I could not understand what was going on. I also asked why certain incidents had happened:

One day V commented on my frequent inquiries and said, "You’ve asked me many questions! It was hard for me to answer some of the questions you asked, as I wasn’t used to the questions like ‘why . . .’ But it was good that you asked, as I began to be able to think more about teaching, assessing and evaluating my children. So I want to thank you for staying with us.”

Others also thanked me for my stay, citing various reasons, such as making others refrain from taking advantage of them:

One evening while everybody was eating, S’s sister said that they were having fewer visitors to their home since I had come to stay with them. They used to have many visitors all day who came to enjoy music from their stereo player, and so they consumed cordial, tea and sugar very quickly. So S’s sister was glad that these items had lasted longer during the two weeks.

On another day at P’s home, P said that her brothers refrained from coming to borrow sugar, etc., since I had come to stay with her and her family. She said, “Thanks to Yasuko, we’ve saved some money.” P was also glad that her two brothers stopped smoking on her verandah.

I did not intend to introduce new ideas but to live in the same way as the local people. However, I did need to take a solar panel and associated equipment, in

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19 ‘Conference writing’ is a process of writing and editing a story through a dialogue with someone before, during and after writing (NDOE, 1993b).
order to make the process of data entry and analysis more productive. As a result, each family enjoyed the benefit of a fluorescent light:

On the last day of my stay at T’s home, T said to me, "We will not have a big light any more. While you were staying with us, we were able to save one kina from not buying kerosene. What are you going to do with the solar panel, when you go back to Australia?"

As a part of building my close relationships with the people, I did my best to learn to hear and speak the Maiwala language. The more I tuned in to the pattern of their language in a meaningful context, the more I learned to work out the theme of the conversation from familiar words and phrases I had already learned:

One day I observed one particular incident and wrote it on an index card. When V checked it along with other stories, she was amazed and said, "I’m surprised to know that you understood us!"

As I kept on writing from my observations and showing the cards to the host or hostess to check, the people in the community began to pay attention to what they should or should not say in my presence:

While staying with T, T commented on me to Z, who came to visit, and said, "Yasuko understands what we are talking about in Maiwala! She is not a dimdim [expatriate] but a keduluma Maiwalei [Maiwala woman]!"

Although my understanding of the language was limited and I made many grammatical mistakes, the right intonation in my speech made them feel as though I spoke Maiwala correctly:

One day V said to me, "You speak Maiwala just like we do. Your tune\textsuperscript{20} is proper, but a couple of ladies who are from other places are really out of tune when they speak Maiwala. They sound really funny."

By the end of the first part of the fieldwork, I was able to work out what was going on most of the time. However, my comprehension of the Maiwala language was still limited. On occasions, I still needed to ask the host or hostess of each family to explain to me in English.

\textsuperscript{20}The people of each language group in Milne Bay Province consider that their language has a distinctive ‘tune’ (Ezard, 1984) or ‘intonation’. In particular, the people, who were taught to sing in harmony by the Kwato missionaries, consider the right ‘tune’ is important. In fact, the excellence of the Kwato choirs has been well known in Milne Bay Province (Garrett, 1992).
When the host or hostess of each family read the stories on the index cards, he or she sometimes wanted to have further dialogue about the particular subjects that were written on the cards. Such dialogue benefited me in recording how the local people think, especially about Western education and assessment and evaluation of pupils. Furthermore, reading and checking the stories on the index cards helped them to become aware of their responsibility to maintain their culture and language. It also helped them to become aware of their active role in making the school more relevant to their community life.

In these ways, I was able to deepen my relationships with individual members of the community. I avoided meeting with numerous people together to discuss any particular agenda, such as the re-establishment of Maiwala Preparatory School. Rather, while building close relationships with them, I informally interviewed them individually, in order to uncover their real thoughts and feelings. This arrangement of communicating with individuals was based on my knowledge of the local custom of respect in a public meeting. I already knew from the previous research (Nagai, 1993b) that nobody would oppose a person (including myself) who is older or who holds a respected position.

There were also political problems and misunderstandings between the Maiwala Elementary School teachers and the officers of the local Department of Education. Since I was known to both of them, I dealt with each problem and each person with sensitivity. I also contacted the headmasters of the mission schools in the nearby communities, and had dialogue with them about their future elementary schools and the availability of the Maiwala teachers. I put in all this effort as a mediator, contributing to the re-building of positive attitudes in both the Maiwala teachers and the officers of the local Department of Education.
In this study, the data were gleaned from various sources, including my observations, my personal journal, personal letters from members of the community, reports and documentary sources. Then it was categorised for the purpose of determining various features as integral parts of the whole setting of the Maiwala culture. These categorised features were described objectively, as viewed by outsiders, as well as subjectively, as viewed by the members of the community. Now, the research findings are presented as integral parts of the Maiwala culture from three different views or dimensions: above, vertically, and horizontally.

Firstly, the Maiwala setting and its social change, related to an understanding of assessment and evaluation strategies, are viewed from above and presented in Chapter 4. In this chapter, findings from the first set of research questions are presented as integral parts of the background information on the community:

1) Who is expected to teach, assess and evaluate children's achievements? 2) How do members of the local community perceive the cultural change that is occurring through their interaction with Western culture, especially in the Western school system? 3) What are the perceptions of the local community members about having a vernacular elementary school?

Secondly, assessment and evaluation strategies in everyday life are viewed vertically and presented in Chapter 5. In this chapter, the findings from the second set of research questions are utilised, in order to highlight the process of assessment and evaluation strategies at home:
1) How do the adults teach, assess and evaluate their children?
2) What major criteria are used for assessment and evaluation of children of elementary school age?
3) How do the adults know the extent of the children's achievements?
4) How do the adults explain their reasons for making assessments and evaluations?

Thirdly, on the basis of the above two sets of findings, assessment and evaluation strategies for the Maiwala Elementary School are viewed horizontally and presented in Chapter 6. In this chapter, the findings from the third set of research questions are reflected in the process of developing culturally more appropriate classroom practices:

1) Which subject areas of the curriculum do the parents and the teachers perceive as the major priorities?
2) How have the teachers been assessing and evaluating the children in their classrooms?
3) How do the teachers know the extent of the children's achievements?
4) What reasons do the teachers give for making assessments and evaluations?
5) How do the teachers perceive the effectiveness of currently used assessment and evaluation strategies?
6) How do the teachers perceive a need to improve the present strategies or to devise some other strategies?
7) How do the teachers syncretise their cultural values with those of the Western school system in the process of devising assessment and evaluation strategies?

During the presentation of data, I found some ambiguous areas, especially in the Maiwala phrases. Hence, I wrote to the Maiwala Elementary School teachers and asked them to clarify my inquiries. In relation to this study, I also
wrote and presented three papers\textsuperscript{21} at international conferences. Two of these papers were later combined for a single article in a forthcoming book. I also wrote an article for another forthcoming book. As I gave the elementary school teachers these papers and articles to read, they commented and said, "In the past, expatriates used to look down on us and call us 'natives'. But now, we know that you have respected us and treated us as equal to yourself." Although at the beginning of the current study they could not accept that I treated them as equal to myself, I was eventually able to successfully develop symmetrical relationships.

After the presentation of the data, further discussions are presented in Chapter 7. In this chapter, I re-examine the findings from various perspectives by highlighting them according to the research questions. Firstly, various features of the Maiwala community are re-examined in the wider context of cultural change in PNG. Secondly, the principles of assessment and evaluation strategies in everyday life are re-examined and compared with those currently in use in primary schools. Thirdly, assessment and evaluation strategies in the Maiwala Elementary Schools are compared with those used in holistic classrooms in the Western context.

Through this discussion, I examine possible problems that might occur when introducing Western ideas to indigenous people in a top-down approach. I also discuss the effectiveness of a bottom-up approach by generating new ideas from within the local community. On the basis of these discussions,

recommendations are made to expatriates for their future contributions to indigenous peoples, especially in the process of developing culturally more appropriate educational practices from the indigenous people's perspectives.

3.4 Summary

This chapter has presented the unique methodology tailored to this particular study. It has emphasised that this kind of methodology was not chosen from those that are readily available in this field of research. Instead, it was developed through a process of developing personal relationships with the members of the research community. In particular, the methodology for this study was developed through the actual process of conducting research.

Firstly in this chapter, I identified myself as the researcher. Through my unique background as a Japanese person, who has lived in a Western context for twenty-five years, I have developed the skill of relating to people of other cultures and languages. In this way, I was able to empathise with the insiders' perspective more easily. Then research problems were identified and research questions were raised as tools for investigation. Simultaneously, the Maiwala community was identified as the research community, especially through my association with them since 1990.

The most suitable methods of data collection and analysis for this particular research in the Maiwala community were also identified: 1) participant observation complemented by informal interviews, and 2) PAR. The literature review was also conducted for this study. However, its aim was not to provide a theoretical framework with relevance only in the Western context, for the purpose of explaining the findings from the Maiwala context. Rather, theories
in both contexts are viewed equally in this study. In this way, I endeavoured to break new ground in the field of qualitative research.

I then discussed the methods of data collection and analysis in this research. Traditionally, data are collected first and analysed later. However, during this research, especially through participant observation and PAR, I collected and analysed data simultaneously. I also used triangulation, in order to minimise the distortion of data and its interpretation. Throughout this process, the community members were actively involved as co-researchers by checking my data and my initially formed theory.

The process of data analysis was systematically organised by the computer programme, MacLex. During my stay in the community, I refrained from introducing new ideas and a new lifestyle. Instead, I lived with the people in their way. However, in order to speed up the process of data collection and analysis, I did use a solar-powered computer and fluorescent light. Through the use of MacLex, I was able to identify categorised data quite easily for the presentation of my findings.

In this chapter, I have also presented a brief account of my fieldwork. This descriptive account explained how a close, trusting relationship was developed between myself, the researcher, and the Maiwala people, as co-researchers. Such a trusting relationship is crucial to the successful use of PAR. This kind of relationship was created by my willingness to learn to live with the local people, and my openness to share the observational data with the host or hostess of each family.

It was a process of building up human relationships between myself, as the researcher, and the local people, as co-researchers. Through my close relationships, the family members with whom I stayed became aware of their
active role in solving the problems of 1) the closing down of their vernacular preparatory school, 2) the inefficient assessment and evaluation strategies at their primary school, and 3) the existence of a gap between school and community. Thus, participant observation and informal interviews became an essential part of developing PAR, in order to help solve these problems.

At the beginning of the first part of the fieldwork, discouragement and disappointment over the closing down of their preparatory school was observed among the participants of the community. Nonetheless, their disillusionment and bitterness was transformed into hope and joy in the end. It was a process of understanding each others' views through the continual restructuring and recombinating of ideas. In this process, some of the old ideas were subtracted and new ideas were added, until a new pattern emerged. As a result, the Maiwala people were able to express their hearts' longing for the creation of a new culture, while remaining rooted in their rich and ancient past (Narakobi, 1990), especially in their elementary school and teacher education programme.

It was a new beginning to successfully establish their own elementary school without government funding. Confidence and excitement were evident among the teachers, not only in their new school but also during their continuous involvement in the further research into assessment and evaluation. In the past, the Maiwala people were subjected to various changes introduced to them. However, they are now playing the major role in educational change, from their own cultural perspectives.

Findings from the fieldwork are presented in the following three chapters. In particular, the following chapter presents the findings on various features of the Maiwala community.
CHAPTER FOUR
THE MAIWALA SETTING:
A STUDY OF SOCIAL CHANGE RELEVANT TO AN UNDERSTANDING OF
ASSESSMENT AND EVALUATION STRATEGIES

4.0 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I presented the methodology that was tailored to this research study in the Maiwala community. I did not choose one of the methodologies already available. Instead, I developed my own based on my personal experience elsewhere in the world and my recent interaction with the Maiwala people. I explained how my methodology suited the needs of my particular research. I also discussed how my methodology is consistent with approaches already established and recognised in this field of research. In particular, participant observation and informal interviews have become well-recognised as efficient methods. In recent years, PAR has also been increasingly recognised for its effectiveness in conducting collaborative research, especially in the fields of industry and agriculture.

In PAR, 'low-ranking' or 'grassroots' people are involved as co-researchers. My research is very similar, but unique. It is conducted in the field of education, involving locally trained teachers who are school leavers at grade eight and nine. At first, these teachers were perplexed about being treated as my equal. When I realised that I needed to become like the local people, and began sharing my life with them, they accepted me as a member of the Maiwala community.
Throughout my fieldwork, I conducted participant observation and informal interviews. I endeavoured to live in the same way as the people of the community. I also tried to learn to speak the Maiwala language as much as I could, and made frequent inquiries. As I showed every entry of my observational data to the host or hostess of each family and asked him or her to check its accuracy, he or she began to share his or her thoughts and feelings with me. In this way, I positioned myself as a learner, and was able to establish close relationships with the people. This symmetrical relationship became an essential tool for conducting PAR.

In this study, PAR was established on the basis of participant observation and informal interviews. In other words, through my frequent inquiries, the people were increasingly encouraged to pause to think critically during the natural course of everyday life. Although such a process of thinking together was new, it was appreciated by the people in the end. As I gained insights into their feelings and thoughts, the people found themselves thinking and viewing events and problems from different perspectives. As a result, we were able to conduct PAR in order to solve problems.

In the coming chapter, various features of the Maiwala community are presented as background information to the investigation of assessment and evaluation strategies. These features began to emerge from the data collected during the fieldwork. The data were assessed and evaluated frequently through the first set of research questions:
1) Who is expected to teach, assess and evaluate children’s achievements?
2) How do members of the local community perceive the cultural change that is occurring through their interaction with Western culture, especially in the Western school system?
3) What are the perceptions of the local community members about having a vernacular elementary school?

Categories were generated and further investigations were made on the basis of the responses to these initial questions. This was done in order to highlight various features of the community and to show how it had become a place of social change. Each feature represents an integral part of the Maiwala culture as a whole; one that has changed, and is still changing, as a result of interaction both between its members and with outsiders. Such interaction involves exchanging thoughts and producing meaningful practices. Throughout the process of interaction over the years, many features of change have been observed and experienced by the members of the Maiwala community. These features have been expressed by the members of the community. I have also observed and experienced these myself, through my association with the community since 1990.

The process of presenting these features can be likened to the continuous process of piecing together the central part of the jigsaw puzzle picture, which began in Chapter 2. In the process of forming the picture, each entry of data represents one piece of the puzzle. The grouping (or categorising) of relevant pieces helps to identify their place in the whole picture. These small groups or categorised features (i.e., the geographical setting, housing, family structures and family relationships, and livelihood) are interdependent within the Maiwala setting. Other groups of categorised features (i.e., language, religion and formal education) serve to fill in the gaps and join the various groups together to form a whole picture. In other words, each category is presented as an inseparable, integral part of the social change occurring in the Maiwala community.
Within each feature, many aspects are examined, as if pieces of a jigsaw puzzle are being examined and arranged, in order to join them together. During this process, the research questions are addressed as though checking the colour and the shape of each piece. The formation of the picture moves centrally, beginning with the description of geographical features, and then the features of housing, family structure and family relationships, and livelihood. Finally these groups are joined together by the features of language, religion and formal education, completing the whole picture.

This chapter presents the findings of the research questions as integral parts of the Maiwala community:
1) The findings from the first question are presented in relation to family structure and family relationships.
2) The findings from the second question are presented in relation to formal education and all other aspects of the community throughout the chapter.
3) The findings from the third question are presented in relation to language and formal education.

4.1 Geographical Setting

4.1.1 Location

This research was carried out at Maiwala Community in Milne Bay Province of PNG. Milne Bay Province covers the far eastern tip of New Guinea Island. It also includes approximately one hundred and sixty islands and five hundred small coral islands that are scattered further east in the area where the Solomon Sea and the Coral Sea meet. The province is situated between 149 degrees and 154 degrees 30 minutes of east longitude, and between 8 degrees 30 minutes and 11 degrees 30 minutes of south latitude. The province occupies 180,000
square kilometres of ocean and 20,000 square kilometres of land (Cockcroft, 1968), as shown in Figure 12.

Milne Bay Province appeared in European colonial history when gold was discovered on the mainland of the province in 1889 (Cockcroft, 1968). The provincial capital of that time was established on Samarai Island, and Samarai became a boom town. However, the administrative offices were moved to Alotau\(^1\) in 1969 and 1970. As many businesses also moved, Samarai became a ghost town in the following ten years.

The Maiwala community is situated on the mainland, at the neck of Milne Bay, approximately 150 degrees 20 minutes 30 seconds of east longitude, and approximately 10 degrees 2 minutes 1 minutes of south latitude. The distance from Alotau is 19.5 kilometres by road. The name 'Maiwala' was originally the name of one of the villages in the community. However, neighbouring cultural/language groups began to call the whole community 'Maiwala' and named the river 'Maiwala River'. Within the community, there are many small villages as shown in Figure 13.

Except for four narrow bridges\(^2\), the main road from Alotau is wide enough for vehicles to overtake. It travels westward along the shore of Milne Bay and then turns inland, towards the flat plain of an oil palm plantation. In preparation for the Queen's visit in 1976, this road was sealed all the way from Alotau to Gurney Airport. However, due to the frequent transit of tanker trucks between

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\(^1\) 'Alotau' means 'bay' in the Suwau language.

\(^2\) The reconstruction of two bridges, a kilometre west of Alotau, began in the 1980s but stopped and has still not been completed at the time of writing this thesis. There is a causeway over the mouth of a river, seven kilometres west of Alotau. There are two narrow concrete (permanent) bridges further away from Alotau. At a narrow bridge the outgoing vehicles from town must give way to the incoming vehicles. There are wide permanent (concrete) bridges over the frequently flooding rivers: One was constructed before 1989, and two others since 1989.
the oil palm plantation and the wharf in Alotau, patched up pot holes have never lasted long. As the road has deteriorated, it has been graded, and reconstruction of the road was commenced in Alotau in late 1995. The work was being done by the local government. However, due to extraordinary demands for compensation from one of the local communities, the construction was stopped in the middle of January 1996.

Eleven kilometres from Alotau, in the midst of the oil palm plantation, there is a Coecon construction company\(^3\) sign at a turn off to the left. The road is narrow and has never been sealed. Without using the road verge, it is not wide enough for two vehicles. This road runs towards Coecon construction company near the coast and then along the coast of the neck of Milne Bay, and meets the main road on the south-west side of Gurney Airport. There are two timber bridges on this road, both of which are only wide enough for one vehicle. One of them at Laviam, two kilometres from the main road turn off, deteriorated and was replaced in 1992. The new timber bridge similarly deteriorated and was repaired in early 1996. The other bridge is situated at Gabugabuna, five kilometres from the main road turn off.

The main Maiwala road begins at Gabugabuna, on the western side of the Gabugabuna bridge. It runs south-west, and has mangrove swamp on the left and tropical jungle on the right. Half a kilometre from the turn off, there is a creek close to the border of the Maiwala community. There was once a bridge for vehicles to go across the creek. However, it was washed away by a cyclone in May 1993, and a member of the local government replaced it with a foot bridge. Vehicle traffic to Maiwala must take another

\(^3\)Coecon construction company is owned by a PNG citizen, who is one of the sons of the former Kwato missionaries.
Figure 12. Alotau Area in Milne Bay Province
Figure 13. The Maiwala Community
longer road that runs through the oil palm plantation. This adds three
kilometres to the journey. These two roads to Maiwala are now wide enough
for two vehicles. During the wet season, the longer road can be used by four-
wheel drive vehicles only. During the dry season, however, all vehicles have
access to and from Maiwala.

There are no houses for half a kilometre between the Gabugabuna turn off and
the creek. However, there are a few houses on both sides of the creek. The
village on the southern side is called ‘Gomugomu’, and this is the end of
Gabugabuna community. At this point there is a cemetery on the left, where
the road meets with the longer road. This is the top (or northern) end of the
Maiwala community, as shown in Figure 13. There are a couple of houses on
the left, and the school compound, in the village called ‘Dago’.

After the school, there are no houses on either side of the road for about 200
metres. Then there are half a dozen houses on both sides of the Maiwala road.
Here the road meets the Maiwala River, and it runs along the river for
approximately one kilometre until the end of the community. On the other side
of the river, there is a house at the bend, followed by coconut palms and bushes
for about 100 metres before the next house. From there on, houses are built
along the river for approximately one kilometre.

After the bend, the river runs on the western side of the road, with coconut
palms and bushes for approximately 200 metres. There are a couple of houses
in the middle of the bush. After approximately 100 metres of bushes, houses
are built next to each other, on the eastern side of the road, almost all the way
down to the end of the community. Some houses are built on the western side

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4The name ‘Dago’ (meaning ‘run away’ in the Suwau language) comes
from the historical event of Charles Abel, the founder of the Kwato Mission
visiting Maiwala for a second time, and escaping from their ambush on Good
of the road, as there is some distance from the river that curves. Nearly at the end of the community, on the eastern side of the road, there is the Maiwala church building and 'big house' that are used for community functions.

Among the houses, there are cemeteries scattered all over the community. Each family buries its dead on the mother's (or occasionally father's) land, according to the rules of the matrilineal society:

X explained how her mother and all her children except one need to return to her mother's land if her father dies. However, it is the relatives' decision where to bury the dead. Children of a Maiwala father and a Diwinai mother are expected to be buried in Diwinai. However, when R's brother was killed in the North Solomons Province, the bereaved family held a meeting in Maiwala in order to decide where to bury him. As his Maiwala father raised him and paid for his education and no financial support was given to him from the relatives in Diwinai, it was decided to bury him in his family cemetery at Dago in the Maiwala community.

As dead bodies are expected to be sent back home to be buried in Maiwala culture, the people assumed that their custom was universal:

When X explained to me where her family members would be buried, I said to her that I would be buried wherever I might die. X was very surprised and said, "Why don't your family fly your body back to Japan?" "No," I said, "it's too expensive to do so. I have written a will to bury or cremate me wherever I might die. So if I die while I am in Alotau area, I want you to bury me in Maiwala." "Where do you want to be buried, Yasuko?" "I will be very happy to be buried in front of the Maiwala Elementary School."

There is no law covering the execution of my written will in an oral society such as Maiwala. The agreement made in the above dialogue is considered binding.

4.1.2 Transport

Traditionally, Maiwala people used to paddle a canoe\(^5\) to travel from one point to another along the coast, even to Samarai, the provincial capital. Parents of the children who were schooling at the Kwato Mission Station paddled canoes

\(^{5}\)The Maiwala canoes do not have outriggers like other canoes in Milne Bay Province.
to collect their children for occasional weekends and the school holidays. Later, when children were schooling at KB (Koyabule), two kilometres west of Alotau, their parents also used canoes to travel to the school. However, nowadays, some of the young men are not fit enough to paddle the full distance to Samarai:

For the canoe race held at Samarai, most paddlers paddled their two war canoes all the way from Maiwala to Samarai. When they had paddled half way, the sponsor for the Maiwala team arrived to meet them in a speed boat. When he asked if anyone wanted to come on the speed boat, a couple of young men went with him, while the rest of the team paddled canoes all the way to Samarai.

Although the members of the team were selected carefully, the young men did not have enough stamina for paddling a long distance; even KB is considered a long way:

One day Z said that her brother's canoe has been stolen. Sometime later, however, she received word that the canoe drifted to KB. She said, "I don't know how to bring our canoe back." I said, "Can't you paddle it back?" "Oh, no, it's a very long way."

Thus, most people prefer to ride on a PMV than to paddle a canoe for a long distance.

PMV services began some time after the provincial capital had moved from Samarai to Alotau in 1969. The PMV service has enabled people to make more frequent and quicker trips to Alotau. During the period between 1990 and 1993, most PMV drivers preferred not to drive on the Maiwala road because of its many pot holes. The Maiwala people must have known that the drivers refused to drive on the Maiwala road. However, drivers agreed to take me\(^6\) whenever I asked, driving me all the way to the church without charging extra, even if I offered it.

\(^6\)As mentioned in the previous chapter, I was not fit to walk a long distance at that time.
In 1995, there was a noticeable change in certain PMV drivers\(^7\). Through the 'wantok' system\(^8\), some of them responded well to the request of Maiwala passengers who had a heavy cargo. Other drivers also took the passengers either to the foot bridge or to anywhere in the Maiwala community on the longer road, if asked.

One day when LA (nineteen years old) and I were coming home on a PMV from Alotau with a heavy food supply, we got off at Gabugabuna. We walked all the way to LA's uncle's place where I was staying.

On another day when E (forty-eight years old) and I were coming home from Alotau, E told the driver to take us down to the heart of the Maiwala community. She said to the driver,

"Babana keduluma aena hi tapiya."
(because woman her-legs they weak)

[Because, the woman's legs are not strong.]

Next time when V (mid-thirties) and I were coming from Alotau with a heavy food supply, V said nothing to the driver. So I requested him to take us down to the Maiwala community, using E's same excuse.

It seems that people who are over forty years old are able to make requests of the driver more easily, perhaps because their age is respected. Otherwise most passengers get off at the Gabugabuna turn off and walk to their homes. Although normal passengers are not charged for excess cargo, the owners of trade stores\(^9\) are charged for each piece of cargo they carry.

When going to VOP (Village Oil Palm)\(^10\) or Alotau, Maiwala people usually walk to the Gabugabuna turn off and wait for a PMV\(^11\). Many PMVs prefer to

\(^7\)One PMV driver who is related to one of the families at Maiwala began his business in 1994.

\(^8\)'Wantok' (derived from the English terms, 'one talk') is a system of obligation among the ones who speak the same language, compatriots or neighbours (Mihalić, 1971).

\(^9\)The storekeepers usually make two or three trips per week to Alotau in order to purchase their supplies.

\(^10\)VOP has a market as well as a hospital that treats minor sicknesses such as malaria, flu and sores. The PMV fare from Gabugabuna to VOP is fifty to sixty toea depending on the PMV.

\(^11\)People in PNG, in general, have a concept of flexible time. At Maiwala, some people own a watch or clock, but there is no strict time schedule except for the primary school. If there is heavy rain at the time of a meeting, nobody is expected to walk in the rain in order to go to the meeting on time. However, school children are expected to be at school on time despite the rain.
run on the 'top' road as there are more passengers at VOP. Only a few run on the bottom road. If a PMV has not come for an hour or more, there are too many passengers waiting at Gabugabuna. However, when a PMV arrived, the Maiwala people were always kind to me and made sure to let me get on first, saying, "Yasuko, you must get on. We can wait for the next one."

Sometimes, when a man who owns a PMV truck and lives at Maiwala goes to Alotau, those who happen to be ready at that time, or are already walking on the Maiwala road, can take a ride with him all the way to Alotau. Passengers usually prefer a bus to a truck. It is extremely dusty during the dry season and the truck is very exposed in the heavy rain during the wet season:

One day when I went to town with S to buy some food supplies for his family, we got off at Diwala, as I wanted to pick up my mail. When we returned to the road, a PMV truck came along, but S did not stop it. He let another PMV truck pass by. I said, "Let's go by the next one." So I stopped the next PMV truck. Unfortunately one of the passengers had some business to do and made all of us wait for several minutes in the scorching sun. The ride to town was also very dusty. A few minutes after we arrived in town, a bus arrived. S said, "See?" indicating that we should have waited for that bus.

Others also said that they usually do not try to get on a truck, but wait for the next bus, if they happen to wait for a PMV on the top road or in town. However, the people do not seem to complain about their ride on the truck all the way from Maiwala to town.

There are a few taxis and hire cars around the Alotau area. The nearest hire car available is in Laviam, three kilometres from the top end of the Maiwala Community. In order to call the hire car, someone has to walk to the driver's home at Laviam:

The school bell warns the children to get ready at 7:00 am on weekdays, but only those near the school can hear it.

12 Taxis and hire cars have their own car licence plates different from the PMV.

13 The cost of a hire car for a return trip to VOP is ten kina, a return trip to Alotau is fifty kina. PMVs may be hired, but the fare varies according to the
One Saturday, OA decided to call a hire car in order to take his father-in-law, brother-in-law as well as his son (three years old) to VOP. So he sent one of his brothers-in-law to the driver of a hire car in Laviam. About an hour later after OA’s brother-in-law returned from Laviam, the hire car arrived. As it was hired for this particular trip, the driver waited until everybody was treated and brought them back to their home at Maiwala.

However, the driver may combine two orders in his approximation of flexible time:

When my supervisor was leaving Maiwala, we wondered how we could take him to the airport on time. Although we booked a hire car, we were not certain if it would arrive on time early in the morning while it was still dark\textsuperscript{14}. So my supervisor decided to leave a day earlier and stay in town overnight. A young man went to change our booking and the hire car arrived on time in the afternoon. To our relief, the car arrived on time and we were able to deliver my supervisor to a motel in town.

On our way home, the driver dropped us in town, as he needed to take a sick woman to hospital. Although he told us that he would be back in a few minutes, there was no sign of his car for more than an hour. When we saw him coming into town, we realised that he was taking another passenger somewhere. Finally, two hours later, we were able to get into his car to come home.

Although I was anxious to return to Maiwala quickly, both the passengers and the driver were thinking in the same flexible time-frame. Everyone seemed to be patient while waiting in the hot and dusty town, as they knew that the driver would not forget them.

4.1.3 The Maiwala River

The Maiwala River is a part of everyday life in the Maiwala community. There is no bridge over the river. Although it is deep enough for canoes at high tide, it becomes shallow enough to walk across in some places at low tide. There are PMV. If a PMV is called to run for an emergency, the driver usually asks for the fare in advance.

\textsuperscript{14}Previously I also talked to the people about how to meet my supervisor on his arrival at the airport. As the plane was often delayed and there was no telephone in the community to find out the current airline schedule, none of the people in the community were sure of how to secure a vehicle at the airport. The best solution they suggested to me was to pay for the mileage and ask the SIL Centre manager to take me to the airport by an SIL vehicle. On the day of his arrival, the plane was delayed, but I was able to meet him at the airport.
usually one or more canoes anchored at either side of the bank of the river. People share each others’ canoes in order to go across the river. If no canoe is available when the children come home from school, they may swim across. However, both children and adults need to go across the river in dry clothes when they are heading away from home:

One day, T wanted to go to a ladies’ meeting, but no canoe was available. She said that she would not be able to walk across the river, as it was high tide at that time. So I said, "I wish I had my own canoe, so that I could paddle you across to the other side."

A few months later when my canoe was built, the people used my canoe just the same as others’ to go across the river. When my host family found out that my canoe had gone to the other side of the river, they used to tow it back to the original place where I docked.

Although people usually borrow any canoe available at the shore in order to go across the river, they refrain from taking the canoe a long distance:

One day while I was staying with X, Z came to visit me with her youngest daughter. After a few minutes Z said, "I had better go, otherwise T might start to look for her canoe." Then I realised that Z had borrowed T’s canoe that was docked on her side. Instead of paddling it back to T’s side and walking upstream from there to X’s, Z paddled up to X’s, as she had her little daughter with her.

Sometime later when I was staying with Z, I needed to go to see X in the evening. So X’s son (twelve years old) paddled someone’s canoe while X’s daughter (ten years old) shone the lamp for him. I asked them, "Are you going to paddle up to X’s?" Both of them said, "No, in case the owner might come to look for it."

There is a mutual agreement among the people to share their canoes to go across the river. However, it is unacceptable to borrow someone’s canoe for a whole day without their permission:

When I was staying with H, H used to make sure that my canoe was docked at the shore every time when she went down to the river. One day, however, she said to me, "Keduluma! Your canoe's gone!" We were worried all day, but in the evening, H’s niece, HC, returned from fishing in my canoe. Although all the canoes looked alike, the members of the community can recognise the owners of the canoes. The builder of my canoe told me later that he became angry when he saw HC paddling my canoe down the river. Although he yelled at her, she ignored him.

For specific purposes, canoes are hired by those who do not own one.
When paddling, the people know the shallow and deep parts of the river. They also know where old trees are submerged, just as a driver of a vehicle will know where the pot holes are on a familiar road. The river is free of crocodiles because, according to the explanation of the community members, it is too shallow. There are several sandy shores along the river where people bathe, wash clothes or dishes, and fetch water for cooking. However, after flooding, the sand is covered with mud. Those who live near the steep bank have made steps down to the river.

4.1.4 Climate

The weather at Maiwala is either 'sultry and dusty', or 'wet and muddy'. Temperatures are similar throughout the year. During the hottest season (December to February), the average temperature is 32 degrees Celsius high and 24 degrees Celsius low. During the cooler season, the average temperature is about 5 degrees Celsius lower than in the hottest season, due to the winter conditions in the southern hemisphere. Despite the high temperature, houses built along the beach often have a strong seabreeze from the bay. Houses built along the river have a cool breeze in the evening. However, there is hardly any breeze in the houses built along the road, where there is thick bush between the beach and their houses, as well as between the road and the river:

One day while I was staying with P, she suggested we go to the beach as it was very sultry. Later when I was staying with V, whose house had an iron roof, it was almost unbearable to be in the house, as it was too hot without any breeze. So we decided to go to the beach. As V, her four-year-old twin daughters and I began to walk among the coconut trees, we began to hear the sound of wind and soon we began to feel a strong seabreeze. While V was collecting firewood, the girls played there on the beach. As the seabreeze was too strong for me to hold my umbrella to keep me from the sun, I went into the shade and folded it up.

The discomforting weather is due not only to the temperature, but also to the humidity. Relative humidity in the lowlands of PNG is 75 to 90 per cent throughout the year and the annual rainfall is over 9000 millimetres (PNG Government Office of Information, 1980). In heavy rain, an umbrella is not
good enough to keep a person dry. This might be one of the reasons why only a few people own umbrellas or raincoats at Maiwala.

In the past, the cooler season (June to August) was also the wettest, and the hottest season (December to February) was the driest in the Alotau area. However, the seasons have not been quite as predictable in recent years. For example, in 1995, there was a heavy shower just about every afternoon even in December. Such a shower brings around 60 millimetres of rain. A heavy rainfall may bring 120 to 140 millimetres. Although this helps to fill rainwater tanks, it keeps the ground continually muddy:

Each house seems to have a huge puddle on the ground near the kitchen. This is because they wash vegetables or rice and throw the water out from the window. The ground has absorbed enough rain and the rest sits on top of it. During the wet season, this happens all over the community, making everybody’s feet very muddy.

However, the people try to keep their house clean. For example, at T’s house, there is a bucket of water to rinse off mud before going into the house. I used to wear a pair of thongs, but my feet also became muddy. I also used to wash my feet, but I could not keep my feet dry. Everything was damp in that weather. As a result, my feet developed tinea. Although I applied medicine, it never healed while I was in PNG.

So Z said to me, "Why didn’t you bring a pair of gum boots?" "Because you don't wear them," I said. Then she said, "Look, we know that you are different from us. Next time when you come, you must bring a pair."

During the wet season, the problem at Maiwala is not just the muddy ground but frequent flooding. The heavy rain upstream causes the Maiwala River to flood first in the lowest areas such as Ahulana and Olawa, and sometimes through the entire community:

N said that the Maiwala River began to flood more often ever since the Oil Palm Plantation was built with all the outlets of the irrigation being made to flow into the river.

Frequent flooding affects the life of the community by destroying the vegetables in the gardens and causing many forms of sickness.
4.1.5 Reflections

Maiwala is one of the small communities scattered along the Milne Bay coast. The Maiwala people have been recognised in bygone days for their distinct dug-out canoes. In recent times, they prefer PMV road travel into Alotau, the capital of the province. The Maiwala community is also known by the local people in the Alotau area because of the frequent flooding of the Maiwala River. Along this river, the people have built houses and established their community.

4.2 Housing

4.2.1 Main House

Most houses in the Maiwala community are built along the road as well as on the other side of the river, with just a few along the beach. Close relatives tend to live in the same area in accordance with their matrilineal tradition\(^{15}\). At Maiwala, most houses are built along the main road and the Maiwala River, except for a few houses near the beach.

All the houses are built on stilts, as shown in Figures 14 and 15. The height of the stilts varies from house to house. Some houses, which experience frequent flooding, are raised between two and three metres above the ground. However, the average height of the stilts is approximately a metre and a half. Each house has bedrooms, a sitting area and a verandah. There are permanent houses, which have fibro walls, an iron roof, and planed timber flooring, but most are built from bush materials.

\(^{15}\)In a matrilineal society, when a man dies, only one of his children belongs to his place and the rest of his children belong to the place of his wife.
Any large logs or coconut logs are used for the stilts; *wakoya* (mangrove) is used for the frame of the house such as bearers, beams and pillars; *kokopa* (a type of palm similar to black palm)\(^\text{16}\) is used for flooring; *ginahi* (sago palm) is used for walls; *dadali* (brown stalks of fallen fronds) are split into halves for kitchen and toilet walls; *galegale* (the wide stem part of the same brown stalks) are flattened for outside walls; *kipa* (the skin of the stalks of green fronds)\(^\text{17}\) are woven for inside walls; and *luguna* (green leaves) of the same fronds are threaded by cane for the thatched roof. In recent years, however, green leaves of *lapiya* (a type of palm that grows in the water where fresh water and salt water merge) are used for the thatched roof. The *lapiya* leaves are thicker than *ginahi* leaves and the roof lasts longer. A piece of cardboard is a quick useful piece of material to repair a leaking thatched roof.

Although most houses have steps made of logs, some houses have Western type steps constructed from planed timber. Some people who own or used to own a trade store have their store built with iron walls and planed timber flooring\(^\text{18}\). These stores are usually adjacent to the main house and have lockable doors.

\(^{16}\)Kokopa has a black bark with a light coloured trunk, while black palm has a black bark as well as black trunk.

\(^{17}\)Dadali and galegale had been used previously at Maiwala, but ‘kipa’ was introduced by Daru people from Gulf Province, who came to work at Hagita, Giligili, Naula and Waigani in the 1960s.

\(^{18}\)There were three trade stores in the Maiwala community during the period of 1995 and 1996.
Figure 14. Houses Built along the Maiwala River

Figure 15. Another House and My Solar Panel (in the centre)
For example, one house has four bedrooms, 2 metres by 1.5 metres each, another has four bedrooms, 3.5 metres by 3.5 metres each. In every house there are pandanus mats\(^{19}\) to sit or sleep on. These mats are usually rolled up when not in use. However, some houses have lino as a floor covering:

Z said, "I used to have a large mat, and used to sneeze so badly when sweeping. So my adopted daughter, who is a paramedic, said that I must be allergic to the dust. Ever since I got rid of that large mat and put down a piece of lino, I stopped sneezing when sweeping the floor." Z uses, however, small pandanus mats (approximately a metre and a half by two metres) for sleeping in each bedroom.

Although some people prefer to have a piece of lino which lasts longer, pandanus mats are cooler and softer than lino to sit or sleep on.

Most houses have no fly screens or louvres on their windows, but privacy\(^{20}\) is provided by hanging pieces of cloth or sheets as curtains. Since these open windows give free access to cats and fowls, who will come in and steal food, some houses have lattice on their windows. Although some people sleep without a mosquito net, most prefer to sleep under the net. There are still many who sleep directly on the pandanus mats on the corrugated black palm floor. However, quite a few people prefer to sleep on a foam mattress. If a person does not mind the corrugation and the hardness of the floor\(^{21}\), it is cooler to sleep directly on a pandanus mat during the hottest season. It is very hot to sleep on a foam mattress spread over a lino floor covering during the hot season. However, a foam mattress and lino floor keep one warm at night during the cool season.

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\(^{19}\)Most adult women know how to weave pandanus mats, and weave for their families. Some women also can weave baskets.

\(^{20}\)One family has their bedroom completely screened, and another family has properly sewn curtains that were brought by their relative from Port Moresby.

\(^{21}\)I found that the most comfortable way to sleep on a corrugated black palm floor is to lie down parallel to the black palm and place a bath towel for lumber support.
Every home has at least one kerosene lamp and a torch for use at night. Some families use pressure lamps while eating and sitting around. Most families keep a small flame of a hurricane lamp burning all night while everyone is sleeping. It is usually placed in the middle of the house, or near the main entrance. A generator may be used occasionally to supply fluorescent lighting for special gatherings in the community. My solar panel, as shown in Figure 15, was something new to them:

Each host family enjoyed the benefit of having a fluorescent light through my solar panel, as I moved along from family to family. Many people came to inspect my solar panel and connecting equipment. They were all amazed at its effectiveness and its money saving component when compared with a generator. After seeing my solar panel, P’s husband said that he had been thinking about getting one for himself. He reported to me, "Do you know what my daughter (seven years old) said? She said, 'I like a solar panel, as it doesn't make a noise like d-d-d-d-d-d.'"

Later, some of them who had cash income from their employment bought solar panels for their own families.

Although it rained a lot while I was staying at Maiwala, my solar panel kept recharging the car battery quite efficiently.

4.2.2 Cooking Facilities

Traditionally, the fireplace for cooking was built separately from the main house. However, many families, nowadays, prefer to have their fireplace built adjacent to the main house, because of convenience:

SO has an outside fireplace at ground level. It has a thatched roof supported by four poles. Two sides are shielded by corrugated iron for a windbreak. She explained that it was good to have it outside because of the smoke. However, when it rained, SO cooked on a kerosene primus inside the house.

The inconvenience of an outside fireplace is also illustrated in the following example:

Z has her fireplace newly built in a small house on stilts. This small house is separate from her house, as her previous fireplace, situated at the entrance of her house, used to cause her whole house to be full of smoke.

22Most people cook on their open fire; kerosene primuses are owned by only a few families.
However, because of frequent heavy rain, she wished to have her fireplace adjacent to the main house despite the smoke problems. I said to Z, "But, I don't mind smoke, as it gets rid of mosquitoes." "That's true, Yasuko. We already have a plan to build a fireplace there," and she pointed out to me the hole that is covered temporarily on the wall of the main house.

Regardless of being inside or outside the house, most fireplaces are at floor level and the person who cooks must kneel down to make and control the fire. Z, however, has her fireplace raised on a platform approximately seventy centimetres above the floor. She said that she was tired of bending down to her previous fireplace, but now, she could sit on a stool and control the fire.

Matches are seldom seen in the community. A few families own cigarette lighters, but most families light the fire in the morning by using the flame from the hurricane lamp\(^{23}\). During the day, when women need to cook, they often send their children to borrow a fire from their neighbours. Each fireplace has a piece of meshed wire over it in order to smoke fish or to keep fish or other kinds of food away from cats.

Firewood is usually gathered by women and their children, either from the beach or mangrove swamps. Women and girls carry it in a basket made of coconut fronds. These baskets hang from their heads down their backs\(^{24}\). Boys carry firewood on their shoulders. Some men may float down a large log on the river and chop it for firewood. When a flood brings down old wood, it might be collected by men who live near the river.

There are three families who own permanent ovens (approximately eight cubic metres) built on the ground. Each oven is built using two 44 gallon drums covered with concrete. Each of the three families uses ten kilograms of flour to

\(^{23}\)There are a few families who buy large amounts of kerosene in Alotau and sell it to others in the community.

\(^{24}\)It can be a very heavy load. O's sister has a crippled son. When she was pregnant, she still did all the heavy work including collecting and carrying firewood. One day she fell while carrying a heavy load of firewood. One of the pieces of firewood hit her stomach and the baby in her womb was injured.
bake bread rolls or scones every evening. Early the following morning they carry the baked products in cardboard boxes and walk silently along the road to sell it. Members of the community call those who sell baked products 'bread basket'. When families do not have enough leftover food from the previous night, or when they are tired of eating the leftover food for breakfast, people often wait for a 'bread basket'.

However, some women who own a large aluminium dish (its diameter is approximately fifty centimetres) can bake their own bread or scones by themselves. This baking process involves preparation of hot coals by burning coconut shells. These hot coals are placed under the dish as well as on top. Some women bake in their regular fireplace, while others bake outside on the ground, preparing a make-shift fireplace by placing stones around a baking dish. Z, however, has a permanent baking place that is built in an old 44 gallon drum. She bakes quite frequently, as she says that it is less expensive to bake by herself than to buy from one of the 'bread baskets'. Z explained how she estimated the number of coconut shells she would need by having experimented several times. Her scones and bread are always soft and tasty, while some of the baked products from the large permanent ovens are dry and hard.

Some families, especially those whose gardens are far from their homes, have a separate store house for their garden produce. When the store houses are nearly empty, they travel by canoe to their gardens to harvest more food.

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25 Z learned that I was fond of her bread during my stay with her. Later when I was staying with another family, she baked bread rolls for me and the family with flour supplied by me. One day while I was staying with Z again, she baked bread rolls for her family and myself. However, a couple of children from a nearby home stole most of them in the evening. As a result, Z had to buy some bread rolls from one of the 'bread baskets' on the following morning.
4.2.3 Toilet Facilities

Each family is encouraged to have its own toilet. A toilet is usually situated at least twenty metres away from the main houses, mainly because of its odour. Each toilet is built over a large hole dug in the ground. It has a seat with a hole. Some toilets have walls\(^{26}\) all around and a door. Others have walls on only three sides and a screen built in front of the entrance for privacy. Some toilets have a lid over the hole, while others do not.

One family has a toilet with a set of seat and lid, as well as a lockable door, like those seen in Western houses. It also has a planed timber floor and a stench pipe that goes out of the roof. The owner of the toilet said that he aimed to build a very good one that would not be washed away by the frequent floods. When a toilet becomes full, it is completely filled in with soil, and a new one is built. There are a few families, however, who do not immediately build a new toilet when the need arises. They seem to prefer either to use their neighbour's or go into the bush until a new one is eventually built:

S’s father came to visit me at P’s place. He was worried about me coming to stay in his home, as his new toilet has not been completed and it was not likely to be completed for a couple of weeks.

Later P’s husband said that S and his brothers did not work together to help their father. If one of them works, the others would tease him. So each man only works for about one hour or so and loafs for the rest of the day\(^{27}\). S finally found a solution by getting permission from the next door neighbour for me to use their toilet, although S and his family would continue to go into the bush.

When I arrived at S’s home, S and his friends were busy cutting down the bushes between his house and his next door neighbour’s. S explained to me that they were making a direct path in the bush for me to go to the neighbour’s toilet more easily than to go all around the bush.

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\(^{26}\)These walls are usually made of dadali, the same brown stalks of the fallen sago palm fronds that are used for kitchen walls. Because of the slight gap between each stalks, the person inside the toilet can see through to the outside. He or she can stop another person coming to the toilet. Some old toilets have broken walls and a person outside can see inside the toilet.

\(^{27}\)Giraure (1976) explains that children began to hate digging toilets as it was used as a form of punishment at school.
Extra effort was required to make access to the neighbour's toilet. However, cutting down the bushes was preferred to completing their own toilet. Although many people are becoming aware of hygiene, having a toilet was not considered a major concern to the above family. On the other hand, some other families are able to build a new toilet quickly:

T was worried about me coming to stay with her and her family, as her toilet might not be completed in time. T's new toilet was dug and the seat was made. However, her husband had not had time to complete it. Finally the day came for me to arrive at her home. Despite her worries, the toilet was completed on that very day.

The account of building a toilet was told by T: While K, one of the boys, went to cut dadali for the walls, two others (H and J) got mud and filled in around the hole. T's husband and another boy (L) went to cut canes for tying dadali. When K arrived back with the dadali, H and J had already finished covering the hole and were waiting. Then the three of them decided to put up the wall with nylon rope, instead of waiting for their father and L to bring canes. When their father returned with canes, he was very pleased to see the boys, who had already put up most of the walls instead of waiting for canes.

Despite having a toilet, small children usually urinate and defecate on the open ground. Often an adult watches the defecating child. When the child has finished, the adult wipes the child's buttock with leaves or the inner part of coconut husks and washes the buttocks in the river. Some parents, even a nursing aide, cannot be bothered maintaining even this relatively low level of hygiene for their children:

One day from my window at K's, I saw her son, KC (three years old) defecating on the ground. No adults were around him. As soon as he moved away, a fowl came to peck the faeces. I called out and said, "Hey, a fowl is pecking KC's 'pekpek' [faeces]!" KC's grandmother, trained as a nursing aide, was sitting in the kitchen and heard me, but did not get up. Instead, she called out to KC's mother to go and chase the fowl.

On another day, I saw K's husband, KE, standing near KC watching him defecating. After KC had finished defecating, KE took him to the river to wash his buttock. However, he did not remove the faeces and their dog ate it.

28During the night after everyone had gone to sleep, however, a fourteen-year-old girl did not go to the toilet but urinated under the house.
Small children who are not yet toilet trained often run around naked and wet the floor. Most families wash it off straight away, but others let it dry without washing it. Some adults will take away faeces together with the surrounding soil, using a spade and bury it in the bush. Most people use any kind of used paper, leaves or the inner part of coconut shells in place of toilet rolls. Additionally, most people do not wash their hands after using the toilet29.

4.2.4 Water Facilities

There are eleven rainwater tanks in the community: three 3,000 litre and eight 1,000 litre tanks. Some of them are individually owned and others are owned by the community. The rainwater is mainly used for drinking30. Occasionally, as when the river is in flood and bringing rubbish from upstream, it is also used for washing dishes, laundry and bathing, as well as cooking. After the rubbish is washed into the sea, most people will start washing dishes and clothes when the flood water is still brown with silt31. Some families prepare a make-shift rainwater tank when it rains. They place a small piece of collecting iron sheet that feeds into a drum or a large dish. Others who live in permanent houses collect rainwater from the roof into a line of large dishes, saucepans and buckets. Most houses at Maiwala do not have gutters which feed into a tank. Instead, each tank is situated under a small iron roof with a gutter.

Most people go down to the river to do their dishes and laundry. Doing dishes and laundry in the river can result in losses:

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29When I stayed with local families, the only thing I asked for was a bucket of water to wash my hands after using the toilet. Many of them knew about my 'habit' from their previous association with me. Each family passed on the information about my 'habit' to the next family when I moved on. So when my supervisor came to visit Maiwala and stayed with one of the families, they supplied a dish of water and soap for him.

30Most people use glass or plastic cordial bottles to fetch water from the water tank.

31Maiwala people distinguish brown water from muddy water. After the flood is gone, mud in the water begins to settle on the bottom. Although it is still brown, it is not considered as dirty as muddy water during the flood.
V's home is right on the waterfront of the river. One day V and her four-year-old twins went to the river to do dishes. When they were about to return home, I saw a knife left in the water.

The knife would have been lost, if I had not seen it. Despite losing quite a few items, many people continue to wash dishes or clothes in the river:

One day while T was doing her laundry under the scorching sun, I saw something floating down the river. So I got a stick and fished it out. It was one of the items T was washing. It was not the first time T lost some of her laundry items. Even so, T still prefers to do the laundry in the river.

Contrastively, some people prefer to carry water back from the river to their homes for domestic purposes:

Z's home is approximately eighty metres from the river. Z has a platform built beside the house for her fireplace. She carries home a bucketful of water from the river and her children take turns to do the dishes in the large dish on the platform. Z said that dishes tend to float away in the river. She had lost many plates, especially plastic ones, and clothes, by washing them in the river. Saucepans, however, wash and polish well in the river.

Some women have also discovered, through experience, that it is easier to do the laundry in the shade and then rinse it in the river, rather than to do the whole laundry process under the scorching sun.

For washing dishes, people use *lamosi*. This is a type of long thin grass which grows wild in the bush near their homes. Rolled up *lamosi* acts like a scourer with either bar soap or a creamy cleanser. When washing the dishes in the river, all the used plates and cutlery are piled up in one large dish, still covered with the food scraps that the animals do not eat. When each item is placed under water, these food scraps either sink to the bottom or float down the river.\(^2\)

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\(^2\)Other kinds of rubbish, such as betel nut husks, shells of breadfruit nuts, etc., are usually put in a cardboard box and dumped near the toilet. Since there is no fence around the dumping area, animals usually go there to forage and scatter the rubbish around the area. So some women throw rubbish into the toilet.
When washing the dishes at home, each plate and piece of cutlery is washed in one large dish and rinsed in another large dish. For washing and polishing saucepans, most people use *bawala* or *ekaeka* (types of leaves) and ash from the household fire. However, some others prefer to use steel wool. When doing laundry, people use either powdered laundry detergent or bar soap. They often use bleach and a brush in order to remove the sap stains.

Houses at Maiwala have no bathrooms. The people usually bathe in the river, except for an occasional natural shower under heavy rain, or washing with the water collected in their make-shift containers. Although most people use scraped coconut for washing their hair and bodies, those who have a cash income from their employment use shampoo and body soap bought from a store. There are no separate areas for men and women to bathe in the river, except for one area where some boys (in their late teens and early twenties) prefer to have their own special place for doing their own laundry.33

People often bathe while others clean fish, wash clothes (including dirty nappies), wash their small children's dirty buttocks, do dishes, or fetch water, all at the same time in the same area of the river. Sometimes children are swimming upstream, while others are washing dishes nearby. People think that it is all right to use the river for several purposes at the same time, as the river is constantly flowing.

One day when I went down to the river to wash my hair, I could smell the water. So I washed my body quickly and came back to K's without washing my hair.

On another occasion, I saw a pig urinating in the same area. X also saw the pig and chased it away. There were quite a few houses downstream.

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33The mother of the teenagers explained to me that she has trained her boys to do their own laundry. However, the boys were embarrassed to be seen doing their laundry, as most other boys did not do it.
Although obvious urination was not acceptable, it was normal to wash dirty baby nappies and small children's dirty buttocks in the river.

4.2.5 Domestic Animals

In general, pigs have an important place in the social, economic and religious systems in PNG. In some parts of PNG, pigs are a significant source of protein (May, 1984). However, Maiwala people depend on fish as their main source of protein. Most families at Maiwala own pigs. Some own only a few but others own approximately thirty. When there is a special occasion, such as the event of canoe building, a pig from a certain family is killed for a feast. People outside the community also come to buy pigs for their own purposes. Men chase the pig and tie up its mouth first. They then tie it down to a make-shift stretcher made from bamboo. Because of its terrible squealing, everyone around knows that a pig is being tied down.

Although a few families keep their pigs in a pen, most families let them wander around in the open. Some families feed their pigs with coconuts twice a day, while others feed them only once a day, or do not feed them at all. In the late afternoon, when the pigs are hungry, they squeak loudly. If they are fed well, they sleep during the night. However, those pigs that are not fed well, walk around all night snorting, looking for something to eat. As they often dig up gardens, those who wish to have flowers in their yard need to have a fence:

P said, "Neither I nor my family have pigs. I want to have a nice flower garden, but I have to fence around my flowers, as my neighbour's pigs always come to dig up everything. It should be the other way around: Pigs should be fenced in, instead of my flowers."

A few days later, P noticed that a part of the fence was broken by one of her neighbour's pigs. So she began to repair the fence, by complaining about the pigs.

However, not many people see that a solution to the problem of hungry pigs is to fence them in. Pigs have roamed around freely in the past and the people seem to accept that this is the way in the village:
X has one rose bush. When I admired it, she told me that she had a few more, but because pigs were always digging, she gave up on planting any more. She has several pigs, and so does her next door neighbour. They are roaming around everywhere.

On the other hand, some others had not given up on having good plants, but had found a solution for themselves:

Z has several pot plants on the shelves of her verandah. She said that she couldn’t keep up with the pigs, when she had a flower garden in her yard.

The solution found by this woman was to move her plants away from the pigs, rather than to move the pigs away from the plants. Since the plants are stationary, it seemed that her solution was reasonable to continue to give pigs freedom to roam around.

Many families also own cats, dogs and fowls. All these animals walk around, urinate and defecate all over the ground. Cats, dogs and fowls often come inside the house through the windows or doors, if they are not closed. They always search for food and fowls also defecate in the house:

U and her husband decided to make extra steps to the fireplace adjacent to the house, when preparing their house for me to come to stay. As a result, they began to have problems with the fowls and cats stealing food from the fireplace. U said that the extra steps would be removed when I moved to another home.

Others also have found solutions to this problem by removing the steps:

In order to keep dogs out of the fireplace, Z often took away the steps when she was not home, as there was no door to the entrance.

However, cats, dogs and fowls know where food is. They often come near the fireplace while cooking. They also come under the house while people are eating, ready to forage the food scraps thrown out of the window. Some families, however, feed their dogs with leftover food in a dish.

The purpose of having fowls is to eat them on special occasions. To kill a fowl, some people shoot it with an arrow, while others throw a piece of stick to break its leg. Either way, there is plenty of noise in the area and everyone knows that
there is to be a special occasion. Fowls also are killed by twisting or severing the neck.

The purpose of having cats or dogs is not for pets: cats keep rats away from a house, and dogs protect a family at night. However, a few people got rid of their cats, because they were tired of having their food stolen:

Z was getting tired of her neighbour's cat stealing food. One day her brother, ZC, finally caught the cat and took it to the other side of the river. She laughed and said that the people on the other side of the river would take care of that cat.

However, getting rid of her own cat does not solve the problem completely. If one does not own a cat, neighbours’ cats are just as bad when it comes to stealing food:

On the other side of the river, they also had problems with cats. T was getting tired of her neighbour's cat stealing her food. One day, her husband, TM, caught the cat and threw it into the middle of the flooding river. As a log floated down, the cat scrambled on to it. Both the cat and the log quickly floated down the river. Neither T nor her husband knew what happened to the cat after that, but they were glad to get rid of it.

Most Maiwala people are reluctant to kill their own animals. They also do not kill sick animals:

V's neighbour's male dog caught a disease somewhere and passed it on to other female dogs nearby. V's female dog is one of the sufferers. This dog used to come into V's fireplace to sleep. However, since it became diseased, everyone in V's family began to chase her out. One day, V told her husband, VC, that the dog should be killed, because of its appalling appearance.

Nevertheless, VC did not want to kill the dog and asked his neighbour to do it. His neighbour agreed to kill it if VC would dig a hole. Then VC told his son (fifteen years old) to dig a hole, but his son refused to do it. V said that her dog has been a good watch dog. She also explained that the dog has been a part of her family, and it was hard to kill it. Neither the family who owns a diseased male dog nor another family who owns a diseased female dog wanted to kill their dogs.

As the Maiwala people do not practise euthanasia, animals suffer until they die.

The people also suffer by watching the animals agonise and deteriorate slowly.
4.2.6 Reflections

Most houses at Maiwala are built with bush materials, although there are a few permanent houses built with planed timber flooring and an iron roof. Due to frequent flooding, many houses have the kitchen built adjacent to the main house. However, the toilet is situated away from the main house, largely because of its odour. Although health workers encourage people to build their own toilets for hygienic purposes, there are still several families who are not convinced that this is necessary.

People usually wash their vegetables in the river and cook in river water. However, having a rainwater tank for drinking is becoming more popular. Western materials, such as steel wool, creamy cleanser, bleach and soap are becoming popular among the community members, but some still prefer to use readily available materials, such as grass, leaves and ashes. People usually use kerosene lamps at night. Although some people own a generator, others have begun to buy solar panels after seeing the effectiveness of mine.

Thus, Western ideas are being built into the traditional style of living in the Maiwala community. The influence of Western culture is also seen in the lifestyle of the Maiwala people, for example, family structure and relationships.

4.3 Family Structures and Family Relationships

4.3.1 Origin of Maiwala People

The following information was told by a member of the Dulubi clan according to the legends:

Once upon a time, there was nobody living in the area of the present Maiwala community. One day, Manulou, who lived in Olawa Island near Taupota on the north coast, directly north of Alotau, paddled a aidapo
(raft) in order to find a place to settle down. He finally arrived in Dago, where the present school compound is.

As he decided it was a good place, he went back to Olawa and brought his sister, Limei, and her husband. They brought two stones and placed one in Dago and another in the graveyard of the present Dulubi village, where they made their garden. They also brought dulubi (bell shaped fruit) and planted it in their garden. They first lived in Dago but later moved to Olawa. This was the origin of the dulubi clan, who were the first ancestors of the Maiwala people.

The above legend indicates why the Maiwala language is in the Taupota language family. In addition, according to the legends, there were other people who came to join the above people along the Maiwala River:

Once upon a time, there was an old man, whose name was Tomogabuna, at Delama, in the bush somewhere between Hagita Estate and Naula. As he was a very good gardener, he produced lots of taro. As he was able to eat taro everyday, others became jealous of him and killed him one day. His family members were very upset and decided to leave Delama. They put the dead man’s body and some of his taro on a raft, and floated down the river that joins the upper part of the Maiwala River.

As they came down the Maiwala River, they saw smoke from someone burning off for a garden near the river. It was a man from the Dulubi clan preparing to plant taro. So the Delama people passed by the Dulubi man’s garden and floated down further about 10 kilometres. They stopped there and sent one man to the Dulubi man in order to ask him where they could bury the old man.

When the Delama man came to the Dulubi man’s garden, he shouted to the Dulubi man, "Please don’t kill me, but help us!" (They could understand each other, as the Delama man spoke Yaneyanene language, that is also in the Taupota language family.) So the Dulubi man went down with the Delama man. When he saw the dead man’s body, he agreed to help the Delama people to return to the community. He blew a conch shell, and told the people not to kill the people who were going to come down the river.

When the Delama people arrived in the community, the Dulubi people let them bury the dead man and live on the east side of the river, the area a short distance down the river from the Olawa people’s garden. The Olawa people also gave them the Dulubi man’s garden where the Delama man made the first inquiry. So the Delama people called both the areas where they settled and the garden Modewa.

Later when another group of people called Modewa came from Gwawili, near Wagawaga, they joined the Delama people at Modewa village.

The following legend also tells about those who came from other areas:

After the above settlers had grown in number, two sisters from Gumini, west of Naula, came to the area of the present Maiwala community
looking for a place to live as the water in Gumini was poisoned and the people were dying. After seeing the place, one went back, while the other hid herself during the day in a vinau (a kind of fruit) tree in the centre of the Olawa people’s garden. She became hungry and began to eat the fruit but threw away the bad ones.

One day, the owner of the garden, whose name was Kaluwapiya, came to the tree and noticed human teeth marks on the vinau fruit on the ground. She went home and told her sisters to climb the vinau tree at night. That night, they found the Gumini girl in the tree and brought her down in order to eat her.

However, those who had been already settled in Nuliya village, on the west side of the river, bought the girl by bagi and giniuba\(^{34}\), as they were short of women among them. She married a man and was given a piece of land in Hegohegoya village on the east side of the river. She called the place Maiwala, that was originally the name of the area near Nihaniha, and called the place near Nihaniha Hegohegoya.

Later, others began to call the people living along the river Maiwala people and the river Maiwala River.

The above legend explains the origin of the name for the present Maiwala community and Maiwala River. It also indicates that Maiwala is a matrilineal society. Small villages in the Maiwala community that are mentioned in the above legends are shown in Figure 13.

4.3.2 Population and Family Structures

According to the census in 1980 (National Statistics Office, 1980), the population of the Maiwala Community was 402 (255 males and 177 females). The population had increased to 470 (266 males and 207 females) by 1990 (National Statistics Office, 1990). The population in 1996 is estimated at approximately 545 - 551 according to an average increase in the population of 2.5 to 2.7 per cent a year.

\(^{34}\)Both bagi and giniuba are necklaces made of special shells, as shown in Figure 16. Bagi is made of many tiny discs from the red lips of bivalve shells (possibly Spondylus) trimmed with black banana seeds from Rossel Island, the far eastern island of PNG, close to the border of the Solomon Islands, and giniuba (pearl shell) is made of many pieces of pearl shells trimmed with white egg-shaped shells (Ovula Ovum) (average nine centimetres long) and black banana seeds from Pearl Island near Saliba. There is a common rule that they should not be worn together.
Figure 16. Bagi and Giniuba
In some homes only parents and their own children live together. However, in many homes either adopted or fostered children also live with the family:

S’s parents have adopted a boy of seven years, as the boy’s mother (single parent\textsuperscript{35}) was unable to feed all her children, and the boy happened to have the same name as S’s father. The boy has fitted into S’s family quite well and does daily chores willingly, but sometimes he goes to his mother’s place for the day and comes home later in the evening.

Fostered and adopted children are common among the Maiwala people:

As X had only one child, she fostered two children. X also adopted a girl whose parents were divorced and neither of them wanted her. Later, X adopted one of the twin babies from her sister-in-law, as her sister-in-law was not able to look after two babies as well as her three-year-old son who was very sick.

In this way, many children are either adopted or fostered into one family. However, most families refrain from accepting too many because it becomes difficult to provide sufficient care for the children.

Traditionally, each family unit (parents and their children) would have their own house. Nowadays, there are many cases of two or more families living together in the same house:

G and her husband have been thinking about building their own house, but they still live with G’s uncle and aunt. They have three children: fourteen, ten and seven years old.

Although, in the above example, two families lived together quite happily, living together can become stressful:

N and her husband took in her sister, NE, and NE’s husband with a small baby, as they did not have their own house. Later, X took in another family of a mother and four small children. This meant that there were three families living in a small house with two small rooms. It caused

\textsuperscript{35}There are quite a few cases of marriage breakdown and remarriage in the community. Although young couples these days have the choice of a traditional wedding or a Western wedding in the church, the concept of marriage has not changed but is practised in the traditional way. X explained that a couple has premarital sexual relations, and marriage is discussed only when the woman becomes pregnant. If the man decides not to marry her, she becomes a single mother. As a result, some single mothers have four or more children from different men.
various problems. As a result, a few months later, X and her husband moved out of their own house, and went to live in the bush.

Thus, lack of understanding on what would be the best way to help others brought grief to those who offered help, as others took advantage of them.

4.3.3 Teaching Children

Often there are three generations living together under one roof. This situation can lead to inconsistency in teaching the children:

Since V’s mother died when V was small, she continued to live with her father after she got married. V grieves when her two sons are not willing to help her and refuse to do daily chores. She thinks that it is because her father has always told her not to make the boys work, especially the older one who used to have ill health. Her husband also agreed with his father-in-law. As a result, the boys chose not to listen to V.

On the other hand, others are able to take a strong stand against their parents with their husbands’ support:

T’s mother was living with her and her family some time ago. When T was trying to correct her children, her mother used to tell her not to do so. T said, "I told her that it was not her business to teach my children." T is glad that her mother now lives with her sister.

When the parents of the child take a strong stand, their parents tend to respect them for disciplining the children:

P’s parents live with P and her family. P said that her parents do not interfere with P or her husband when they are teaching their two daughters or a foster daughter. These daughters are known to be well-disciplined and well-mannered.

Once grandparents acknowledge that teaching children is the responsibility of the children’s parents, children are taught consistently. This mutual understanding enabled the three generations to live together in unity under the same roof.

Inconsistencies in teaching children also occur when two or more families live together:

X’s sister, XE, her husband, XJ, and their two-year-old daughter, XD, live with X and her family. X often complained about XE and XJ for their lack of teaching of XD. XD always cried when she wanted something,
although X’s adopted son (eighteen months old) usually pointed to the items he wanted, instead of just crying.

One day when X was looking after XD while XE and XJ had gone to their garden, X was fed up with XD. She smacked XD, who kept on crying. X told her to ask for what she wanted instead of just crying. However, XD kept on crying. X explained to me that XD and XJ had not trained their daughter to say what she wanted.

In this case, it was not the grandparents who interfered with the grandchild’s discipline. The young parents did not know how to discipline their daughter, and could not meet the standard of discipline expected by their older sibling, who was the owner of the house. Inconsistency in teaching children can also occur by separation of father and mother:

Z’s four-year-old daughter goes back and forth between Z’s house and her husband’s parents home, since her husband got upset and left Z. After a few weeks, Z noticed that her daughter was not obedient to Z. Since her husband had realised his fault of having a quick temper and was planning to return to Z, Z told him that she was not going to send their daughter to him any more, because of her behavioural change. Z said that she has more control of her children at her place (i.e., her father’s land) than at the place of her husband’s family.

Consequently the child suffered between two families who had different expectations of discipline for children.

Nowadays, most parents feel that the teaching of their children is their own responsibility. However, according to tradition, uncles are responsible for teaching their sisters’ children. Some people still observe this practice:

One night TM was not happy, as his sons had not come home early enough to go fishing. As soon as his sons returned, TM left in a hurry with them. Later, TC (TM’s sister’s son who was staying with TM) came home after playing volley ball. He felt sorry to be left behind.

When TM and his two sons returned from fishing the following morning, TA (TM’s other son) went to clean the fish voluntarily. As L was sitting near the fireplace, TM’s wife told TC to go and help TA clean the fish and

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36 The problem began in Z’s house. Her house stands on the land owned by her father. Therefore Z’s husband has to kill a pig and make a feast for Z and her relatives in order to return to Z (i.e., Z’s father’s land).

37 All the families of Z live in the same area, as each clan owns a certain piece of land in the community.
wash the canoe afterwards. When TA and TC finished cleaning the fish, TA had a bath and left for the Alotau market to sell them.

Later when TM’s wife went down to the river to do the dishes, she noticed that the canoe had not been washed. She began to wash it without saying anything to TC. Although TC saw her washing the canoe, he said nothing to her. TM’s wife said that she could not correct TC, as he was not her own child. However, she said that her husband could correct TC, as he was TC’s uncle.

Similar expectations of parents and their siblings were observed:

Z says that traditionally, her brothers are responsible for teaching everything to her children. If her brother is punishing her children, her husband has no right to stop him. However, children’s own parents are becoming more responsible for teaching the children. In Z’s family, however, her brothers have equal responsibility to discipline her children.

X also says that children’s own parents are responsible for teaching them at home. X says that her sisters\(^{38}\) expect each other’s children to be smacked if they do wrong. In X’s family, her brothers are also expected to smack each other’s children. However, in other families, X says, it could be offensive for brothers to smack their sisters’ children.

Parents’ expectations towards their brothers and sisters vary from family to family. Some of them consider that parents have full responsibility for the training of their children:

P said, "Traditionally, uncles were responsible for teaching their nephews and nieces." P is sorry that this kind of custom has gone, but she is glad that she and her husband are now responsible for teaching their own children at home. P says that her brothers are not allowed to smack her children unless she or her husband has given them permission to do so.

However, not all the parents are successful in training their children at home:

P said that when she was at school, her older brother and his friends used to make small outrigger canoes and would take them to school early in the morning. They used to have a canoe race before the school bell. During the morning break, they also had fun having a canoe race. When they came home from school, they used to help their mother prepare the evening meal. While the mother was cooking in the house, the children would go fishing and bring back fish for the meal.

P said that, nowadays, many children do not help their mothers, but just hang around at home or go elsewhere, when they come home from school. Then later in the evening, they come home for an evening meal. These

\(^{38}\)A mother's sisters are called either 'big mother' or 'small mother' according to their age in relation to their sister (e.g., hinau ghaeghaena [my big mother]; hinam habuluna [your small mother]).
children often do not do their homework, although their parents urge them to.

Undisciplined children are often known as 'lazy children', who neither study nor work voluntarily to help their parents:

V collected firewood at the beach a few days ago. When she ran out of firewood, her two sons refused to collect more for her. They even refused to collect coconut shells at the nearby copra house. So V went to collect coconut shells by herself. On the following morning, V's husband tried to help her light a fire. However, it was very difficult to get it going because the brown coconut fronds were wet. V said that they should have been brought in to the fireplace the night before, as the weather pattern was for a heavy shower every afternoon.

To describe the above situation, there is a saying that a child is lazy because his or her parents are lazy. Ironically, the parents of the lazy children are often hard working people. As many of these parents were trained in a mission station by instructors, they have no experience of being taught by their own parents in the normal everyday life of the community. Therefore, although they work hard, these parents may not know how to train their own children, and they may have failed to work hard on them:

T said that it used to be the old man's job to make coconut and pineapple punch for the rest of the family, while they were working hard in the garden. However, S and his brother sat and watched their father preparing the punch, and their father said nothing to them. T said that it was something new.

Parents' lack of discipline of the children is also illustrated in the following example:

One evening when VC was about to go fishing with a line, his son VA (eleven years old) cried as he wanted to go with his father. VC told VA that the canoe was too small for him to lie down, but VA followed him to the river and became a humbug. So VC decided to take VA home and put him to bed. VC said nothing but waited until VA had fallen asleep. Then finally VC went fishing. However, it was already high tide and he fished in vain.

Similarly, the parents who have failed to discipline the children tend to do everything for them without negotiating with them:

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39 A Japanese proverb also says that children are the reflection of their parents.
Because some female grade six pupils wanted to wear a new uniform at the national grade six examinations, their parents who had enough money listened to their daughters’ request. At the Parents and Teacher meeting, the parents of the girls and the teacher pressured other parents to listen to the requests made by only a few children. Only one person spoke against it, claiming it to be a request made by only a few pupils. No other parents had the courage to say anything at the meeting.

As a result, all the parents of grade six pupils had to buy at least one set of uniforms for their children to wear for two days only at the end of their schooling. P said that it was going to be very expensive and difficult for some parents, especially the boys’ parents, as boys’ shorts cost a lot more than a piece of material for a skirt.

It was not only the parents but also the teachers who failed to train the pupils. Successful training of children relies on consistent teaching practices at school and at home. It also requires the teachers and the parents to have patience with the children:

T says that the parents are responsible for training their children to have a successful life in the village. T has four sons. None of them went to high school. However, her husband trained their sons to work hard. When she said to her husband that his training seemed to be too much for their sons, he would tell her that they should work as hard as he did. He also told the boys to think what they were going to do the following morning when they went to bed. Now, they are grown up and able to fish, garden, build a house, etc., willingly. They also help each other and work together cooperatively.

Likewise, a mother takes the responsibility of training her foster daughter seriously:

P explained how she trained her foster daughter, PB, to do daily chores willingly and study afterwards. P wants her daughters to be able to do all the housework. P does not force her children to do the work but lets them do it when they want to. So the work is voluntary and the children are trained to be willing to do the job while they are little.

In PB’s case, however, she was not willing to do daily chores when P fostered her at the age of eleven (grade three at primary school). She still was not willing to do the work when she was in grade four. So P told PB that she should do whatever she told her to do. P also said to PB that she wanted her to act as though she were her own child. P smacked PB at times and told her that she was doing it for her good. Then in grade five, PB began to show a change in her attitude at home. At the same time, her school report began to show some improvement.

As P requested her, PB returned home before four o’clock and helped prepare the evening meal. After the meal while others were chatting, she retired to her room and studied under a kerosene lamp. Finally in grade six, PB became one of the brightest pupils in her class, and hardly lost her smile while doing her daily chores.
As most parents considered that doing daily chores has higher priority than homework, children did daily chores in the daylight and did the homework after the evening meal, under a kerosene lamp.

4.3.4 Marriage and Housing

In some homes, there are two or more families living together. Z says that such a lifestyle brings problems to both families, one of which is disciplining the children. Z has been encouraging those families who have been living together to build their own separate houses. There are many cases of a young man bringing his wife to his parents’ home and continuing to live with his parents. The disappearance of traditional ways of a man’s independent life after marriage is a cause for grievance:

Z said, "Traditionally, a man should be able to build a house, a canoe\textsuperscript{40}, a paddle, a spear, own a garden, and know how to hunt and fish, if he wants to get married." However, many young men, nowadays, do not move out from their families after being married. Z explains that they do not know how to build a house. It is because, Z says, uncles or fathers of these young men did not discipline them to learn, but rather let them go their own ways.

In a matrilineal society like Maiwala, men seem to depend on their wives' families. Wives also seem to lack independence from their parents:

T also says that some of these men are just lazy, as building a house is a big job. T explains that there is a need to provide plenty of food to feed the builders of a house or a canoe. That is why many people do not attempt to build a house. There is also a lack of co-operation among the relatives in helping each other, and each one goes on his own way.

\textsuperscript{40}A canoe is also an essential part of the life of Maiwala people. However, not every man owns a canoe nowadays. Those who do not own a canoe need to borrow one when it is not in use by others, for example, at the times when it is not right for fishing. As a result, the men without their own canoes cannot supply enough protein for their families. T explained that not every man can build a canoe nowadays. Those who cannot build a canoe by themselves can ask others to build one for them. However, it is too much of a burden to provide food for the builders every single day while a canoe is being built, and to pay for the completed canoe.
It seems that the lack of discipline continues, even when children are grown up. There is a tendency for parents not to say anything to their children, letting them do whatever they wish regarding their marriage:

P said that her brother's wife comes to sleep with him from time to time and then goes back to her parents'. P's adopted brother's wife does the same. Both women are pregnant from their husbands respectively. Although both men have not had formal wedding ceremonies and do not have their own houses, neither the men's parents nor their wives' parents have said anything to them. P said that this kind of marriage style is something new.

Grown up people's dependence on their parents is also illustrated in the following example:

S's parents have three adopted daughters. One of them is married to a man from Maiwala and has two small children. They have their own house in the bush. Two others are married to men from other language groups and do not have their own houses. One of the two has a small baby. These three daughters and their families arrive at S's parents' home without warning and stay indefinitely.

There was a period of time when all three and their families came to stay at S's parents'. The husband of one of the three daughters brought his nephew to stay as well. S's parents said nothing good or bad to their daughters. There was a shortage of space in the small house, as well as problems concerning the provision and distribution of food. This caused tension to build up among them and one evening a fight broke out between the mother and one of the adopted daughters.

Living with parents-in-law can also become the cause of marriage breakdown:

R's first marriage broke up a few years ago because of the violence of her husband who was from another language group. She then became married to a man from Maiwala, and lived with the husband's parents. However, her parents-in-law considered her lazy, and her parents also considered her husband lazy. Finally they were separated. R and her little daughter live with R's parents, and R's husband lives with his parents. They often meet each other in Alotau, but not in Maiwala.

The problem of living with parents-in-law is becoming common in the Maiwala community:

XA and his wife, J, with four little children used to live with J's parents. XA and J once had beautiful gardens. However, J does not have a garden any more, as she does not want to work in the garden and XA could not keep up with all the work involved in both gardens.

J hardly ever does laundry and piles of dirty clothes are usually left at the bank of the river. J's parents were feeding XA and his family, but finally
they were fed up with their lazy daughter, and one day kicked her and her family out. As a result, he went back to his parents'.

Although XA’s parents-in-law begged their next door neighbour, X, not to take in her daughter, X did not listen to them. X took her and her four children in, explaining that they were not animals. As a consequence, J began to depend on X, and finally X and her family moved out of their own house, leaving J and her children behind.

The above situation was viewed critically by others. As J is a grown woman, she was blamed for her laziness. Nobody seemed to blame her parents.

4.3.5 Relationships with Parents-in-law

Traditionally, fear is associated with parents-in-law. However, most sons-in-law and daughters-in-law now feel free to relate to their parents-in-law:

Not long after PC married P, PC laughed with P and her brothers about P’s parents. Then suddenly he found that everyone had stopped laughing while he was still laughing. He then felt ashamed. However, since P’s parents came to live with P and PC, PC began to feel that his parents-in-law were like his own parents. PC said that he shouldn’t laugh at his parents-in-law according to tradition, but he was glad that the culture has changed to allow him to laugh at his parents-in-law. P and her parents also said that they were happy about the change.

A friendly informal atmosphere between the parents-in-law and son-in-law is evident when sitting and chatting together after meal:

One evening after the meal, P and her mother began to blame P’s father for decorating her sister with bagi and giniuba at the beauty contest at the Hagita High School culture show. As a result, P’s younger sister lost a point. P explained how her father leaves everything till the last minute and could not find another bagi on the morning of the culture show.

As it was so funny, the way P talked about her father, everyone (P’s mother, P’s husband and children) laughed. Everyone continued to laugh as P told her husband another story: On the way from Hagita High School culture show, the Wa’ema truck stopped to pick up their people right beside where P’s father was walking. He thought that it was the Maiwala truck and was about to get on. Those who were walking with him told him ‘no’, and began to laugh. They talked and laughed about it many times while walking back to Maiwala. While P was telling the story and laughing, her father also laughed.

In this way, the parents-in-law do not have ill feelings towards their son-in law, but think of the change favourably.
4.3.6 Division of Place between Women and Men at Home

Traditionally, men and women did not sit together for meals:

V said that there was a divider between the men's area and the fireplace where the food was prepared and cooked. Women and children were not allowed to go beyond the divider. The food was served by women in two large dishes (the garden produce and the protein) and handed to the men over the divider. Men sat around the dishes of food, and ate in the men's area and women and children ate near the fireplace. There were no plates, but each person used a stick to pick a piece of food from the dishes.

Nowadays, however, men and women eat in the same place. Meals are served either on the table against the wall, or on a table cloth spread on the floor in the middle of the room. A separate plate and cutlery is provided for each person:

At S's home, the main area was very small and there was not enough room for everyone to sit around. Usually S's mother and her two sisters with their small children ate near the fireplace, while S and his brothers-in-law ate in the main area. S's father usually ate in the main area, but closer to the fireplace. Sometimes when there was no room in the main area, S's father also ate near the fireplace. As they considered me a guest, they expected me to sit with the men instead of the women. One day, I asked if I could eat with the women and the children, they said that it was quite all right, but they preferred me to sit with the men.

Although there seemed to be no division between men and women among close family members, there was a respect for those who come from other areas, such as brothers-in-law and myself:

At T's home, her husband and her sons (late teens and early twenties) often sat near the fireplace adjacent to the house, smoking and chatting. Garden produce and rice were cooked by T or her daughter. However, her husband or one of her sons often helped T by grilling fish and baking or frying bananas for the family.

When the meal was served on the table in the main sitting area, men served themselves and often went to the fireplace to eat, while T and her two daughters ate near the table. When I asked the men why they sat near the fireplace, one of them answered that it was warm and cozy there. Later when the weather warmed up, the boys sometimes sat near the table for meals. However, they still gathered near the fireplace smoking and chatting.

At meal times at home, there seems no division between men and women. At parties, however, the meal is usually served to children first. When the children are finished, more food is served onto platters for the men. After the
men have finished, the women serve the rest of the food for themselves. They sit and eat separately:

At the national grade six examinations, on the first day, the food was served in the order of children, men and the guests, and finally women. As they considered me a guest, I had to eat with the male guests. Other men and women watched us while waiting to eat.

However, on the second day, the men suggested that the women eat before them. This time, there was a separate table for the guests (including myself). So the guests ate at the same time as the children.

It seemed that the separation of men and women at a party was solely for the convenience of serving food for a large crowd.

4.3.7 Reflections

Western ideas have influenced not only the materials necessary for daily activities but also the lifestyle in the community, such as family structure and family relationships. For example, responsibility for training children has changed from uncles to the parents. However, many parents do not know how to train their children. Thus, undisciplined children have grow up continuing to depend on their parents.

On the other hand, the breakdown of the traditional relationships has resulted in a new and friendly relationship between parents-in-law and sons- or daughters-in-law. When such relationships are appreciated by both parties, there seems to be a mutual respect among them concerning the training of children. It seems that the training of children depends on the parents’ skills in various aspects of everyday life, such as eating habits and daily chores.
4.4 Livelihood

4.4.1 Food

4.4.1.1 Gardening

Traditionally, the people in PNG are subsistence farmers. Normally each person owns his or her own vegetable garden. Each adult provides food for himself or herself as well as for other members of his or her family. At Maiwala, women\(^{41}\) do most of the weeding and harvesting, while men clear the bush and prepare the gardens. Some men also work on copra or oil palm plantations for cash income. Some of the Maiwala people own gardens within walking distance of their community. However, those who have their gardens further away from the community have to travel by canoe.

Maiwala people start preparing their gardens by burning the field. This is a typical method of gardening in the lowlands of PNG, where the main staple foods are taros, yams, bananas and tapiocas. Fertility of the soil is poor and requires long fallow periods before cultivation:

Garden areas are selected, sometimes fenced to keep out pigs, and are cleared by burning; this may take several weeks. Crops are then planted, often the main crop first and minor crops over a subsequent period of weeks or months. Harvesting of taro may commence within about three months of planting and yams within six or seven months, normally at the beginning of the dry season. A garden may be used for between six months and three years. A new garden site . . . is then selected and the old garden is abandoned and allowed to revert to bush. The natural regrowth replaces some nutrients to the soil. The period of this bush fallow varies from place to place according to availability of land and other factors but is rarely less than seven years and usually more than fifteen (May, 1984a: 19).

\(^{41}\)Some men weed and harvest, however, these men are often referred to as geligeli (girl-like, or feminine).
When the ground is prepared, various root vegetables, such as taros, taro konkong, different kinds of yams, different kinds of sweet potatoes, tapiocas\textsuperscript{42}, as well as different kinds of cooking bananas\textsuperscript{43} and greens are planted. However, due to the frequent floods, taros do not grow well in the Maiwala area. The Maiwala people also grow fruit, such as bananas, pawpaws, pineapples, and other vegetables such as pumpkins, beans, pitpit (New Guinea asparagus)\textsuperscript{44} and different kinds of aibika (a common leafy green vegetable). They also grow sugar cane. However, sugar cane is not grown for sugar processing purposes but for chewing.

Other green vegetables that grow in the wild, such as watercress, kangkung (swamp cabbage) and young fronds of terrestrial ferns are also eaten. Some have Polynesian chestnut or breadfruit\textsuperscript{45} trees. Some others also have passionfruit vines, or other fruit trees such as guava, five corners, mango, Malay apple, lime, lemon, grapefruit, pomelo\textsuperscript{46} or soursop near their houses. However, these fruits are usually picked and eaten by the nearby children before properly ripening. One family owns a durian\textsuperscript{47} tree, and they sometimes cook unripe ones instead of eating the ripe ones.

\textsuperscript{42}Tapioca is usually cooked in a saucepan. However, overgrown ones are scraped, the liquid is squeezed out, mixed with scraped coconut and baked in a large dish placed on hot coals and some hot coals placed on top of the dish.

\textsuperscript{43}These cooking bananas are either cooked with other root vegetables in a saucepan, roasted in hot coals, fried in oil, or grilled on a hot iron plate over the fire.

\textsuperscript{44}It is known among the Maiwala people that flies multiply profusely when the pitpit season comes in early December and the weather becomes very hot.

\textsuperscript{45}One kind of breadfruit has many seeds like chestnuts, and the flesh itself is not usually eaten, except occasionally it is cooked with onion. These seeds are usually boiled and eaten, sometimes with a piece of coconut. Another kind does not have seed but its flesh is either cooked with other vegetables in a coconut cream or roasted in the hot coals.

\textsuperscript{46}Pomelo is a kind of large citrus with pink flesh. Its diameter is up to approximately thirty centimetres.

\textsuperscript{47}The owner of the durian tree said that Filipinos who live in Alotau used to come by car to buy the ripe fruit, but ever since the bridge over the creek was replaced with a foot bridge, they have ceased to come. The distance
Traditionally, people used to leave for their gardens while it was still dark without having their breakfast, and worked in the cool of the morning. However, nowadays, most people get up as usual to prepare breakfast for the school children and for themselves before leaving for their gardens. By the time they arrive at their gardens, the sun is already high. Hence, they work only a short time under the heat of the day:

OA said that the people used to work during the coolness of the morning. Then they grilled bananas, etc., for breakfast, and slept during the heat of the day. "In this way," he said, "gardening was more productive." I asked him why people do not practise it any more. He said, "We got used to having a breakfast."

Gardening is hard work. However, working in the heat of the day makes it even harder.  

4.4.1.2 Preparation of Food

Root vegetables are usually peeled. Nobody at Maiwala uses a potato peeler, but instead, a paring knife, as the skin of root vegetables is too tough. They peel vegetables or fruit away from themselves. When cutting vegetables or fruit, a person does not use a board, but cuts it by holding it in his or her other hand. Peeled vegetables are washed in water (usually river water) before cooking. The vegetables that take longer to cook, such as tapioca, taro and hard bananas are placed at the bottom of the saucepan, and those that cook fast, such as yams, pumpkins, sweet potatoes and soft bananas are placed on the top. Then, if there is any smoked fish or chicken, it is placed on top and a pinch of salt sprinkled over it before the lid goes on. Many people tend to use salt excessively:

from the foot bridge to the house where the durian tree grows is less than a kilometre.

48 According to Giraure (1976), most European teachers were unaware of how the local people practised gardening, so gardening at school was done during the school hours in the heat of the day. These teachers had never discovered how hot it was, as they did not work with the school children but supervised them from the shade.
While I was staying with O, her mother cooked a kind of shell fish. It was seasoned well with salt, but the sauce was too salty for me. As I did not want the sauce on my plate, O's brother took it. He poured it over the rice on his plate and enjoyed it. However, the rice itself was already salty.

Many people love salty food. Some of them even love to lick salt from their fingers after sprinkling it over the vegetables:

By seeing her mother licking salt on her fingers, XB (six years old) learned to lick salt. She often sneaked into her mother's fire place and licked salt from the jar.

In the continuously sultry weather conditions, a little extra salt may be needed. However, a pinch of salt is not enough for many people:

K always added a pinch of salt in cooking rice. However, her young siblings used to sprinkle salt over rice on their plates. They said that it was not salty enough.

In this way, people seem to be accustomed to eating excessively salty food:

The rice P cooked was already seasoned with salt. However, her children used to love to eat tinned meat with it. H's children also loved to eat tinned meat with rice. One of them used to mix vegemite with, or pour soy sauce over the rice that was already seasoned with salt.

Use of excessive amounts of salt has caused some ill health. This is discussed later.

In addition to salt, most people cook food in coconut cream, while others use water. Many people consider that too much coconut cream is not good for their bodies. Coconut contains a large amount of saturated fat. This is considered unsuitable by Western dieticians. Most Maiwala people are aware of the fat content of coconut and its effect on the weight of people:

Q said that she squeezes coconut cream only once in her cooking, as she does not want to gain weight like her brother and his wife. They love to drink the soup of coconut cream, in which the food was cooked. Q's brother's wife squeezes coconut cream twice while cooking, and squeezes it a third time when reheating.

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49This family learned to use vegemite and soy sauce when they lived in town. However, salt was the only seasoning used in most Maiwala homes.
Although some people are moderate in their use of fat, others find it difficult to change their old habit.

Later when the food is nearly cooked, coconut cream is squeezed over the food and cooked for a short while. Some people steam green leafy vegetables and pitpit on top of other vegetables in the same saucepan\(^{50}\). However, most people boil them separately, in a coconut cream, without washing them beforehand. Usually vegetables are not cooked until soft, but taken off the fire while they are still firm and sometimes still hard. Overcooked food is not considered good:

One Sunday afternoon P said to her foster daughter, PB, when P started to serve lunch,

\[ \text{“Yam i tava duma.”} \]

(food it overcook very)

[The food is overcooked.]

Then P asked PB if she had left the saucepan too long on the fire before or after squeezing coconut cream. PB said that she forgot to take it off shortly after squeezing coconut cream. While eating, P said that she could tell if the food was overcooked before or after squeezing coconut cream by how much the flavour of coconut cream permeated the food.

Overcooked food will only be served if there is no other food prepared for the meal:

One afternoon, X was preparing the evening meal. She cooked kangkung, but did not serve it on the table. When I asked her why, she said that it overcooked when she had to look after her little baby.

In contrast, some families accept overcooked vegetables in order to meet the needs of the old:

V’s father who lives with V often helped V in the kitchen, especially when V was busy with her little girls. One day V complained that her father cooks green vegetables too long because of his teeth.

The decision of whether or not to serve overcooked food seems to depend on the availability of food at home, and it varies from home to home:

\[\text{Traditionally, people used to place greens at the bottom of a clay pot in order to make soup out of it. However, people nowadays have learned to cook greens quickly in order to prevent vitamins being destroyed.}\]
One day SC cooked plenty of vegetables in a large clay pot. When she was serving it on the platter, she left the pieces from the bottom of the pot unserved. I asked her why. She said that they were spoiled by being cooked in the liquid.

No food is wasted in the community. Unused or unwanted food is given to the animals. Even the food scraps thrown out of the window are consumed by the animals.

Although most families own clay pots, they prefer to use aluminium saucepans:

While I was staying with X and her family, she never used her clay pot for cooking. One day I asked X and her husband, XC (in his late 30s), if they would ever use their clay pot, which was put on the temporary shelf made between two beams. X said, "Sometimes." XC said, "We’ve got used to using saucepans. When I was born, there were already saucepans. So we like saucepans."

Clay pots are used occasionally. However, the convenience of saucepans seemed to attract people:

P boiled breadfruit seeds in a clay pot, as she had run out of steel wool to polish the saucepan. Although the food cooks well and faster in a clay pot than in a saucepan, and a clay pot is easier to wash than a saucepan, she prefers to use saucepans. She says that a few saucepans and a kettle can be fitted on the fire at the same time, while a clay pot takes up too much space.

The convenience of saucepans is appreciated by many, while clay pots are put aside as a spare item for emergency.

4.4.1.3 Storing Food

Traditionally, a cooked meal was eaten once a day in the late afternoon. Nowadays, most families eat three times a day. They usually cook a main meal for the evening, except on Sunday when the meal is cooked at noon. Some families own a screened cabinet to keep leftover food. However, for most families, leftover foods are usually put back into the saucepans till the

51All the clay pots were made in East Cape, Gumawana Island or Wale Island. Because of their pointed shape on the bottom, they do not sit on a flat surface but need to sit between three stones.
following morning, and reheated for breakfast. This is often packed for the children's lunch, usually in airtight containers:

U said, "I don't mind my children to share their lunch with their friends, but I don't want them to eat theirs. My children used to get sick after eating their friends' lunch. I always cook fresh food in the morning. But, you know, some parents send the leftover food from the previous night with their children."

Many people do not realise the decaying effect of airtight containers on food in the tropical weather:

V has a few airtight containers, in which she keeps leftover food. Although this kept small ants out, it caused the bread roll to become mouldy.

Ants are everywhere in the tropics. When it comes to food, not only ants, but also other animals are ready to steal food. Thus, airtight containers seem to be attractive to the people:

X bought an airtight container in Alotau and kept a pawpaw and a cucumber in it. On the following day they were partially rotten. Then she kept a half of pawpaw in it, and it was completely rotten. She also bought a plastic bag and sago\textsuperscript{52} at the Alotau market. After cooking a part of the sago, she kept the rest in the plastic bag. On the following day, the bag was sweating, and part of the sago was mouldy. A few days later, X found a couple of onions completely rotten, as she had kept them in a plastic bag.

Plastic shopping bags from the stores in Alotau are popular among the local people for carrying various items. The same kind of plastic bags are sold in the market in Alotau, and are valued among the people:

Sometimes I forgot to take a plastic bag to the market. Most people who sold me fruit or vegetables were willing to put them in their used plastic bags, if I asked. However, one time, the woman who sold me a fish refused to put it in her used plastic bag. So the woman next to her gave me one.

Plastic bags are useful to keep various items from becoming wet. However, their decaying effect is not often understood by the people:

\textsuperscript{52}Few sago palms grow in the Maiwala area, due to its preference for swampy areas. Sago is a staple food in swampy areas, such as Gulf Province and West Sepik.
C’s neighbour kept a few soursops in a plastic bag overnight. When she took them to the market on the following morning, most of them were rotten.

Many people tend to use plastic bags and airtight containers in just the same way as their traditional baskets made of coconut fronds. They do not realise their effect on food without refrigeration, in a tropical climate. Due to the popularity of plastic bags, many people asked me to bring them from Australia. However, the environmental damage caused by plastic bags made me reluctant to respond to their requests:

I have seen many people using plastic cordial bottles for storing rain water, but throwing away empty plastic bleach bottles and plastic bags in the river. When Z paddled down the river with me, she pointed to the small island near the mouth of the river, and said that it was formed by the collection of rubbish which floated down the river. Of course trees and other kinds of wastage floated down when the river was flooded. Some plastic bags and bottles had floated further and were washed on to the beach.

Nevertheless, I did give them small plastic medicine bottles that were useful for them to store lime, salt or sugar.

4.4.1.4 Provision of Protein

As mentioned in the previous section, those who have their own canoe and fishing net can provide plenty of fresh fish for their family. At T’s home, when the men return from fishing early in the morning, fresh fish is grilled and served for breakfast. When the catch is plentiful, some fish are shared with the neighbours, and the rest are grilled and smoked for eating later, or for sale at Alotau market. Those who have a cash income, from a family member with a job or trade store, will often buy fish from others, or tinned fish or meat from the store. Most families make sure that their guests have enough protein.

On the other hand, for those who do not own a canoe and do not have much cash income, protein is scarce in their meals, and there seems to be no surplus to share with others:

One Sunday, V complained about no protein when the dinner was served on the table. A few days later, her husband returned early in the morning
with about a dozen fish. She grilled them and put them away in a basket over the fireplace. She never served the fish on the table, but her husband and father ate the fish late at night around the fireplace.

On another day their sick pig died. They sold most parts of the pork immediately, and grilled some at midnight for distribution only among the family members who lived in that house.

A big catch of fish is a good provision of protein for families when there is a large number of extended family members:

X's son went out fishing with his uncle and caught plenty of fish. All the fish were divided among the families of X's siblings and parents. X cleaned her share of fish and grilled them. She did not serve the fish on the table, but put them away on the wire above the fire place. Later she and her family members ate the grilled fish, when their guest was absent. Then for the next three days she cooked vegetables with a couple of smoked fish for everybody to share.

Many people say that they 'do not feel good' (i.e., they are not feeling healthy), if they do not eat protein for long periods. Children also crave for protein:

T's daughter, TE (two and a half years old), used to cry for fish. Every time when T's husband came home from fishing, TE could not wait for her parents to finish drying the fish for marketing, but wanted one to eat. In particular, when the family members were preparing the fish for market, the aroma of grilling fish made everyone become hungry.

Likewise, other children love to eat tinned meat:

UD (four years old) loves to eat rice with tinned meat. If there is no tinned meat, he cries, "Miiti! Miiti! [Meat! Meat!]" and becomes a humbug.

However, not many families can afford to buy tinned meat as often as their children want. Hence, parents try to train children to be satisfied with eating only rice without meat:

X said that her son (two years old) used to cry for tinned meat, "But," she said, "he doesn't do that any more, as I have trained him. If there is no tinned meat, I just say to him that I don't have any. Then he is happy to eat rice without meat."

In this way, a habit of eating plain rice is encouraged further, although health workers encourage people to eat less rice. The problems created by children craving rice is discussed later.

Some families own pig nets and go hunting for wild pigs. Others have fowls which they eat on Sundays or special occasions. Occasionally other kinds of
protein, such as various kinds of shellfish, a turtle, sago grubs\(^53\), a bandicoot or a flying fox\(^54\) are eaten. However, they involve the hard work of hunting or fishing. Food is not readily available in the Maiwala community.

4.4.1.5 Introduced Food

Although Maiwala people do not grow rice\(^55\), many of them are very fond of it. Rice is cooked with coconut milk and a pinch of salt, and is often eaten by itself. For those who do not have enough cash income, feeding their family with rice is a problem:

T explained why she has adopted TE from her brother and his wife. There were two reasons: 1) T’s brother and his wife had four daughters and one son, and had promised T and her husband that they’d give the youngest daughter to T, who has four sons and only one daughter; and 2) T’s brother cannot feed any more children. Although they have their own vegetable gardens, their children do not want to eat garden produce but only rice.

T said that TE did not want to eat garden produce but rice at first when she came to T’s home. However, now, TE eats other food such as bananas, as T has trained her. TE eats other food, but still likes rice. T’s sons do not eat much rice, as she has trained them to eat less rice and more garden produce, greens and plenty of fish. T’s own daughter, however, likes rice very much. T often warns her to eat other garden produce and says that she is fat because she eats platefuls of rice\(^56\).

If the family can afford to buy rice, it is not seen as a problem:

P’s two daughters do not eat any garden produce, but only rice and tinned meat. They do not want to drink plain rain water, but cordial. Since T’s

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\(^53\)Those who like greasy food cook sago grubs in coconut cream. Others prefer to spit and grill them on hot coals.

\(^54\)Some people cook a bandicoot or flying fox in a saucepan and enjoy the meat. However, because of the strong odour, others prefer to grill and smoke it.

\(^55\)An old man at Maiwala says that the habit of cooking and eating rice was introduced to Papuans by Australian traders at Samarai in the 1890s. Australian rice is still imported into PNG. (Rice was first cultivated in Australia by Japanese.)

\(^56\)From my experience in Japan, filling up a hungry stomach with only rice without protein or vegetables may cause a person to gain weight, if he or she is not able to burn up all the calories gained from the large amount of rice. In the case of T’s daughter and some heavy people at Maiwala, it may not only be the large amount of rice but also the coconut cream used in cooking rice, that made them gain weight.
husband has a job as a car mechanic and her sister is married to an expatriate. T can afford to give these children tinned drink, sweet biscuits and chocolate. These girls do not want to eat plain bread but ask for butter or margarine on it.

As food eaten in the community is seasoned only by salt, children who have had a taste of introduced food tend to crave for it:

X says that she cannot drink tea without sugar. When X runs out of sugar, she does not drink tea at all. X's children cried for butter if plain bread was given to them, or cried for beef biscuits if plain biscuits were given to them, especially X's adopted baby boy, who cried for rice all day. He used to go to the fireplace to check what was inside the saucepans. When he saw leftover rice, he cried for it and X gave it to him at any time of the day until it was finished.

On the other hand, some parents have successfully trained their children to eat whatever is served:

Although I have provided some margarine and jam, Z's children hardly ever spread them on bread or scones. They were not fussy about the kinds of biscuits (beef or plain). Two litres of cordial was also provided by me. However, these children drank the plain rain water as if they had not seen the bottle of cordial on the table. They did not mind if there was no tea, or no sugar in tea. They ate whatever Z served on the table.

Some other parents have also successfully taught their children to be more considerate about food:

T cooked rice in a small saucepan one evening, yet there was so much leftover. In T's family, five kilograms of rice lasts for a week to feed seven adults and one small child. In X's family, however, ten kilograms of rice is consumed by six adults and three small children in a week.

By contrast, other parents have failed to teach children about healthy eating habits. In particular, preference for rice over garden food is also an indication of the parents' attitude:

KA's husband has a good cash income as a police aid. Therefore, she is able to feed rice to her five young adults. KA said that her children love eating rice. She also said that it was a lot easier to prepare than garden produce.

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57 Although there are people who drink tea without sugar, many people put plenty of sugar in tea. As it is not used in cooking, the body seems to crave for it at times. In the Western context, I never add sugar in tea or coffee but only milk, and eat plenty of fruit. However while living at Maiwala, I felt a need for sweet tea, perhaps because I had little milk and few fruits there.

58 These items were leftovers from my stay at the SIL Diwala Centre.
Peeling root vegetables is time consuming. However, some mothers have not realised that preparation time is less important than nutrition when feeding their children.

4.4.2 Monetary Economy

When the people need some cash or have more than enough food for their family, they take their garden produce, betel nut, or fish (either fresh or smoked) to the markets in VOP or Alotau. During the period between 1990 and 1993, most Maiwala women carried their garden produce in baskets made of coconut fronds. However, in 1995, most women used bilum (net bags) that are originally from the New Guinea region and are sold in a store in Alotau. Fresh fish are often carried in a plastic rice bag, and smoked fish in cardboard boxes. Those who want to buy smoked fish from others look out for the women walking towards Gabugabuna with cardboard boxes on their heads.

The income from market sales is often used for purchasing rice, oil, flour, sugar, tea, salt, soap, kerosene, etc., usually in Alotau. Most people prefer to buy goods from one of the stores in Alotau, except when they urgently need something in the community. The prices at trade stores are very high, as 1) most trade stores purchase their goods from the wholesale store, whose prices are usually higher than the prices in other retail stores, and 2) the trade stores put up the prices for higher profit.

Men often work together by making copra for cash income. More and more people are becoming aware of the necessity of a cash income:

X hopes that one of her children will go on to high school in order to get a job in a town or city, although she does not push all her children towards higher education. She says that one is enough to provide cash while she needs the others to work at home. X’s son does not like to go to school regularly, but prefers gardening or making copra. However, X’s daughter likes to go to school. Although X’s son does not want to go to school regularly, X does not want him to drop out but to stay on till the end of
grade six. She says that having a grade-six certificate would be useful in case he wants to work as a driver.

Likewise, some children feel the need of a cash income:

PE (eight years old) wants to be a doctor, so that she can earn high wages. PE's mother likes her daughter's idea, as a doctor's consulting fee is expensive nowadays. If PE becomes a doctor, her mother thinks she can supply free medicine and give free treatment to her family members.

As parents become more aware of the necessity of a cash income, they teach their children how to use money wisely:

P told a story of how her daughter, PA (seven years old), spent one kina. One day when P and PA were in Alotau, P's cousin gave PA a one-kina coin to buy a drink. P asked PA if she wanted to go to buy it, but PA said, "Later." Then flies began to irritate a sore on PA's foot. PA said to P that she needed to buy a packet of 'bandaids' with the money. As they went into a shop, the price of a packet of 'bandaids' was exactly one kina. P said that PA used the money wisely.

On the other hand, other parents are unsuccessful in teaching their children:

One day in Alotau, in the bank, X and I saw two young children who came into the bank to withdraw money. X said that she would not send a signed withdrawal form with her children to the bank. She then said that her daughter (fourteen years old) could not go to town to buy anything by herself, but had to go with X and let her buy it for her.

On the following morning, X and her husband were talking about their daughter's lack of confidence and her dependence on X. X said that she needed to teach her daughter one day how to shop by herself. However, she did not want her daughter to grow up like some other children, who always beg their parents for money and spend it on whatever they like, and keep on begging for large amounts of money.

As the people want to buy more items from the market or store, cash income has become increasingly necessary.

Cash income is also needed urgently by the preparatory school teachers in order to buy food for themselves and their families. Vegetable gardens need to be looked after regularly in order to produce food.\(^{59}\) Hence, teachers, who were teaching on a voluntary basis, had no garden produce nor cash to buy food.

\(^{59}\)Since the weather is unpredictable and it often rains over the weekends, teachers were not able to keep up with their gardening.
When the community began to pay the teachers a salary, the teachers were glad to be able to buy food during the school term.

4.4.3 Health

In the 1970s, people in Milne Bay area were not willing to see a doctor because of their dependence on magic and sorcerers (Williams, 1972). However, there has been a significant change in the people's attitude towards doctors and nurses:

T used to ask me for some medicine when she or a member of her family became ill. Recently she came for some medicine for her husband who had the flu. A few weeks later, T said that her nephew was sick with the flu. I asked her if she wanted some medicine. However, she said that he would be all right, as her husband said magic words to him.

Although the people still use magic, they also want Western medicine.

There is no aid post in the Maiwala Community. For minor sicknesses, such as sores, malaria and diarrhoea, community members go to the nearest aid post that is situated at the Gabugabuna turn-off. However, this aid post was often closed because of vandalism. Those who needed treatment had to go to VOP until the middle of 1996, when the Gabugabuna aid post was reopened with a new nursing sister. For serious illnesses or injuries, such as a broken arm, they have to go to the general hospital in Alotau.

Most people in Maiwala have head lice. Children often scratch their heads, and their parents often search for lice in their hair and squash them between two finger nails. When the lice become too much of a problem, some boys shave off their hair.

At Maiwala, there are quite a few people who have scabies (commonly called 'double skin' in the Alotau area). If it is treated early by applying a bactericide, it usually heals. However, if it is left for a long time without treatment, it
spreads all over the body, and requires medicine to be taken orally. However, some people do not bother to treat themselves or their children:

S’s foster brother (nine years old) has scabies all over his body. He often scratches his body and his legs bleed from scratching. When he goes to the river to wash, he only dips himself in the water without scrubbing. Neither S nor any of his family try to wash the boy’s skin and apply bactericide. S said that the boy once became clean skinned when he took oral medicine, but that he became ‘double skin’ again, as he began to eat protein.

None of S’s family members discipline him to refrain from protein in order to cure his skin disease. S said that he and his family do not want to buy any more medicine for the boy, as they think it is a waste of money. S’s mother also has scabies on her arm. However, she does not bother to treat it.

At Maiwala, people tend to catch a cold easily, especially those who live in the frequently flooded areas. Many small children also have running noses:

X used to wash her eighteen-month-old son’s dirty buttocks in the river. V’s four-year-old daughter frequently dipped herself in the river, as the weather was getting very hot. Both children had running noses. X and V said that they had to keep their children from going into the water for a while, in order to stop their running noses.

It seemed to be difficult for the mothers to keep their small children away from the river in hot weather. When the mothers see their children’s running nose, they wipe it with any piece of cloth that is available at that time. Children who are old enough to blow their own noses usually swallow the nasal mucus instead. Occasionally, they blow the nasal mucus onto the ground instead of using a piece of tissue.

There are many sores and boils among the people. Some families stock medical supplies, such as bactericide, bandages and ‘bandaids’ at home. However, most families have none of these. Although many kinds of medicines such as antibiotic ointment can be bought in PNG from supermarkets without a doctor’s prescription, most people seem to prefer free treatment at the aid post. I was often asked for medicines for different kinds of sicknesses. When the aid post was closed, I often treated the sores and boils of those with whom I was staying by applying antibiotic ointment. In the tropics, small sores tend to get
infected easily and become large boils. However, most people do not worry about treating small sores until they become painful. There is a tendency to see a doctor quickly in Western society, but the local people in PNG general do not bother:

PC did not go to see a doctor for a month after he had injured his finger at work. He thought that it would heal soon. However, when it did not heal in one month, he saw a doctor and discovered that there was a broken bone and already new bone was growing.

Although a grown man can judge for himself that his injury is not serious, when it comes to the children’s sicknesses, parents are the ones who determine its seriousness:

One morning KA’s teenage son woke up shivering. He did not go to school, but sat near the fire all day. I asked KA what was wrong with him. She said that her son must have malaria, but she said she was too lazy to take him to VOP. So I offered him some chloroquine. He was glad, especially because he was helped by it.

Most parents take their children to the aid post before they become critically ill. However, some parents cannot be bothered to do so:

There was an open clinic for everybody in the community. After having finished with small children, adults were treated. However, U’s neighbour, UC, did not take her teenage son to the clinic. I was staying with U at that time and many of her neighbours, who got to know that I had several kinds of medicine with me, asked for them, especially during weekends or at night. As UC did not mention about her son, nobody knew that he was ill with malaria. About a week later, UC decided to take him to the aid post, but he was too sick to walk. U and all the other neighbours were worried about him, and finally UC had to hire a PMV in order to take him to the general hospital.

Although the hospital is open for emergencies twenty-four hours a day, getting to hospital from Maiwala is not easy. Therefore, the urgency of seeing a doctor seems to be determined by the parents:

One late afternoon, KF (eight years old) had a fall and broke her arm. However, her parents did not bother to look for transport to Alotau, and said they would take her to hospital the following day.

Nevertheless, people who are seriously ill or seriously injured eventually seek medical help. Those who really want to get well follow the doctor’s advice:

When S’s mother discovered that she had a heart condition, her doctor told her to be careful of the amount of salt she ate. Ever since her
consultation with her doctor, she has refrained from using salt in her cooking at all. Instead, she puts out some table salt for her family to sprinkle over their plates of food.

Although some people have come to realise that their ill health is the consequence of an excessive intake of salt, many others do not seem to know how to improve their diet:

While I was staying with H, I could not eat much, as the food was too salty. However, everyone in her family was eating well. When H asked me why I did not eat more, I hesitantly said that I was not used to eating very salty food. Then H said that she normally does not use salt at all when cooking for her husband and herself, as she has been warned by her doctor to refrain from salt. As she was glad to know that I did not care for plenty of salt, she began to cook with only a pinch.

The general problem of excessive use of salt has not been resolved because most women still add plenty when cooking rice. However, some women have realised how they can improve their cooking, using less salt:

U was concerned that excessive amounts of salt might cause ill health. She did not add salt at all when cooking vegetables or shell fish. She only added it to rice. The food, especially shell fish, was not tasty without salt. Although I ate it as it was, children went to the kitchen to sprinkle salt over it.

After the meal, U said, "I want to train the children not to take too much salt, but..." So I explained to her how Asians cook food, "Japanese people don't add salt when cooking rice, only for other food. That's why we don't want to eat rice alone, as it is tasteless. Plain rice can be eaten with other kinds of salty food. Salty food becomes less salty when eaten with plain rice." I also said, "Rice is not so popular in Japan nowadays. Young people prefer to eat other kinds of food. Even in China, too, people prefer to eat other kinds of food without rice, if they can afford to. As they don't want rice, they also cook other food with less salt."

Then U said, "Oh, I know that nurses have been telling us not to eat too much rice. I will try it the way you explained to me." A few weeks later, U's neighbour said to me that U had been cooking for her family in the way I suggested.

Although some mothers want to follow the nurse's advice, they need to be shown how they might put it into practice. Some people have strong willpower to follow the advice of doctors and nurses, once they understand how to look after themselves:

When P became seriously ill with her heart condition, her doctor told her not to chew betel nut for six months while she was taking the medication. However, P decided not to chew for one year.
Betel nut chewing is a part of the social life of Maiwala people. Most people have betel nut palms in their yard. Although I was wanting to learn various skills necessary for community life, I did not chew betel nut. As I had never asked for it, everyone seemed to assume that I did not want any. Some people, however, wanted to make sure of my decision:

One day P and her husband asked me if I would chew a betel nut. I said, "No, it's the only thing I don't want to learn while staying at Maiwala." P and her husband respected my decision and said, "Betel nut is a drug and not good for anyone." They also said that it was rather peculiar to see some expatriates who live in Alotau chewing betel nut.

Many children, including an eighteen-month-old baby, chew, nibble or suck the nut. This can be a dangerous practice:

There was an incident of an eighteen-month-old baby who choked on a betel nut. His mother quickly held him upside down by his ankles. As she hit his back vigorously, the nut fell out of his mouth.

Despite this incident, the parents let the baby continue to suck on a betel nut. When children see their parents chewing betel nut, they naturally want it for themselves. Some parents, however, have taught their children not to chew betel nut because it is a drug, which is not suitable for their health. In fact, some young people call betel nut 'PNG drug':

P said that chewing betel nut makes her drunk and she begins to talk a lot. So P and her husband have taught their daughters (eight and nine years old) not to chew betel nut. As P's husband has a cash income from his employment outside the community, they often buy lollies for the girls. So the girls never want betel nut.

Many other parents let children imitate them chewing betel nut. People often chew the nuts together with mustard (its leaves, fruit or vine) and lime (powdered coral\(^{60}\)). Many parents try unsuccessfully to keep mustard and lime away from small children. Whenever people gather together (except at meetings connected with the church), they chew betel nut. So do the young children who are with their parents. Some people have unsuccessfully tried to quit chewing betel nut. One young policeman said that he quit chewing after

\(^{60}\)Coral turns white and becomes extremely fragile and easily crushes into fine powder when it has been burnt in the fire.
seeing his high school teacher dying from mouth cancer. There is a poster of a man who has cancer on his cheek on the wall of the Alotau General Hospital. Many people have seen it, but they say that the cancer is not caused by betel nut. They believe that the cause of the cancer is the bleach that is used to treat some lime. Hence, many people continue to chew betel nut with lime, assuming that the lime they are chewing has not been treated by bleach.

Some Maiwala men and women smoke tobacco. Most people at Maiwala think that this should not be done in front of a visitor because the smoke drifts over others. However, inside a house with open windows or on the verandah, the smoke is easily blown away. Many people think that chewing betel nut does not offend others because it does not affect the air. Chewing the nut itself may not cause environmental damage, but the chewing with lime causes the mixture in the mouth to become a red colour. The mixture is always spat out, producing a red stain.

There are a few disabled people in the community. Usually their family members take care of them. For example, Z looked after her blind father until he died recently. There was also a lady who lost her eyesight in an accident:

In every fireplace there is a mesh wire hanging over it. One day the wire accidentally poked into a woman's eyes. Although she became blind, she was known in the community for her perfection in polishing saucepans. She was capable of looking after herself. However, she used to live with her family.

A similar accident happened to X, but fortunately the wire missed her eyes. By experiencing a similar danger, Z has decided to put away the wire when not in use.

Although many people have experienced accidental injury, few of them try to invent ways of avoiding it.

There is a woman in the community, who is paralysed from her waist down, due to a fall from a betel nut palm. Her husband left her and their three little
children. Since that time, her sisters have been looking after her and the children. While in hospital, she used a wheelchair. As this is not practical in the village, she uses crutches instead. There are four mentally disabled people, who are looked after by their family members, and one deaf man, who is living on his own:

Z explained about this deaf man’s situation. He has no garden or canoe. Z fed him when he was hungry, as his parents live on a mission station, and Z is his close relative. She also let him collect betel nuts from her tree and let him sell them at the market. He then used this cash income to buy rice and tinned meat for himself only. When the betel nut season was over, he stole old betel nut from her and her son’s bags. Z said that he is very selfish and demanding.

Despite the deaf man’s selfish behaviour, his extended family members do not interfere with his lifestyle.

No alcohol is sold in the community. However, some people buy bottles of beer in Alotau and bring them back to the community. From time to time, drunkards are noisy and become violent, but generally speaking, alcohol related violence is scarce in the community.

4.4.4 Clothing

4.4.4.1 Adults

Traditionally, both men and women always covered their loins but not their upper bodies. Men's clothing has changed from a G-string to shorts, but they still do not usually wear shirts when at home. Many women do not cover their breasts when at home or near the home:

One day, Z's next door neighbour came to talk to Z. Her dress covered only one breast. Z's neighbour wears her dress like that except when she goes somewhere a bit distant from her home. Z explained later that she used to wear grass skirts without a top till recently. However, after having a mastectomy, she covers only the one side where she had the operation.

However, most women think that they should cover their upper bodies in the presence of an expatriate:
Z's neighbour came to ask Z's daughter something. However, neither Z nor her daughter was at home, but only myself. When she saw me, she was very surprised, but asked where Z's daughter was. Then she quickly went home, as she had a bare top. Ever since, she has always worn a top when coming to Z's house, while I was staying there.

Women often wear skirts that have elastic at the waist and pull it up to cover their breasts, if there is a visitor:

Z lives near the end of the main road. She says that she always covers herself, by wearing a long skirt from above the breasts. However, every time when I visited her, she put on a blouse over her skirt.

This kind of clothing is often worn at night when sleeping, or when bathing, as it is very convenient to cover their breasts quickly when they feel it necessary. However, it seems that in the past they were taught to cover their shoulders in public. Nowadays, in the Western context, many women wear tank tops and bare shoulders, but even these Maiwala women tried to cover their shoulders, while I was around:

X lives on the other side of the river, away from the main road. She said that she does not usually wear a top at home but wore it only while I was staying with her.

One very hot day, however, X and her sister took off their tops, while doing their laundry in the river. After the laundry, both women put on their tops while in the house. They began to prepare an evening meal in the fireplace, where the afternoon sun was scorching.

Women who live near the main road are also cautious of exposing their bare tops to outsiders during the day:

V did not want to wear a top, as the weather was becoming very hot. However, she said that she needed to keep a top on, as her home was too close to the main road.

However, V's neighbour, P, said that she felt more comfortable when wearing a top. P also lives near the main road and often rolls up the bottom of her T-shirt to keep cool.

V's other neighbour, SE, and her married daughters wore tops because I was staying with them. As I had told them not to worry about me, one Sunday, SE cooked lunch without wearing a top. It was a very hot day. A few days later, one of her daughters paddled down the river with her

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61The photographs of early missionary days show the Papuan women dressed in European dresses with high necks and long sleeves (Smith, 1987), and later with short sleeves (Beavis, 1994).
husband. She was not wearing a top, but as soon as she saw me, she ducked into the canoe.

Likewise, men feel that they should wear a proper shirt in the presence of an expatriate:

One day P’s neighbour (a young man) came to buy muturus (cigarette) from P. As he saw me sitting and talking to P on the verandah, he went to the back of P’s house and called out to her that he wanted a ‘muturus’. P said that he was embarrassed because of his ragged shirt.

A few days later, the same young man came to P’s house. He was wearing a shirt, but it was unbuttoned, and he was fanning himself with it. P said that he wore a shirt because of me.

Certain ideas of Western clothing were introduced to the local people by early missionaries and they have been kept up among the people. For example, on Easter Monday, everyone dressed in white. Although white is not a practical colour to wear in the community, everyone seemed to have kept special clothes for this particular day. Despite the tropical weather, cricketers also wear white uniforms the same as cricketers in a Western context.

Although most women wear skirts or laplap (loin cloth), more and more young women have begun to wear shorts at Maiwala. This trend is not welcomed by some older women:

T does not like women wearing shorts. When her daughter (fifteen years old) was ready to go to their relatives to help with their feast, T told her, “Egha short!” (not shorts) [Not in the shorts!]

A few days later, T told her daughter to wash pilipo (trousers or shorts). However, her daughter said that she did not want to wash her brothers’ shorts. T told her that there were no boys’ shorts but only hers to be washed.

As I am aware that trousers or shorts have not been acceptable clothing for women in PNG in the past, and I do not wear them in the Western context, I always wore a skirt below my knees when I was in the country.

When bathing, both men and women as well as girls in puberty take off their tops but keep their skirts or shorts on. Many women wear elastic waisted skirts
above their breasts when going down to the river, then slip the skirts down to the waist line while in the water. After bathing, both men and women wipe their upper bodies, then wrap a bath towel around their waists, and slip down their skirts or shorts under the towel.

4.4.4.2 Children

Many children under the age of approximately nine or ten swim naked. However, most of them usually wear skirts or shorts without tops while at home, and their parents dress them with tops when going away from their property:

One day P decided to go to the beach with her two daughters, as it was very hot in her house. So she told her daughters to put on tops. They walked on the main road for about twenty metres and turned off into the bush track to the beach.

Every school age boy wears a pair of shorts and a shirt, and the girls wear a blouse and a skirt as well as underpants when going to school. There are school uniforms at the community school. Each student has two sets of uniforms which are worn every Monday and Friday according to the school rules. During 1994, preparatory school children also had uniforms:

Children of preparatory school age (seven and eight) usually do not wear tops at home. However, when it was decided to have school uniforms for the preparatory school children, according to Z, the children were very happy to be like the community school pupils. However, X often let the children take off their tops and fan themselves at school, as it was extremely hot in the school building which had a non insulated iron roof.

Thus, the necessity of having a uniform was questioned among the teachers, in order to provide a more comfortable environment for learning.

Young children under three or four years of age often run around naked at home, as they do not like pants:

SE and her daughter, SC, often tell SC’s daughter (one year old) and SC’s sister’s daughter (two years old) to cover their bare buttocks as they wear only skirts without underpants. When SC put underpants on them, they soon took them off.
K’s son (one year and eleven months) always runs around naked. His grandfather used to tease him saying "Buwai [betel nut] market!" K sometimes put a pair of shorts on him, but he soon took them off.

X’s son (eighteen months old) often runs around naked. X said that he was a naughty boy for not having pants on in my presence. When I told her not to worry about it, X decided to let her son stay naked.

However, children who are older than the age of about four are expected to cover their loins when at home, even though they do not like their pants:

One evening, the twins (four years old) had their dresses on but no underpants. While they were lying near their parents, their parents tried to cover their bare buttocks. Their mother explained that they had taken off their underpants.

When neighbours see the children without pants, they often tease them:

When Z saw her neighbour’s son (four years old) running around naked outside his house, she called out and said, “Hei, egha kaleko!” (Hey, no calico) [Hey, you have no clothes on!]
So he quickly ran into his house.

Thus, children are often reminded to wear pants:

When P saw her neighbour’s son (five years old) running around naked outside his house, she called out to him, “There is a boy running naked!”
So he quickly ran into his house.

Although many young children prefer to be naked, once they reach puberty, boys always wear shorts, and girls wear skirts and tops, as well as underwear. They are now shy to expose themselves:

X says that both boys and girls in puberty are too shy to dress up in a traditional way. She thinks that girls do not want to show their growing breasts, and boys their buttocks. X said that she was ashamed of her daughter not wanting to dress up in the traditional way to dance for the tourists.

Performing for other people makes some children self-conscious, especially when in front of expatriates who have different values on clothing. However, at high school, each student has found a solution to overcome the situation:

At the Hagita High School culture show, there were several groups of dancers. Some girls had ‘kamokamokoko’ leaves\(^2\) only on their upper arms

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\(^2\) A kind of leaf that has a strong smell. They are usually smoked and put on the bodies for dancing or ceremonies.
with a bare top, while others had the leaves covering their breasts. Each
girl wore either bagi or giniuba. All the girls wore grass skirts, but some
of them, whose grass skirts were not thick enough, had shorts underneath.
Some boys wore a G string made of traditional tapa cloth, while others
wore girls' grass skirts over their shorts.

In this way, each student expressed his or her views and values on his or her
mode of dress. Similarly, an elementary school boy (seven years old) refused to
wear tapa cloth, while others were happy with it:

At the breakup party of the Elementary School, children performed a
traditional dance. Girls wore grass skirts without underpants, and boys
wore tapa cloth. However, one boy who was to perform the main
character refused to wear tapa cloth. So the teacher put a thin grass skirt
over his shorts. He performed in his special kind of dress among his peers
who were dressed in the traditional clothing.

The teachers neither forced the boy to wear traditional clothing, nor stripped
him of his role in the dance. The final decision seemed to be up to each child.

4.4.5 Reflections

Although health workers have been advising the people to practise healthy
eating habits, many parents have failed to train their children to eat garden
produce and refrain from excessive use of salt. Chewing of betel nut is another
habit which many parents have failed to teach their children to avoid. It seems
that the parents themselves cannot refrain from it.

A sufficient supply of protein and garden produce is also necessary for the
maintenance of a healthy life. However, many parents have failed to teach
their children to be a part of the labour force and produce it for themselves. As
a result, children continue to depend on their parents, who cannot keep up
with their children's demands for protein. These parents also fail to raise
enough money to buy rice and clothes for the children.

Although children are taught to cover their loins, young children prefer to be
naked. Men and women usually do not wear tops at home, but an increasing
number of people are becoming conscious of covering their upper bodies in
public. As a result, some children have felt embarrassed to dress up in traditional clothing for traditional dancing. More and more Western style clothing, such as shorts, are worn by young women, though older women consider it unacceptable. In this way, the Maiwala people’s lifestyle is increasingly influenced by Western customs and practices.

The mixing of Western culture with the traditional Maiwala culture is also seen in the language. Many English terms are used unconsciously while speaking in Maiwala. Despite domination of English in the past, Maiwala Elementary School is playing an important role by encouraging the community members to become conscious of the maintenance of the Maiwala language.

4.5 Language

4.5.1 The Maiwala Language and Related Languages

In Milne Bay Province, there are forty Austronesian languages and at least eight non-Austronesian languages (Lithgow, 1976). Maiwala is an Austronesian language, and belongs to the Taupota language group in the Taupota language family, as shown in Figure 17. However, Maiwala people do not refer to the Taupota language when identifying their language. Rather, they identify their language as the 'same' language as other languages around the Maiwala area.

Although there has not been an official survey conducted on the cognate relationships between these languages, the percentage of commonality would be very high, as the people can understand each other while speaking in their respective languages.
Figure 17. Language Groups around Maiwala
(adapted from Lithgow, 1976)
I was curious to find out how closely the Maiwala language and the Gabugabuna language were related, as Maiwala people said that true Gabugabuna speakers are now all dead and all the Gabugabuna people speak Maiwala. As it was not a focal point of this research, I conducted a small scale informal language survey. I looked for older people to see if the real Gabugabuna speakers were dead. I asked them how they would say certain phrases, but I spoke in the Labe dialect of the Tawala language instead of the Maiwala language. It seemed that Gabugabuna people spoke Maiwala with some variation due to mixing Suwau terms, and also the terms of their two neighbouring languages, as "every speech-community learns from its neighbours" (Bloomfield, 1935: 445). The loss of Gabugabuna language might have resulted from not having their own school, but sending their children to schools in nearby communities where other languages were spoken.

Geographically the Maiwala community is situated very close to the border of the Suwau language family. However, shared cognates between the Suwau family and the Taupota family is thirty-eight per cent (Lithgow, 1976). The Suwau language was spoken on Kwato Island where a mission station was established. Thus, the Suwau language was considered as the lingua franca of the mission, and the teachers were trained in the Kwato Suwau (Abel, 1977; 64)

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63 Suwau was spelled 'Suau' in the previous orthography, as no semivowels were used. However, in 1990 the Non-formal Education Officer at that time, who was a Suwau speaker, felt that it should be changed. He consulted with SIL linguists and led a discussion on the use of semivowels during a materials production and teacher training workshop for vernacular preparatory schools. As a result, they decided to write semivowels in their story books and to teach them to their children.

64 Kwato Suwau is a mission language developed by Charles Abel. In Suwau as well as in many Austronesian languages in the Milne Bay Province, there is no sound that is equivalent to the English 'r'. Although there is an 'I', it has a different quality from the English 'I' as it is flapped. The position of the tongue in a flapped 'I' varies according to its environment, that is made up by the sounds before and after the 'I'. Therefore, sometimes, the flapped 'I' sounds like the English 'I', while at other times it sounds like the English 'r'. Unfortunately, Abel was unable to analyse flapped 'I' and used 'r' and 'I'
cited in Lutton, 1979). Older Maiwala people who were educated in the mission school can understand the Suwau language and often mix in Suwau terms when speaking in Maiwala. However, Suwau people cannot understand the Maiwala language. Their differences are illustrated in the following examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Maiwala</th>
<th>Suwau</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teinani.</td>
<td>Agutoi.</td>
<td>Thank you.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aiyai ina haguu?</td>
<td>Yai aboi suguigu?</td>
<td>Who will help me?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta vighohaghoha.</td>
<td>Ta aiheya.</td>
<td>Let's play.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aitala ma kabebeu</td>
<td>ibou yo bebe</td>
<td>rat and butterfly</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. Differences between Maiwala and Suwau

Maiwala people and the people from Labe community can understand each other while speaking in their own languages. However, Maiwala people do not identify themselves as a dialect group of the Tawala language family. Their similarities are illustrated in the following examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Maiwala</th>
<th>Tawala (Labe)</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teinani</td>
<td>Tinani</td>
<td>Thank you.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aiyai ina haguu?</td>
<td>Iyai ina haguwe?</td>
<td>Who will help me?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta vighohaghoha.</td>
<td>Ta wigohagoha.</td>
<td>Let's play.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aitala ma kabebeu</td>
<td>itala ma kapeu</td>
<td>rat and butterfly</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2. Similarities between Maiwala and Tawala (Labe Dialect)

inconsistently. Thus the Kwato Suwau has English 'r' and differs from the Suwau language spoken by the native speakers.

65 Glottal stops are not marked in this example due to the irregularity of marking in the present Suwau orthography.

66 Labe is the far west end dialect of the Tawala language group. I was familiar with this dialect, because the SIL Diwala Centre was located in the Labe community.
4.5.2 The Influence of English

During the early missionary days, Abel believed that English would be a necessary tool for the Papuans (Abel, 1901; cited in Lutton, 1979). In the Kwato mission station, Suwau was the lingua franca and English was the second language to be taught. However, in reality, the use of English was encouraged more than Suwau. Hence, the students were punished if they were caught speaking languages other than English (Abel, 1924; cited in Lutton, 1979). Under the pressure of this extensive use of the English language, the speakers of the local languages began to forget their language, borrowing words from English and incorporating those into their own languages.

Later, English was also encouraged by the Australian Government, and it has been the official language of instruction in primary schools. English also has become the lingua franca of the present day people of the Papuan region, especially in Milne Bay Province. Extensive use of English in education is based on the assertion of cultural superiority of English speakers (Bloomfield, 1935). Most people at Maiwala (i.e., leavers at grade six) have a limited understanding of English. Those who have gone to high school (i.e., leavers at grades eight, nine or ten) have a fairly good command of English:

X said, "We need to learn English, so that we can explain our ways to outsiders, especially dimdim [expatriates]. For communication with them, we need to use English, as they don't understand the Maiwala language. When the missions were in control of education, Maiwala people were taught in Suwau. But dimdim cannot understand the Suwau language."

Thus, learning English is considered to be necessary for communication with others who do not know the vernacular. However, in recent years Pidgin English (Tok Pisin) is often heard in Alotau due to intermarriages and postings.

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67There seems no problem in communicating in everyday conversation. However, when it comes to writing, a few mistakes have been noticed, such as a sign at a local trade store about 'buking' (booking), and graffiti that said 'SD was hia' (SD was here) in one of the homes.
of workers from the New Guinea region. Even at Maiwala, a couple of men from the New Guinea region are married to Maiwala women and live in the community. Some people, such as the sister of S and her husband, who is from another part of Milne Bay Province, usually communicate in English. They also speak a broken form of Pidgin English, which they learned to speak when they lived in Wewak, the capital of East Sepik Province.

At Maiwala it is rare to hear the people borrow Maiwala words while speaking in English. However, they often borrow English words when speaking Maiwala:

On one occasion after the evening meal, while everybody was sitting and talking, PC asked his wife and his parents-in-law if there was a word for 'circle' in Maiwala. He said that he just heard his daughter use the English word 'circle' in her speech in Maiwala. (PC is originally from Madang but understands Maiwala since he has lived there for eight years.) PC argued that Maiwala words should be used in speaking in Maiwala, and not English words.

The practice of mixing languages is criticised by some older and middle-aged people. However, many adults as well as children borrow English words quite often while speaking in Maiwala. In many cases, they neither realise that they are using loan words, nor do they know the equivalent Maiwala words:

V was surprised to know that I understood what she said to her son about serving rice. Although V whispered to her son, I heard her say,

"Egha am manners."
(not your manners)
[You have no manners.]

borrowing an English word, 'manners'. V discussed with her father and her husband to see if they could find an equivalent Maiwala term. Then V's father suggested to them the following phrase:

"Ammaae egha ita ahi."
(your-manner not it-not good)
[Your manner is not good.]

Similarly, many families use the English terms 'mummy' and 'daddy', rather than hinau (my mother) and amau (my father) in Maiwala:

P's husband said that everyone in P’s family used to address or refer to their parents in the Maiwala language when he got married to P eight years ago. Then P’s youngest sister began to address her parents in English when she started attending high school.
The more the whole community is exposed to English, the more the people borrow English words:

V also said that the people of her generation used to call their parents *hinau* and *amau* and never called them 'mummy' and 'daddy'. However, most adults and children now call their parents 'mummy' and 'daddy'. She thinks that the parents are the ones who are teaching their children which words to use.

As parents use the English terms 'mummy' and 'daddy', children are more encouraged to use them. These incidents are occurring on a large scale, affecting the whole community.

As small children tend to spend more time with their mothers than their fathers, they tend to imitate their mothers' speech more than their fathers':

PD (four years old) came to the nearby trade store to buy a 'mutrus' (cigarette) for his father. He said to the store keeper in Maiwala, "*Amau atapake a gimalai.*" (father-my his-smoke I buy-it) [I came to buy a cigarette for my father.]

Although his father has a good command of English, his mother hardly speaks English but only Maiwala.

The child who is learning to speak may get most of his or her habits from the closest person, such as his or her mother. The child's speech will also be influenced by other speakers as he or she hears them.

On the other hand, the boys who have grown up in the families where their fathers hardly spoke English have a tendency to prefer to speak Maiwala, although their mother has a good command of English:

TM (forty-five years old) has four sons, and they always work together. When I tried to have dialogue with them, they hardly spoke English but Maiwala. However, they seemed to understand English being spoken to them. His wife and his daughter (fifteen years old) have a good command of English, and the daughter has been selected to go to high school. She calls her parents 'mummy' and 'daddy'.

Although these boys did not do well in the academic work at school, they have spent more time with their father and have learned many skills necessary for survival in the community. In contrast, many other boys have neither learned
academic skills nor other skills in the community. These other boys do not have a good command of English but borrow many English words in their speech in Maiwala:

VC (forty years old) hardly speaks English except by mixing in English words, such as 'mummy' and 'daddy' when speaking in Maiwala. Although his wife has a fairly good command of English, both of their two sons (fifteen and eleven years old) hardly speak any English but frequently use English words while speaking in Maiwala.

Furthermore, in some families, new Maiwala words have been created by borrowing English words:

X's son (eighteen months old) calls her mummy-au (my mummy) and her husband, daddy-au (my daddy). When her husband referred to X in talking to their daughter, he said, mummy-na (your mummy) instead of hina-mna (your mother).

There are also some changes in the meaning of Maiwala words used in addressing parents:

X explained that the terms bada and keduluma were originally used for 'old man' and 'old woman', or 'respected man' and 'respected woman'. However, nowadays, these terms are used for all adult men and women.

Similarly, some children address their father as 'bada':

Although M's husband and his sons can understand English being spoken, they hardly speak English but Maiwala. Their sons call their mother hinau and their father bada, instead of amau.

Likewise, married couples who are over forty years old often refer to or address each other using the terms bada and keduluma. However, younger couples usually address each others' spouses by their names. If one of the couple's names happened to be the same as one of the parents-in-law's name, a nickname is used instead. When a wife refers to her husband, she does not use the term for 'husband', but uses the term tulata (our friend, indicating a friend

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Most adults of the Maiwala community called me keduluma but some who were close to me, such as the elementary school teachers, called me 'Yasuko'. Small children usually called me taniwaga (teacher). However, a couple of girls called me according to their kinship relationships to me: 1) A girl who was named after me called me valigeha (name's sake); and 2) a girl who identified me as a part of her family called me goghau (my grandmother).
of her and the hearer). Then the hearer refers to him as the father of one of their children.

Younger siblings usually refer to, or address, their older siblings' spouses by the term *tuwau* (my friend). While older siblings usually refer to, or address, their younger siblings of the same sex, or their spouses of the same sex, by their names (but sometimes *au tevela* or *valehiu*), the spouses of older siblings refer to, or address, their younger brothers or sisters-in-law by the term *au tevela*. However, when brothers or sisters are married to people from other places, they refer to, or address, their brothers and sisters-in-law by the names of the places from which they come.

Otherwise people usually address each other by their first names⁶⁹ or their nicknames. Some people have English names while others have Maiwala names. Long names are often shortened by phonetic substitution according to the phonological features⁷⁰ of the Maiwala language. In the process of phonetic substitution, "the speakers replace the foreign sounds by the phonemes of their language" by ignoring minor differences for adaptation (Bloomfield, 1935: 446).

Through the confusion of the Maiwala language being mixed with English, some of the people at Maiwala, such as Z, felt that the Maiwala language had to be taught properly at school. In 1989 when Z and others heard about the recent policy of initial vernacular education, they wished to have their own vernacular

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⁶⁹Traditionally, the Western system of family naming did not exist in PNG. Some people use their father's name as their last name, and others their grandfathers'. Married women may use their husbands' first names or their last names.

⁷⁰Almost all the syllables in the Maiwala language are formed by the combination of a consonant and a vowel. The only exception is 'm' final (e.g., *tam*, *malatontom*). Examples of shortened English names are: *Kuli* from Christopher, *Gule* from Grace, *Dulu* from Andrew (stress on the first vowel, and 'r' changed to flapped 'l'); *Kobo* from Jacob, and *Toma* from Thomas. As the phonetic systems of English and Maiwala are less alike, "the substitutions may seem surprising to members of the lending community" (Bloomfield, 1935: 446).
preparatory school. Thus, the Maiwala language was first written down by its native speakers. This was done during the Vernacular Preparatory School Materials Production and Teacher Training Workshops in 1990.

4.5.3 The Maintenance of the Maiwala Language

As the Maiwala people had a strong sense of ownership of their language, they had definite ideas about the orthography. For example, they did not want to mark a glottal stop with an apostrophe, although it occurs frequently. When a linguist, without careful analysis of the language, tried to persuade them to mark glottal stops, the Maiwala people resented his behaviour. As the native speakers of the language, they may be able to predict the occurrence of glottal stops in reading, or may find the necessity of marking it at a later date. There is no instant answer, but it requires a process of investigation in the Maiwala people’s time-frame.

They also wanted to use a digraph, ‘gh’, for the velar fricative sound rather than a single letter such as ‘x’. I respected the Maiwala people for their ideas, as they are the owners of the language. However, they appreciated my help in determining word breaks and appropriate punctuation marks (Nagai, 1993b). Thus, I endeavoured to avoid the age-old imposition of Western ideas, but respected their ideas as the indigenous owners.

Although there has not been any survey conducted regarding the literacy rate at Maiwala Community, those who have attended Maiwala Preparatory School can read and write Maiwala quite well:

The Maiwala Preparatory School has been an encouragement to many adults, especially the old people who were taught in Suwau. As no semi vowels were used in the previous Suwau orthography, some old people

\[71\] As discussed in the previous chapters, the term 'literacy' needs to be redefined before conducting a literacy survey. The method used to survey fragmented skills is not adequate for surveying integrated literacy skills.

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went to check their spelling with the preparatory school books in order to write the Maiwala language correctly. X also says that having a vernacular preparatory school helps to encourage children to use the Maiwala language the right way, as the language is now mixed with many English words.

Since the Maiwala Preparatory School (now Maiwala Elementary School) was opened, the teachers have translated many songs into Maiwala, and have tried to use Maiwala terms rather than English terms:

One evening P's brother came and said to me,
"Waguvala   ahiahina."
( night    good-good-one)
[Good evening.]

When I commented that malatomtom ahiahina (good morning) and aibiga ahiahina (good afternoon) as well as waguvala ahiahina sounded like the direct translation of the greetings in English, PC said that I was right.

PC said that the people used to say teinani at any time of the day and Uuu! for 'Good bye'. However, about twenty years ago, people began to say 'Goody morning'. Then about eight years ago PC began to hear people say, 'Goody!'. PC's brother-in-law said that it was the preparatory school teachers who began to use malatomtom ahiahina, and etc. PC thinks that malatomtom ahiahina is better than 'Goody morning'.

It was solely the teachers’ decision to use the direct translation of English greetings. However, knowing that I am a literacy consultant and teacher, many adults and children tried to greet me with malatomtom ahiahina, etc. These words are quite a mouthful:

One morning OF brought some food to her daughter's home where I was staying. As soon as she saw me, she said,
"Goody morning! Oo! Malatomtom ahiahina!"
( good morning oops morning good-good-one)
[Good morning! Oops! Good morning (in Maiwala).]

On other occasions among themselves, they preferred to use 'goody morning' or 'goody!' During the first part of my field work in 1995 when I greeted the children who were walking to school with malatomtom ahiahina, many of them used to giggle and say nothing. However, when I greeted the children on their way to school with teinani, they immediately said teinani without hesitation. When they were passing by me, I said to them, "Uuu!" They responded,

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The stress is placed on the first vowel and is lengthened [gú:di] to fit the stress pattern of the Maiwala language.
"Uuu!" without hesitation. By contrast, during the second part of my field work in 1996, I noticed that many people became more conscious of using the new Maiwala terms, and most people greeted each other in Maiwala without hesitation.

Traditionally, the term *teinani* was also used for the meaning of 'thank you', 'you are welcome', 'I'm sorry' and 'excuse me'. However, in recent years the term *teinani* has been used mainly for 'thank you'. Z grieves for the loss of the original meaning of the term *teinani*, as well as the actual manners that were associated with it⁷³:

One day when everyone was eating, ZA (ten years old) marched into the middle of the room with wet feet. Her mother said to her,

"Hei ZA, egha nanaalena." (Hey ZA not like that)

[Hey, ZA, it's not like that; that's not what you should do.] Immediately ZA said in English, "Excuse me, excuse!" Then she got her towel from her room and quickly walked through the middle of the room and went outside. After wiping her feet, she came into the room again. Her mother, Z, was not pleased with ZA's manners, as Z has taught her children to wipe their feet before coming into the house, and not to march in, in front of others.

It was a rare occasion, as Z's children are all well-mannered. They usually say 'sorry', 'excuse me' and 'thank you' appropriately in English. However, Z's brother said that saying 'excuse!' is not as polite as saying *teinani*.

Traditionally, Maiwala people used to bend down and walk in slowly saying *teinani*. Women used to hold their skirts around them to keep themselves intact as they bent over, and slowly walked behind the people. However, nowadays, people often say, 'Excuse!'⁷⁴, and just march into the middle of the room or walk in front of other people.

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⁷³As culture is a 'signifying practice' (Bocock, 1992), certain manners are often associated with certain phrases. For example, when I begin to greet Japanese people, I begin to bow to them easily, as that is the way I was taught and practised for 26 years in Japan. Once it has been established 'in my blood' (Mel, 1996), it cannot be replaced by English manners. For example, it feels awkward for me to walk in front of others, saying, 'Excuse me', in English.

⁷⁴Most people in Alotau area say, 'Excuse!' in place of 'excuse me'.

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An English phrase has been shortened and used in place of a Maiwala phrase. As a result, the original meaning of the Maiwala phrase has been distorted by the use of the English phrase.

4.5.4 Reflections

Although the Gabugabuna language is said to be permanently lost, the Maiwala language is still surviving despite the extensive use of the English language in education. Older people, who were taught in the Suwau language, mix some Suwau terms, but hardly ever mix English terms while speaking in Maiwala. However, it is common among the young people to freely mix English terms while speaking in Maiwala. The habit of borrowing words is inevitable through the interaction with other language groups. However, borrowing English words is a result of its imposition over the Maiwala language.

In order to maintain the Maiwala language, vernacular elementary school teachers began to promote the use of their language by substituting English phrases with the newly created equivalent Maiwala phrases. My association with the local people also made them become aware of what was happening to their language. Thus, the elementary school teachers and some of the parents became conscious of using Maiwala terms rather than borrowed English terms. Maintenance of the Maiwala language is a part of the people's desire to maintain their culture.

Although indigenous culture and language were suppressed by the introduction of Christianity, the local people are now actively involved in the maintenance of various cultural activities as well as Christian traditions introduced by the missionaries, as we see below.
4.6 Religion and the Administrative System

4.6.1 Magic

Tawala Christians seem to talk more openly than Maiwala Christians about the suspicion of magic or sorcery when a person becomes sick or dies, or a misfortune has befallen them. They profess themselves to be Christians, however they still believe that the power of magic is stronger than that of the Christian God. Misfortune is not believed to have a natural cause:

Sometime ago, when one of the people in Labe became a Christian, and he was to be baptised within a few weeks, he was very happy about it, but he was sad that his father was dying of something caused by magic.

Thus, people often suspect magic practices behind undesirable events:

The Labe people were not happy that they lost the canoe race held at the recent Samarai Pearl Festival, that the Maiwala people won first and second places. Some of the Labe Christians thought that the Maiwala people had put magic on their war canoe, while the Labe war canoe was blessed by the pastor and other Christians.

In reality, however, both the Maiwala and the Labe people went through all the traditional procedures of building canoes (including magic), and both of them got their pastors to bless their respective canoes. At the time of the actual race, paddlers were banned from carrying any items of magic on board (Loney, 1995). The power of the Maiwala paddlers, as shown in Figure 18, is well known in Milne Bay Province:

The people of Maiwala were arguably the fiercest in Milne Bay; today they are amongst the best organised and have one of the closest-knit communities. War canoes would originally be taken on long expeditions - sometimes out of the bay and to the islands - to raid other villages. Sometimes a victim would be snatched also - for the Maiwala people, the capture of a victim was really a show of strength and power. Often the victim's tribe would mount a revenge attack to rescue their relative, but sometimes not, and he would be left to his fate. The Maiwalans say that if the ravaged tribe did not retaliate, then after a couple of days the Maiwala people would eat their helpless victim.

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75 Although many people in Milne Bay Province are church-goers, they still practice sorcery and witchcraft. The power of such activities are still feared among those who are in ministerial positions (Ezard, 1991; Lithgow, 1992).
76 His father had cancer.
Today, the canoes are only used for racing, but many of the other customs are still just as relevant (Loney, 1995: 33).

The Maiwala people view their victory objectively without relation to magic:

Z said that the Maiwala people are the only people in Milne Bay Province, who know how to paddle a canoe without an outrigger, but the Labe people are not used to paddling a canoe without an outrigger.

The Maiwala people tend to look at any misfortune more objectively:

When V’s husband could not catch any fish, he simply said that he missed the right time, as it was already high tide.

This objective view is based on the person's knowledge of when to fish and how to fish more effectively:

The other night, T’s boys went fishing. On the following day, the boys were very tired. They had mixed feelings about their catch. They did catch quite a few fish but not as many as at other times, and so they explained the reason: As they did not have enough batteries to operate four torches, two boys had to hold their torches while the other two were diving.

With an objective point of view, some people have discarded their superstition completely:

Early one morning at about 5:30 am while most people were still in bed, there was an earth tremor for about two seconds. XC explained that in his grandparents' days, people used to throw any kind of leaves out of the house when there was a tremor. If they did not, they might not have a plentiful harvest. "But," he said, "they stopped doing it. They had a funny belief."

On the other hand, some superstitions still exists among the Maiwala people:

One evening Z cooked and served a crab which her husband had caught. Z explained that traditionally children were not allowed to eat crab. She said that her children could eat fish instead. Z explained that her grandmother had taught her and her brothers that eating crabs would cause children to have a stomach ache, especially girls, or their future children. Z is a person who often shared her view of how the Christian God helped her in the past. Z said that she did not feel happy when eating crab, as her children could not eat it.

Similarly, magic is still practised among many people at Maiwala:

One evening KB said that there were quite a few people at Maiwala who practise magic, such as when preparing to go fishing, when planting yam, taro and weeding. He also said that some 'Christians' also practise magic, such as saying magic words over the mixture of the cleansing ceremony for the building of war canoes, and also saying magic words while hanging pandanus leaves. KB said that such magic worked, as the people
from nearby communities were captivated by the magic to come to Maiwala in order to admire the war canoes.

This kind of magic is not meant to harm others but to bring better fortune for themselves:

O’s father said that he squeezed some special kinds of leaves over the young plants during planting by saying,

"Vaovao ya vao."

( garden I plant)

[I planted the garden.]

I asked him if the plants really grows well if he exercises magic. He said, "Yes." "What happens if you don’t put magic on your garden?” He said that it would not produce a good crop but he had never tried to plant his garden without magic.

Previously, many people were hesitant to talk about magic to me. Once I had mentioned my curiosity, they seemed to be more open. Maiwala Christians think that magic that brings fortune to themselves is harmless and all right to be practised. However, such magic sometimes means an indirect curse on others:

OA said that during the building of war canoes, the old man who was in charge put magic on their canoes saying how good those canoes were going to be. "By saying so," OA said, "the old man was spoiling other canoes."

Magic is still practised among the church members. On the other hand, however, some people have changed their beliefs completely from the traditional magic to faith in the Christian God:

P said that her father used to use magic and to pray to the fish god for a big catch, every time he was preparing to go out fishing. The fish god always answered his prayer and he always had a big catch. Since he became a pastor, he decided to pray to the Christian God for a big catch. His catch was not as big as before, but just enough for his family. However, when he went out to fish for a big gathering, he always had a big catch. Until he quit fishing because of his poor eyesight, this pattern of catch continued. The Christian God gave him the appropriate amount of fish each time, and he never came home empty handed.
Figure 18. Two Maiwala Wam (War Canoes)

Figure 19. The First Public Performance of Maiwala Dancing by the Maiwala Elementary School Children with Bada Walipogi
4.6.2 Church and the Maintenance of the Maiwala Culture

The Maiwala church belongs to Kwato Mission. The present church building is situated at Modewa, near the bottom end of the community, and was officially opened in 1986. The name Kwato comes from the name of the island where Charles Abel began his mission in 1891 as a member of the London Missionary Society (LMS). He established a mission station there, and extended his mission to the villages around Milne Bay including Maiwala. Kwato Island is situated near Samarai Island as shown in Figure 12.

Abel believed that technical education would contribute to Christianising the indigenous people. Since Abel's wife was from a well-to-do English family and Abel himself was a good cricketer, they believed that "Papuans needed the virtues of the evangelical middle class family - industry, polite speech, cleanliness and sportsmanship" (Garrett, 1992: 38). Abel also believed that he could build a team-spirit through playing sports and sharing deep thoughts together (Williams, 1972). Cricket was first promoted on the Kwato mission station, where children were taken away from their parents in the community "before they became saturated with the fears and superstitions of their forefathers" (Williams, 1972: 39-40). These children were to be moulded into a way that was compatible with the Europeans, especially through practical and industrial training (ibid).

As Abel and his colleagues did not recognise that there was already a spirit of co-operation among the people in their tribal feasting, his mission destroyed feasting along with tribal fighting (Williams, 1972). Many Maiwala people grieve the loss of the old spirit of working together, although they are glad not to have tribal fighting any more. In other words, the team-spirit in playing

Abel's technical education included carpentry, boat-building, blacksmithing, saw-milling, brick-making, dairying, running of a plantation, etc., for boys; and laundry-work, needlework, home craft, dressmaking, basket weaving, etc., for girls (Williams, 1972; Smith, 1975).
sports did not replace the spirit of co-operation for feasting. Ironically cricket has become the obsession of many Maiwala men:

During the cricket season, most people go to the cricket ground near the church in order to play or watch cricket every Saturday, instead of going to their gardens. Z says that cricket has spoiled the life of many Maiwala people. U also said that she was not interested in cricket at all, although her husband was the chairman of the Maiwala Cricket Association. These women usually go to their gardens rather than watch the men play cricket.

It is obvious that cricket has affected the whole community life. It preoccupies the Maiwala people's valuable day for teaching their children gardening and fishing. In other words, an introduced change based on the Westerner's perspective failed to meet the needs of the indigenous people, but created unexpected problems.

In addition to the creation of sportsmanship, Abel emphasised technical education. However, his view conflicted with the views of his colleagues, who focussed on teaching literacy as the means of Christianising. After a strained period, LMS in 1918 approved a ten-year trial period for the 'Kwato Association' to operate independently. Finally, at the end of the period, Kwato became an independent mission. Then, in 1964, Kwato joined with the Papua Ekalesia. As the Methodist Church, the Papua Ekalesia and the United Church joined to form the United Church in 1968, Kwato became a part of the United Church (Williams, 1972). Later in 1977, Kwato became an independent mission again because of conflict with the rest of the United Church.

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78There is a cricket association in the Maiwala community. Although the population of the community is approximately 550, there are five cricket teams. The membership fee of 50 kina per team has doubled in 1997. Each team has sixteen members (eleven players and five reserves). Each player pays 10 kina to the team per season. OA says that it's easy to pay membership fees by making copra, which brings in 30 kina per bag. These Maiwala cricketers try to buy proper equipment, such as bats, gloves, pitch mat, etc., from Australia through OA's brother-in-law who is an expatriate from Australia.

79The conflict arose from 1) the order of the Kwato church service that consists of several speakers instead of having a main speaker; and 2) teaching of Moral Re-Armament led by F. Buchman: "When man listens, God speaks."
Sunday services usually begin at about 10:00 am. On Sunday or for special meetings, the church bell warns people to get ready about an hour beforehand. The church bell is heard only by the nearby people. The Sunday service at Maiwala church consists of eight to ten speakers sandwiched by songs. There is no main speaker, and the entire service is more a time of sharing. Older people still use the Suwau Bible\(^80\), and the younger generation use the English Bible. They sing in Suwau from the Kwato Hymn Book in the Suwau language, called 'Buka Vana' (song book). The acting pastor has a great interest in translating the Bible into Maiwala. However, he had not been able to find any others to help to form a team of translators and a checking committee\(^81\) at the time of writing this thesis.

The definition of being a Christian varies from one person to the other. Some say that a 'baptised person' is a Christian, and others say that a person who has joined the church is a Christian. Some Christians have definite ideas of what Christians should not do:

> Although it was getting dark one Saturday afternoon, X's sister was still doing her laundry in the river. X said that according to the new law that was passed in the recent church meeting, laundry is not allowed to be done on Sunday morning, especially during the church service. She said that some people do not 'obey' the law. Usually X washes her son's

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80 Suwau Bible (The New Testament) was translated by Charles Abel, and after his death, it was revised by his son, Russel, and published by the Bible Society of PNG in 1962. It is titled 'Riba Hariharinya' (new word) in the orthography without semivowels and with two symbols: 'r' and 'l' for one sound of flapped 't'.

81 In 1990, an SIL couple offered themselves to come to Maiwala to begin the work of Bible translation into Maiwala. At first, the Maiwala people thought that the couple was going to do the work for them, and did not realise how much they were expected to do, such as forming a team of translators and a checking committee. When the couple pressured the Maiwala people to agree with their plans, the Maiwala people resented the outsiders' control over them. Later, Z said that the community could not organise themselves to suit the couple's plans, as they were struggling to get their vernacular preparatory school going at that time (Nagai, 1993b).
(eighteen months old) dirty pants straight away in the river. However, on Sunday morning, X left a few pairs of dirty pants in a bucket when she went to church, and washed them later in the afternoon.

Thus, the people continue to respect the rules taught by the early missionaries. Others, however, have the view that restrictive rules are likely to have an opposite effect on people:

When X’s husband became a Christian recently, X and her husband decided that they as Christians should not smoke or chew betel nut. They declared to the church congregation that he had quit smoking and that both of them had quit chewing betel nut. However, after six months or so, they started to chew betel nut again and the husband began to smoke again. Q thinks that it is not good to break a promise made in public. She thinks that the church should have given them a ‘promise card’, like the card given to a man for his decision not to smoke again when he became a pastor.

Most local Christians chew betel nut, although some missionaries still tend to forbid this practice.

Because of the teaching of Christian missionaries, traditional ceremonies and dancing have been abandoned and almost forgotten among the Maiwala people. However, the Maiwala Church now has a definite and positive part in the community in making decisions for the maintenance of their culture:

X said that traditional dancing and other traditional practices have been abandoned since the arrival of missionaries. X’s grandparents’ generation thought that such traditional practices did not fit in with the ‘clean’ Christian ways taught by early missionaries, and discouraged everyone from practising any traditional ways.

As a result, the children of that generation grew up without seeing dancing, etc. TM (forty-five years old) remembers how he was discouraged from attending traditional dancing. As a result, TM has never seen dancing. Only a couple of old men remember some of the traditional ceremonies and skills.

However, many Christians now think it is all right to conduct traditional dancing and ceremonies, but not to kill people. On the occasion of building two war canoes, the church called a meeting and decided to build them in the traditional way with a cleansing ceremony.

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82 Abel (1902; cited in Smith, 1987) considered dancing many times was more evil and vicious than fighting once.
The cleansing ceremony is for all the women in the community, especially for those women who cook for the canoe builders. For the cleansing ceremony, a special mixture is prepared with coconut oil, a *babaka* (croton) leaf and strips of creepers. A *babaka* leaf was first pulled by a boy and a girl until it became thin almost to the point of breaking. The mixture was then made and blessed by the cultural leader of the community. He is the only person who remembers the whole procedure of traditional canoe building. The women apply the mixture to their heads and faces (some also applied it to their upper bodies) to show the cleansing of their whole body. Each woman also put her tongue between the strips of creepers to show cleansing of her words.

A few days after the above cleansing ceremony, two large roughly carved logs were floated down the Maiwala River to the shore of Numaheliheli. This was considered to be the best place to work on the canoes. A special mixture was prepared daily for the cleansing of the canoe builders. After the men carved the logs there, they paddled them to another place where specially skilled men were to do the final carving within a fenced enclosure. When these roughly carved logs, or the canoes that were ready for final carving, were paddled down the river, a conch shell was blown by one of the paddlers. During the building of the war canoes, there was a tremendous atmosphere of excitement in the community.

Three skilled canoe builders were kept 'clean' by staying away from their wives during the final carving in the enclosure. Although women and children were allowed to walk on the beach near the fenced enclosure, they were not allowed to go inside it. Food was supplied by the two original owners of the logs, and meals were prepared by the women, who cleansed themselves through the cleansing ceremony. The canoe builders ate at the house near the enclosure.

The Maiwala church was fully involved in the above procedure of building war canoes. In fact Maiwala people are very proud of their skills that enable them
to paddle canoes without outriggers, especially because they won the canoe race at Samarai during the Pearl Festival held in 1973. Subsequently, they also won in 1995. Maiwala people's pride in paddling a canoe is well expressed in the following song:

*Maiwala wanna wam ahiahina.*
*Lava hai ani hakwa.*
*Ta duhuna gogona, ta voevoe.*
*Apaiyaina vigeduwei?*
*Apaiyaina vigeduwei?*
*Haugana ma apo tau.*

(Maiwala canoe is an excellent canoe
For the people to ride.
Let’s sit down together and paddle.
Who will be the captain?
Who will be the captain?
I may be the one.)

Figure 20. Song: *Maiwala Wamna*

Not only by practising the traditional ways of building war canoes, but also through the result of the canoe race, the Maiwala people were encouraged to keep up with the maintenance of their culture. However, the people found it difficult to perform Maiwala dancing, which they had never seen before:

Z said that not a single Maiwala woman, nowadays, knows how to dance. Z feels sorry that many traditional practices are already gone. X agreed with her and said that she, too, felt sorry about it. As they were talking about how they could maintain their culture which seemed to have gone forever, I asked them, "What about dancing at school?" "No, we don't know how," said X. "But you have seen the students dance at Hagita High School, haven't you?" "Yes, but I don't know Maiwala dancing. I
heard that one woman from another community knows how to perform Maiwala dancing. I wish we could invite her to come to teach us, but we don't know where she is."

"We don't have kundu drums, either," said Z. She also said that the last kundu drum in the Maiwala community was broken and thrown away some time ago. She said, "When I saw it, I was so sorry and took it to my brothers' house. So it's been kept there since. But, everybody has forgotten about it. It's broken and no good for beating any more. Here in Maiwala, Bada L is the only person who knows how to make kundu drums and to beat them." "Can't he make one?" "Yes, but he says it's not easy\textsuperscript{83} to make it."

So I said, "Why don't you buy one? I know there are two kundu drums for sale in town." But they said, "Our school doesn't have money." Because of all their excuses or hesitation, I suggested to them that I buy a small one for them. I said, "I know children often beat plastic bottles just like kundu drums." They showed a sign of delightful surprise in their faces, but it quickly disappeared. "But," they said, "We don't know Maiwala dancing\textsuperscript{84}." I said, "Never mind. You have seen others dance, haven't you? What about you teachers and children dance the drama of each story in a traditional way each week? I understand that each dance has a story." "That's right. I remember quite an excellent performance at Hagita High School," said X.

Next time when I went to town, I intended to buy a kundu drum. While I was in town, I saw Bada L's daughter. So I asked her to come with me to see if it was a good kundu drum. She checked it and as she said it was good, I bought it for the Maiwala Elementary School. Next day when X took the drum out to show to the children in the elementary school, they were very excited. When X started to beat it, everybody in the school compound heard it, and all the primary school children came to the elementary school to see the drum. Everybody's eyes were shining with excitement and delight.

One small kundu drum was enough to awaken something that had been sleeping 'in their blood'\textsuperscript{85} (Mel, 1996). By feeling happy and excited, X told me a legend about the origin of the kundu drum:

\begin{quote}
Bada L explained to me that kundu drums are made of certain trees, and if he could find a hollow one, it would be the easiest way to make it. "But," he said, "it's not easy to find a hollow one. So nowadays, some people have a drill to make a hole."

The teachers did not mean that they did not know the steps, but the story lines, of Maiwala dancing.

I also felt something 'in my blood' was stirred up, especially when Bada L taught me how to beat a kundu drum. Although I have lived and worked in Australia for nearly a quarter of a century, and have considered Australia my home, there still exists 'in my blood' my identity as a part of Japanese culture, in which I was brought up.
\end{quote}
Once upon a time, there lived a woman and her husband in the village. One day when a woman went to weed her garden, she heard a beating of a drum. That beating made her feel very excited and made her dance. She danced all day until dark without weeding. So in the evening she came home feeling very happy, but she did not tell her husband about the sound of beating of a drum. Instead, she told the women in the village.

On the following day, the woman told her husband that other women were going to help her to weed as the grass was too thick. So they went to the garden and began to weed. After a while, when they heard the beating of the drum, they all began to dance. They danced all day and came home in the evening feeling very happy.

As they kept going back to the garden to dance for the next few days, the woman's husband became suspicious. Finally he followed the group of women and came to his wife's garden. When he heard the beating sound of a drum and saw the women dancing, he became angry and cut down the tree. When he returned to the village, he told other men about the tree. So the men cut the tree into cubes and made the first kundu drums.

The beating of their own kundu drum began to bring a much more positive attitude towards the maintenance of Maiwala culture:

Because Bada L suggested to the teachers that there should be a large kundu drum as well, the elementary school teachers had to make a decision whether or not to buy another one. At first, they were reluctant to spend 80 kina for a kundu drum, as they kept repeatedly saying that the elementary school did not have much money.

Later I was very surprised to discover that there was well over 300 kina in their school account. The teachers thought that the money should be kept for future use. I said, "I think that the money should be used for a good purpose. You don't keep taro, but plant it in order to produce lots of taro. If you don't plant it, you cannot harvest anything. Without a large kundu drum, you will not have good traditional dancing, as Bada L says." So two teachers (Z and T) went to town to withdraw 80 kina to buy a kundu drum. On the following day, T said that Z was not sure if she should go ahead with buying a kundu drum. "But," T said, "I said to Z that we should. If we buy another kundu drum, we will have good Maiwala dancing."

At the celebration of the establishment of their school, the teachers knew that they had made the right decision. They saw the children perform their first creation of Maiwala dancing, as shown in Figure 19, with the beatings of two kundu drums (i.e., low and high tones). In this way, drama performed by the children every week has become a special drama that excites the children and teachers. Traditional dancing and music had not been destroyed completely, but were only suppressed for the time being, and began to sprout again when
they were put out in the sun, watered and nurtured. As a result, the Maiwala people's ancient past is now expressed in the new form of Maiwala dancing. The news of the revival of Maiwala dancing spread quickly to nearby communities. A couple of months after I returned from field work, I received a letter dated 12 September 1996 from Z:

"Today Cameron High School students are coming to Maiwala Elementary School to learn to perform traditional dancing. This morning Bada L told me about it on my way to work at Sinayada. I also saw the children going to school with their grass skirts and tapa cloth. I am so proud of our Elementary School and our dancing. Thank you for your encouragement."

Then, about a year later, I received another letter dated 29 August 1997 with news from Z:

"The Maiwala Elementary School has been invited to participate in the Literacy Launching Programme at the Hagita Primary School in September. Our school children are going to perform our very first Maiwala dance called the Pugi Dance, as well as poetry reading, a choir, and a beauty contest in traditional clothes to choose a king and a queen. We are looking forward to that day very much."

Now the teachers and the children own not only these two kundu drums but their own dancing. This kind of ownership is needed to be understood by the primary school teachers:

While the elementary school children were practising to dance, a primary school teacher came to borrow the kundu drums for the performance of her class. This upset the elementary school teachers. They grumbled and said, "The primary school should buy its own kundu drums, as they have lots of money. These drums belong to the elementary school." As the primary school collects children's school fees totalling over 1,000 kina each year and keeps on saving without spending it (except buying a lawn mower in 1995), their balance is beyond comparison to the balance of the elementary school savings.

Thus, a true sense of maintenance of culture was created by the owners of the culture, especially through their investment in the kundu drums.

Although the excitement accompanied by the beating of the kundu drum is in the blood of the Maiwala people, many young people often play pop music on their tape recorders. There are many pop singers and pop music groups in PNG. Young people and school children often dance to such music after school
or at weekends at home. Similarly at high school, pop music and traditional music are mixed together:

At the culture show of the Hagita High School, the staff played Western pop music at the beginning and between the performances of traditional dancing while the dancers were getting ready. S (twenty years old) said that they should not play Western music at the culture show, even though he often plays pop music at home.

An old man also felt it strange to have Western music mixed with traditional music at the culture show:

P’s father (about eighty years old) also said that they should play only the kundu music at the culture show. Among the traditional dancers, there were only a few traditional kundu drums. Other drums were made of PVC. P’s father said that the traditional ones sound a lot better than the PVC ones. He also said that the PVC ones are acceptable nowadays, as traditional kundu drums are hard to make.

This old man had no skills in making kundu drums. However, he knew how to acquire such a skill. He meant that traditional ways of learning special skills require a learner to work alongside the teacher. A person who knows how to make a kundu drum, an axe handle or a canoe, has spent much time with the teacher, and learned it by observation and imitation through personal trial and error. Therefore, those who have not gone through this process find it very hard to make such items.

4.6.3 The Administrative System

Community decision making is organised by the Councillor and the Ward Authority. The Ward Authority consists of five members: the pastor of the Maiwala Church, one of the Sunday School teachers, the Women’s Fellowship leader, a Youth leader and a Culture leader. The Councillor is voted in by the community members who are sixteen or over. The wage of the Councillor is paid by the provincial government. The councillor has power over the Ward Authority.

Some older people prefer not to pass on their positions in the Ward Authority or the school board to younger members. However, some other people would
prefer them to step down and let the young people take on these positions while the old people work alongside the young people. Those who encourage young people to take over the positions think that skills should be taught and handed down to younger generations.

There is a village court with a magistrate and a secretary to handle local problems, such as marital problems and land disputes among relatives. Wages of the magistrate and the secretary are paid by the provincial government. The Women's Fellowship is quite active in various ways such as helping older people in the community, and preparing food for various occasions.

4.6.4 Reflections

Many Maiwala Christians do not want to mention magic, although many of them still practise it. Although traditional customs, such as feasting and dancing, were condemned by the early Christian missions, traditional culture has still remained in the blood of the Maiwala people. In recent years, the Maiwala people have been actively involved in the maintenance of their culture. In particular, they have been engaged in the traditional building of war canoes. Winning the canoe race has encouraged them further to maintain the unique features of canoe building.

Introducing traditional dancing at the Elementary School was another example of the people's active involvement in the maintenance of their culture. Although the stories related to their traditional dancing have been lost, the teachers were encouraged to dance the stories which were written in the books created for the school. In the past, children became alienated from their community through Western schooling. However, school is becoming more involved in the maintenance of indigenous culture.
4.7 Formal Education

4.7.1 Primary School

The Maiwala Primary School first began with one teacher who was trained by the Kwato Mission in 1944. It was closed from 1962 to 1963, due to the deterioration of the school building. While it was closed, the children went to school at Naula, west of Hagita Estate. Later in 1968, the school was placed under the government and teachers who were trained in colleges were posted.

Members of the older generation who were educated through the mission schools have limited literacy skills in the Kwato Suwau. However, the younger generation which has been taught in English does not understand Suwau, but has some limited understanding of English.

Most children attend the Maiwala Primary School. Some parents, however, do not see the value of sending their children to school:

TC went to school for the first two years, but his parents did not discipline him to go regularly. They thought that school was unnecessary. When TC did not want to go to school, his parents used to say, "Havena!" (leave him)

[Leave him!]

As TC's behaviour became uncontrollable, he was sent by his parents to one of his uncles' place. However, he returned home, because he was not willing to work and argued with the uncle and his wife. He just hangs around doing nothing at home. Occasionally he enjoys working with another uncle's sons, but is not willing to continue to work with them.

Many parents, especially those who were trained in the mission station, do not seem to know how to discipline their children. Although they were brought into the Kwato family (Lutton, 1979; Beavis, 1994) and disciplined there

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86 Although the government provides the school curriculum and teachers, Maiwala Community School is one of the Kwato Agency Schools that provides the school grounds, labour for the construction of a school building and a syllabus for religious instruction.
(Williams, 1972), they were not able to apply their training in their own family in the community.

On the other hand, some parents thought that school was very important and made sure that their children went to school everyday. However, good attendance did not always mean that the child was learning well:

VB’s parents used to wake him up in the morning and made sure he attended school every day. He hardly missed a day at school. However, like most other parents, VB’s parents had no idea of what their son was learning or not learning at school.

When the new headmaster came, each child began to bring home a school report at the end of every term. VB (in grade five at that time) also brought his report to his parents. However, his parents did not know how to interpret the numbers\(^87\) and so remained unaware of how little he had been learning at school. These parents never bothered to ask his teacher or anyone else what these numbers meant until VB reached the end of grade six.

Parents, who encourage their children to do their homework or extra studies at home, make some stationery available to their children at home. However, the parents of children who did not study at home, never bothered to check on their children’s school work or the availability of stationery. In addition, most teachers did not bother to contact the parents of each student about his or her performance at school. Even when the teacher did contact the parents, many parents did not know what to do. There seemed to be a serious communication breakdown between the teacher and the parents.

4.7.2 High School

After six years of schooling at a community school, only a few students are selected to go to high school. Their selection is based on their results from the

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\(^{87}\)The results of the tests were shown according to the subjects in two sets of numbers respectively: 1) number of correct answers out of the total number of questions; and 2) the child’s place among the total number of the pupils in the class.
National Grade Six Examinations\textsuperscript{88}. After going to high school, however, many of them have returned to the community:

V thought that her sister's son was wasting his life in the community after graduating from high school (grade ten), so she encouraged him to teach Sunday School with her. However, he usually hangs around at home grumbling. He neither goes fishing nor gardening.

Many young men cannot find something that satisfies them:

ZB is back in the community after graduating from high school (grade ten). He occasionally works with his father and uncles at home. He does not think that learning at high school was any help to his present life in the community. He said that the only thing he found helpful was the ideas he gained on agriculture. Unfortunately ZB cannot use these ideas, as there is no equipment available in the community\textsuperscript{89}.

By observing those who have come back into the community after graduating from high school, some parents think that high school education does not help children to have a successful life in the community:

T's four sons are around the age of late teens and early twenties. They have never been to high school, but they have learned to live a fulfilling life in the community. While some of their friends were studying at high school, these boys learned to fish, mend a fishing net, build a house, carve an axe handle and canoe, etc. They never waste their time by doing nothing. Rather, they seem to enjoy being busy as part of the work force of the family.

These boys were failures at school, as the children's future was determined by the National Grade Six Examinations. Some children wanted to go to high school for future employment or further education. However, some other children were forced to go to high school because of their examination results:

OA's son, OE (fifteen years old), used to go to the Naula High School until the school bus broke down. A few months after the breakdown of the school bus, OA received a letter from the school asking him to report to the school why his son was not attending the school.

\textsuperscript{88}The last national grade six examinations were conducted at the end of 1995. Due to changes in the education system, from 1996 children's schooling continues to grade eight. Primary schools that have only six grades, such as Maiwala, are called 'feeder schools' for the nearby primary school, which has grades seven and eight. Those children who have completed grade six in one of the feeder schools continue their schooling for grades seven and eight in the nearby primary school.

\textsuperscript{89}Ironically, practical agriculture suggested by Matane (1968) has not been pursued even after three decades.
OA's wife said that it was not OE's choice to go to high school but his grandparents'. OE is rather glad that the school bus is broken down. It's a perfect excuse for him to quit the school. So, OA and his wife went to the school in order to terminate their son's schooling.

Although the boy did not see his future outside the community, his choice was not valued, as his parents and grandparents considered that it would be prestigious for him to go to high school.

4.7.3 Vernacular Preparatory School and Elementary School
The most recent education policy reforms in PNG encourage initial vernacular education. One of the Maiwala women, Z, who was an experienced ex-primary school teacher, has come to know the difficulties which children face when learning English, and so she caught on to the idea of a vernacular preparatory school. As her vision was supported by some others in the community, she asked the community education officer of the local Department of Education to assist the project. Unfortunately in his top-down approach to the initiation of vernacular preparatory schools, the Maiwala community was not included in his budget. Therefore, he told Z that no financial assistance was available, but to ask me, a literacy consultant, to assist her to make teaching materials (Nagai, 1993b).

After coming to see me with another lady at the SIL Diwala Centre, the Maiwala community eventually invited me to assist them in the preparation of materials and teacher training for their vernacular school. The community organised four one-week workshops with intervals of two months between. It was the community’s choice to have a week long workshop, so that everybody could contribute for a week and then could return to their own activities, such as gardening. The community organised fire teams and cooking teams in order to provide food for those who were preparing teaching materials (Nagai, 1993b).
During these materials production and teacher training workshops, five people (one teenage boy and four mature women) were trained as teachers. The educational background of those who were trained varied from grade six to grade ten school achievement. Despite the differences in educational background, and various family problems, they all successfully completed the four workshops in 1990. They also completed in-service courses in 1991 and 1992, and were awarded teacher's certificates from the Division of Education in Milne Bay Province.

The Maiwala Preparatory School began at the beginning of 1991 with five teachers and a school board (the chairman and a committee). Although a total of five teachers was trained, the number of children was too small to have more than one preparatory class and one pre-school class. Thus, it was arranged that one teacher was to teach the preparatory class (ages seven and eight), and another teacher was to teach the pre-school class (ages six and seven). One teacher took the position of supervisor, and the other two teachers assisted the preparatory and pre-school classes respectively. Since all five were also trained as trainers, two or three of them were often invited to teach at the materials production and teacher training workshops organised by the local Department of Education.

For the first three years, these five teachers and trainers taught on a voluntary basis at their preparatory school and training workshops. Teaching at school or workshops meant that their gardens were not looked after as well as they had been when they were at home. In the Papuan region, there has been an idea that church related work was voluntary\(^{90}\), and only in recent years have pastors begun to be paid salaries. Since Maiwala Preparatory School was assisted by the church, teaching was considered as voluntary work.

\(^{90}\)Particularly with the Kwato mission, Abel aimed to produce "self-supporting industrial evangelists" (Williams, 1972: 40).
When the Maiwala community began to consider the teachers’ salaries in 1993, the Department of Village Services decided to pay both trained and untrained teachers in all the provinces of PNG. This decision crushed the community support that was about to begin in the Maiwala community. Moreover the money from the Village Services did not last long and left many teachers, including Maiwala teachers, unpaid during the year of 1994. As a result, during 1995, Maiwala Preparatory School was closed down for the first term. Due to pressures from some of the parents, it was decided to re-open for the second term. However, when the second term began, most children did not return to school. Thus, the Maiwala Preparatory School was closed down for the entire year of 1995.

When I arrived back at Maiwala for the first part of my field work, many community members complained about the closing down of the preparatory school, blaming the problem on the teachers’ desire to receive wages. However, as I stayed in the preparatory school children’s homes, and had dialogue with the teachers, it became clear that it was not only the teachers but also the children who did not want to continue schooling. It also became clear that the main problem was neither the teachers nor the children, but the formal school system that did not allow multiple grade teaching.

Since the number of children in the same age group has been less than twenty, the intake of grade one at the Maiwala Primary School had been every alternate year until 1995. As a result, this biennial intake made the children repeat preparatory school in the year when there was no intake. Thus, those who had already attended both pre-school class and preparatory class did not want to repeat it three times. Although there were enough children in Gabugabuna, the nearby community, the Catholic parents did not want to send their children to a Kwato mission school but a Catholic mission school further away.
In addition to the above disappointment, within the new structure of schooling in PNG, the Maiwala Preparatory School was not recognised, as it did not fall into the category of a formal elementary school. Elementary Schooling is an extension of a one-year vernacular preparatory school into a three-year programme. In the Milne Bay Province, large primary schools were chosen to have associated elementary schools. Therefore, a small primary school, such as the Maiwala Primary School, was not qualified to have a three-year elementary school associated with it.

Some large schools, such as the one in the town of Alotau, accommodate many children from various language groups. In mission school days, Suwau language was chosen as the language of instruction. However, in the most recent system focused on initial vernacular education, the elementary school in Alotau has chosen English:

Z, one of the Maiwala Elementary School teachers, grieves the way other elementary schools are going. She says that vernacular is forgotten and English is encouraged more by the new policy.

Ironically, the choice of large primary schools has defeated the purpose of initial vernacular education that is encouraged in the present education policy. Despite the recent education policy on initial vernacular education, there are still many people in other communities who do not understand its benefits and try to teach their children in English:

In 1994, six Gabugabuna children attended Maiwala Preparatory School. Since the Gabugabuna people speak the Maiwala language, four of them had no difficulty in communicating with each other. However, two of them could not speak the language, because their parents were speaking to them in English. Their parents thought that speaking to them in English would make their children better prepared for primary school.

Lack of understanding of the rationale of initial vernacular education existed not only among the parents but also among the school teachers themselves:
In 1995 Sinayada Elementary School\textsuperscript{91} began to operate under the new structure of schooling. However, the teachers did not teach children in the vernacular language, but in English, as they did not understand the value of initial vernacular education.

When opportunities arose, the Maiwala teachers were able to assist other communities to become aware of the effectiveness of vernacular preparatory schools. Teaching in the local vernacular means that the children are taught in a familiar environment. This environment includes not only the language, but also the children’s familiarity with their community and their families. In this sense, the Maiwala Preparatory School represented one of the best examples of initial vernacular education. Despite this success, the school was not upgraded to an elementary school. The teachers were very discouraged and were about to give up.

After much dialogue, some of the vernacular school teachers urged me to call a meeting with the councillor and the key people in the community, towards the end of the first part of my field work. Heavy rain in the afternoon delayed the meeting by a couple of hours. Five trained preparatory school teachers were present, along with the chairman of the community school board, the chairman and the treasurer of the preparatory school board, the acting pastor of Maiwala Church, the headmaster of the Maiwala Primary School as well as myself:

After explaining and discussing the future of Maiwala Preparatory School, the councillor promised to get the community to raise K40 per month\textsuperscript{92} to pay each teacher. I also encouraged them and said, "Look, you have demonstrated your excellence in many ways, such as by your war canoes and prep [preparatory] school. Now, you can do one more thing. What about you begin your own community-based elementary school? If you just wait for the government to recognise you, you will wait forever. But if you show them what you can do, they will recognise you." Then the councillor said, "Yasuko, what you said is true. It’s time for us to do it again."

The teachers’ negative attitude towards the community’s financial support was reversed. Those who were present at the meeting were pleased to know that I

\textsuperscript{91}Sinayada Elementary School was closed down in late 1996.

\textsuperscript{92}This salary is far smaller than the salary (40 kina per fortnight) for the teachers of the government elementary schools.
had reminded the local Department of Education about the excellence of the Maiwala teachers. Everyone in the meeting was encouraged and excited about the idea of the proposed unique elementary school. They were also encouraged by the news that the local Department of Education had invited Z to teach literacy awareness\(^{93}\) in the forthcoming elementary school teacher training workshop in January 1996.

After I left Maiwala community at the end of the first part of my field work, I stayed for a week at the SIL Diwala Centre in order to do my errands prior to my departure for Australia. During this time, I contacted the local Education Department officials again to discuss further the placement of the Maiwala teachers. Two Maiwala teachers (T and Z) also came to visit me for further dialogue about their new elementary school. We also saw the headmaster of the Hagita High School on the road, when I was taking the teachers back to Maiwala in an SIL vehicle. We stopped and talked about his proposed elementary school. Since he had already invited two Maiwala teachers to come to teach in his school, he shared with them the problem of his community who did not understand the importance of the use of the local vernacular. As a result, these two Maiwala teachers successfully assisted the headmaster to promote the use of the local language in his elementary school.

Thus, the Maiwala Elementary School started in the beginning of 1996. During the second term, the teachers were able to work with me as co-researchers in the process of devising assessment and evaluation strategies. When the news of the new Maiwala Elementary School spread to nearby communities, other teachers wished to come to learn from the Maiwala teachers. The local Department of Education also paid attention to the efforts of the Maiwala

\(^{93}\)I was the one being invited first. However, I suggested to them to consider Z instead, especially because I would not be in PNG during the proposed workshop.
community, and organised a one-day workshop at the Maiwala Elementary School. Fifty-one elementary school teachers from around Alotau area attended and expressed their feelings of confusion under the various teaching strategies given by NDOE. They also complained about lack of materials and teacher training. As a result, the local Department of Education decided to make the Maiwala Elementary School a demonstration school for educating elementary school teachers in Milne Bay Province.

However, for the next twelve months, the community had to continue their role of establishing their elementary school without financial support from the government. During this period, I occasionally heard from the teachers:

Z said in her letter dated 12 September 1996: "There has been no visitors from the Education Office to register us. But we are waiting patiently by doing our best in our daily teaching, and making more big books."

Then, finally, I received the following letter dated 4 July 1997 from Z, one of the Maiwala Elementary School teachers:

"Dear Tulau [my friend],

Teinani ghaeghaena [thank you very much] for your letter. I am sorry for not writing to you sooner. You are far away in another country studying, but you are very close to us in our thoughts and prayers. Yasuko, tulau, how have you been? I hope everything is well with you by the help of our Lord. We, teachers, are well and teaching in our school.

X and T attended an eight-week workshop recently, and came back with the language kit and the maths kit for EP [Elementary Preparatory] and E1 [Elementary Grade One]. This month, we received our first subsidy from the Government. We will use it to buy our school supplies. At last, the three of us are on the Government payroll. Yasuko, thank you for your hard work to help us to make our school into a registered elementary school.

Our carpenters are still working on our new classrooms, and hoping to put a roof on next week. The European Union financed the roofing for us. Tulau, I have been doing my best in my teaching of E2 [Elementary Grade Two] class. I wish to share with you about the problems I have in my teaching, if you come for a visit. YA, one of the trainers, also is hoping to see you and talk to you to learn more. I will be going for a E2 workshop soon. I hope there will be something new and different for me to learn."
W and WE will be most happy for you to stay with them in their home, if you come. Tulau, my family members send warm greetings to you. T and X also send their love to you. We always remember you in our prayers.

_Tulam [your friend],
[signed] Z"

Z's letter arrived just in time for me to begin writing the final two chapters of this thesis. Later when I was about to produce the master copy of the thesis, Z gave me further news in her letter dated 20 October 1997:

"September was a very busy month for us. Twenty-five elementary trainers came to our elementary school to learn from us through our demonstration lessons. They were very impressed by the way we teach and how the children learn in our classrooms. They were also impressed by our big books and small books. They had lots of questions, which we were able to answer quite easily.

We also had many visitors: Education Department officials, SIL people and aid agencies. Now, AusAid is offering to help us with teaching materials. When they visited us, we entertained them with the elementary school children’s traditional dancing and a feast cooked and served in the 'Maiwala way’. The visitors said that they enjoyed their visit very much and learned so much from us.

_Tulau [my friend], we are thankful to the Lord for having you in our village to start our school and to teach us well.”

The Government formerly refused to give financial assistance to the Maiwala Preparatory School. Nevertheless, the Maiwala people successfully established their own preparatory school by themselves. Now, the newly established Maiwala Elementary School, which is the product of the co-operative work of the community, is being offered various kinds of assistance from others.

4.7.4 Reflections

In the past, primary schooling in PNG aimed at producing children to fit into Western culture. Those who could not enter high school were considered to be failures. They remained in the community without being able to function as productive members. Ironically, many of those who went to high school eventually returned and joined other young people who did not fit into the community life. Thus, Western education alienated children from their community.
Although the Maiwala people recognise that Western education is necessary, they want to make it more relevant to their life in the community. At this particular stage in history, the Maiwala Elementary School is contributing a special role in bringing school and community together.

4.8 Summary

This chapter has presented various features of the Maiwala community, and the processes of change taking place within it, as background information for understanding assessment and evaluation strategies. During the process of the data collection and analysis, the first set of research questions was frequently addressed and often expanded further. As a result, various features have emerged and been categorised within a meaningful Maiwala context. The process of examining these features was likened to the process of examining each piece of a jigsaw puzzle, in relation to other pieces within the whole picture. Categorised and sorted data were first presented from the physical aspects of the community. Then various features concerning human relationships were presented in the context of the community.

The Maiwala community is situated at the neck of Milne Bay, approximately 19 kilometres west of Alotau, the capital of Milne Bay Province. As the community is spread along the Maiwala River, and there is no bridge over the river, canoes are an essential part of everyday life in the community. Canoes and frequent flooding of the river are distinctive features in the life of the community. In fact, Maiwala people are the only people in Milne Bay Province, who paddle dug-out canoes without outriggers.
Although most houses are built with bush materials in the Maiwala community, there are a few permanent houses built with planed timber flooring and non insulated iron roofs. These permanent houses, however, are extremely hot. Some people own a generator, but quieter solar panels have become more popular since the people saw mine. In this way, some Western ideas and materials are being used increasingly by the Maiwala people. However, living conditions have not necessarily become more comfortable by substituting old ways with new technology, such as an iron roof and a generator. On the other hand, it seems difficult to convince the people to follow other new beneficial practices, such as building their own toilets for hygienic purposes.

The Western culture has also caused changes to the traditional family structure and family relationships. The changes in lifestyle, however, have not necessarily been the result of the people's own convictions. It is as though many people have floated down the river, not knowing how to steer their canoes. As a result, parents grieve the loss of traditional manners and courtesy among their children.

Thus, many children have grown away from the traditional culture, but continue to depend on their parents. Consequently they do not know how to discipline their own children when they become parents themselves. The people, in general, view undisciplined children as the product of their parents' failure. Traditionally, uncles were responsible for training children. Nowadays, however, parents are expected to become responsible for the training of their own children. Nevertheless, many parents have failed to train their children, such as to develop healthy eating habits and refrain from chewing betel nut.
Western culture also has influenced people's clothing. Traditionally men and women did not wear tops. However, an increasing number of people are becoming conscious of covering their upper bodies in public. Children are also taught to cover their loins, though young children prefer to be naked. On the other hand, some school children have felt embarrassed to dress up in traditional clothes after being accustomed to wearing Western clothes. An increasing number of young women wear shorts, although older people do not think it is appropriate.

Western influence is also evident in the Maiwala language. Young people frequently borrow English words, although older people consider that the mixing of languages is unacceptable. However, the more they become aware of what is happening to their language, the more they become conscious of the need to keep using Maiwala terms. In particular, the Maiwala Elementary School teachers have created Maiwala phrases to substitute English phrases. Despite the imposition of English in the past, the people are now promoting their own language as part of the maintenance of their culture, especially through elementary schooling.

This maintenance of culture began on the occasion of building war canoes in 1995, although it had been abandoned along with feasting and dancing because of the teaching of the early Christian missions. However, the Maiwala Christians now believe that magic practices for good fortune are acceptable, though such practices indicate indirect curses on others. Traditional dancing also was recommenced, being awakened by the beating sound of a kundu drum at the Maiwala Elementary School. Western education has caused the alienation of children from their community. However, the community's own elementary school is playing an important role in closing the gap between school and the community. Consequently, the elementary school is assisting
not only children, but also their parents, to become aware of their responsibility to play an active role in the maintenance of their culture.

As described in this chapter, the Maiwala people are struggling to maintain their culture and language. This process involves not only the revival of traditional customs but also the creation of something new on the basis of traditional culture. In particular, the Maiwala Elementary School teachers are involved in the development of a culturally appropriate curriculum and strategies for instruction, assessment and evaluation. In the context of the Maiwala community, as described in this chapter, the principles of assessment and evaluation strategies in everyday life are investigated and presented in the following chapter.
CHAPTER FIVE
ASSESSMENT AND EVALUATION STRATEGIES
IN THE MAIWALA COMMUNITY

5.0 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I described various features of the Maiwala community. I tried to do this both objectively, from an outsider's perspective, and subjectively, from the insiders' perspective. I also explained the important, interdependent relationships between the people of the Maiwala community and their environment. Maiwala community is a place where indigenous culture and Western culture meet. As a result of the imposition of Western culture, the indigenous culture of this community seems to have been forgotten. Nonetheless, the spirit of traditional practices, such as dancing, remains 'in the blood' (Mel, 1996) of the Maiwala people.

The beginning of the vernacular elementary school indicates the Maiwala people's increasing awareness of the need to maintain their culture. This has been further evident in the development of a culturally more appropriate curriculum for the school. However, the physical context of the school has remained foreign, causing 'paradigm paralysis' (Betts, 1992). Although teaching practices became more relevant to their culture (Nagai, 1993a and 1993b), there still remained inconsistencies between the curriculum and the pedagogy, especially in the areas of assessment and evaluation. In order to deal with these, the elementary school teachers recognised a need to become
more aware of the underlying indigenous processes of assessment and evaluation and their role in contemporary schooling.

Indigenous education existed before Western education was introduced. Although it was ignored under the imposition of Western education, it was neither eradicated nor lost. It was suppressed like hidden threads in a tapestry, as the people were made to believe that teaching and learning belonged only in school. When Western education was imposed on indigenous people, children's individual differences were ignored and they were all taught in the same restricted time-frame. All children were assessed and evaluated using the same tests of academic knowledge and skills, as in Western society. A child’s worth was determined by these school tests rather than by his or her skills and knowledge that are necessary for a successful life in the community. Learning at school was considered more important than learning in the community. As a result, children spent more time at school, and began to learn less in the community.

Although parents were concerned about this problem of alienating children from the community, they felt powerless under the domination of the Western education system. However, in recent years, nationwide promotion of initial vernacular education has encouraged members of the Maiwala community to become actively involved in the process of finding a solution to this problem. In particular:

1) They have contributed their knowledge to the development of a culturally more appropriate curriculum and of teaching strategies that are more culturally attuned for their vernacular elementary school.

2) They have searched for relevant materials and strategies within their culture and community.

3) They are currently involved in the process of finding appropriate assessment and evaluation strategies drawn from the everyday life of the community.
This investigation was assisted by the study’s second set of research questions:
1) How do the adults teach, assess and evaluate their children?
2) What major criteria are used for assessment and evaluation of children of elementary school age?
3) How do the adults know the extent of the children’s achievements?
4) How do the adults explain their reasons for making assessments and evaluations?
These questions were frequently raised for the generation of categories. The validation of categories was also examined by these questions, in order to discover the principal features of informal assessment and evaluation strategies.

This process of investigation is like looking for the hidden elements of a completed jigsaw puzzle picture. It was completed by paying special attention to elements like colour and to the shape of each piece. When it is viewed from a distance, these separate elements merge into one seamless picture. Similarly, the picture (i.e., everyday life in the Maiwala community) that forms the focus of this investigation has hidden elements (i.e., various features of assessment and evaluation strategies). These may be likened to constituting elements that are hidden behind the visible threads of the tapestry. Although they are not immediately visible, they have the fundamentally important role of holding the whole picture together.

It is a difficult task to investigate hidden elements like assessment and evaluation strategies. Nevertheless, I tried to find them, and describe them, without losing their relationships with other constituting elements in the whole context. In particular, I participated in the everyday life of the community, as though I was immersed in the whole picture of the tapestry. I experienced and observed various incidents. I also made frequent inquiries by utilising the
research questions as effective tools. In this way, I investigated the dynamic interdependence between the threads within the whole picture. Additionally, my understanding of various incidents, documented on index cards, was checked by the host or hostess of each family for its accuracy.

During the simultaneous, interdependent process that included participation, observation and documentation, the accuracy of my understanding and interpretations of incidents were checked continuously. Through this collaborative work, I began to see the hidden threads and to identify their positions, colours and the relationships between them. At the same time as I was developing an understanding of the insiders’ perspectives on education, members of the community were rediscovering the existence of indigenous education and their role as teachers. This increasing self-awareness can be likened to the discovery of hidden threads and interdependent relationships within the tapestry of community life.

Once the people had recognised the existence of the indigenous education system and their responsibilities for the education of their children, more of its distinctive features began to emerge. It was as though the hidden threads were illuminated from within themselves. The more they rediscovered their indigenous education, the more they recognised how Western education differed, especially in its ways of teaching, assessing and evaluating children. In this way, they came to realise the value of indigenous education and its importance in making their school more relevant and meaningful.

During the process of investigation, it was also discovered that these aspects were integral parts of the five major principles: 1) assessment and evaluation as the responsibility of the parents; 2) assessment and evaluation as integral parts of instruction; 3) assessment and evaluation as informal everyday events; 4) assessment and evaluation as a continuous process; and 5) assessment and
evaluation as the task of the children. Although these principles are categorised, there is no clear cut division between them. They interrelate with and overlap each other, as shown in Figure 21.

The inseparable nature of these principles makes it almost impossible to find an example that illustrates only one. Hence, the discussion on each principle in this chapter is presented in relation to other principles. This will involve unavoidable repetition. It is useful to see this kind of repetition as an explanatory emphasis of the interrelationships between the principles. This gives a more coherent picture of assessment and evaluation strategies in the Maiwala community. Likewise, the initial research questions are inseparable from each other and their relevance to more than one of these principles. Thus, the findings from each question are presented as integral aspects of the five principles in this chapter. For example, the findings from the first question (i.e., parents’ ways of instruction, assessment and evaluation) are presented under the three principles, which are integral parts of instruction, informal everyday events, and a continuous process.
Figure 21: Five Principles of Assessment and Evaluation Strategies
5.1 Assessment and Evaluation as the Responsibility of the Parents

5.1.1 Monitoring How Children Develop Their Willingness

Young children begin to learn to do daily chores by wanting to imitate, incidentally, what their parents are doing. Such child-centred, self-directed learning is encouraged by their parents. While allowing the children to do the work, parents constantly monitor the children and give necessary oral instructions:

One morning V was making a fire. Her twin daughters (four years old) were with her and began to help her. When VD was trying to put firewood on the fire, V told her to put it from the side. After VD put the firewood from the side, VE put her firewood from the other side. When they had finished putting all the starting firewood on, V told them to get more firewood. They brought in more from outside, and began to put it on to the fire.

During the above incident, V was constantly watching the girls. On the basis of her observation, V gave the girls additional verbal instruction. However, V did not show her daughters how, as she saw the girls doing what she told them.

When the girls were willing to make a fire, V did not let the girls miss the opportunity. V’s observation helped her identify the areas of need\(^1\) in her daughters’ learning. Her evaluation also helped her to determine the next step of instruction, in order to assist her girls to make a fire more effectively, and to become aware of stocking the necessary amount of firewood. Children often show their interest, and want to imitate, the current work of their parents.

When the children are willing to imitate the parents’ work, parents also help the children to learn more easily by creating a more appropriate environment:

One afternoon O was preparing an evening meal. When she was about to squeeze coconut cream on to the food, her son, OB (three years old), wanted to help her. She let him do it by helping him to bring the saucepan closer to himself. As OB began to squeeze coconut cream, O said to him,

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\(^1\)Because of the parents’ positive view on the children’s learning, I have used the term ‘areas of need’, indicating ‘signs of growth’ (Weaver, 1982), rather than ‘errors’ or ‘weaknesses’. ‘Errors’ or ‘mistakes’ often reveal children’s language development (Goodman, 1978).
"Naalena. Malatamoghi una dewai."
(that-like more-one you-will do-it)
[That's the way. Do it one more time.]

Creating an appropriate environment also helps children to do the work with others in a co-operative way. When children work together by taking different parts, parents monitor them, and give appropriate instructions. On the basis of observation, parents also give appropriate assistance to the children, in order to help them to develop their skills. In this way, parents observe children through their interaction with each other:

One morning, V's twin daughters, VD and VE (four years old), were in the kitchen while V was grilling pilawa (similar to damper wrapped in banana leaves). Then when V began to wash dishes, the twins wanted to help her. So V set up the washing and rinsing dishes for them. While VD washed, VE rinsed dishes. V watched them and told VD to put cups on the tray after rinsing. When VD put cups on the tray, V put away the plates for her.

Throughout the process of children imitating their parents over and over again, parents monitor and help them to develop their skills and gain confidence in doing the work of their interest:

One day I asked X if her adopted daughter, XB (six years old), peeled vegetables, as I hadn't seen her doing it while I was staying with them. X said that XB does peel sometimes but that her interest at the moment was doing dishes. X lets XB do the work XB likes to do. X said that XB washes dishes, especially the saucepans, spotlessly. Then X told me a story: Around the time when XB turned six, she wanted to wash dishes on her own. If the whole pile of dishes was too heavy for XB, X would take them to the river for her, and when XB had finished washing, she would call X to come to collect them. If the dishes were not heavy, XB was able to carry them to the river and back to the house by herself.

One day XB had an accident, as she tried to carry a large pile of dishes up the stairs all by herself. However, the large dish, with the other dishes in it, hit the wall as she almost reached the top of the stairs. As a result, all the dishes crashed to the ground. X and her husband went down to collect the broken pieces of glass. They did not want XB to step on them. XB cried because she thought that she would be punished. However, X and her husband said,

"Anina."
(all right)
[It's all right.]

So XB picked up the unbroken dishes and voluntarily went to wash them again. Although X tells XB to do many daily chores during the day, XB seldom does them right away. However, XB does dishes without being asked each time, as she likes to do it.
In this way, parents allow the children to continue to experiment in the work of their interest, and they monitor how the children develop their willingness to work voluntarily. Encouraging children to pursue the work of their interest helps them to develop their willingness to do the work voluntarily. The more the children are encouraged to work voluntarily, the better they learn to work with others co-operatively:

One late afternoon while one of V's twin daughters, VD (four years old), and V's niece, VG (twelve years old), were peeling vegetables. The other twin daughter, VE, told V that she'd wash dishes. VE was eating a biscuit and watching the two girls peeling. As soon as the two girls finished peeling, VE was at the large washing dish and asked V to pass the dirty dishes for her to wash.

Thus, children learn not only to do the work voluntarily but also co-operatively with others.

5.1.2 Encouraging Children to Develop Various Skills

Although children's learning is incidental, parents encourage children to develop willingness to work and to learn self-reliance. They also monitor the children and teach them by modelling and coaching in the current situation.

While children are experimenting in the work of their interest, parents also encourage the children to extend their willingness and develop their skills. For example, when a child attempts to peel bananas by imitating her mother, the mother monitors the child experimenting on the actual food that is going to be cooked and eaten by the family:

One afternoon P began to peel bananas to fry. Her daughter, PA (seven years old), began to peel one. (PA has helped her mother to peel bananas quite a few times before.) After finishing one, PA began to peel another one. P saw the one PA had just peeled, picked it up and began to fix it, saying to PA,

"Nai una heli ma una heliheli vimahiyei." (that you-will peel-it but you-will continue-peeling-it properly)

[You may peel that one, but you must peel it properly.]

Then PA began to peel the third one. P also began to fix the second one PA had peeled.

In this way, the mother monitors the process of the child developing the skill of peeling vegetables. While the child is trying to peel, the mother continues her
peeling beside the child. Parents usually do not interrupt the children when they are trying to do the work. When completed, the parent evaluates the child’s work, deciding if it has been done vimahiyei (properly) or not. The term vimahiyei (also maimaiha and vaimaiha) does not mean that the child is not good enough. Rather, by implication, it provides encouragement for the child’s further learning, towards perfection. On the basis of this evaluation, parents give further instruction to the children, often by redoing the child’s work. Correcting work immediately shows the children how they could improve their skills, rather than judging their work as the final product. Making a mistake or doing imperfect work is considered as a part of the learning process:

When men were carving war canoes for the canoe race, I asked an old man, L, to explain to me how he would teach a young man to carve a canoe. L explained that a young man could watch him carve. He could also ask L questions about how to carve. Then he could try carving by imitating L. L would watch the young man, and if he carved too deep, L would explain to him what he had done and would say, "Wei u dewa palei. Egha wehida una vobagibagi duma." [You have made a mistake. You should not work hard on here.]

Then L would let him work on another part. L would never say to the young man, "Egha uta ahi duma." [You are not good at all.]

Learners are given further opportunities to improve their skills by trying over and over. However, mistakes in carving cannot be corrected like peeling vegetables. Therefore, the instructor is required to monitor the learner intently. In other words, evaluating the learner also means evaluating the instructor.

5.1.3 Monitoring Children’s Obedience

At first, children begin working voluntarily, imitating their parents. Then as children grow older, they learn to do various kinds of daily chores. During the process of teaching, the parents also discipline children to obediently do the work that has been given to them:

After breakfast, SE told her foster son, SA (nine years old), to sweep the yard. She gave him the broom that was used in the house and said to SA
to make a new broom after throwing away the rubbish in the yard. Then SE went away with her grand daughter SI (one year old). SA’s friend, SF (eight years old) sat on the verandah and watched SA sweeping, collecting and throwing out rubbish.

Later, another friend, SG (nine years old), came and they all started to make brooms out of brown coconut fronds. SE and SI came back just after the ten o’clock bell. She sent SA to her small garden near the beach to get some aibika. So he stopped making the broom, and went to get some aibika. After he returned with the aibika, he went back to make the broom with the other boys.

In this way, the willingness of children to do their tasks is monitored by parents, other members of the family, or by neighbours. On the basis of their observations, they often evaluate the child and make comments:

One evening while we were eating, SH said that her foster brother, SA (nine years old), was a good boy, because he helped with daily chores, like fetching water in the morning. She said that SA does whatever he is told to do.

It is common for children to live with another family. Some foster families will feed, discipline and teach a child skills and manners as though he or she is an actual member of the family. In this kind of family environment, the child seldom refuses to do what he or she is asked, often showing a willingness to do the work voluntarily. By contrast, some children will develop behavioural problems when living with another family. Adults in these families are reluctant to be hard on the children, fearing a negative reaction from the real parents:

One day I saw X trying to keep herself dry from the rain with a sheet of plastic. I asked her, "Didn't you have an umbrella?" She said, "Yes, but the kids played with it and broke it. It was the second one. They broke the first one, and when I got another one, they broke it, too. So, I am not going to buy another one." Then T said to X, "You should have told them not to play with it." X replied, "I told them over and over, but they didn't listen to me. They are always like that."

Although the foster mother failed to discipline the children, the children were blamed for failing to learn. Indirect comments about undesirable behaviour might also be made by grandparents who have their first-born grandchild living with them. Their tendency to spoil the grandchild and their failure to give appropriate discipline may be observed by a neighbour:
In the evening of the day I moved into U’s home, U’s neighbouring children came to visit me at U’s place. I asked who’s who. We talked about my family and their family. After they said, ”Good night,” and went home, U commented that MA (twelve years old), one of the children who visited me, was not a good boy as he never does what he is asked to do.

Discipline problems involving grandparents may also occur when three generations live under the same roof. As a result of interference by grandparents, parents may fail to discipline their children appropriately:

V’s father lives with V and her family. When her son, VB, was small, V’s father did not let V discipline VB. Now, VB is fifteen years old. One day as usual, VB came home from school to eat lunch. After VB finished eating, he saw three empty rain water bottles but passed by them. So his mother told him to fill them up. However, he said, “A geduai.” (I refuse-it) Nevertheless, V insisted he did. Reluctantly he went to fetch water. His younger sister, VE (four years old), saw him going to fetch water and followed him. As a result she voluntarily carried back two small bottles, while VB carried back a large bottle. VB’s mother thinks that VB is a liwa toghala (big head), but VE is a good girl.

When parents evaluate the children, they also make direct comments about their children:

When TE (two years old) saw her mother, T, cutting a betel nut, TE also wanted one for herself. However, T took the betel nut away from her. However, eventually TE found it and put it in her hand. So T tried to move her attention from the betel nut and asked TE to take the betel nut husks to the bin. As TE put the husks in the bin, T said, “Oo, TE, u ahi. Teinani, TE.” (Oh good girl, TE. Thank you, TE.) TE was full of smiles and forgot about the betel nut.

Similarly, direct comments to a naughty child can be made by close relatives:

In the afternoon while V was doing her laundry in the river, I was sitting with W and her two daughters (three, and four years old), and V’s twin daughters, VD and VE (four years old). VE had a minty in her mouth but took it out and held it with her fingers. Then V’s son, VA (twelve years old), came and snatched it away from her. As VE cried aloud, W told VA to say ‘sorry’. VA went to VE and wiped her tears, but he went away without saying ‘sorry’. W said, “Oo, VA, tam u buuwa!” (Oh VA you you naughty) 

However, it is not usual for non-relatives, except school teachers, to make direct comments to the children of another family.
5.1.4 Monitoring How Children Develop Various Skills

On the basis of observation, parents not only instruct children verbally but also assist them by showing them how, if necessary:

One day S told his foster brother, SA (nine years old), to put a kettle on, and told him to turn the knob of the kerosene primus. As SA was turning the knob clockwise, S went and turned it anticlockwise for him. Then S told SA to get matches and light it. He failed to light it on the first strike, but was successful the second time.

In this way, parents or older siblings patiently monitor how children make appropriate decisions on what needs to be done at appropriate times. Then the parents give additional instructions, if they determine it necessary:

One day SO was splitting pandanus leaves and preparing them for weaving. Her foster brother, SA (nine years old), and his friend, SF (eight years old), began to collect them and tie them up. Then they began to gather off-cuts. So SO told them,

"Ona tamihi ma ona laghiihihi ma au katen
(you-will pick-them and you-will tie-them and in carton
ona ampohehi.)"

[Pick them up, tie them up, and put them in the carton.]

So they did. Then SA picked up the last few strips and put them in a carton without tying them. Soon there was another pile of strips for weaving. Both boys collected strips and put them between the sago roofing panels, though SO told them to leave them. They managed to do so, as they had just seen SO putting other strips between the panels. SO told them to tie up the off-cuts and put them in the carton. So they did.

Some children are willing to do more than what they were asked to do. They voluntarily take a part in the actual process of the work, such as making a mat.

5.1.5 Determining the Next Step of Teaching

Parents observe children's activities during normal everyday life, and assist them to develop their willingness to help each other:

One afternoon when P saw her foster daughter, PB (fourteen years old), picking up breadfruit tree leaves, P said to PB,

"Lowalowahi una gholehi, po hina hagum."
(children you-will call-them and they-will help-you)
[Call the children to help you.]

So PB said,

"Hei, ona nei po yohiyohi ona tama."
(Hey you-will come and rubbish you-will pick-them)
[Hey, come to pick up rubbish.]
As P saw her two girls (eight and seven years old) running towards PB, she said,
"O vighoaghoha waguvala. PB ona hagui ma
(you continue-playing evening PB you-will help-her and
yoghiyoghi ona tama.)
[You have played all day. So help PB to pick up rubbish.]
So the two girls helped PB quickly and ran back to their friends to continue playing. PB finished off picking up the leaves at the corner of the yard by herself.

Once a parent has told a child what he or she is expected to do, the parent monitors the child for his or her appropriate decisions to do the work at appropriate times. Some children take the expectation seriously and try to do the work voluntarily. This encourages the children to be sensitive and to have determination about doing what is needed:

One day P saw me fetching rain water. Then she told her daughter, PE (eight years old), that she should go to fetch the water if the bottles were empty. After that I often saw PE voluntarily carrying empty bottles in a bag to fetch rain water.

In this way, parents teach children not only to do the work expected of them, but also to help others voluntarily:

One Sunday morning I went down to the river to bathe and to fetch water. I saw EA (eleven years old) and EB (ten years old) with their grandmother doing the dishes about twenty metres downstream. I fetched water and put the bucket in a shallow spot, and then rinsed the towel. When I was about to lift up the bucket, I saw the hands of the two girls also reaching out to the bucket. I was very surprised as I hadn't heard them come. It was EA's idea to help me. Previously when I was doing my laundry, if EA happened to be at the river, she had voluntarily helped me to rinse my things.

Once children are considered capable of handling daily chores by themselves, they are expected to take more responsibility. Some families may successfully organise children to take turns, being a part of the work force by alternating the tasks:

Early one morning, Z took her bread rolls to her brothers who live near the beach. While she was away, her son, ZD (twelve years old), did the dishes, and her daughter, ZA (ten years old), swept the floor. When Z returned, she asked ZA if she did the dishes. ZA said, "No." I said that ZD did. Z made no comments, because she remembered that it was ZD's turn to do dishes on that day and ZA's turn to collect firewood, light the fire, put the kettle on and sweep the floor.
Parents seldom make comments on what their children have done. This indicates silent approval. These children are more inclined to take their responsibility seriously and to participate willingly as an important part of their family:

One afternoon, ZD (twelve years old) came home from school and came into the kitchen and said in English, "Who washed the dishes?" I said, "I did." "Oh, thank you!" He took a few other dishes including his and his sister’s lunch boxes and went to wash them in the river.

On the other hand, some children ignore their responsibility:

V does all the daily chores, and her two sons, VB (fifteen years old), and VA (twelve years old), do not help her. One late afternoon, V told her son, VA, to go and collect coconut shells for grilling fish. But he refused to do it and said,

"A geduai."
(I refuse-it)
[I refuse it.]

V said nothing, but went to collect them herself.

A few days later, V had a good talk with her boys, VA and VB. It was decided that the boys were going to take turns to help V everyday. Her oldest son, VB, chose to do the dishes on that day and the younger son, VA, to make the fire. After they finished talking, however, VB went to his room to sleep instead of doing the dishes. V left him for a while, but after a few minutes she chased him out of his bed, in order to do the dishes, because of the flies.

A couple of days later, V took dirty dishes and water bottles to wash in the river. It was because her son, VB, did not come home in time to do the dishes. V’s twin daughters (four years old) and VA went with V. VA helped V to wash bottles but did not fill them with rain water after returning home. VA ignored V and went to play. So V and the twins went to fetch water.

The consequence of the mother’s failure to train her sons appropriately is seen in their unwillingness to do what was asked and their lack of sensitivity to identify what needs to be done. These children have already grown. They are able to do the work but refuse to take part in the work of the family:

KA has five children. The oldest, K (twenty-four years old), is married and lives next to her house. KA has fostered two young men: one is nineteen, and the other is twenty years old. K and her husband have their own gardens. However, neither KA’s four other children nor the two foster men have gardens. K’s husband often goes fishing, but not the others. KA shares a kitchen with K. KA sometimes helps K prepare evening meals, but it is K who prepares meals three times a day, in order to feed her small sons: the oldest is five, the next three, and the youngest
is one year old. Then, K’s young siblings, who are schooling at nearby high schools, usually finish off whatever is left.

Nowadays, there are many young people in the community, who neither make their own gardens nor go fishing. They just hang around their homes and expect their parents, or other members of the family, to provide food for them.

5.1.6 Reflections
In everyday life, parents teach, assess and evaluate their children, in order to assist them to learn self-reliance. Although children's learning is incidental in everyday life, parents encourage them to develop their willingness to do daily chores voluntarily. They also assist children to develop necessary skills by giving instruction at appropriate times. As the parents monitor the children in their learning, they continue to evaluate their achievements in order to determine what is the next step of instruction.

However, once a child has grown up, parents no longer give assistance. The failure of parents to discipline a child results in an adult who lacks the willingness to work but who continues to depend on his or her family. Therefore, parents need to assess and evaluate the child continuously, as integral parts of instruction.

5.2 Assessment and Evaluation as Integral Parts of Instruction

5.2.1 Improving Teaching Skills
Parents monitor children’s learning in everyday life, and evaluate the result or outcome of their work. When the work indicates a need for further learning, parents plan the next step of teaching on the basis of this evaluation:

It had been raining constantly and the ground became muddy everywhere. Because of the rain, Z was not able to go to the beach to collect any more firewood. When the rain stopped one morning, Z asked her son, ZD (twelve years old), and her daughter, ZA (ten years old), to go
to collect firewood. It was extremely muddy in the mangrove swamp. When they returned, ZA's legs and skirt were splashed with mud. ZD carried a bundle on his shoulder and ZA carried a bundle in a basket on her back. Z saw them and said, "Oo, teinani [Oh, thank you]." Both ZD and ZA smiled happily.

On the following morning Z was trying to cook dumplings for breakfast. However, she had a hard time getting the fire going. I said to Z, "Maybe the firewood is wet." "Yes, because the kids picked up anything they saw at the beach yesterday. After the service, I will go myself to pick up dry ones." "How do you know which one is dry?" "When you pick up one, you can feel the weight of it. If it's light, it means that it is dry." "Will you tell them to pick up dry ones?" "No, not now, but later when I go with them."

In this case, the mother realised that she needed to give specific instruction on the basis of her thorough evaluation of the children's performance. Assessment is often followed by informal evaluation, but thorough evaluation is necessary at certain points of teaching. Then the result of evaluation is reflected in the next step of instruction. In this way, teaching, assessing and evaluating continues in real life situations that are meaningful to the learner:

One day I went to a little island with G and her family. G went into the mangrove swamp to find some bait (hermit crabs) for fishing. When she came back, she said that there were not many duduna (a kind of gastropod) but only bait. I asked her how she could tell since they look very similar. G said that duduna does not walk but the bait has legs. I asked, then, "Do you have to wait and see if it starts walking?" G laughed.

A few weeks later when I was staying with U, she said that she was going to cook duduna for me. So I said that I wanted to know the difference between duduna and bait. Then she said that she would teach me when we went to get duduna.

One Saturday afternoon, we paddled down to the mouth of the river. As the mud was very soft in the mangrove swamp, she told me to wait in a canoe with her four-year-old son who had a sore foot. When U returned with a bagful of duduna, I asked her how she could tell the difference between duduna and bait. She went into the mangrove swamp again, and brought back a duduna and a shellfish for bait and put them in my hand. They looked very similar but duduna was a lot heavier than the bait. She picked up similar shells but smaller in size and also put them in my hand. She said that the heavy one is edible but not the light one.

It is clear that the best way to teach is at a specific time, in a meaningful real life situation, after thoroughly evaluating a child's achievement. On the basis of the evaluated outcome, the parents determine the next stage in their teaching, in
order to help children further. In this way, a thorough evaluation helps parents to identify how they might assist children to improve their work:

One afternoon, ZA (ten years old) was by the fireplace preparing vegetables. Her mother, Z, called out from the house to see how ZA was doing. ZA said that she was washing the vegetables (after peeling and cutting them). Z came when ZA had finished putting all the vegetables in the saucepan. Then Z began to check the vegetables. Under the pumpkins she saw a few yams with brown spots. So she told ZA to take off the brown spots. ZA did as her mother had told her to and went away. Then Z checked the yams again in the saucepan and began to take off brown spots that had been missed by her daughter. She said to me, “ZA did a quick job. I really need to teach my daughter how to peel properly.”

A couple of days later when ZA prepared an evening meal again, Z taught ZA how to peel yams properly. A few weeks later, Z said that ever since she talked to her, ZA has been peeling vegetables without leaving brown spots. So Z said to ZA,

"Oo, u ahi duma, babana u ulona maimaiha."

(oh you good very because you cook properly)

[Oh, you are so good, because you can cook properly.]

Once again, parents are reviewing their teaching on the basis of an evaluation of their children’s achievements. Such parents know how to communicate with each child at appropriate times of their learning. However, many foster parents lack communication skills in relating to their foster children. Such foster parents often judge these areas of need as poor performance. They neither try to improve their teaching nor show appreciation and encouragement for the child’s willingness:

One day E went to the garden and did not come home until dark. One of her foster children, ED (nine years old), offered to cook rice. When E returned, she inspected the rice in a pot and said to ED that he should have put on less firewood. ED looked down and said nothing. On the following day E cooked rice alone.

Criticism afterwards does not always help children to achieve success in the areas of need. Rather, the child in the above example was discouraged by his

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2There are a few exceptions, such as SA and his foster parents: S said that his foster brother, SA (nine years old), did not know how to make a garden when SA came to live with the family of S a year ago. S says that he and his mother showed him how to weed and plant. At first SA watched them and then began to weed and plant. S and his mother monitored SA’s work and taught him to do it in appropriate ways, in a meaningful situation.
foster mother’s disapproval of his voluntary work. Talking to the children after
the event can have an opposite effect, especially if parents do not recognise
their own teaching deficiencies and choose to blame the children instead.
Parents’ lack of respect for children as learners often leads to a lack of respect
for the parents as teachers. These children grow up without learning to do the
work willingly and voluntarily. This brings disapproval from parents, who
tend to scold the children:

One day OA heard his parents-in-law scolding one of their sons (late
 teens) for not cutting grass. OA said that their son does not want to do
what he is asked by his parents as they always scold him. OA seldom
scolds his own sons (fifteen, and thirteen years old). However, they
seldom did what OA asked them. OA said that he belts his sons from time
to time, but they become lazy again after a while.

Children do not learn to do the work willingly and voluntarily when parents
fail to monitor them closely, and fail to make the right decisions for the next
step in teaching.

5.2.2 Monitoring How Children Develop Appropriate Behaviour

Parents monitor each child carefully and discover the pattern of his or her
behaviour and the areas of need. Although partly intuitive, knowing the
pattern of their children’s behaviour helps parents determine how to deal with
their needs. This helps empower the children to take responsibility in their
actions:

Since I came to stay at Z’s, I’ve noticed that ZE (four years old) plays with
a sharp knife. Z says that if she puts it away, ZE cries for it. She plays
with it and sometimes cuts herself. Then she forgets about it and plays
with it again.

A few days later, ZE was playing with a sharp knife again while eating her
breakfast. Z unsuccessfully tried to take the knife away. As it was
dangerous for both of them, Z did not force ZE to give the knife to her.
Then a few minutes later, ZE took the knife to her mother’s room and put
it on the table. Z says that ZE knew that she needed to put it away as Z
had insisted to her.

One morning after breakfast while Z was sweeping the front yard, ZE was
playing with a bush knife, sitting on the steps of the kitchen and cutting
the top log of the steps. Z said to ZE,

“Apo Kwasikwasi ina talam. Kwasikwasi una telei.”
When parents evaluate children's behaviour, they rely on their intuitive knowledge of the children's personality and character:

U said that her oldest daughter, UA, is a shy girl. She hardly spoke in the school classroom or wanted to go near her teacher. So U decided to make some food parcels to send to the teacher by UA. After taking a parcel a few times, UA became at ease when relating to her teacher and was able to talk to the teacher.

However, when parents fail to identify the cause of the problems, children's areas of need cannot be reflected in the next step of teaching. In other words, there is no improvement in teaching or learning:

X has a foster daughter, XB (six years old). When XB is with X's adopted son, XF (one year old), and X's sister's daughter, XD (two years old), XB always irritates them and makes them cry. If X happens to be there, X scolds XB. X said to me that XB is always like that.

Some parents believe that punishment is the only way to teach children. However, scolding or punishment does not always help children to change their behaviour:

E has four foster children (fourteen, eleven, nine, and eight years old) living with her, besides her three grown-up sons (thirty, twenty-two, and nineteen years old). Without questioning why certain events happened, she punishes any of the foster children severely.

One day EC (eight years old) ate ripe bananas without asking E. Since the other children saw EC eating, EC had no excuse. E punished EC by smacking her hands with a broom several times. E then told EC to sit at the corner of the room. EC sat there for a couple of hours until the evening meal. On the following day, someone brought a hand of ripe bananas for me. I was in my room and heard them talking but did not go out to check. So EC ate most of the bananas.

Many foster parents fail to give appropriate instructions, because they fail to identify the real needs of the foster children. However, other parents have come to realise that punishment is not always effective. Instead of punishing or forcing the children to obey, these parents have discovered ways of teaching
children by talking to them and making them understand the areas of further learning:

Z seldom punishes her children. She explained it was not only the child who was punished, but also she herself felt very sad when she punished him. She punished ZD (eleven years old) one day for talking back and disobeying her. Z sent a note to the teacher with her daughter, ZA (nine years old), to say that Z would keep ZD home from school for a day as punishment. ZD cried because he wanted to go to school. It made Z sad, too. Z told ZD to carry five loads of gravel to the yard. However, when Z's youngest child, ZE (three years old), wanted to do the same thing as ZD, it made him happy. They enjoyed the work, although it was a punishment. So she decided not to punish him again.

In this way, parents who evaluate their own teaching can find more appropriate solutions to assist their children in their learning.

5.2.3 Advantages of Physical Closeness

Children who stay close to their parents learn more. The advantage of being close is that the children have plenty of opportunities to observe their parents in whatever they are doing:

S said that his next door neighbour's son, SF (eight years old), learned to make a fire and cook rice while he was still seven. He said it is a difficult job, but SF learned it by being close to his mother and watching her cook everyday.

One day when Z came to visit V and me, we talked about how children help in the kitchen. We also talked about SF being able to cook rice. Z said, "It's because he's always with his mother. Children want to do what parents do."

In the evening while I was putting data on to the computer, one of V's twin daughters, VE, wanted to write something on a sheet of paper and read books. V said that her twin daughters, especially VE, always want to imitate what others are doing.

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3Young children tend to stay with their mothers more than their fathers. In particular, in the case of SF, his father was usually in Port Moresby because of his employment, and he was always with his mother.

4If a boy always stays close to his mother, and shows interest in what she is doing, the mother would teach him the skill. For example, S (nineteen years old) knows how to weave pandanus mats, which is usually the women's job. On the other hand, he does not know how to weave baskets from coconut fronds, as he did not stay close to his father.
Thus, parents have intuitive knowledge about how their children are learning from them. By being close to the parents, children want to imitate them, and learn the work by doing it over and over. When children want to imitate, parents usually let them. In addition, parents give appropriate instructions. As a result, children who are close to their parents learn more than the children who are running around playing:

One day when Z checked how her daughter, ZA (ten years old), had peeled vegetables, she discovered that the yams had brown spots. Z says that ZA likes to play and does not want to help Z in preparing vegetables. ZA said that she did not have many opportunities to teach her daughter, as she did not force ZA to come to learn. Z said, "I couldn't watch her or teach her, as all housework is voluntary."

In this way, at certain times, parents evaluate their children's learning environment thoroughly. Then the outcome is reflected in their next step of teaching by creating more opportunities to learn:

T used to tell me how her husband, TM, had taught his sons. They had learned most of the skills necessary in everyday life. As I said that I wanted to observe how TM teaches his sons, one day he decided to teach his adopted son, TA (nineteen years old), how to mend fishing nets. TA had learned to fish very well, but not to mend fishing nets. T said that their youngest son, TF (sixteen years old), had learned the skill a long time ago. She explained that it was because TF had always stayed close to his father, and wanted to imitate what his father was doing. Several months later, T said that TA had been mending the net voluntarily ever since TM taught him.

It is clear that children who do not stay close to their parents are not able to learn much from their parents.

5.2.4 Children's Failure as a Reflection of Parents' Failure
I have already discussed the fact that parents' failure to discipline children often results in the children's unwillingness to do the work. I also have discussed how children who do not stay close to their parents fail to learn effectively. The combination of these two often produces young people who cannot do the work in appropriate ways:

One day P asked her adopted brother, PF (twenty-three years old), and his friend, PG (twenty-four years old), to make toy outrigger canoes for her daughters, PA and PE. When the toy canoes were completed, each girl
brought her own canoe back to the house. However, both canoes fell apart, as the sticks between the canoe and outrigger came off. PE tried to put them together, but they did not stay intact. Nevertheless, both girls took their own canoes and played in the river when they went to bathe.

Next morning, P's mother inspected the canoes. She said that the sticks were too long on the canoe PG made. She also said that two out of three sticks were not the proper wood, on the canoe PF made. As PF was there when P's mother made these comments, she told him to fix it. However, neither PF nor PG fixed the toy canoes.

These young men lacked motivation to pursue the work to complete it to the expected standard. Although they were told how they should repair the toy canoes, they ignored the instruction and abandoned the work. Once children are grown up, others rarely confront them:

While I was staying with X, she did not want to go to the garden, leaving me at home. So she sent her younger sister, XE (twenty years old), and her husband to X's garden. XE harvested yam from X's garden. While XE was bathing in the river, X checked a basketful of yam and said, "It's already sprouting, as I didn’t have time to harvest it earlier." She pulled out a couple of bunches of yams and showed them to me and said, "I would have left them in the ground, but never mind." She said nothing to XE. A grown person is expected to perform appropriately. However, some children grow up without properly learning certain skills. An adult's imperfect or undesirable work is usually no longer corrected, but tolerated by the family members. On the other hand, there are circumstances where the work needs to be corrected:

V's fifteen-year-old son, VB, goes 'walkabout' everyday after school. Although he does not help V with daily chores, V said that he could prepare a meal if she was away. One day V told her son to prepare an evening meal, because she had to go to the garden. When he peeled the sweet potatoes, he did not put them into water. Being very slow with the peeling, those already peeled began to change colour. By that time V returned and scolded him. She quickly poured water into the dish and washed the sweet potatoes.

Preparation of food seems to require a degree of perfection. I have already discussed how a mother demonstrated how to peel vegetables by correcting the work of her seven-year-old daughter, who stayed close to her mother. I also have discussed how an evaluation outcome was reflected in teaching when a

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5Her garden is a long way from home, requiring paddling and walking on a bush trail for two hours each way.
mother tried to help a ten-year-old daughter who did not stay close to her mother. In the above incident, however, the mother did not intend to teach her grown son, who did not stay close to her. Instead, she evaluated his work as unacceptable and scolded him for his failure to observe and learn how to peel vegetables when he was younger. By seeing his mother washing sweet potatoes that were becoming white in the water, he finally learned what he should have learned long before.

5.2.5 Reflections
When parents teach, they also assess and evaluate children continuously. The process of assessment and evaluation assists not only the children’s learning but also the parents’ teaching. When the parents realise that the children are not making achievements, they evaluate the situation thoroughly. In particular, the impeded achievements of children often result from not spending enough time with their parents. Thus, the parents make an effort to teach children by creating more opportunities to learn in a meaningful context.

However, some children grow up without learning to perform appropriately. Children's failure to achieve is viewed by others as the parents' failure to teach. Since learning is incidental in normal everyday life, instruction, assessment and evaluation also occur naturally, as informal events. Therefore, the parents are required to determine appropriate ways to assist the children.

5.3 Assessment and Evaluation as Informal Everyday Events

5.3.1 Assessing and Evaluating Naturally
Cooking is an essential part of normal everyday life. When children show their interest in peeling vegetables, parents let them imitate. Parents monitor children’s learning and help them to develop their skills by trial and error. On
the basis of observation, parents evaluate children's work and assist their learning by giving oral instruction with practical demonstration:

One morning when K was peeling vegetables, K's second son, KC (three years old), joined her and began to peel. K's youngest son, KD (one year and eleven months old), was sitting with K's mother, KA, nearby, and wanted to peel a banana, but K told him that she did not have another knife. As KD insisted, finally KA took one out of her bag and gave it to him. As KD was peeling a banana towards himself, KA said, "Egha naalenā." (That's not the way.) and showed him to peel away from him, saying, "U inanai? Wealena una dəwai." (Can you see it? Do like this.) However, KD was still peeling towards himself. So K's father, who was sharpening their coconut scraper, said to KD, "Egha naalena [That's not the way]." KD looked at him and smiled. Then KD began to cut the banana into half and put one into the basket for rubbish. K said that KD was spoiling the food, but she let KD continue experimenting to peel until he lost interest in doing it.

In this way, learning and teaching daily chores occur in normal everyday life. As daily chores are voluntary, children's learning is also voluntary. Small children often have many opportunities to learn to do the work voluntarily, because they stay close to their parents. In return, parents have many opportunities to teach, assess and evaluate their work for further learning. Parents also have many opportunities to monitor children's behaviour in normal everyday life. Monitoring helps the parents to identify repeated behaviour which needs to be improved:

One evening while we were eating, VE (four years old) tipped over her cup of tea. She did it again this morning. So VE's mother told her to move away from the wet part on the floor and said, "Konaghei u ləhiwagha ma wasi boi boi u lühəwagha mei." (yesterday you spilled-it and also today you spilled-it again) VE moved away, faced towards the wall and kept eating.

In the above incident, the mother did not scold the child but reminded her that the repeated behaviour was not acceptable. In other words, the child was reminded to be careful, and she did not spill water again while eating. In this
way, parents teach, assess and evaluate children's behaviour in a meaningful current situation:

Before I came to stay with X and her family, X told her children not to do certain things in front of me. However, one day during breakfast, X’s adopted daughter, XB (six years old), threw a burnt piece of *pilawa* (similar to damper) for the cats on the floor. Immediately, X said to XB,

"Egha naalena una dewadewai, babana keduluma wehida."

( not that-like you-will doing-it because woman here)

[Don't do like that, because the [guest] woman is here.]

Despite the foster mother’s warning, the child often fed the cats while she was eating. This was a habit of the mother as well as of the rest of the family. Although the mother considered that this kind of habit was unacceptable before the eyes of the visitor, the child could not understand her mother’s inconsistent teaching on behaviour:

As Z has to walk a total of two hours to and from the school where she teaches every day, she has to leave her four-year-old daughter, ZE, with her husband, ZF’s, family. Soon Z began to notice the change in ZE’s behaviour, as there is no discipline in ZF’s family.

In Maiwala culture, families do not interfere in each other's affairs, especially the discipline of children. Although the mother may wish to teach, assess and evaluate her daughter consistently, there is no way she can change the lack of discipline in her husband’s family. It is obvious that children learn well under consistent teaching of the parents. However, some parents suffer inconsistent circumstances.

5.3.2 Observing Children's Achievements

Parents carefully observe children in their learning. In particular, when teaching fine motor skills, such as carving a canoe, parents monitor the child’s every movement and the exact part where the child is working:

One day I went to watch how TM and his sons were carving my canoe. TM showed one of his sons, TF (sixteen years old), how and where he should work. While TM was carving to show TF, TF watched his father intently. When TM gave the tool to TF to continue to work on it, TM sat at the bow of the canoe and watched TF work. TM occasionally instructed TF to carve more or not to carve any more on the same spot. TM’s eyes were glued on the very spot of the canoe TF was carving.
In this way, the father teaches, assesses and evaluates his son's work. The father watches his son intently, as a mistake in carving cannot be corrected. In this incident, observation is an integral part of teaching. If the son makes a mistake by carving the canoe too thin, the father takes the blame for his own poor observation. Thus, parents teach children step by step and monitor the children carefully. Observing children also helps parents to make decisions about the next step of instruction:

One day TM taught his adopted son, TA (nineteen years old), how to mend a fishing net. TM showed TA first how to trim the broken part, then told him to find another broken part. TM showed him how to trim a broken line again. Then he told TA to find another broken part and let him trim it. As TA did not trim it properly, TM fixed it for him to see it was properly done. Then TM showed TA how to mend it a couple of times and said,

"U inanai?" (you continue-seeing-it)
[Can you see it?]

As TA indicated, 'yes', TM let TA try, telling him step by step, to hold down the line with two fingers and put the shuttle through. TA struggled, partly because he is left-handed while TM is right-handed. TM let him try again. TA tried by asking TM if he was doing it in the right way. TM was mending another part, but kept an eye on TA. TA struggled and finally got the procedure in reverse to suit his left hand, because TM let him continue to try.

TA was able to learn the skill of mending a net. As he has already learned to do daily chores as well as fishing by observing and imitating his parents, he was able to master how to mend a fishing net in a crash course like this. During this learning process, he also learned how to acquire the skill. The parents likewise learned how to facilitate the child's learning more effectively.

An adult novice is also observed when trying to learn to do a certain daily chore. When I volunteered to learn to do several jobs, such as scraping a coconut, adults observed me very carefully. By doing so, they treated me in just the same way as they treated the little children who were beginners. The adults knew how to observe me by using various senses, such as watching and listening. However, I was still trying to discover how to observe the adults' model as well as how to acquire the skill:
One day as I had said to X that I wanted to try scraping a coconut, X's sister, XE, cut a coconut into half for me. So I tried to scrape it for a little while. X was watching me without saying anything. After scraping a little, I showed the half coconut to her and asked if I was doing right. She inspected it and said, "You need to scrape the edges first." X and XE kept watching me while peeling root vegetables. I tried to do the edges and showed it to her. She laughed and said that it was all right. I kept scraping until I could see patches of the brown coconut shell. When I finished scraping, I was hot and perspiring. X and XE saw me and laughed. On the following day, when X began to scrape a coconut, she showed it to me and said, "See? Do the edges first."

A few weeks later while I was staying with Z and her family, I volunteered to scrape a coconut again. I waited for the right time when Z was about to begin preparing the evening meal. Z knew that I had struggled to scrape a half of a coconut at X's and did not want me to do it. However, I insisted on trying. I said that I would let Z continue if I felt it was too hard. As I began to scrape, Z watched me and said, "Be careful, be careful." I said, "Yes, I am," and kept scraping. Z continued to watch me and said, "Be careful," many times. It was a different scraper from X's. Z's scraper has rugged edges and was easy to work without pushing hard. Z watched me and said, "All right, it's finished." Then she scraped the other half.

The adults watched me by seeing my actions as well as listening to the sound I was making. They first let me experiment in the activities I wanted to try, in just the same way as the little children. They did not tell me how to do it beforehand, but explained to me later. In this way, the people continued to observe, monitor and evaluate me in whatever activity I was involved:

About a week after I came to stay with X and her family, X and I went to town. When we arrived back at the bank of the river, the only canoe available had a hole in the bow. X got on the back of the canoe first to keep the bow high, and then I got on in the middle. It had a little wider opening than other canoes and I felt stable. X said to me, "Now you know how to ride a canoe." "How do you know?" "Because you don't move. Some people move a lot."

Through this incident I realised that I had been observed every time when I had a ride in a canoe. Observation was made by various senses, not only by seeing the learner directly, but also by feeling my movement in an unstable canoe:

I asked L to teach me how to steer a canoe. I told him that I needed to watch him handle the paddle. So I sat at the stern of the canoe with L right in front of me. He demonstrated different ways of how to steer, paddle, and make breaks. I tried to copy what he was doing.

As I kept practising, I became more and more confident. Then he began to let me paddle and steer by myself. He kept telling me, "Steer, paddle..."
steer again, paddle.” He did not tell me where to look, but suddenly I knew that I was watching the bow of the canoe. When the canoe was turning to either left or right, L always said, ”Steer.”

On another day, I asked him to teach me again. This time I steered half a second before L would tell me to steer. Although I was not quite skilful enough to steer and paddle through the current of the river, L said to me, ”Next time, you can paddle a canoe by yourself.”

In this way, the adult person used every sense to watch me learn. In return, I also learned to use every sense in the acquisition of skills to steer a canoe. I learned it by observing my instructor from behind. It seems that it is the learner’s responsibility to discover what and how to observe during the process of learning, as the instructor does not tell the learner what is the focal point in learning:

A couple of days after my instructor told me that I could paddle alone, I gave H a ride in my canoe. I sat at the stern and H in the middle. As I started off, she began to direct me to the side I should paddle. When we came near the bank to dock, H told me to turn around. I was not sure of the exact spot to dock, as it was the first time for me to go there. Nevertheless, I made it and a woman who was doing the laundry there helped us pull the canoe close to the bank.

On our way home, H borrowed a long stick to help me paddle upstream. When we were approaching the shore to dock the canoe, I focused the bow right on the stick on which the anchor would be tied. H pulled her stick into the canoe and observed me by looking at the same stick as I. When the canoe hit the right spot, H made such a fuss over me and said,

“A hanapuwei yana tamotamoghina apo una voe, (I know that sufficient-one may-be you-will paddle
ma wam una ghotena vimahiyei.”
and canoe you-will dock-it properly.)
[Now I know that you can paddle and dock a canoe properly.]

In the same way, parents also observe children’s daily activities. On the basis of their observations, parents evaluate and identify areas of the children’s need. Parents then give children appropriate instructions for further achievement:

During the season of breadfruit seeds, P often boiled them for lunch. One day when P and I had almost finished eating breadfruit seeds, P’s older daughter, PE (eight years old), came and finished off the last few left in the plate. Then she chewed a small piece of coconut. She failed to spit out the chewed coconut onto the ground (she was sitting near the edge of the verandah), but she spat on the mat instead. So she quickly got up and picked up a broom and began to sweep hastily. P said to her,

“Hininiaam una uyai, babana tela habuluna e (very-slowly-you you-will sweep-it because child small-one he
duhuduhuna.”
sitting)
[Sweep it slowly - go easy, because a baby is sitting.]
So PE swept it out very gently. Then P said to her,
"Gaeba una naiyei."
( dish you-will take-it)
[Take away the dish.]
Immediately she picked up the plate and put it away in the kitchen.

In this way, the parents often watch their children to see if they complete the task. Parents' observation of their children also extends beyond direct viewing to listening to what is going on in the children's daily activities:

Foster brother of S, SA (nine years old), went to Sunday School and did not come home for the evening meal. After the evening meal while we were sitting and talking, S said to me, "Can you hear the noise?" I could hear someone pulling the pandanus strips. S was sure that it was SA who was pulling his foster mother's pandanus strips from the yard and putting them under the house. S said to me that SA was doing so, as he knew that his foster mother would scold him for being away till dark. The mother and S called SA.
"SA, una nei."
(SA you-will come)
[SA, come in.]
So he came in. His foster mother neither scolded him for coming home in the moonlight, nor thanked him for bringing in the pandanus strips. Instead, she gave him hard biscuits and a drink.

Although the foster mother did not make any comments on what the boy did, the boy knew that he had his mother's approval when she gave him something to eat and drink.

5.3.3 Encouraging Children to Learn in a Meaningful Context

Children show that they want to do the actual work, when they volunteer to imitate their parents:

One Sunday morning TE (two years old) wanted to help with the peeling and asked for a knife, when she saw TG (fourteen years old) and TB (twenty-two years old) preparing vegetables for lunch. As there was no other sharp knife, TE's mother gave her a breadknife. However, TE said,
"Egha ita ahi."
(not it-not good)
[It's no good.]

Children can learn to peel by peeling. Since a blunt knife cannot peel vegetables, children cannot learn to peel with it. Once a child has already grown out of the stage of playing with a knife, parents have to acknowledge the
child’s desire to do work in a real life situation. As this desire is often related to their physical need, such as to cook certain food they want to eat, their learning becomes even more meaningful:

ZE (four years old) wanted to eat a coconut and asked for it. Z husked one and cut it in half for her. She began to scrape it until she got tired. Then she began to eat the inside part of the coconut. Z asked ZE if she would scrape the coconut some more. ZE said, "Nimau hi beghubeghu." (hand-my they being-tired)
[My hands are tired.]

In this way, young children continue to experiment in their learning. They find satisfaction not by completing the work but by participating for as long as they can. Then they find satisfaction by accomplishing a goal, like eating the coconut. However, the older the children become, the more experience they have in doing certain work, and they begin to find satisfaction in completing the work independently:

One afternoon, I saw X's neighbour, JA (six years old), trying to husk a coconut near the river. Then JA's sister, JB (seven years old) began to help to husk it for her. As I saw JB trying very hard, I asked X if JB needed an adult's help. X said, "No, because she wants to do it by herself. Then she can be praised, 'Oo, ahi!' (oh you good) [Oh, good girl!] when she finishes husking it." X also said that she would have been ready to help JB but only if JB asked for a help.

As the child's neighbour had known that the child had not been fed well, and often seen her struggling to husk a coconut, she acknowledged the child's determination to husk the coconut and satisfy her hunger. Adults know that children will ask for help, if they are not capable of doing the work:

One day PA (eight years old) wanted to drink coconut milk. She asked her mother, P, to cut the top off. After P cut it off, PA wanted to cut out a hole herself. So P said to PA, "Nimagigim una inainanahi" (hand-finger-your you will continue-seeing-them) [Watch out your fingers.]
PA successfully cut out a hole herself and asked P to pour the coconut milk into a glass, as she was not sure if she could do it without spilling it. So P did what PA asked for.
While the mother was pouring the coconut milk into a glass, the child watched her mother. The child has watched others doing it in the past. However, she was not sure if she could do it with her small hands. In village life, there is no refrigerator for the children to open if they want to choose a drink. Therefore, some kind of work is almost always involved before they can quench their thirst:

Late one morning, the twins, VD and VE (four years old), wanted to drink water. So their mother, V sent VE to bring some empty bottles. She brought three bottles from upstairs. V went with the twins to the water tank, in order to turn the tap on for them. After the twins drank water at the tank, they filled the bottles and carried them back to the kitchen.

Without refrigeration, cooked food needs to be eaten first. However, children sometimes want to cook something different:

One day, ZE (four years old) was wanting to light a fire to cook lunch. Z said to her that there was no oil. So ZE said she would roast bananas. As she kept trying to get the fire going, Z said to her that she might feel a spark of fire if she kept blowing. She kept blowing until she felt a spark. So Z helped her get a fire going from the dry coconut fronds. Then she told ZE to pile some firewood and a coconut shell on the top. As she did, Z gave her the burning fronds. When ZE went too close to the fire, Z told her to hold the far end of the fronds. ZE did according to Z's oral instruction.

Then ZE tried to separate bananas by pulling with her feet, but Z told her not to use her feet, so she held the rest of the hand of the bananas, and pulled out the bananas one by one. ZE put three bananas on the fire, but then went to play with ZA without eating any. Z finished off roasting the bananas. After lunch, Z said, "We had more than enough leftovers, but ZE wanted to cook."

Although the mother let her daughter pursue her voluntary desire to cook, it turned out that the child's interest was not in cooking a particular food to satisfy her hunger, but in making a fire. In this way, children continue to learn to do various daily chores by trial and error in the real life situation. Parents also continue to assess and evaluate the children's learning. As children grow, however, their sporadic willingness to cook is often related to their hunger for certain food:

One morning, when VC was peeling bananas, his son, VA (twelve years old), said he would slice them in half and fry them. After breakfast, he wanted to take some fried bananas for his lunch.
There is hardly any protein eaten in this family and everybody feels hungry for fish. One day after school, VA went fishing with a bottle and caught a few small ones. So he offered to fry them himself. He wanted to eat one, but his mother told him to wait until the meal time.

Learning to cook in everyday life involves learning to care for other members of the family. However, some children fail to think about others and learn to cook only to satisfy their own needs.

5.3.4 Encouraging Children to Learn to Behave in a Meaningful Context

Parents teach children to behave appropriately in meaningful real life situations by praise and encouragement:

X’s husband brought a hand of ripe bananas. X’s sister’s daughter, XD (two and a half years old), had eaten a couple and wanted more, but X said to her,

"Egha tam am hakova. Hakova yana i Yasuko a hakova.”

( not you your banana banana that hers Yasuko her banana)

[The banana is not yours. That banana is Yasuko’s.]

XC did not cry for it. So X came with XC to tell me how good she was. As X told me the story, XC had a big smile.

Learning to share with others is a continuous process. Parents assist and encourage children to develop unselfish attitudes whenever an opportunity arises:

One day Z came to visit X and me with her daughter, ZE (four years old). ZE had two balloons. X’s sister’s daughter, XC (two and a half years old), wanted one and cried for it. Z told ZE to give one to XC. So ZE gave (threw) one to XC. Z kissed and cuddled ZE and praised her for being good.

However, parents seldom praise or correct their children when they do their routine work. They hardly express any appreciation to each other. However, some parents reflect on the past and think that the children would work more willingly if they had been encouraged more through appreciation:

One afternoon, TD (twenty-one years old) brought back a heavy sack of coconuts to feed the pigs. As he needed a bush knife, he called his adopted sister, TE (two years old), who was in the house to hand it over to him. So TE did. However, TD said nothing to TE. Then their mother, T, said,

“TD, una pa ‘teinani’.”

( TD you-will say 'thank-you')

[TD, say 'thank you'.]
Immediately TD said, "Teinani [thank you]." Then TE had a big smile and ran to T.

A few months after the above incident, T said that everyone in her family is now saying teinani, because her adopted daughter began to remind everyone to say so.

Many parents have observed the loss of traditional manners, courtesy and respect in recent years. Now, they have become aware of their responsibility to improve it. As a result, some parents were able to evaluate the current family situation, in order to improve their teaching of appropriate behaviour.

5.3.5 Reflections

Children's learning occurs informally in normal everyday life. Likewise, parents teach, assess and evaluate them on the basis of their informal observation. Parents observe the children by using various senses, in order to determine the areas of need. The evaluation outcome is often reflected in the next step of teaching, with additional instructions and encouragement, in order to assist the children to make further achievements.

In this way, parents continue to teach children until they have learned all the necessary skills and knowledge. While teaching, parents continue to assess and evaluate children as integral parts of instruction.

5.4 Assessment and Evaluation as a Continuous Process

5.4.1 Encouraging Children to Achieve Continuously

In the early stages of learning, the development of children's willingness to help is considered more important than their skills. Parents first let children learn to work willingly:

X said that her adopted daughter, XB (six years old), sometimes washes her own clothes. Her clothes are not properly clean, although XB uses a lot of soap. Nevertheless, X said that she let XB hang them up to dry. X
also said that it was all right as X could wash it properly next time after XB had worn it.

Parents monitor children's work, while the children continue to learn through trial and error:

One afternoon, ZA (ten years old) was washing her clothes in a large dish after bathing in the river. ZA’s mother, Z said nothing while ZA was washing them. Z let ZA continue washing them and rinsing them in the river. Z said that it did not matter if they were not properly clean, as Z could wash them properly next time.

As a result of observation, parents have intuitive knowledge that willing children achieve well towards perfection. As children become willing workers, parents pay more attention to the development of the children's skills. Parents assess and evaluate children's work and give them assistance for further learning. However, some parents who are perfectionists fail to assist children in appropriate ways:

T used to say to her children when she saw the children's laundry on the line,

"Egha ita yeuyeyu maima." 
( it is not clean properly)

and insisted they do it again. Reluctantly, her daughter took off her clothes from the line and washed them again. However, her son refused to take down his laundry from the line, saying that he had finished it and he would do it better next time.

Some parents expect their children to do perfect work from the beginning, and judge disapprovingly. As a result, the children become cross with them. By looking back over the past, however, the mother in the above incident now thinks that she should have respected her children's willingness and their effort, and should have acknowledged their imperfect work as a stage of achievement. Thus, she encouraged her husband to respect their son in his learning process:

One day T's husband, TM, was teaching their son, TA, how to mend a fishing net. TA tried to imitate T but did it in a wrong way. Then TM told him that it was not the right way, and took the shuttle from TA and cut off the part TA had done and redid it. T saw what was happening and said to TM to let it go even if it was not perfect. So TM did not say any more to TA as he continued to mend, and went away for a few minutes. When TM returned, TA showed him the part he had mended. TM laughed because
the lines were not even and told TA to put his fingers evenly. T and other boys laughed, too. TM did not tell TA to do it again, but said,

“Anina.”
(all right)
[It's all right.]
So TA continued to mend the net for a very long time until he felt he had done enough for that day.

Similarly, a word of encouragement helps children to do the work willingly and improve their skills. Through encouragement, parents continue to give children opportunities to experiment through trial and error. Parents also encourage children by giving assistance if necessary:

One day TM was teaching his nephew, TB (twenty-two years old), who was staying with TM's family for a few months, how to make an axe handle. TM watched TB carving for a while and told him to give the handle to TM. TM got a bush knife and trimmed off the end that would hold a blade, and told TB to shape it. Later TM came back to TB and watched him work on the handle. TM told TB to shape it a little on the side. TB looked at the handle and pointing to the part he thought TM was referring to. He asked TM,

"Weina?"
(this one)
[Here?]
As TM indicated 'yes', TB began to shape it. TM watched TB for a while and went away. Later when TB had finished making the axe handle, TM came back and checked it and said,

"Aita i ahi duma. Una viyoli au hoowa."
(already it good very you will soak-it in river)
[It's done very well. Soak it in the river.]
TB smiled and tied his axe handle to the anchor rope and put it in the water. TM's wife, T, said that TB had learned a lot since he came to stay at their place.

A young man finally accomplished the task of his interest. Whatever the skills children try to acquire, their motivation helps their achievements. When children show their increasing interest in learning special skills, parents give them further opportunities for learning:

T said that her oldest son, TD (twenty-one years old), has not made a perfect axe handle yet. Last time when he tried to make one unsuccessfully, TM said to him,

"Anina, apo hauga gehauna una dewa mei."
(all right may-be next time you will do again)
[That's all right, next time do it again.]

As teaching continues, assessment and evaluation also continue. Learning to carve an axe handle requires not only manipulative skills but also a keen eye for the special shape. As I have discussed previously in relation to learning to
paddle, learning a certain skill involves not only what to learn but also how to learn.

5.4.2 Intuitive Knowledge About Children's Attainment

Because parents observe children in normal everyday life, they have intuitive knowledge of the development of children's learning in relation to their physical growth:

One afternoon X was peeling sweet potatoes. X's adopted son, XF (eighteen months old), picked up a small sweet potato and asked for a knife. However, X said,

"Eegha, a amulona. Apegha naipi a velem."
(No, I'm cooking. I'm not going to give you a knife.)

As XF insisted, X gave him a blunt knife. X said to me, "See, it's too blunt to do anything." XF began to play with the knife and hit one of their cats. X laughed and said, "XF is going to kill a cat."

In the above incident, the mother did not want to give a sharp knife to her son, as she knew that he might play with it. If she gave him a sharp knife, she would have to watch him carefully so that he would not hurt himself or his friend. As she watched her son, she assessed the process of his learning. She also evaluated his work and gave him further instruction. By this integral process of teaching, assessing and evaluating, children eventually learn to do most daily chores as they grow physically. Although there are individual differences between children in their growth and their learning, parents know that most children learn to do certain work by a certain age:

One day ZE scraped a coconut. Z showed me how ZE scraped out the middle. She said, "At her age, she cannot do the edges." I asked Z if she taught her children to do the edges. She said that she might have said something, but could not remember. Z says that children observe adults scraping coconuts and learn from them. I also asked by what age children learn to scrape a coconut properly. Z thought about it for a while and said, "Maybe by the age of six."

A few days later, Z's neighbour, WC (six years old), her brother, WD (four years old), and her cousin sister, WA (three years old), came to play with ZE. They were all in the kitchen and WC began to scrape a coconut. As she began to scrape, she hurt her hand. However, she kept trying and became used to the scraper. I asked Z how old WC was. Z said, "Maybe six, because she is scraping the edge."
Since the process of teaching, assessing and evaluating occurs in informal everyday life, there is no particular procedure or attainment levels for the parents to follow. Rather, through the informal observation of the children, parents gain intuitive knowledge:

One day XB (six years old) was trying to husk a coconut unsuccessfully. She asked her neighbour, J, who was standing near her,

"J, au paa una kehi?"
(J my coconut you-will husk-it)

[J, will you husk my coconut?]

So J said,

"Anima, apo ana kehi."
(all-right may-be I-will husk-it)

[All right, I'll husk it.]

J husked it and gave it to XB.

Later when XB tried to husk a coconut again unsuccessfully, she asked her friend JB (seven years old) for help. When XB brought the husked coconut to the house, her mother, X said nothing to her, as X knew that it was not XB who had husked it.

Having made an observation in the above incident, XB’s mother told me that the reason she knew her daughter could not husk a coconut was that she did not have enough strength. In other words, her daughter was not old enough to have the strength. Thus, parents have intuitive knowledge of the relationship between the child’s physical growth and the development of children’s skills. As children continue to grow physically and develop their skills, parents continue to monitor their learning in the light of their physical development.

On the basis of the observation, parents also evaluate the children’s learning and make appropriate decisions, in order to help them with further achievements:

One morning ZA (ten years old) was husking coconuts for cooking. The second one was very hard. As Z passed her on her way to take her youngest daughter (four years old) to the toilet, ZA said to Z that it was very hard to husk because it had been eaten by the insects. So Z helped her. While Z and ZE were in the toilet, ZA continued to struggle with the rest of the husk. I said, "Is it hard?" "Yes." Z helped ZA complete husking the coconut, as Z had heard our conversation. Z told me that she helped ZA, as ZA had tried hard for a long time.

However, parents’ intuitive knowledge does not determine a set of targets to be achieved by their children by a certain age. In particular, children who are
forced to do housework may learn to do various kinds of daily chores earlier than other children:

JC (eight years old) works all day. She is the oldest of five children. As her mother does hardly any daily chores, JC is asked to do too much work, often missing school. One day she missed school again, as there were not any clean clothes for her to wear. Then she was sent to watch over the copra all day. A few days later, she went to school. After coming home, she washed her clothes in the river without soap, as there was none at home.

In the above incident, doing her own laundry was not her choice, but an absolute necessity in order for her to be able to go to school again. It did not matter how clean it was, but it did matter that she tried her best to make her clothes ready to wear to school. On the other hand, some parents let their children continue to experiment in their learning processes:

One day X's mother, XH, criticised the laundry on X's line. It was done by X's daughter, XG (thirteen years old). XH told X that XG's work was not good enough. However, X said to XH that it was all right for XG to keep trying.

It seems that children's achievement depends on how the parents determine the next step of teaching on the basis of the evaluation of their children. In other words, children may achieve more if the parents have given further instruction at appropriate times.

5.4.3 Comparing Children Learning Various Skills

As parents monitor their own children's work, they also monitor other children of similar age. Then parents evaluate the children's work in comparison to the work done by other children or adults:

One day X complained that her adopted daughter, XB (six years old), uses too much soap. Nevertheless, X said, XB washes dishes very well, better than the girls next door. I then asked X what she said to XB when she first did a perfect job. She said,

"È lauogha yana mei lava ghaeghaehi."  
(you wash that just-like people big-ones)  
[You washed it just like adults.]

The mother compares her daughter's work with other children's work. In the above incident, clean dishes are more important than the amount of the soap
being used or the effort of the children. In fact, the girls next door may be able to produce dishes as clean as her daughter’s. However, these girls do not often have any soap but only black muddy sand and ashes. Regardless of circumstances, children are expected to learn eventually to do the work perfectly. In other words, as adults they are expected to do perfect work, as discussed previously.

5.4.4 Comparing Children Learning to Behave

Parents not only compare children’s work, but also their behaviour, in order to determine the most appropriate ways to assist each child:

U said that her oldest daughter, UA (twelve years old), does not always do the work straight away when she is asked. However, her younger daughter, UB, does it quickly. U also said that UB is outgoing, but UA is shy and does not go near her teacher.

Parents’ observations help them to identify the children’s pattern of behaviour. On the basis of their evaluation, some parents are able to think of innovative ways to assist their children. Parents also compare the behaviour of other children, in order to prevent their own children from any undesirable influence from other children:

P chooses certain children to come to play with her two daughters. She does not want her daughters to play with her neighbour’s children, as they touch and destroy various items in the house and often swear. However, P likes her adopted brother’s daughters, JC, JB and JA, to come to play with her two daughters. P lets these girls come inside to play, as they neither touch others’ property, nor swear like her neighbour’s children.

By monitoring and evaluating children’s behaviour, parents plan the next step of teaching. The children’s behaviour and work performance are often enhanced by the parents’ appropriate teaching, especially when an evaluation outcome is reflected:

OA said that his foster daughters, PB and OC, were not willing to help him and his wife at home. Their school performance was also very poor. However, PB has become a willing worker and one of the top students at school during the past three years, since OA’s sister fostered her and trained her. OA said that OC is still the same and very different from PB nowadays. OA knows how his sister teaches, assesses and evaluates her children. However, he is reluctant to do likewise.
Although parents often discover the children’s pattern of behaviour and their areas of need, some parents are not able to have evaluation of their children reflected in their next step of instruction. Therefore, improvement of the children’s behaviour is very much dependent on the parents:

V often grieves that her two sons (fifteen and twelve years old) do not help her with the daily chores. She has her hands full as she does all the daily chores, as well as having her twin daughters (four years old) close to her. The twins always want to imitate what V is doing and want to help her.

While the mother compares her daughters with her sons, she reviews her teaching. Because of her daughters' willingness to help, and her close teaching, assessment and evaluation of them, she knows that her daughters are becoming helpful skilled workers.

5.4.5 Reflections
Assessment and evaluation continue as integral parts of instruction. Parents continue to assist the children to improve their skills until they reach the stage which is considered as acceptable and perfect. Thus, children’s imperfect work is considered as a part of the learning process. As learning is incidental, an individual child is allowed to develop his or her skills in a flexible time-frame suited to him or her. However, there seems to be a common expectation of children achieving certain skills by a certain age, in comparison with the majority of children in the community.

While assisting the children to achieve their learning, parents also assess and evaluate their teaching. Thus, children’s areas of need are often reflected in the next step of teaching. Likewise, children are also involved in assessment and evaluation in their learning.
5.5 Assessment and Evaluation as the Task of the Children

5.5.1 Children's Goals

The process of children's learning begins with their learning to do the work willingly and voluntarily. Once children have gained understanding of what they are expected to do, they try to achieve that goal. In this process of learning, children are active participants in their own learning, assessing and evaluating. Therefore, they have a sense of satisfaction, when they know that they have achieved their aims:

One afternoon, XD (two years old) helped her mother, XE, to peel vegetables. When they had finished peeling, XE went down to the river. Then XD picked up a plastic bag that had taro peels inside, taking it to the place where the rubbish is dumped. She tipped out the peels and then hand-picked a few that were still stuck inside the bag. She came back full of smiles and put the plastic bag on the kitchen floor where it was before. Later I asked XE if she had told XD to empty the food scraps. X said, "No, I didn't even know that she had gone to empty them."

As the child identifies what needs to be done, he or she does the work voluntarily. When the child knows that his or her work is thorough, he or she feels personal satisfaction:

I often saw XB (six years old) doing the dishes in the river. When XB returned with clean dishes, she was full of smiles. X said that XB knew she had done a good job.

Children are able to identify what needs to be done and achieve their aims. When children recognise the necessity of doing certain work, they can do it seriously by setting their own goals:

During the school holidays, I arrived back to Maiwala to stay with Z and her family. It was in the middle of the wet season. A few days before my arrival, Z asked her son, ZD (twelve years old), and ZB (twenty years old), to carry gravel from the river to build up a foot path for me. When I arrived, it was not completed, as it would have involved much manual work.

After my arrival, ZD continued to carry back a dishful of gravel several times between the rain showers each day. He was doing it voluntarily. One day while he was still working, it began to rain as he was coming back with another load. As soon as he had dumped the gravel, he picked up Z's leiya (pandanus leaves for making mats) and put them inside the

However, ZD continued to work and brought two more loads. Then he went to bathe in the river and came into the house to eat, smiling.

As the boy wanted to pursue what he wanted to accomplish, the mother respected him for his zeal. Rather than trying to stop him in the middle of it, she let him finish. As a result, the boy was in control of the work he had decided to do and achieved his goal with personal satisfaction.

5.5.2 Comparing with Each Other

During the process of learning, children are in control of their own learning. Each child has been given freedom to explore and identify what kind of skills he or she is expected to learn. Each child is also given an opportunity to set his or her own goal and to devise a way to achieve the goal in his or her learning:

One day three boys, SF (eight years old), SA (nine years old) and SG (nine years old), were making brooms out of brown coconut fronds with SA’s brother, SD (nineteen years old). SD separated all the stems from the leaves first and smoothed each stick. Each boy was trying to find his own way to make his own broom sticks.

SA and SG saw how fast SD was making his broom sticks, so they chose a few unbroken leaves and tried to separate the stems from the leaves. SF, however, did not pay attention to others but carried on his work at his own pace. He was cutting one leaf at a time from what SA and SG left behind without examining if it was broken or not. SG looked at SF’s work and said to him that his broom was going to be a short one. However, SF said to SG, “Eegha, nai lopalopana.” (No, it’s a long one.)

SD heard them but said nothing to them. When SD finished making his broom, SA and SG made half the total amount of broom sticks that were as long as SD’s. However, SG made only a quarter and many sticks were shorter than they should be.

While learning, children are required to observe and identify what and how to accomplish the goal. No explanation or instruction is involved, in order to prevent children’s mistakes. Rather, children find their own ways, through trial and error. When children work together, they interact with each other. They
observe each other and their work. They also evaluate each other's work and make comments on others' work. However, it is up to the child to determine how to improve his or her learning:

T told me how her husband, TM, teaches their sons to make paddles, mend a fishing net, etc. TM has told the boys (sixteen, nineteen and twenty-two years old) that when one can make an axe handle, he is fit to marry. T said that none of the boys has made a proper axe handle yet, because of the special shaping. Sometime ago when TM taught the boys together how to make an axe handle, the boys looked at each other's work and laughed at their funny shapes.

These young men were expected to learn how to make a perfect axe handle. They observed each other's work in comparison with their father's axe handle. Although they were able to see that their work was imperfect, they were not yet able to imitate the particular points required to make a perfect carving.

5.5.3 Comparing with Adults' Work

In the process of learning, children monitor their own work, and evaluate it by comparing it with the adults' work. By doing so, children evaluate their own standard of work and identify the areas that need improvement:

One day PA (seven years old) volunteered to help her mother, P, to peel bananas. When PA finished peeling one and put it in the dish, she asked P,

"Anima?"
(all right)
[Is this all right?]
P said nothing but began to fix it, while PA was peeling the second one. When PA saw the one P had fixed right next to her second one, she noticed the difference. She picked up the one P had fixed and said,

"Oo, moina. I ahi."
(oh that's true it good)
[Oh, that's true. It's good.]

Once a child has identified the areas of need, he or she is given further opportunities for improvement. If the child has a clear goal, it can be pursued. Parents acknowledge a child's judgement, when the child finally evaluates that his or her standard of work has reached his or her goal. His or her work may not be as good as the work of adults. However, parents know that the child has
tried to reach his or her goal and that it is only a matter of refining the skills a little further:

When P and her mother were preparing Sunday lunch, PE (eight years old), PA (seven years old) and PB (fourteen years old) came home from Sunday School. PE sat down with P and began to peel a banana. When she finished it, she looked at the banana her mother was peeling and then looked at the one she had just peeled. She put her banana in the dish and began to peel another one. When she finished the second one, she looked at hers and her mother's banana alternatively. Then she put it in the dish. Then she went to her grandmother and PB who were peeling breadfruit seeds. A few minutes later, PA came to P and began to help her to take off tulip seeds from the stalk.

Parents respect children's evaluation of their own standard of work, and let them continue to refine their skills on the basis of their own evaluation. Parents also respect the need for children to take time to learn. They know that the pace of learning varies from child to child.

5.5.4 Determining Own Achievements

In order to reach their own goal, children continue to monitor their own work. As they compare their work with others', as well as their previous work, they develop and use intuitive knowledge of their achievements. Thus, they know when they have reached the final goal:

P told me how her daughter, PE (eight years old), learned to polish saucepans properly. PE used to go to the river with PB (fourteen years old) or P and tried to wash saucepans but she knew her work was not as good as PB's, and said to P,

"Egha ita aa vaimaiha."  
( not it-not clean properly)
[It's not properly clean.]  
PE was not happy, although P said to her,

"Tamotamoghina."  
( sufficient-one)
[That's good enough.]  

Some time later after polishing a saucepan with PB and other friends in the river, PE compared her saucepan with the others' and came home smiling. PE said to P,

"Weyamaa wei apomana i aa duma."  
( this-one here this-time it clean very)
[This time this one is very clean.]  
So P said,

"Moina, apomana i aa duma."  
( that's true this-time it clean very)
That's true, this time it's very clean.]

Parents continue to assist children not to be discouraged when they feel frustration at not being able to reach their own goal. Once children know that they have already reached the final goal, they feel a sense of satisfaction when they evaluate their end products:

One day ZE (four years old) helped her mother, Z, to rinse and dry dishes. When they finished the work, Z said to her, "Oo, teinani." (Oh, thank you.) Then ZE said to Z,

"A bagibagi maimaiha, apo amau ma avuu una
(I work properly may-be father-my and uncle-my you-will liwehi."
tell-them)

[Tell my father and my uncle that I did the job properly.]

Z said that they would make ZE happy by praising her,

"Tam tela ahiakina, babana u bagibagi maimaiha."
(you child good-one because you work properly)

[You are a good girl because you did the job properly.]

Once children have grown up and mastered the daily chores, they can take full responsibility. As a part of the work force in the family, they can assess and evaluate their own work:

One afternoon, T fed the pigs, as her sons did not come home until dark. When they came home, T told them that they had forgotten about feeding the pigs. They said,

"Havehi. Au malatom malatomtom mei apo to
(leave-them in morning tomorrow again may-be we vianihi."
continue-feeding-them)

[Never mind. We'll feed them tomorrow morning.]

So T told them that she had fed them already. The boys said,

"Oo, to buuwa!"
(oh we naughty)

[Oh, we are naughty!]

Failure to feed the pigs is not a serious matter, as pigs can go to look for food in the bush if they are not fed. However, failure to do what is promised for someone is taken more seriously:

I gave two kina to T and asked if her son, TA (nineteen years old), could buy two tea strainers for her. T explained to TA before he and his father’s younger brother, TH (mid thirties) went to the market. TA came home just after 4:00 pm with a ten-kilogram-bag of rice. He told T that he gave two kina to TH and asked him to buy tea strainers, while he was still selling fish at the market. T scolded TA and said that TH would not do it. I said, "Never mind." TA was sitting on the floor while T and I were talking. When TA saw me approaching him, he bent forward and hid his
face between his legs. I said to him, "Don't worry. It's all right." Later TH came home without buying the tea strainers.

Thus, the young man evaluated his own behaviour and learned to take responsibility more seriously. Each experience gives a learner an opportunity to evaluate his or her own work, and the outcome is reflected in future work. By evaluating their own work, ways are found to overcome the areas of need.

5.5.5 Monitoring Adults

Children watch their parents when they learn to do certain work. While learning, children also assess and evaluate their parents' work:

One day ZE (four years old) was helping her mother, Z, to wipe dishes. While wiping the dishes, ZE said to Z,
"Egha _ uta _ hamagha vimahiyei."  
( not you-not wipe-it properly)  
[You didn't wipe it properly.]

In this incident, the child assessed her mother who was her teacher. By observing the adults' work, children can evaluate it. Then the outcome is often reflected in their own work. In other words, children's learning also involves assessing and evaluating adults who are their models. Children observe not only adults' work, but also their behaviour. When a child assesses and evaluates their parents, the evaluation outcome is expected to be reflected in the next step of teaching:

One day Z scolded her daughter, ZA (ten years old). Z's youngest daughter, ZE (four years old), was there and she told Z not to scold ZA. A few days later, Z scolded ZA again when ZA did not do the things expected of her. Then ZE said to Z that she had told her not to scold ZA. So Z told ZE,
"Sorry, _ babana _ ZA _ liwa _ toghala."  
(sorry because ZA word hard)  
[Sorry, because ZA was a big head.]
ZE said nothing. Later Z asked ZE why she told her not to scold ZA. ZE said that she was sorry for ZA.

Thus, children's assessment and evaluation can help parents to plan the next step of instruction. In other words, teaching and learning result from collaborative work between adults and children.
5.5.6 Monitoring Other Children

Children watch the learning process of others. Children's evaluation of other
children's work indicates to them the areas of need in their own learning:

When it was the turn for VA (twelve years old) to do the dishes, his
mother, V, watched him and told him to rinse them properly as there was
still soap on the back of the plate. VA's twin sisters (four years old) were
sitting and watching VA. Then one of the twins said to him that there was
still some soap on the dish after he rinsed it.

On the following day, the twins did the dishes. One washed, while the
other rinsed. Both of them did it with extra care.

When a four-year-old girl was learning how to wash dishes by observing her
brother, she recognised the areas of need in her brother's work. Her intent
observation of her brother's work helped her to assess and evaluate the
situation. The outcome of this observation was reflected in her learning. In
normal everyday life, children continue to observe other children. Children
also observe the behaviour of their siblings when being taught by their parents:

At the evening meal, Z mentioned to her son, ZD (twelve years old), not to
cut across in front of me. So ZD said to Z in English, “Sorry.” ZA was
sitting and saw what had happened. When ZA had finished eating and
needed to pass by a little boy sitting near the door way, she said in
English, "Excuse me."

As children observe how their parents teach their siblings, their understanding
also is reflected in their own behaviour. Although they were not instructed
directly, they have learned something that can be applied to a similar situation:

One day at lunch time, I was sitting near the water jug and glasses. I
poured out the cordial for everyone. While eating, I needed some more
for taking tablets. I looked around and asked PE (eight years old) if she
wanted more, as her glass was half empty. PE shook her head indicating
'no'. Then PE's sister, PA (seven years old), said to PE,

"Una pa, 'No, thank you'."
(you will say 'no, thank you')
[You should say, 'No, thank you'.]

Thus, parents' instruction on previous occasions was reflected on the child's
action as if she was playing the role of instructor:

One day during the wet season, ZD (twelve years old) was busy carrying
gravel from the river, in order to raise a narrow path. His little sister, ZE
(four years old) saw him dump the gravel again and said in English,
"Good, ZD!" Their mother, Z, laughed but said nothing to ZD.
A child recalled how her mother had encouraged her children. Children learn not only to be assessed and evaluated, but also to assess and evaluate others. In other words, children observe the way adults teach them. On the basis of their observation, they also learn to evaluate others and the outcome will be reflected in their actions.

5.5.7 Reflections

While teaching, parents assess and evaluate themselves. Likewise, children assess and evaluate their own achievements. Although parents usually play the role of the instructor, children are not passive recipients of imparted skills and knowledge. Rather, parents and children interact with each other, in order to enhance the children's achievements as well as to improve the parents' teaching. Children also set their own goals and strive to achieve them. They often compare their work with others' and learn to identify the areas of need as well as ways to overcome them.

Thus, children are actively involved in assessment and evaluation. Both parents and children assist each other in order for the children to achieve the common goal of learning self-reliance.

5.6 Summary

This chapter has presented five principles of assessment and evaluation strategies in everyday life of the Maiwala community. I have also presented various aspects of each principle with examples gleaned from the categorised and sorted data. During the data collection, the second set of research questions was frequently raised for the generation of categories. These questions were also effectively used for the validation of categories. In order to find answers to these questions, I often asked the parents to explain why and
how certain events occurred. This exercise encouraged them to think about the various features of indigenous education that had been ignored through the imposition of Western education.

In the past, parents used to believe that formal education at school was the only education for their children. However, through the process of dialogue with me and checking my observational data, they have discovered the existence of informal education at home and their important role as teachers. This discovery has empowered them to become actively involved in the process of the maintenance of culture, especially through vernacular elementary schooling.

Throughout the research process, I have utilised research questions for the investigation of assessment and evaluation strategies in everyday life of the Maiwala community. I immersed myself in the normal everyday life of the community, in order to understand various events and incidents from the insiders' point of view. Thus, I have established close relationships with the members of the community, in order to share our thoughts and feelings. Through the process of thinking together with them, I began to understand various aspects of assessment and evaluation strategies. I also began to discover their relationships with each other within the five principles presented in this chapter.

In everyday life, parents teach, assess, and evaluate their children, in order to assist them to learn self-reliance. Children's incidental learning begins when they show interest in imitating their parents. Then their voluntary participation in various kinds of work develops into the learning of certain skills and knowledge. Parents do not force children to learn, but continue to encourage them to develop their willingness to do daily chores voluntarily. They also assist children to develop skills by giving necessary instruction at appropriate
times. Parents monitor the children and accumulate knowledge about their learning. They also evaluate the children's achievements, in order to determine the children's areas of need and assist them further.

However, once a child is grown up, parents no longer give assistance to him or her. An adult person is expected to have learned the necessary skills and knowledge. Therefore, parents continue to train children to become willing, considerate workers. In order to teach children successfully, parents assess and evaluate them as integral parts of instruction. Assessment and evaluation occur as normal everyday events. However, at certain times, parents pause in the process of assessment and evaluate children's achievements thoroughly, in order to assist them further.

Since children's learning is incidental in normal everyday life, parents need to observe and monitor them carefully. Thus, observation by parents is an important basis of assessment and evaluation. Although learning is an informal everyday event, children are expected to learn and parents are also expected to teach. In this way, the processes of assessment and evaluation continue as integral parts of instruction in normal everyday life. It is the responsibility of parents to continue to assist each child to make achievements in the time-frame suited to him or her. As children learn through trial and error, their imperfect work is considered as a part of their learning process. Although adults do not set certain goals for the children, there seems to be a common expectation of children's achievements by a certain age.

While teaching, parents also assess and evaluate themselves, in order to assist the children more effectively. Likewise, children assess and evaluate their own achievements. By observing the parents teaching them, the children become aware of how their parents teach, assess and evaluate. In this way, children learn to assess and evaluate their parents and peers, through the process of
interacting with each other. Children also learn to assess and evaluate themselves, in order to identify their areas of need and the ways to overcome them. Thus, parents and children work together in order for the children to achieve the common goal of learning self-reliance.

The five principles of assessment and evaluation strategies discussed in this chapter represent distinctive features of indigenous education. Therefore, they are important factors to be taken into consideration when developing culturally more appropriate classroom practices. As these principles often contradicted the classroom practices in the Western education system, the Maiwala Elementary School teachers needed to weigh up their values and applicability from their own perspective. This process involved a significant amount of trial and error, and this is discussed in the following chapter.
CHAPTER SIX
DEVELOPING ASSESSMENT AND EVALUATION STRATEGIES
IN THE MAIWALA ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

6.0 Introduction

The previous chapter presented five principles underlying the use of assessment and evaluation strategies in the Maiwala community. These principles were generated through the categorisation of data which were observed and documented during the field work. In order to collect accurate data, I made frequent inquiries, especially when I could not understand what was going on. I also asked the host or hostess to read each entry of the data for its accuracy. The research questions were also utilised as tools for collecting valid data, especially in relation to assessment and evaluation. In this way, I endeavoured to document each incident from the insiders’ point of view and to avoid presenting a biased view influenced by a theoretical framework from a Western context.

In the previous chapter, the findings relating to various aspects of assessment and evaluation were presented as integral parts of five major principles. In the everyday life of the Maiwala community, teaching and learning are incidental. Whenever children show an interest in learning certain skills, parents begin teaching them. As children try to learn through trial and error, the parents monitor them carefully, encouraging and assisting them at appropriate times to develop their willingness to work voluntarily. Although children's learning is incidental, parents have the responsibility to teach them.
Assessment and evaluation of children help the parents to determine not only the children's areas of need but also the next step of teaching. Consequently, parents can improve their teaching, while children improve their learning. However, in order to assist children, the children need to stay close to the parents. If the children choose to stay close to the parents, parents can teach, assess and evaluate them through close observation. This occurs in the normal course of everyday life and activity.

Through continuous observation, parents accumulate their knowledge of the children's achievements. Although children's individual differences are valued in their learning process, there seems to be a common understanding of children's achievements in general. While learning various skills, the children also learn from their parents how to assess and evaluate the process of their own learning. They also learn to undertake assessment and evaluation with each other. Thus, parents and children interact with each other, in order to enhance children's achievements.

In contrast to the above presentation of what assessment and evaluation strategies are used in the everyday life of the Maiwala community, this chapter examines how assessment and evaluation strategies are being developed for the Maiwala Elementary School. On the basis of the above findings, the Maiwala Elementary School teachers took up the challenge of developing more appropriate approaches for their school. During the process of collecting and categorising data, the third set of research questions was often reflected in my observation and interaction with the teachers:

1) Which subject areas of the curriculum do parents and teachers perceive as the major priorities of the vernacular elementary school?
2) How have the teachers been assessing and evaluating the children in their classrooms?
3) How do the teachers know the extent of the children’s achievements?
4) What reasons do the teachers give for making assessments and evaluations?
5) How do the teachers perceive the effectiveness of currently used assessment and evaluation strategies?
6) Do the teachers perceive any necessity to improve the present strategies or to devise some other strategies?
7) How do the teachers syncretise their cultural values with those of the Western school system in the process of devising assessment and evaluation strategies?

The task of developing new strategies has not been easy. Maiwala Elementary School teachers were familiar with those being used in primary schools, and these have overshadowed the indigenous strategies. A difficulty was also found in the active involvement of local teachers. This is because educational changes were previously introduced by expatriates from their perspective. In the school context, assumptions and practices of Western education have been evident. Western ideas and goals were valued rather than those of their own indigenous society. Although it is located within the community, the primary school has become isolated from the rest of the community.

This isolation is evident in the communication breakdown between the school teachers and the parents. Parents have little to say to the teachers, considering teachers to be the absolute authority in teaching children at school. Academic learning at school is thought to be more important than the learning of various skills in the community, even though parents do not see much value in the results of learning at school. Ironically, school life dominates most of the children’s day time activities. Children travel each day between their homes and school, as though they are moving from one world to another. Unfortunately, the move does not work well. As a result, children are affected
by the life at school, just like a higher voltage causes damage to an appliance which is set for a lower voltage.

In order to bridge the gap between informal vernacular education at home and formal English education at primary school, initial vernacular education has been promoted in recent years in PNG. However, the alienation of children from their community has not been eliminated by this one year of vernacular education prior to English education. Hence, the vernacular education has been extended to three years, as a part of the formal education system. However, familiar language alone does not solve the problem. The differences in educational values and principles also need to be dealt with.

This chapter presents a process of closing the gap, developed by three Maiwala Elementary School teachers working with me, as facilitator. Through a spiral process of thinking and dialogue, the teachers began to recognise the importance of informal educational principles. The recognition of the value of their own local processes of education helped them to become aware of the irrelevance of many of the current classroom practices, especially when compared to practices in everyday life. Consequently, they were convinced of the necessity to make changes in their classroom practices.

At first they were reluctant to apply their newly discovered understanding of indigenous educational principles. They were also hesitant at being actively involved in making changes. Educational change used to be the exclusive province of expatriates. However, through trial and error, the local teachers have become increasingly confident in their own thoughts and actions, overcoming the tradition of conforming to the ways imposed by others. They have also demonstrated 'liberation' (Boomer et al., 1992) in the creation of more culturally appropriate classroom practices, through a spiral process of planning, acting, documenting and reflecting.
This spiral process took place during a six-and-a-half-year period between 1990 and 1996. During this period, an appropriate curriculum, suitable materials, as well as suitable methods of instruction were developed. In particular, during the second part of this study in 1996, more appropriate strategies for assessment and evaluation were developed for the new Maiwala Elementary School. This process is likened to the process of investigating the relationships between the hidden threads and visible threads in a tapestry. The findings are presented in this chapter according to the order of the five principles for assessment and evaluation presented in the previous chapter: 1) assessment and evaluation as the responsibility of the parents (teacher); 2) assessment and evaluation as integral parts of instruction; 3) assessment and evaluation as informal everyday events; 4) assessment and evaluation as a continuous process; and 5) assessment and evaluation as the task of the children.

6.1 Assessment and Evaluation as the Responsibility of the Teacher

6.1.1 Compulsory Attendance at School
Although children's learning is incidental at home, attendance at school is compulsory. Parents do not force children to learn to do daily chores, but let them develop their own willingness to do work which they find interesting. However, at primary school, teachers are expected to teach from the curriculum and children are expected to attend school regardless of their willingness. Contrastively, at home, children have a range of daily chores to choose from. Unlike primary school, there is no restricted time-frame for learning:

One day when we were talking about school attendance, Z, a former primary school teacher, said, "Teachers are always under pressure to teach so much in a short period of time. There is no time for them to think about slow pupils. Instead they must think how to get through the required teaching material in a restricted time-frame. So the teachers focus on bright pupils, and let slow ones drag behind."
As mentioned by Z, there were two main obstacles that hindered the teachers from close observation of individual children. Firstly, there was not enough time. Secondly, there were too many children in a class. Because of the lack of close observation, teachers could neither identify the areas of need nor give the necessary assistance to each child. In other words, the traditional teacher-centred teaching at primary school, contrasts to the child-centred teaching in the community. Thus, Maiwala Primary School has never been viewed as a part of the community, even though it is located within the community.

In 1990 when planning to begin a vernacular preparatory school, a couple of Maiwala women (Z and G), who wished to be trained as teachers, came to visit me at the SIL Diwala Centre, 13 kilometres from Maiwala. They were delighted to see the 'big books' (Nagai, 1990) we had made in another community, and wished to make the same books in Maiwala. When I briefly showed them how to use a big book for 'shared book experience'\(^1\), Z said, "Oh, that's the way we teach children at home!" Then they decided to join the women of the other community in book production.

As a primary school teacher, Z used to teach children English. Thus, she was familiar with the children's difficulty in learning a foreign language. In the late 1980s when the promotion of vernacular literacy became wide-spread, the idea of vernacular education in Maiwala arose in the heart of Z. Later Z told me that she had previously been to another materials production workshop for vernacular preparatory schools. She said, "The teaching method was dull and stories were not interesting. So I was looking for something more exciting and relevant to our ways of teaching." At the workshop, Z was taught a linear

\[^1\]Shared book experience' is an application of individual learning at home to the classroom situation (Holdaway, 1979). Reading an attractive chart-size book together creates a warm, non-threatening atmosphere, in which children can enjoy learning together (Nagai, 1990).
method of teaching literacy based on the Gudschinsky method\(^2\), but Maiwala people learn various skills holistically.

In the Maiwala community, children learn by observing their parents. In return, parents allow their children to learn by personal experience through trial and error in a meaningful context. Parents also use oral explanations to teach, if necessary. The process of learning to read by reading big books over and over again reminded Z of the process of learning to do daily chores through observation, imitation, and trial and error.

6.1.2 Creating a More Appropriate Environment
Z was able to identify the similarity of shared reading activities with the learning processes in the community. However, for the first year of the Maiwala Preparatory School, the setting of their classroom resembled the setting of primary school. For example, nearly forty children sat in lines and were not allowed to come closer to the teacher beyond a line on the floor. Although the Maiwala Elementary School teachers used the shared reading approach, the classroom lacked the informal atmosphere of learning. It was a state of ‘paradigm paralysis’ (Betts, 1992) caused by a mismatch between the new teaching approach and the old classroom setting:

Although I suggested to the teachers to divide the children into two classes, they did not take heed. They thought that it would be better for teachers to work together in the same class. As a result, teachers spent more time in organising children than giving close instruction to

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\(^2\)The ‘Gudschinsky method’, was developed in the Americas during the 1960s and was widely used by fieldworkers all over the world. This method begins with a sight word, as it is based on the belief that a unit that is either smaller or larger than a word is hard to focus on (Gudschinsky, 1973). This method involves five kinds of syllable drills: analysis, synthesis, identification, contrast, and word building. By repeating drills on different syllables, more and more words are built for making short simple sentences that are meaningful. However, simple sentences built with a limited number of syllables in the early stages are often unnatural and irrelevant. Thus this analytical method is difficult for a holistic person to make sense of in his/her learning.
individual children. At the end of the school year, Z said to me, "Now I know what you meant by having two small classes rather than one large class."

Parents know how to create an appropriate environment in order to help children learn more easily. However, in the above case, the teachers did not realise that they could create such an environment in the school. All that they knew from their personal experience as pupils, was that school was a formal place which was different from informal life in the community. Thus, the Maiwala Elementary School teachers trialed their innovative ideas of teaching without creating an appropriate environment for the children's learning. A similar situation is commonly observed:

In doing dishes, many people, nowadays, like to use soap rather than ashes. However, only a few of them set up a platform for doing dishes at home. Many adults and children still carry their dishes to the river and wash them with soap. P said that she wanted to have a platform built like her neighbour's. However, her husband has not built it.

Likewise, the Maiwala Elementary School teachers were attracted by the big books and their usefulness in teaching. However, they were reluctant to change the environment. It may be because that was the only classroom environment they had experienced as pupils. Therefore, they felt no need for alteration until they discovered reasons for change through trial and error.

On the other hand, the Maiwala Elementary School teachers were at ease in teaching in a less restricted time-frame. Rather than teaching fragmented language skills, such as listening, speaking and reading separately for short periods of time, the Maiwala Elementary School teachers were delighted to teach children these skills more holistically, during the longer period of one hour. This less restricted time-frame was identified as being similar to teaching and learning at home. Although they were reluctant to change the classroom setting, they abandoned the old linear approach to teaching, without hesitation. This may be because these teachers, themselves, had not felt time restraints when they were pupils. The Maiwala Elementary School teachers did not have a vivid memory of learning under the pressure of a strict time-frame, during
their own school days. For this reason, they did not see the need to create a strict time-frame for their classroom practices.

6.1.3 Monitoring Children
At first, the Maiwala Elementary School teachers thought that all of the children had to do the same activity all of the time, just as it was in primary school. However, they soon began to get two or more activities going at the same time. During the period of one hour at the Maiwala Elementary School, there are whole class activities, small group activities and individual activities. During small group activities or individual activities, teachers observed children and gave assistance to whoever had a need. As a result, teachers were not absolutely sure of giving equal attention to each child.

A teacher can pay more attention to each individual child in a smaller class. Nevertheless, it is impossible for the teacher to observe all twenty-two children at once. At home, a parent does not teach many children at once, but only one or two. Hence, it is not a problem for the parent to observe them constantly and intently. By contrast, in the classroom, there is a limitation on the teacher’s ability to observe each child. When the teacher tries to observe as many children as possible, his or her observation on each individual child becomes fragmented.

When considering their own experience as parents, the Maiwala Elementary School teachers were convinced that limited observation would result in limited instruction. They identified the need for closer observation of each child in the classroom. In order to meet this need, children were divided into groups of four or five. Then a leader\(^3\) was appointed to each group. Having these small groups in the class, T began to observe the children of certain

\(^3\)Each child in each group takes turns to take the role of leader on a weekly basis.
groups each day. Dividing children into small groups also helped to create an
environment for the children to learn to work with others co-operatively.

Additionally, dividing children into small groups also provided each child with
an opportunity to choose the work of his or her interest. This is another
reflection of children's learning at home. At primary school, choice of learning
is made by the teacher, and children are expected to learn in unison. However,
in the Maiwala Elementary School, not only class activities but also individual
or group activities are encouraged. During individual activities, children are
given opportunities to make their own choices as they do in their incidental
work. In this way, children take responsibility for their learning and
enjoyment, as they do at home. Allowing children to make their own choices
shows that the teachers have trust in their learning, in the same way that
parents have trust in the choices of their children.

6.1.4 Communicating with Parents
Both assessment and evaluation of the children's academic performance have
been carried out by teacher-made tests in primary schools. These tests are
given to the pupils once or twice during each school term. Then test scores are
indicated in numerical forms and reported to the parents at the end of the term.
In this report, the numbers of questions and the numbers of correct answers
given by the pupil are indicated according to the subject. This report also
indicates the child's placement in each subject as well as his or her overall
placement in the class. Parents who receive such a report find the child's
placement in the class by interpreting the numerical results. However, this
kind of report cannot satisfy parents' curiosity. The parents wish to know what
their children are learning at school. They also wish to know what kinds of
questions their children could or could not answer correctly in the tests:

Z said that school gives the total result as good or bad and does not
explain the details of children's learning. Z thinks that it would be helpful
to identify the child's strength and areas of need, in order to help the child
in further achievements. For example, maths could be reported indicating the child to be good at addition but needing more practice in subtraction.

Despite their dissatisfaction, most parents are hesitant about going to ask the teacher regarding their children's behaviour or what has been taught at school. Although the school is located in the community, it is not a part of the community. In the school report that is based on test scores, there are no descriptive comments on the child's strengths or areas of need in each subject. Descriptive comments are provided only on the pupil's behaviour. However, such a report is inadequate for communication between the teacher and the parents:

V said that her son, VB (fourteen years old at that time), became sick just before the end of the year test for grade five. Later when other children brought back their school reports, VB did not. So she was worried about her son not receiving a report, and asked his teacher for one. However, his teacher said he was all right and V should not worry about receiving a report.

Thus, the mother lacked understanding of the nature of the school report, and the teacher also lacked knowledge on how the child was achieving during the term. The teacher could not report anything about the child's learning. She failed to monitor his progress, depending solely on the results of the class tests that VB had missed. Although the teacher had intuitive knowledge of the child's behaviour, she failed to communicate honestly with the parents. In the following year, however, a different teacher reported to the parents honestly about the same child's behaviour:

V showed me her son, VB's, school report for the second term of grade six. It had numeral test scores as well as short comments on VB. The comments said, "VB's attendance was good, but he looked dull and often disturbed other pupils during the class."

Although the mother could read the comments on her son's behaviour, she had never thought about why he looked dull or why he disturbed other pupils. Moreover, the mother did not know how to read or interpret the numerical results on her son's report. She did not bother to ask anyone to interpret them for her until she showed the report to me. Such a report is often understood by the parents as a final, non-questionable statement. Most parents do not bother
to ask the teacher, although they complain that the teacher never contacts them regarding their children’s behaviour or academic performance at school. Teachers give written reports. However, not all of the parents are able to read the implicit messages behind these reports. Such parents tend to rely on oral, personal communications with the teacher, believing what is said orally rather than what is written on the paper:

V said that teachers often talk about 'big head' pupils at the teacher-parents meeting but do not communicate with the actual parents of the 'big head' pupils. Hence, V did not know that her son was one of them.

In this way, both primary school teachers failed to communicate with the child’s parents regarding the child’s behaviour and his achievements in academic learning. They also failed to have the test results reflected in their next step of teaching. In other words, the present system of reporting in primary school provides impersonal and inadequate communication between the school teacher and the parents:

One day during a morning tea break, the primary school teachers and the Maiwala Elementary School teachers were talking about certain children who had behavioural problems. The primary school teachers complained that the parents had never come to see them, although they had sent for the parents to come. I asked the primary school teachers if they could go to see the parents, instead. However, they insisted that the parents should come to see them.

At Maiwala, the primary school teachers live in the staff houses on the school ground that is located at the end of the community. They are also posted from outside the community. Therefore, it is up to the teacher to make an effort to go into the community, in order to build close relationships with the parents, and have personal communication with them.

By contrast, the Maiwala Elementary School teachers are already members of the community and walk through the community almost from the bottom end.

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4The teachers’ expectation of the parents coming to see them may lie in their experiences in other communities, where parents bring food for the teachers as a gift. However, at Maiwala, parents have stopped this practice and it has not been resumed; it has been discussed at the parents-teacher meeting.
to the top end where the school is situated. On their way to and from the school, they can casually call in to see parents. They found that this is a much more efficient way to communicate with the parents:

Z thinks it is necessary for the teacher to communicate with parents individually. She suggests that the teacher should visit parents in their homes rather than sending for the parents to come to school. She feels that this way is better, because parents do not like to be called up by the teacher. When a primary school teacher sends for certain parents to come and see him or her, it usually means that there is a problem with their children.

Communication with parents seems to be best established by the teacher taking the initiative, based on his or her personal interest and special care for each child:

T explained how she communicated with the single mother of a child, SB (seven years old), in her preparatory class. When T saw that SB looked always tired and was not learning well, T visited her mother at home and shared the problem with her. Then SB’s mother told T that she did not have enough food to feed all her children. Since then, T had helped SB at school by getting other children to share their lunch with her. SB’s mother was also able to find extra food for SB. As a result, SB turned out to be a bright child. Later when T told SB’s mother how her daughter had improved, SB’s mother was very pleased.

Thus, communicating with the mother helped both the teacher and the mother to identify the cause of the child’s problem. As a result, the teacher and the mother were able to work together successfully, in order to assist the child in her learning. However, the teacher’s effort in communicating with parents is not always successful:

T said, ”I have been doing my very best to assist each child in his or her learning. Most of them are learning well. But it has not been possible for a few like AB, AC and AD because of their poor attendance: On and off, and on and off all the time. I’ve already asked their parents to help me while I am doing my best at school.”

Despite the teacher’s effort, it seems that these parents lack interest in their children’s learning at school. Although they complain that they do not know what their children are learning at school, they fail to respond to the teacher’s request:

X said that some parents did not respond to her when she asked for their help. She said, ”I’ve approached the parents, but they always said that
their children were like that, and did not seem to worry about them." I said, "What about you inviting them to come to school?" "Oh, they never would, as they have never come to parent-teacher meeting."

A few days later the mother of a boy who has behavioural problems, brought him his lunch after the school had started. So I suggested to X, "Would you like to have her stay in the class for a while?" Without hesitation, X invited the mother to come in. While the mother was in the class, her son fought with another child, and as a result he started to cry. X stopped teaching, and was able to make peace between the two.

After seeing what X was teaching, and how her son was behaving in the class, the mother went home.

Previously, the Maiwala Elementary School teachers were reluctant to invite parents to come to the class. However, the teachers were beginning to realise that they could also communicate with parents during class time:

One day X brought her sister's daughter, XE (three years old), to her class, in order to look after her. Although the girl was not trying to get X's attention, the elementary school children were distracted by the girl. Because XE went to school, other children also wanted to go to school. A few days later, W brought her daughter, WA (four years old), to school and left her in the class, while she was baking at a nearby home. In the classroom, however, one child bullied WA.

This incident was reported to the parents by other children in the class, and the parents began to complain about the teacher's lack of supervision. When one of the parents told me about the story, I explained to her that the elementary school was not a child minding centre. I also encouraged the teachers to have the parents come with the little children if they want to come to school.

So a few days later, UD (four years old) came to visit the elementary school with his mother. WA also came with them. In the classroom, while the teacher was teaching, the mother looked after the two four-year-old children, who were wanting to participate in various activities. The mother was also able to know what the teacher was teaching in the class.

In these ways, the parents began to understand the nature of the elementary school, and feel that they were welcome to the classroom for observation.

6.1.5 Reflections

Maiwala Elementary School was initiated out of an ex-primary school teacher's desire to teach children in the Maiwala language. She also adapted a holistic approach to teaching, after searching for a more appropriate approach. However, she had never thought of changing the formal atmosphere of the
classroom setting. Thus, it caused 'paradigm paralysis' between the new approach and the old mould of a formal school classroom. This mismatch continued until the teachers came to realise the necessity for change.

Through trial and error, the teachers continued to shape the school setting to be more informal and familiar for the children. Although children's attendance is compulsory at school, the teachers began to understand the benefit of creating a more appropriate environment for learning, as at home. They also extended their personal communications with the parents, in order to enhance children’s achievements, as they were already convinced of this necessity.

In this way, the teachers were actively involved in the process of making their classroom practices more relevant to the community life. Through considering the integral nature of assessment and evaluation at home, the teachers continued to think and create more appropriate approaches for assisting the children at school.

6.2 Assessment and Evaluation as Integral Parts of Instruction

6.2.1 Improving Teaching Skills
At the Maiwala Primary School, teachers use tests at the end of term. The purpose of the tests is not to determine the personal gains and achievements of each child, but to identify where he or she is ranked in the class:

One day at the Maiwala Primary School, B, the grade six teacher, three Maiwala Elementary School teachers, Z, X, T, and I were sitting in the grade six classroom and chatting. I asked B to explain to us about the assessment inservice course she attended recently. She said that it was about how to rank pupils according to the test scores. B said that she prepares a test and gives it to the pupils at the end of every term. She also said that it was quite easy to assess and evaluate children in this way.
For this teacher, assessment and evaluation are mechanical processes based on the tests and test scores. She teaches during the term, knowing that there are children who are dragging behind. However, she continues teaching without paying special attention to them. Finally, towards the end of the term, she completes her teaching with a test, in order to rank the children systematically. In this way, she feels satisfaction in having done all that she is required to do within the restricted time-frame. Bright children and their parents do not seem to mind the system of ranking:

One day C came to help me to sort out some of my questions on Maiwala phrases. I asked her how her youngest daughter, CA (eleven years old), was, as I had not seen her for the past three years. C said that CA is now in grade four and has been doing well at school. She also said that CA came second in her class last term.

Clearly parents are more concerned about their children's rank in the class at the end of each term, rather than individual achievements in their learning process. Ironically, a child's rank is the clearest statement made in the school report. Since the test scores do not explain what the child has achieved, parents can only equate their children's learning to where the child is ranked in the class. Moreover, ranking can become quite an obsession to some parents:

P told me how she trained her foster daughter, PB (twelve years old at that time), to be willing to do housework over the past two years. P believed that changing PB's attitude at home would change her attitude at school. When P fostered her at the beginning of grade four, PB was ranked second from the bottom in her class. However, because of the training given by P, PB improved in both housework and study at school. As a result, she became the fifth in grade five. However, P told PB that she was not satisfied.

During the school holidays last year, PB did not go home to be with her parents, but stayed with P. So P got her two sisters, PH (a teachers college student) and PJ (a high school student), to help PB with her studies. P also went to see PB's teacher and got some test examples to prepare PB for the National Grade Six Examinations. Then she came second for the second and the third terms of grade six. P said that she does not let PB go out to disco dancing or go walking around with her friends after school.

One day I asked PB if she was scared of the National Grade Six Examinations, to be held in a couple of weeks. She smiled and said, "No." PB comes home from school smiling each day, and does all the housework. As soon as she finishes eating, she goes to her room to study under a kerosene lamp.
P was a bright child. However, because of her parents' lack of finance she had to give up her schooling at grade seven. Thus, she has encouraged her sisters, PH and PJ, to study hard as well as her foster daughter, PB.

Although the foster mother had the courage to go and see the teacher, in order to get the necessary information on how the child could best prepare for the tests, most other children are unprepared for tests. Children cannot predict what is going to be asked when it is taught outside a meaningful context. Before the big event of the National Grade Six Examinations, however, some teachers are able to let children practice for the test:

One Sunday morning in church the headmaster of the Maiwala Primary School announced that the National Grade Six Examinations would be held in three weeks. He said he would photocopy the last year's examinations and let the pupils try and prepare for the real examination. One of the parents said that he was worried about how many pupils would go on to high school.

In this way, the teacher was trying to prepare the children for their final examinations in primary school, which would decide the children's placement in high school. Tests are not given as a part of the children's learning context. They are special occasions distinct from normal school life. In other words, children are required by the tests to answer irrelevant questions in an artificial context:

One evening after tea while we were talking, I asked ZD and ZA how they felt about tests. I asked their mother, Z, to interpret only what I said, as I did not want her to give her children multiple choice questions. I asked them, "Do you like tests? If so, please tell me why. If you don't like tests, then please tell me why." ZD said he liked tests, as they would make him go to high school. I said to him that the test allows only a few pupils to go to high school. Then he looked at me with surprise. ZA also said that she liked tests, but did not know why.

Then I said that I would give them a test tomorrow because they liked them. Smiles disappeared from the faces of ZD and ZA. ZD said he did not like tests outside of school. Then I asked them if they really liked tests at school. Now, they changed their minds and said that they did not like tests. I asked them why. ZA said it was hard. On the following morning, their mother told me that the children did not like cross marks on their test results.

Although assessment and evaluation are integral parts of instruction at home, they are separate events from instruction at primary school. School assessment
does not focus on the *process* of learning but the *product* of learning. Moreover, the product is judged on the basis of test results for the purpose of ranking. The time for a test is set apart from normal day to day learning. Such an event creates an unnaturally tense atmosphere:

One evening after tea, JD (fourteen years old) came to play *laba* (rubber bands) with X’s children. After they had finished playing *laba*, JD and XG (thirteen years old) were sitting in the dining area. I asked them if they liked tests at school. Both of them answered, “Yes.” I said, “Oh, you like tests!? Tell me why you like tests?” As they did not answer for a while, XG’s mother, X, began to explain, telling them to answer me. Finally XG said something, and X showed a sign of dissatisfaction on her face. I asked X to tell me what XG had said. X said that it was not a good answer, but I insisted on her telling me what XG said. X said, ”XG said that she was afraid.” “Oh, that was a good answer,” I said. X showed a sign of surprise on her face. I then asked XG and JD why they were afraid. Because they were not answering, X began to make suggestions to them: ”Was it because you might make mistakes, or might not be able to answer at all?” Both said, ”Yes.”

Thus, at primary school, assessment is carried out by tests, and evaluation is based on the test scores. Such assessment and evaluation differ from assessment and evaluation at home. During the process of learning in everyday life, children are not told that they are 'not good enough' if they make mistakes or do imperfect work. Instead, they are reminded of the areas of need and given further opportunities to improve their skills through trial and error. However, tests at school often mark the end of a period of teaching and learning. It is understood by primary school teachers that separation of assessment and evaluation from instruction is the easiest way to get through all the teaching in a restricted time-frame:

Z says that tests are to find out if any child needs special attention or help. She says that tests are also for the teachers to check how well they have taught. Z says that teacher-made tests are good for diagnostic purposes. However, she says that many teachers do not give special attention to slow children, especially because of the restricted time-frame for instruction.

Tests are good for nothing if the teacher does not assist children in their learning during the term. If the children are not helped by such tests, children waste their time at school without learning much. Children do not benefit from
being tested, since subsequent teaching is not influenced by the test results. While learning at home, children have a clear understanding of what they are doing in the process of learning. Whatever they have chosen to learn is meaningful to them. However, learning at primary school is often irrelevant to the current life in the community, as it has already been pre-arranged in the curriculum. It is not easy for the children to learn something that is not relevant to them, especially when children are not assisted in their learning. They can understand neither the content nor the purpose of learning. Moreover children cannot understand why they are tested or ranked, and most of them are becoming discouraged:

I asked the Maiwala Elementary School teachers if they wanted to rank their children. They all said, "No." I asked them why. They said, "Ranking discourages many children, as it makes them feel no good." These teachers know that testing is frightening to many children. As they have a more accurate knowledge of children's achievements through normal day to day learning, they do not see a need of testing or ranking children at the end of the term. They cannot be bothered to make tests, but prefer to observe and assist individual children as an integral part of instruction.

6.2.2 Advantages of Physical Closeness

The Maiwala Elementary School teachers have intuitive knowledge of children's achievements through their observations. Unlike primary school teachers, these elementary school teachers do not wait until the end of the term to assess and evaluate the children's memories. Rather, the Maiwala Elementary School teachers assess and evaluate children's understanding as integral parts of instruction:

I asked the Maiwala Elementary School teachers if they wanted to test children. T said, "Oh, no. Tests make children feel like failures." I also asked if tests were necessary, in order to identify how much children have achieved. There was a long silence. Then I asked, "Do you know how children are doing?" "Of course, we do," and they began to talk about individual children's learning.
The Maiwala Elementary School teachers did not need to rely on test results, as they already had accumulated intuitive knowledge of children's achievements. Since the children's strengths and areas of need are known to the teachers in a meaningful context, the teachers did not feel a need for testing in an artificial setting. The teachers' intuitive knowledge is based on their informal observation in their classrooms and in the community. However, X discovers that her observation of an individual child is limited in a group situation:

When X took over the preparatory class from another teacher, she tried to teach children phonics by the 'say-it-fast' game. As she repeated the game each day, children began to respond. A couple of months later, X thought that every child was playing the game well. However, I discovered that EC (eight years old) could not play the game alone, when I stayed with her and her family. In the classroom, EC was always sitting in the back and following other children who were sitting closer to the teacher.

Hence, one day when X and T had a combined class, T let EC sit close to T. When the game began, EC had nobody in front of her to copy from. When the rest of the class responded, EC was surprised and turned around to see the others. The lesson went on, and T gave special attention to EC. When EC responded correctly, T praised her and let the rest of the class give her a clap.

Thus, the teacher's understanding of informal assessment and evaluation principles was reflected in her classroom practices. By bringing the child closer to the teacher, the teacher gained more opportunities to teach, assess and evaluate the child. She was also able to interact with the child more closely and naturally. Physical closeness provided the child with an intimate atmosphere, as if she was with her parents in the community. As a result, the teacher was able to monitor the child more closely, in order to give appropriate instruction for her learning. Although there are many children who need the teacher's special attention, it is impossible for one teacher to monitor all the children at

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5'Say-it-fast' game (NDOE, 1993) is an adaptation of 'say it fast' (Engelmann and Bruner, 1974). It was originally a pre-reading activity, but is used parallel with 'shared book experience' in PNG, in order to help children identify each sound in a word. This game involves two activities: 1) breaking a word into sounds, and 2) building a string of sounds into a word. For example, the teacher says a word *tam*, children break it into the sounds and say 't-a-m'. When the teacher says a string of sounds, 't-a-m', children make it into a word and say *tam*.  

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the same time. At first the Maiwala Elementary School teachers were quite confident in their intuitive knowledge, stored away in their memory. However, through trial and error, they became aware that it is impossible to remember each child’s learning progress accurately. Hence, there is a need for keeping some form of written records:

Since the incident of the one child who had not learned the ‘say-it-fast’ game, X began to keep a written record of the children’s learning. In her exercise book, she jotted down whatever she noticed at random. When looking at her record, X noticed that she had a tendency to monitor certain children but omitted others.

Keeping a written record helped the teacher to identify the need for systematic observation and record keeping. Through this experience, she decided to make a grid similar to another teacher’s observational record on each child. Here the teacher identified the necessity of making such a grid through trial and error. She did not make a grid simply because she was told to. Rather she made a grid of her own, one that would suit her because it gave her the conviction of its necessity. As a result, teachers decided to keep written records about the process of the children’s learning. Keeping observational records of children’s achievements also helps the teacher to improve her ways of teaching, in order to assist children more effectively:

At first, T tried to teach and monitor children’s spelling twice a day, in all the four groups, during the time of group or individual activities. However, she soon discovered that she could not spend more time on the children who needed close attention. Then she evaluated her ways of teaching and decided to teach spelling only once for each group. In this way she was able to spend more time with the children who have special needs. Her observation of each child’s achievements is recorded in her notebook. One day T explained to me, from her record, how A (eight years old) was learning and how she tried to assist him during the course of time.

Through the written observational record, the teacher came to realise the need for reorganisation of her time, in order to observe each child more effectively. However, especially in an oral culture, parents do not keep written records of their children’s achievements. Parents do not feel the need for a written record when teaching, assessing and evaluating only one or two children. On the
other hand, the teacher found it helpful to keep a written record when teaching more children. As a result of record keeping, she has gained a clear understanding of each child’s learning progress, in order to plan for the next step of teaching. Additionally, the teacher was also able to identify if any children were missed out from her close observation. In this way, the teacher accumulated her observational records. In order to have a much clearer picture of how children had been learning, the teacher evaluated the children’s performance, and wrote a summary of each child’s performance towards the end of the term:

T wrote about HB (eight years old):  
"HB comes to school regularly. She can create interesting stories and write letters neatly. But she cannot sound out a word or build up sounds into a word."

The teacher was able to identify the child’s strengths and areas of need. On the basis of these evaluation results, she planned her next step of teaching. Although the teachers have been communicating with the parents orally during the term, some parents may want to know the overall summary of what and how their children have learned at the end of the term. Hence, the Maiwala Elementary School teachers decided to experiment by sending a descriptive report to the parents. In order to encourage the children and the parents, the teachers decided to write about how and what the children had achieved during the term rather than what they could or could not do in a test at the end of the term:

T rewrote her summary on HB:  
"HB comes to school regularly. She has learned to create interesting stories and to write letters neatly. But she is still learning to sound out a word or build up sounds into a word."

In this way, the child’s achievement as well as areas of need were made known to the parents clearly.
6.2.3 Planning the Next Step of Teaching

Normally primary school teachers send for the parents to come to school to discuss the children's performance:

During the first week of the second term ZD (twelve years old) and ZA (ten years old) brought to their mother, Z, their school reports for the first term. Z said that she was happy with ZA's report, as she was above average. However, Z was worried about ZD, as he was ranked average. So Z wanted to know ZD's strengths and areas of need in each subject instead of just test scores. ZD told Z that his teacher wanted her to come to school to see him the next Wednesday.

It seems that primary school teachers ask to see parents only if the child is ranked average or below average. If the child is ranked above average, the teacher does not send for the parents. Parents think that something must be wrong with their children if they are asked to come to school by the teacher. As discussed previously, primary school teachers are under constant time constraints in their teaching. Consequently, some primary school teachers expect the parents to teach the children their school work at home without using the test results as a basis for direction in their own teaching. As a result, having an interview with the parents does not always help the parents to assist their children's learning:

V showed me her son's school report. V said that school reports were introduced only in recent years in primary school. The report showed numerical test scores and short comments on the boy's behaviour explaining that he needed to work harder. However, the numerical scores for each subject did not explain what needed to be worked on. V said that the teacher told her to teach her son. "But," V said, "I couldn't understand the things in my son's exercise book. How can I teach what I don't know?" V also said that the teacher did not visit her to explain why he needed to work harder.

In this incident, the teacher failed to have a personal interest in and concern for the child, in order to assist him. Moreover the teacher failed to communicate adequately with the parent. This situation is looked at critically by a former primary school teacher:

Z thinks that it is the teacher's responsibility to teach children at school. However, most teachers do not bother to take care of the pupils who need more time to understand what is taught, but keep up their pace with the bright pupils. Z says that it is not right for the teacher to expect the children's parents to teach what the teacher is supposed to teach.
The teacher's failure in his or her responsibility to teach often produces failure for the children as well. As a result, some children spend six years at primary school without learning much. They do not learn the skills necessary for self-reliance at home, either, as they spend most of their day at school:

VB (fifteen years old) hardly missed school. However, his teacher did not try to help him to achieve in his learning. Instead, the teacher left VB behind, focusing on the bright pupils, in order to get through all the teaching materials. VB’s performance was judged as poor at the end of each year. However, no teacher paid special attention to assisting him.

Although the boy graduated from primary school, only because of his regular attendance, he failed to learn at school as well as at home. Parents' failure to train children will result in the children's poor performance when they grow up. Likewise, the teacher's failure to assess and evaluate children's work or to give appropriate assistance to them is reflected in the children's poor school results. Consequently, children's failure is also viewed as the teacher's failure to discipline children:

Z says that the Maiwala Elementary School teachers do not treat children's attendance as incidental, but compulsory. Z also says that a teacher has a responsibility to teach, assess and evaluate children at school, as do the parents and uncles in the community. However, Z says, some children fail to learn, because their parents and uncles fail to discipline them to learn at home.

Since parents discipline children in their incidental learning, the Maiwala Elementary School teachers also felt responsibility to discipline the children to learn at school. In order to discipline children, teachers monitor them in the daily classroom activities. Close observation of children helps the teacher to identify patterns in children's behaviour. Such an observation also leads the teacher to some clues to assisting the children in their areas of need:

One day T told me about A (eight years old). She said, "A isn't learning well, as he doesn't concentrate on learning but looks around all the time." I asked, "Is there anything he does well?" "No."

A few days later, while practising traditional dancing, T noticed that A was the best performer of cassowary. As he was chosen to be the performer of cassowary, he, too, was aware of his skill. As T praised him and got other children to clap for him, his eyes began to shine.
Since the dancing practice, T let A sit close to her during class activities. When A responded well, she praised him and encouraged him. T said, "Children who are close to their parents learn more," and went to sit close to A, in order to give extra instruction during the period of individual activities.

Although the teacher knew all about the child's areas of need, she did not know his strengths until the time for traditional dancing. Prior to that incident, the teacher had tried unsuccessfully to help him by recognising the child’s areas of need and giving extra instruction. However, since identifying the child's strength, the teacher was able to recognise the child's potential and help him to develop a positive attitude. In return, the child began to respond to the teacher's instruction, and to show signs of achievement. Identifying children's potential also helps the teacher to trust them in their learning:

X used to sit with GA in her preparatory class. Other teachers, T and Z, also said that they had spent much extra time helping GA in his learning during the past two years. The three of them said that GA still cannot do many things. He seemed to be a normal child but lacked motivation to do anything by himself. Rather, he seemed to be enjoying the extra attention the teacher was paying to him.

So I asked the teachers if that was the way they help children at home. They answered, saying, "No, we let children do things by themselves. I said to X, "What about you giving an opportunity for GA to do things by himself? You let your children do things by themselves at home, don't you?" X said, "But he cannot do anything." I said, "He might, if you let him."

Later, during puppet making time, X told GA that he should try to make a puppet of his own, as were the other children. X also told him that he was capable of making one. While other children were making their own puppets, GA sat on the floor watching them. When all the children had finished making their puppets and were ready to begin a puppet show, GA suddenly noticed that he was left behind and quickly got up to join the others who were sitting around the teacher. From that time on, GA showed a willingness to try to learn everything he could in class.

Three years later, I saw GA playing with his friends. I asked X how he had been doing at primary school. X laughed, recalling the incident in her class, saying, "Oh, he has been doing fine. No problem."

In this way, the teachers have learned that teaching children at school can be done in the same way as at home. Staying close to the child does not necessarily mean that the teacher is doing everything for him or her, but rather
giving him or her confidence to experiment in his or her learning, with a positive attitude.

6.2.4 Reflections

At primary school, assessment and evaluation occur as separate events from instruction. Most teachers do not assist children during their learning process, but test them at the end of the term. This is done mainly for ranking, rather than diagnostic purposes. As a result, the children who need extra assistance are left behind and their low achievements are ranked by tests. Such children become discouraged and continue to lose interest in learning.

The Maiwala Elementary School teachers considered that the system of ranking would not assist children's achievements. Moreover, they did not see the value of having tests, as they accumulated intuitive knowledge of children's achievements and already assisted them during the term. They now considered that assessment and evaluation at school were integral parts of instruction.

However, the teachers found it difficult to keep accurate information on each child in their classes. After having recognised the need, they began to experiment with keeping some kind of written records. They also applied principles of close observation and trusting of children in their independent learning. In order to assist individually in appropriate ways, children's achievements were reflected in the next step of instruction. The process of developing a more appropriate approach to assessment and evaluation continued in the same way as it did in normal everyday events.
6.3 Assessment and Evaluation as Everyday Events

6.3.1 Making Learning at School More Meaningful

As discussed already, children's attendance is compulsory at school. However, what they are learning at school is not always what is of natural or special interest to them. In the community, children learn what is necessary for living, but the content of learning at primary school is often irrelevant to the normal everyday events of the community:

X does not think any of the knowledge gained at primary school is beneficial for community life except for maths which is used in counting coconuts and in trading. X said that gardening at school is not new to the children, as it has already been taught at home. As not many parents can weave mats nowadays, weaving is taught to the girls at school. I asked X, "Then what's the point of having a school?" "I don't know. We don't know what the children are learning at school. We only know the test results."

Z also thinks that most learning at primary school is not beneficial to community life, except for reading and writing in English. The level of English literacy taught in primary school is limited. However, it helps Maiwala children to gain some tools for communication with those who do not understand Maiwala language.

Parents do not see how academic learning at primary school is relevant to their current needs at home. However, the recent promotion of vernacular education has made children's learning at the elementary level more relevant to the community life:

Z thinks that vernacular literacy is very important. She is convinced of the benefit of initial vernacular literacy prior to learning English later. She has seen how her daughter applied her literacy skills in Maiwala, in order to learn English later.

Although, there is now strong support for vernacular education among the Maiwala people, there were not many who supported this idea at first in 1989. Since the school began, however, the people have begun to see the fruits of the initial schooling in vernacular. Primary school teachers also have noticed a significant difference in the performance and behaviour of the children who have gone through initial vernacular education:
The headmaster said that the children who have been to preparatory school already knew how to write letters and draw pictures very well. They were also disciplined and most of the hard work of the grade one teacher was no longer necessary.

Consequently, the elementary school teachers and the children’s parents began to share a mutual understanding on the purpose and goals of the school:

I asked Z, one of the Maiwala Elementary School teachers, what she expected to teach in her class. Z said, "I want to teach reading and writing in Maiwala, as well as discipline and good relationship with others, including respect, manners and appreciation. Legends can be taught at the elementary school, as some parents, nowadays, are not able to teach them. It will be good to invite Bada L to come and tell them to the children." In this way, traditional manners and culture will be reinforced at school. She also said, "I want to teach children to enjoy other stories and write their own stories." I asked her, "What about maths?" She said, "Counting in Maiwala is all right to teach up to ten, but it’s easier to count in English from eleven."

X, another elementary school teacher, also said, "I want to teach children how to speak and write Maiwala in a proper way, as the language is now mixed with many English words. I also want to teach children to count in Maiwala first, as I think that it helps them to learn in English later."

Likewise, parents also have clear ideas of what their children should be taught at elementary school:

P, one of the parents, said, "I want my children to learn to read and write in Maiwala at elementary school, as I want them to learn English well later at primary school. I also want them to learn traditional dancing and singing."

However, despite the parents’ expectations, one young teacher (nineteen years old) taught the preparatory class children a disco dance instead of inviting an old man and an old woman to come to teach traditional dance:

T, one of the teachers, who has children around twenty years of age, said that she could not stop him as that was what young people, nowadays,

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6A single word represents a number from one to four in Maiwala: tamoghi (one); luwagha (two), tonugha (three), ohepali (four), and nimi tutu (hand folded = five). From six onwards, combinations of words are used: nimi tutu po tamoghi (one fist and one = six), nimi tutu po luwagha (one fist and two = seven), etc. Combination of words become longer as the number increases, for example, nima luwagha hi tutu (two fists = ten); nima luwagha i tutu po au ae tamoghi (two fists and one toe = eleven); nima luwagha hi tutu po ae tamoghi i tutu po au ae gheha tamoghi (two fists and one foot and another one = sixteen); nima luwagha hi tutu po ae luwagha hi tutu oloto tamoghi (two fists and two sets of toes of one man = twenty).
wanted. However, another teacher, Z, who also has children around twenty years of age, said that it was her mistake not to talk to the young teacher about the importance of maintaining the culture.

Although parents value vernacular literacy skills as bridging skills for learning to read and write in English, they want to maintain their Maiwala language and culture. Both the parents and the Maiwala Elementary School teachers want their children to learn the indigenous knowledge, skills and behaviour that are useful in the Maiwala community. At the same time, they also wish the children to learn Western knowledge, such as English and maths, that will be useful in their future life outside the community. However, in many families, knowledge and skills from the Maiwala culture were not being taught. For example, children's lack of manners is one of the concerns expressed by many parents:

At the community gathering for the celebration of the Maiwala canoe race, many children could not eat half of the food piled up on their plates, as the ladies in charge at the table had served large amounts for them. Later, after another community gathering, many young people who did not help to prepare for the gathering came to devour the food.

One day the Maiwala Elementary School teachers talked about the children’s manners. They said that children could be taught how to serve food on the table as well as how to serve modest amounts on their plates. Z suggested that the children's lunch could be served on the table and each child could learn to serve a modest amount of food on his or her plate at school.

In this way, the Maiwala Elementary School teachers tried to reinforce appropriate manners that should be taught by the parents at home. These teachers often talked about the identified areas of need for teaching, and shared their ideas as to how they could best assist children in these areas. By sharing mutual understanding of the purpose of initial vernacular education among the teachers themselves, and close communication with the parents, the Maiwala Elementary School teachers have been trying to develop a culturally more appropriate curriculum; one that relates to the needs of the people in the community. They also help children to develop their learning potential.
6.3.2 Encouraging Parents to Teach

In contrast to the alien, skill-oriented teaching at primary school, children, at home, learn necessary skills by doing a real task that is meaningful to them. Initially at the Maiwala Elementary School, children were doing skill-based test-like activities. However, these activities were related to the context of learning the whole task, such as reading and writing meaningful and interesting stories:

At first, the Maiwala Elementary School teachers used test-like workbook activities during the term, as it was the way literacy had been taught in the past. The teachers spent a lot of time marking the children’s work. However, at the end of the year, the teachers discovered that many children did not become fluent readers or writers despite doing workbook activities.

Thus, the Maiwala Elementary School teachers have come to realise that they were wasting their time marking the children’s workbook activities. From this experience, these teachers recognised the importance of learning by actually doing real, meaningful tasks, as they would at home. While learning to do a meaningful task over and over again, through trial and error, children gain the necessary skills required for mastering the task. These teachers have come to realise that teaching certain skills such as spelling is helpful to the children, if the children can relate the activity to the meaningful context of writing and reading relevant stories. Although spelling is a skill-based activity, these teachers let each child discover, independently, if there is anything incorrect in his or her work. They did this, rather than telling the child:

X says that she tells the children in preparatory class to listen and write again and again until they get the right spelling.

Children first discover what needs to be improved by trying it repeatedly. This is a time consuming process. However, the Maiwala Elementary School teachers found it worthwhile when they saw individual children begin to be able to apply their spelling skills to writing and reading stories. In the Maiwala Elementary School, certain skills are taught explicitly, in a flexible time-frame, according to the capability of each child. In this way, skill-oriented learning
becomes meaningful to the children. Although doing real meaningful tasks is the most important aspect of learning at home, doing such meaningful tasks at school can become meaningless, having a negative effect on the children:

Having one’s own garden has been an absolute necessity for agricultural people like those at Maiwala. However, X points out that gardening at school is different from gardening at home. Primary school teachers teach gardening and parents think that their children are learning to garden. Since the school garden is not owned by individual children, children do not learn to make their own gardens for subsistence. Children leave the school garden behind when they graduate from primary school. As a result they do not have their own gardens, in order to feed themselves and other family members.

In Western society, especially in the city, children may not have an opportunity to see how plants grow, if gardening is not taught at school. People in the city often do not have enough space for making gardens, or do not need to grow vegetables for their everyday needs. In the city, food is bought from the store using the wages earned from employment that is not directly related to food production. This concept of having a school garden in the school curriculum is irrelevant to the subsistence farmers at Maiwala. As a consequence, nowadays, many young people do not make their own gardens. Having identified the problem of teaching gardening, the Maiwala Elementary School teachers are trying to find the best solution:

Z says that the school should encourage every child to have his or her own garden at home. So she put her idea into practice and let her children make their own gardens next to hers. She always takes her children (twelve, ten and four years old) with her. Often on Saturdays, they paddle a canoe together to their gardens. As a result, the older two have planted taro, yam, bananas, etc. in their respective patches of ground. The youngest also planted a sweet potato in her small garden of about one square metre.

Z said, "During the week, my son wonders how his banana plants are doing and can hardly wait for the next Saturday. It will be a special day when he harvests his own bananas and takes them to the school. I think, having a school market would help encourage children to have their own gardens. Children can bring their own produce for parents to buy. Then they can learn to earn money, too."

Putting one’s own ideas into practice helps others to see what they could also do. Hence, the other Maiwala Elementary School teachers, X and T, invited Z’s children to come to talk to the children in their respective classes. From that
time on, the children's personal experience in fishing and gardening became important topics of their dialogue during the week at the Maiwala Elementary School. As a result, children began to ask their parents to help them to make their own gardens. Some parents had excuses for not helping their children, as their gardens are far away and they did not want to take their children with them. However, some parents took it seriously and sought out a solution:

H said, "Our garden is so far away. So my husband decided to help HB (eight years old) make her garden across the road. Can you see the area cleared already? Later, he will fence the area, in order to keep pigs out."

Many people, whose gardens are far away, often run out of green leafy vegetables, such as aibika, that do not keep long without refrigeration. However, there are a few women who grow aibika in their small gardens near their houses. Such a small garden gives them the advantage of being able to harvest for their daily needs just prior to cooking. Although there are many pigs roaming around in the community, the women's little extra care has rewarded them with plentiful supplies of greens:

K has a crop of tall aibika at the back of her house. As the area was not fenced off, I asked her how she keeps the pigs from digging up the plants. K said that she needed to fence the plants when they were small, but that pigs did not bother them once they were fully grown.

It seems that pigs are not the real reason why many people do not have small gardens near their houses:

V has a pawpaw tree in front of her house. As it was standing in the middle of her front yard without a fence, I asked V how she kept pigs away. She also said that she needed to fence the tree only when it was small. Now, the tree is grown tall, pigs are not interested in digging around it.

Nevertheless, many people do not bother with small gardens near their houses, because of the anticipated damage caused by pigs or loss by theft. Despite anticipated theft, most people have betel nut trees near their houses:

One day when X and I were standing outside and talking, she noticed a small branch had been broken off one of her betel nut trees. She said, "See? Someone stole it."
It seems to be a paradox for people to have many betel nut trees near their houses but not small vegetable gardens. It is perhaps because they feel a more urgent need for betel nut than for vegetables. The concern, here, is not about satisfying their craving for a kind of drug, but in providing the necessary daily needs for a healthy life. Although many people have not been convinced of the nutritious benefit of having greens in their diet, some parents have become aware of their role, in order to assist their children to have a successful life in the community:

WA (four years old) loves to visit the Maiwala Elementary School. She also wanted her own garden. So her parents helped her to make her garden near their new house. One day when I was passing by their home, they were in the middle of planting banana suckers. WA’s beans had already grown and had many beans. WA’s mother said that WA did not want to harvest them. However, when I admired the beans, WA decided to give some to me and picked them for me. She was full of smiles when I praised her that she was a good gardener.

Thus, a four-year-old child was already learning to be part of the work force in the family by providing food. Although gardening and fishing are weekend hobbies in industrial societies, they are an essential part of life in the Maiwala community. Gardening or fishing depend on the weather. Because the weather is unpredictable, parents cannot wait for a whole week until Saturday to go fishing or do gardening. If they go during the week, school children cannot accompany them, as school attendance is considered more important than fishing or gardening. Parents recall how children were punished if they went fishing or gardening during the week. Ironically, such children were punished by working in the school garden in the heat of the day. This is an important dilemma. Parents do not see the value of learning at primary school, yet they have to send their children to school instead of taking them fishing or gardening. This dilemma has not been resolved completely in the process of developing a culturally more appropriate curriculum for the Maiwala Elementary School:

D (eight years old) misses school from time to time as he goes fishing with his uncle. He is an inspiration to his peers when he talks about his fishing experience to the class. His teacher, T, knows from her observation that D
has been learning well and his absence has not affected his learning. However, T decided to encourage him to come to school regularly and told him to go fishing on Saturday\textsuperscript{7} instead.

While the teacher values what she teaches in her classroom, she also values what parents teach such as fishing and gardening. These skills are very important, in order to have an independent life in the community. She is aware of the reality in the community. There are so many young people who neither fish nor garden, but rely on other members of the family to feed them.

6.3.3 Encouraging Children to Achieve

As discussed previously, teaching at the primary school is usually focused on the bright children, leaving the slow children to drag behind. Then, at the end of the term, all the children are assessed and evaluated by tests. On the basis of the evaluation, bright children are rewarded. Rewards can also be stimulating to the slow children, if they are helped and encouraged in their learning. However, these tests leave slow children unrewarded and discouraged, with no interest in learning:

Z said that the same children who are ranked as bright are rewarded every year and the others all miss out. V also said that the same children who received rewards at school also received rewards at Sunday School.

As a result of the negative effects of rewarding, both teachers stopped giving rewards to the children at the end of the school year. As the rewarding system relates to ranking children, the Maiwala Elementary School teachers do not see it as a benefit in the process of teaching and learning. By contrast, the Maiwala Elementary School teachers continue to observe the children’s learning process, in order to assist the slow children with appropriate instruction and to give encouragement. These teachers also monitor the children’s behaviour and its effects on their learning. However, many primary school teachers tend to view children’s behavioural problems as separate issues from their learning

\textsuperscript{7}The dilemma becomes even greater during the cricket season. Cricketers consider that a fine Saturday is good for playing cricket, rather than going fishing or doing gardening.
problems. These teachers often punish the children, rather than trying to identify the cause of the problem, in order to assist them:

When I had finished asking C a few questions on Maiwala phrases, we saw her youngest daughter, CA, walking and singing as she came along. C called her to come. When CA came, C asked her why she did not go to school. She did, but she was sent home because she was late. Nevertheless, she did not seem to worry about missing the school, but she was happy about singing songs.

At primary school, teachers usually use the standard rule of punishment, regardless of reasons for being late. There was no distinction being applied between an accidental case and a persisting punctuality problem. Teachers may suspect that children’s behavioural problems are symptoms of family problems. However, they seldom communicate with the parents, in order to deal with them. As a consequence, some children’s behavioural problems persist:

One morning, JC did not go to school. I asked her neighbour, X, why. X said that JC saw her friend coming home as he was late. So JC knew that she would be late and would be sent back anyway. X said that the late comers are punished by either being sent home or made to run around the school oval a few times. X said that her daughter, XD, once had to run before being permitted to enter her classroom.

X says that school teachers have a right to punish their children at school, as they are responsible for teaching everything at school. However, she does not like teachers sending children home when they are late. She thinks that it is not good for the children to miss school.

Although parents expect teachers to punish children at school, they do not like unjust punishment:

P expects school teachers to punish her children in the same way as she does at home, only if the children are in the wrong.

Hence, the appropriate punishment for primary school pupils were decided at parent-teacher meetings. However, there seems a problem in this kind of decision making:

Z said that all the methods of punishment at primary school had been decided in parent-teacher meetings. Z said that these decisions, however, were made by only a few parents and the teacher, as other parents did not speak up even if they were unhappy with the decisions.
After reflecting on the situation of punishment at primary school, the Maiwala Elementary School teachers decided not to send children home when they came late. Instead, they tried to identify the reasons for the child being late, in order to help him or her. These teachers believe that children should come into the classroom as soon as possible, rather than missing more by running on the school oval. However, they think some kind of light punishment is necessary at times, for the purpose of discipline. They also think that it is necessary to communicate with parents individually if a problem persists:

DA (eight years old) was learning well. However, T noticed that DA had been restless and was ignoring what he was supposed to do for the past week. So she contacted his parents to see how he was doing at home. When she discovered that he had been staying with another family, she shared her concerns about DA’s learning being impeded recently. As a result, the parents took their son back with them.

In this way, the teacher’s personal communication with the parents helped the child to return to his normal home environment. However, there are other cases in which the child’s behavioural problems are caused by persistent family problems. In such a case, the Maiwala Elementary School teachers approach the child positively, in an attempt to assist him to overcome the problems:

One late afternoon Z came to see me at V’s. While we were talking, Z pointed out the importance of encouragement. We talked about how we had praised V’s son, VA (twelve years old) for fishing that afternoon. While we were talking, one of V’s neighbours, M, came. Z said to M that his son (seven years old) was often a humbug in the preparatory class. So Z had encouraged him by saying that he was expected to be the councillor in the future, just like his father. Then M’s son was encouraged and began to behave well at school.

When the child was no longer scolded, he was encouraged to become aware of the importance of being a worthwhile person in the community. One of the key elements in children’s achievements is encouragement:

FA’s (eight years old) attendance was irregular and his teacher T began to notice that he had not been achieving well. One day he missed school and was playing at home. On her way home from school, T saw FA playing near his home. So T told him that she missed him at school, and encouraged him to come to school regularly.

When he came the next day, T paid extra attention to him and encouraged him in his learning. As a result, he began to come to school regularly. A few weeks later, T said to FA how much he had achieved because he came
to school everyday. By hearing T’s encouraging words, FA began to show even more interest and achievements in his learning.

Thus, the teacher's encouragement and extra care helped the child to improve his attendance and learning. The Maiwala Elementary School teachers think that slow children at school may be able to do well, if they are encouraged to keep trying over a longer period of time.

6.3.4 Reflections

Many parents have perceived that most of the children's learning at primary school is irrelevant to the community life. However, attendance is compulsory and children spend most of their time at school. Thus, the Maiwala Elementary School teachers have been trying to make learning at school more meaningful. When the children began to experience real, meaningful tasks through trial and error, they also began to show signs of achievement.

The teachers have also realised that the learning of meaningful tasks at home, such as gardening, can become meaningless at school. Preparing a culturally more appropriate curriculum does not mean that every aspect of the culture has to be taught at school. Rather, certain skills must be taught by the parents in the meaningful context of community life. For this reason, the children began to make their gardens for subsistence.

Parents expect school teachers to teach children appropriate behaviour and manners at school. Although children’s behavioural problems are often related to the problems at home, many primary school teachers fail to deal with them. Instead, they just punish the children. However, Maiwala Elementary School teachers began to deal with the children's behavioural problems more sensitively with a word of encouragement. As a result, children have begun to show signs of achievement in their learning. In this way, the teachers assist children through continuous assessment and evaluation.
6.4 Assessment and Evaluation as a Continuous Process

6.4.1 Encouraging Children to Achieve Continuously

As discussed previously, most primary school teachers have failed to use test results for diagnostic purposes. They could not find time to pay special attention to the children who needed extra assistance. However, there were some exceptions:

One evening, V’s brother, VH, came to visit us. V explained to him what I had been doing there. Then VH said that one teacher whom he knew separated the children into two groups (bright ones and slow ones), and gave them different instructions. He said that it was a very good way to teach. I asked him how the slow ones would feel in that kind of grouping. VH thinks that they would not worry, as long as they were helped.

This particular teacher made use of the test results in the next step of teaching, by deciding to assist children who were in need. Although he separated slow children from the advanced children, the Maiwala Elementary School teachers have found that slow children are more encouraged to achieve when they are with advanced children:

As T has been spending so much extra time with the three eight-year-old boys, the teachers experimented to see if the boys would achieve better among seven-year-old children in the preparatory class. However, about a month later, the teachers discovered that the boys’ learning was impeded. For example, their writing became more like the writing of seven-year-olds.

Children learn more by seeing better examples to copy from, as they do at home. Hence, the Maiwala Elementary School teachers first identify the children’s areas of need through observation, and then assist the children to achieve further by giving extra instruction.

By contrast, many primary school teachers do not try to use test results for identifying the children’s areas of need but only for ranking. They do not realise how much the children, who are marked as ‘not good enough’, are
discouraged. Because these children are not helped to learn, they continue to lose interest in trying to learn the skills and knowledge they cannot understand. These discouraged children can hardly achieve at primary school. The learning process is almost ignored, and the end product is valued in isolation. This makes it important to produce perfect work in a test. At first, the Maiwala Elementary School teachers retained the principle of product-oriented teaching. Although they did not want to rank children, they still believed that the end product of any activity should be perfect:

When making stick puppets, the Maiwala Elementary School teachers did not let children cut out their own puppets. Instead, the teachers cut out a puppet for each child, while the child was watching. I asked them why they did not let the children cut by themselves. They said, "Kids cannot do it." I asked them, "Don't you want the children to experiment in cutting?" "Yes, but..."

At home, parents let children learn to peel vegetables through trial and error. Children are not expected to peel perfectly from the beginning. During the process of learning, parents assess children and give any necessary instruction, in order to assist them to improve their skills. However, the Maiwala Elementary School teachers did not allow the children to experiment cutting puppets at school, as they valued the product of learning more highly than the process of learning. By saying "Kids cannot do it," the teachers did not mean that the children did not know how to cut, but that the children's work would not reach the teacher's expectation. The teachers were also worried about wasting materials:

I saw many children who were trying to write with a tiny piece of chalk on their lapboard. So I asked T and X if there was any more chalk. They said that they did not want to give them more as they press heavily and waste it. The teachers were also reluctant to give the children long crayons, although they had a plentiful supply of chalk and crayons given to them.

This incident seemed to contradict the incidents in the informal learning experiences, such as peeling vegetables or carving an axe handle. At home, children's mistakes or imperfect work is seen as a part of the process in their learning towards perfection. Thus, children receive a word of encouragement to continue to keep on trying.
It seemed that the Maiwala Elementary School teachers were worried about the wastage of Western materials. When they considered the parents’ generosity towards wastage at home, they began to let the children learn to do their own work through trial and error in their classrooms. However, at certain times, such as having visitors, they tended to show the perfect end products:

When a camera man came to Maiwala Elementary School to shoot various activities for a teaching video programme, the teachers thought that they needed to show the children’s perfect performance as the end product. Although the video was meant to show the process of teaching and learning, the teachers cut out puppets for the children for a puppet show. As the teachers had also prepared beforehand by teaching the girls how to dance and the boys how to beat kundu drums, the video man was unable to shoot the scene of the children’s learning process.

Although the teachers became conscious of adapting process-oriented learning into their classrooms, they assumed unchanged expectations for product-oriented learning from the visitors and parents. Nevertheless, through trial and error, the teachers began to put their understanding of encouragement into practice more often at school:

Z said that the preparatory class children danced at the end of 1994. As parents expected their children to perform a perfect dance, they commented that the children’s dancing was not good enough. However, Z told the parents that the children were doing their best at their age. So the parents clapped and the children were encouraged and danced really hard. I asked the teachers why the parents had said that the children’s performance was not good. They all said that the parents were taught to perform perfectly when they were at school.

In this way, the Maiwala Elementary School teachers were able to help the parents to understand that children’s achievements at school can be enhanced in the same way as at home.

6.4.2 Assisting Individual Children

From time to time at home, parents compare children in their work and behaviour. They also compare children’s learning at school:

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8A video programme (NDOE, 1994a) was produced to accompany the language inservice package (NDOE, 1993b).
A few days later when Z’s children brought back their school reports, she said that her daughter was ranked ‘above average’ but her son was ranked ‘average’. She said that it was because her daughter spends more time on homework than her son.

On the basis of her observation, the mother thought that her daughter who studied more at home was doing better than her son. In fact, her daughter had more homework because her teacher often sent children home with the activities she could not get through in the restricted class time:

Q told her son, QD, that he shouldn’t do the homework for a friend of his sister, QA. However, he kept drawing a kundu drum for QA’s friend, while QA was drawing a clay pot for her homework. Q said that the teacher should be able to pick out QD’s (grade four) drawing from among the drawings of the grade two children.

Thus, there is no guarantee that homework is done by the children who are supposed to do it:

Towards the end of the school year, parents of the Maiwala Elementary School children were busy making grass skirts for their daughters. At primary school, girls were to learn how to make grass skirts. EA (ten years old) had taken the inner parts of the young coconut fronds to school. EA and other girls had been asked to do this by their teacher.

However, the teacher, who was unable to teach this particular skill, had not asked some of the mothers to come to teach them. Instead, she sent back the grass skirt materials with the girls as their homework. It was just a few days before the end-of-the-year break up party. When EA brought home the material, her foster mother, E, made a grass skirt for her, instead of teaching her how to make it.

This teacher was not concerned about the children’s learning, but she was more concerned that she herself got through what she was required to teach. Moreover, the teacher could not understand how the acquisition of skills, such as grass skirts making, could cultivate a positive attitude towards the maintenance of culture. However, there are other teachers who successfully taught children traditional skills:

Z said that she taught grade six girls to weave pandanus mats while she was teaching at primary school. It was her idea, as their mothers were not teaching them to weave at home. Some mothers did not know how, even though everybody wanted mats for sitting or sleeping.

At the end of each school year, primary school pupils used to sing songs as they had been taught by early missionaries. However, Z decided to have a display of the pupils’ craft rather than a concert.
Now these girls have grown up and can weave mats for their own families. Some of them have taught their mothers how. Z said how much her ex-pupils have thanked her for teaching them to gain such a useful skill.

The teacher could teach a particular skill. However, if the teacher is not capable of teaching it, parents are aware of their possible involvement in teaching children at school\(^9\). Nevertheless, in the incident of the grass skirts, parents were not given an opportunity to assist the teacher at school. Thus, the teacher's lack of communication with the parents resulted in her failure to teach the children, even though the children brought completed grass skirts to school. As a result, the teacher could not tell how each child was learning such a skill.

Even in a classroom situation, a teacher's ignorance of the individual children's achievement is evident, as discussed previously. As the children's strengths and areas of need in their school work are not made known to the parents, their knowledge of the children's achievements at school can be superficial during the term:

Z used to think that her daughter, ZA (ten years old), knew how to spell well. However, in ZA's writing, there were numerous inventive spellings through phonics. There were also many corrections made by her teacher, even on ZA's correct spelling. Although the story was very interesting, there were no written comments from the teacher.

This teacher failed to identify the girl's strengths, identifying only her weaknesses. She saw such weaknesses negatively, rather than as areas needing assistance. She did not teach story writing for the purpose of cultivating creativity, only for gaining mechanical skills, such as spelling. Partly because of their teacher's lack of ability in English, primary school pupils are not often helped appropriately:

Z used to think that her son, ZD (twelve years old), could not write stories well, especially because he is ranked 'average'. However, his school work, which Z showed to me, revealed that he could spell well and write interesting stories. When I explained to him where to put punctuation marks, or how to make paragraph breaks, he understood it very well.

\(^9\)Likewise, there is a possibility of an old man teaching boys how to make kundu drums at school. However, it seems that it is up to the teacher to make it happen.
In relation to this incident, the Maiwala Elementary School teachers have come to realise the necessity of making the purpose clear in teaching. They have also realised the necessity to identify each child's strengths and areas of need, in order to give appropriate assistance. This was especially important when they recognised how easily parents can identify children's areas of need in their learning at home. The teachers also realised that many parents are unable to assist children in their academic learning because it is unfamiliar to them. This makes parents think that the teachers have the full responsibility of teaching at school. This expectation from the parents has been taken seriously by the Maiwala Elementary School teachers. These teachers do not focus on the bright children while teaching. Instead, they focus on all children individually and try to identify how best they can help them:

T divided the children into two groups and let them observe each other, when playing the 'say-it-fast' game. Amazingly, children picked up those who mumbled, said nothing, or spoke correctly. In this way, T's assessment of each child was assisted by the children's observation of each other. However, once she had received extra information from the children, she suggested that they do not name those who did not respond correctly.

She scored each group's answers on the chalkboard and let the children see which group won at the end of the game. She then let the losing group clap the winning group. She also let the winning group clap the losing group. Later during the spelling activities, she gave extra assistance to the children with need.

Once the teacher had received information on which child needed her extra assistance, she avoided embarrassing or discouraging situations. Instead, she encouraged the children to increase their enthusiasm for learning by treating both groups equally, letting them clap each other.

6.4.3 Reflections
At primary school, the children's achievements are determined by the test results. Although the outcome of the test results are not usually reflected in the next step of teaching, some primary school teachers are able to provide extra instruction to the children with needs, by separating them from the bright
children. However, the Maiwala Elementary School teachers have found that it is more effective to provide extra instruction throughout the process of learning, while the children continue to observe the better examples of others.

At primary school, children are expected to perform well in the end, as the product of learning is considered to be more important than the process. Initially, at the Maiwala Elementary School, the teachers tried to make the children's end products perfect, especially when visitors were present. However, considering the children's process-oriented learning at home, the teachers began to let the children continue to develop their own skills. The teachers' continuous observation of each individual child has also contributed to his or her achievement in his or her own time-frame. As the teachers' continuous encouragement enhanced the children's achievements, the children also responded with their own assessments and evaluations.

6.5 Assessment and Evaluation as the Task of the Children

6.5.1 Children's Own Goals

Children have their own choices in learning daily chores at home. In contrast, in the Maiwala Elementary School, the teachers initially made all the decisions for the children:

Once a week, after a short excursion during school hours, it was planned for the teacher and the children to create a story together. However, the teachers used to make decisions beforehand on what kind of story they were going to write together for a class book, and made up the outline of the story. In this way, the teachers produced very similar stories with a different group of children each year.

However, later when children's learning at home was compared with the methods at school, the teachers began to let the children make suggestions as to what they were going to write. As a result, children began to show increasing interest in composing a story together.
When the teachers experimented to let children take control in the composition of the story, the style of learning at home was reflected in the school setting. As a result, the teachers have discovered the children's excitement about learning, as well as the joy of creating new stories. Although attendance at school is compulsory, children are given opportunities to pursue their own interest during individual activities. The teachers also give them control of their learning in a less rigid time-frame. In this way, they respect what each child is aiming at in his or her own learning:

One morning, HB (eight years old) kept on writing her story, although her teacher, T, called all the children to come to sit together for morning tea. T saw HB still writing after all the other children had come to sit together, and so she called to HB. HB said that she had almost finished writing and wanted to go on. So T did not force HB to stop her writing but let her keep going. In a short while, HB finished her story and came to join the rest of the class smiling.

The child was able to find satisfaction by accomplishing her own goal, because the teacher allowed her extra time. When the child finished her writing, her own evaluation of herself was shown on her face. In this way, children’s self-assessment and self-evaluation are implicit and incidental as integral parts of their learning. Thus, the Maiwala Elementary School teachers pay attention to the children’s expressions, in order to identify their feelings about their own assessment and evaluation.

6.5.2 Comparing with Each Other

Having control over one’s own learning contrasts with being undisciplined. Undisciplined children do not know how to control their own actions, while disciplined children know how to be responsible for their actions:

DC (seven years old) is an unsettled child. Her teacher, X, has not yet found the best way to assist her to be able to concentrate on her learning. One morning she moved to another activity without wiping her writing off her lapboard. DB (seven years old), the leader of DC’s group, saw DC’s lapboard, and began to wipe the lapboard DC had left. DB also checked other lapboards stuck up against the wall to see if they were clean.

As the child took seriously her responsibility as the leader, she identified what needed to be done on the basis of assessment and evaluation of her peer’s
behaviour. Children also assess and evaluate each other's voluntary work, such as sweeping the floor. While sweeping together, some children check on the others' work:

Every morning when one of the teachers unlocks the door of the Maiwala Elementary School, most children who have arrived earlier than the teacher, go into the school and begin to sweep the floor voluntarily. One morning while sweeping the floor, FD (eight years old) saw a lot of sand where one of her friends, FE (eight years old), had swept quickly before going outside. She turned around to check how she had swept and was satisfied with her own clean floor. She was about to call her teacher's attention to the poorly swept floor, but noticed that the teacher was busy doing other things. So she, herself, began to sweep the sand which FE had left behind.

In this way, the child assessed her own work as well as her friend's work. When she identified the areas of need in her friend's work, she began to correct it. This incident was also an extension of normal everyday life, where the parents teach children by correcting their work immediately after they have completed it. Through the experience of being assessed and evaluated in this way, the children also learn to assess and evaluate likewise:

It was not PA's turn to be the leader of the group. However, she began to draw a picture for the page of a story made by the class. PA has been drawing and writing at home, as her parents were able to supply stationery and give her extra teaching at home. PA's teacher, T, saw what was going on and told her to let the leader draw first. PA's response was that others did not know how to draw pictures properly and that she had to show them how. However, T told her that others also needed to experiment in drawing.

When the teacher teaches children to negotiate with each other, children learn to work co-operatively within the group. Negotiation and co-operative work are also encouraged in the class activities, such as writing a class book together and deciding its title. As discussed previously, Maiwala people regret the loss of feasting, as the co-operative spirit from feasting together has been lost among the members of the community. Thus, the teachers felt the necessity of creating a co-operative spirit among the children. In a group work situation, the teacher does not set the pace for teaching from the advanced children, but gives other children more time to learn through observation, imitation, and trial and error. In a group situation, there are plenty of opportunities for the
children to observe each other. Unlike at primary school, the Maiwala Elementary School children are encouraged to copy from each other:

During the time of creative writing, EC (eight years old) printed letters clearly and neatly on her lapboard. So her teacher, X, showed it to the rest of the class and encouraged others to write like EC. Then all the other children began to print their letters more neatly, especially the children in EC's group who began to write on their lapboards by glancing at EC's writing.

When being encouraged to observe each other, children began to assess and evaluate their own writing by comparing it with their friend's model writing. However, during the time of spelling, the teacher does not let the children see each other's work but each must concentrate on his or her own work. In this way, the teacher can identify each child's areas of need, in order to assist him or her.

6.5.3 Monitoring Other Children

At primary school during the term, teachers often give children a short test like a quiz and let the children mark each other's answers. However, not all the children are capable of checking another's work correctly:

V showed me his son, VA's, exercise books on maths and English. In both books, I found many answers incorrectly marked. I asked VA what he did after his work was marked by one of his friends. He said that it was the end of the class.

Children need teacher's assistance, especially when assessing and evaluating each other's work. However, their need was not dealt with by the teacher. Moreover, children are expected to assess and evaluate each other's work without understanding what are the correct answers. These primary school children also lacked understanding of the purpose of assessment and evaluation.

By contrast, in the community, children can assess and evaluate each other's work, as they have a clear understanding of what 'proper' work is like. Similarly, the Maiwala Elementary School children can assess and evaluate
their peers' work with a clear understanding of what are the correct answers, such as in the 'say-it-fast' game, as discussed previously. Likewise, children's observation of others' behaviour also contributes to the teacher's assessment and evaluation:

X appointed one of the leaders, F, to watch so that some children did not get into mischief while the others were praying with their eyes closed. During the prayer, F's eyes roamed over the group of children. When X finished praying, F reported to X from what he observed.

In this way, children can assist the teacher by watching their peers. When the children reported to the teacher, she was able to identify the misbehaving children, in order to help them to behave respectably. This does not mean that the teacher is encouraging children to become talebearers, but to assist each child sensitively and also to protect elementary school children from bullies:

One day during recess, the Maiwala Elementary School teachers and I were talking in the classroom. Suddenly we heard a group of elementary school children running towards the classroom and calling us. When they came into the classroom, we saw that FA was soaking wet. One of the children said that two boys, FB and FC, pushed him into the water at the beach. FB and FC said that FA had sworn at them, 

"Tae u ani!"

(Eat dung!)

The other children also said that three grade-four boys encouraged FB and FC to push FA into the water. T asked them if it was true. They all said, "Ee [yes]!"

While the three boys, FA, FB and FC, were standing in front of T, T made the rest of the children sit. Then she told FA that he should not swear again. She also told FB and FC not to push him into the water but come and tell her about the problem, if it happened again. After punishing the three boys by caning lightly on their hands, T asked all the children if it was the right thing for the big boys to encourage FB and FC to hurt FA. All the children said, "Eegha [No]!"

T told all the children in the class that the big boys should have told FA not to swear, instead. Then T sent FA home to change his clothes, and told the rest of the children to remain seated and wait for her while she talked to the grade-four teacher. The children looked at each other and whispered to each other, while T was gone. When T returned and reported to the children that the three grade-four boys were ashamed, they were relieved that they would not be bullied by the big boys.

Thus, the teacher took time to deal with a particular child's areas of need, instead of just punishing his undesirable behaviour. On the basis of her
assessment and evaluation of the boy, the teacher tried to assist him 1) to evaluate his own behaviour, and 2) to think why he was pushed into the sea. The rest of the children also had an opportunity to think about themselves, in relation to the boys in trouble. The teacher reminded the child that it was his mistake for swearing at his friends and told him not to swear again.

Similarly, in the community, as discussed previously, the instructor for carving a canoe told the learner that he had made a mistake and he should not carve the same part any more. In both cases, neither the instructor nor the teacher explained to the learner why he was not allowed to carve or swear but just told them not to do the same thing again. It was up to the learner to identify the consequence of carving too thin or swearing. In this way, the Maiwala Elementary School teachers continue to guide the children to come to their own solutions concerning mistakes, as the parents do at home.

At home, children are given responsibility to identify their areas of need as well as to find solutions in a flexible time-frame. However, at primary school, children are not given enough time to think and explore their own ideas, but are conditioned to the simple question and answer exchange. This mode of teaching was also dominant initially at the Maiwala Elementary School. However, through their active involvement in this research study, the teachers have come to realise the benefit of thinking more critically, through ‘why’ questions. As a result, they began to help the children to understand the nature of the problems, and to take responsibility for solving them:

There were a few children who used to swear at the beginning of the school year. These children swore because their parents used to swear at home. Knowing the children’s home background, the Maiwala Elementary School teachers told these children over and over again not to swear. They also told the children to tell their parents that swearing was not allowed at school. As a result, most children except FA (eight years old) and DC (seven years old) stopped swearing at school or at home. Because of his unchanged behaviour, FA was pushed into the creek, and into the sea a couple of weeks later. The parents of FA and DC say that their children are always like that and do not even try to assist them.
It is not the parents but the child who needs to identify his or her own need for achievement. Thus, the Maiwala Elementary School teachers found that teaching parents through teaching the children was quite effective, as it avoids direct confrontation with the parents. However, some parents are not cooperative with the teacher through indirect communication, especially when a message is sent through children:

About the middle of the term, the Maiwala Elementary School teachers decided to perform traditional dancing at the end-of-term break-up party. Every week when they practised dancing, the teachers and the children talked about how the children were going to dress up in traditional clothes. The teachers reminded the children to ask their parents to prepare the traditional clothes for them. On the day of the party, however, two girls miserably watched their friends dressing up. I asked the teachers why they did not have grass skirts. The teachers replied, "We've told them [i.e., children] over and over again."

In this way, the teachers tried to encourage the children and their parents to maintain their culture. However, the foster parents of the two girls failed to respond to the teacher. As a consequence, the children had to suffer because of their foster parents’ failure to respond.

6.5.4 Reflections

At home, children begin to learn certain skills of their own choice and pursue their learning. By contrast, at primary school, teachers often impart certain knowledge according to the syllabus provided for them. At first, the Maiwala Elementary School teachers also followed the model of the primary school teachers, such as in the writing of stories. However, when they let the children choose their own topics, the children gained confidence in their learning and began to show further achievements.

Just as they are trusted to be independent learners at home, the children also began to take responsibility for their own learning at school. They also began to assess and evaluate their work as well as the work of others. When a child made judgements about another's work, however, the teacher stressed the
importance of the learning process, and used the incident for teaching and developing a co-operative working spirit. Likewise, children began to learn to work with the teacher by monitoring other children. In this way, the teachers continued to give children opportunities to reflect on themselves. This helps children to take responsibility for their own actions, by avoiding direct confrontation with the parents. This is quite effective, especially when the parents are responsible for the children’s behavioural problems at home.

6.6 Summary

In this chapter, I have discussed the process of developing more appropriate classroom practices for the Maiwala Elementary School, especially in relation to assessment and evaluation. During this process, the third set of research questions was often reflected in my observation of, and interaction with, the Maiwala Elementary School teachers. In return, the elementary school teachers became increasingly aware of the values of informal education principles in their community. Although I referred to relevant incidents of assessment and evaluation at home, the teachers initially showed a tendency to conform to the old mould of classroom practices.

It involved a great deal of trial and error for the teachers to become aware of the necessity for change. As I did not want to impose my views on the teachers, they continued to find their own way in their own time-frame. In the end, they were able to identify the areas of need for change in their classroom practices, and were actively involved in the application of the discovered principles. Consequently, I was able to avoid creating superficial changes without the teachers’ understanding. I let the teachers create a fundamental change resulting from their own conviction for change.
More appropriate assessment and evaluation strategies were developed in the normal classroom hours. Both the teachers and the children were involved in this process. They were also involved in the shaping of their curriculum. This was done through mutual learning about each other. The teachers and the children interacted with each other, just like the parents and children at home. In this way, the principles of learning in the community were reflected in teaching and learning practices at school. Consequently, many changes to the methods of instruction, assessment and evaluation have been made bit by bit in the meaningful context of the Maiwala Elementary School.

The Maiwala Elementary School curriculum is not completely shaped, and will never be. The changing culture continues to be reflected in the process of developing this culturally more appropriate curriculum. Likewise, the teaching practices continue to be "created and crafted through a continuous process of revision" (Bird, 1989: 15). In the past, these teachers were taught at school under a curriculum that was prepared by expatriates on the basis of Western culture. However, these teachers are now actively involved in the development of their own curriculum, one that is relevant to their own culture. Such a curriculum is most effective, because it is developed by the people who implement it, from their own cultural perspectives.

Therefore, the Maiwala curriculum is not just an idea but a practice that has emerged through the interaction of teachers and pupils (Hughes, 1993). Through the process of interaction, involving thinking and acting together, the Maiwala Elementary School teachers and I have made their school more relevant and meaningful to their community life. Although the gap between the elementary school and the community has been lessened, there is still more work to be done, in order to close the gap more completely. For this purpose, the elementary school teachers, together with the parents and the children of
the Maiwala community, continue to shape their curriculum, which is not a 'prepackaged course' but has a growing potential to change (Boomer, 1982).

No curriculum should be static; it should be fluid, because the world is constantly changing (Warren, 1994). The Maiwala curriculum will also change, especially in the midst of cultural change in the community. The Maiwala Elementary School teachers continue to be involved in the process of developing a more appropriate curriculum and more appropriate classroom practices. For this reason, developing a curriculum is a time consuming, never ending process. However, there is a tendency among curriculum developers to take a short cut by generalising something that seems to be applicable, such as holistic approaches to assessment and evaluation in the Western context.

Although many cultural similarities may be identified among communities in PNG, there may also be differences. It is important to consider differences, in order to avoid a state of 'paradigm paralysis' (Betts, 1992) when implementing an approach developed in another context. Although it has the potential for adaptation, this case study from Maiwala also needs to be examined carefully in relation to other local cultures. In particular, when developing assessment and evaluation strategies for other elementary schools in PNG, it is necessary to pay attention to various aspects of the particular community, as there are more than 860 cultural/language groups in PNG.

Additionally, many similarities may be identified with holistic approaches used in some Western contexts. At the same time, there may be some differences. There has been a trend, among expatriate staff members of NDOE, to follow the latest Western approach. However, it is necessary to identify these differences, in order to avoid the imposition of inappropriate Western ideas. This is discussed further in the latter part of the following chapter.
CHAPTER SEVEN
DISCUSSION

7.0 Introduction

In the earlier chapters, I have presented the whole picture of educational change in PNG, in which the Maiwala community plays an important and increasingly central role. In Chapter 2, I completed the peripheral parts of the jigsaw puzzle picture by providing detailed information on the historical development of educational change in PNG, especially in the areas of language policy, curriculum and staff development.

In Chapter 3, I presented the research methodology that has been tailored to this particular study. Through the process of developing an appropriate methodology, I argued for the necessity of establishing symmetrical relationships between indigenous people and expatriates, in order to develop culturally more appropriate educational practices from the indigenous people's perspectives.

In Chapter 4, I endeavoured to present the indigenous people's perspectives on the changing culture, as though completing the central part of the jigsaw puzzle picture. While collecting and analysing the data, the first set of research questions was utilised as an effective research tool:

1) Who is expected to teach, assess and evaluate children's achievements?
2) How do members of the local community perceive the cultural change that is occurring through their interaction with Western culture, especially in the Western school system?

3) What are the perceptions of the local community members about having a vernacular elementary school?

As the whole jigsaw puzzle picture was completed and viewed from above, I began to present its hidden elements in Chapter 5. These elements, in relation to assessment and evaluation strategies in the community, were investigated vertically by utilising the second set of research questions:

1) How do the adults teach, assess and evaluate their children?

2) What major criteria are used for assessment and evaluation of children of elementary school age?

3) How do the adults know the extent of the children’s achievements?

4) How do the adults explain their reasons for making assessments and evaluations?

This process of investigation was also likened to the investigation of hidden threads and their relationships in a tapestry. Since hidden threads are interwoven with the visible threads, identifying them meant unravelling them from within. By using the above questions, significant elements began to emerge, especially through my involvement and participation in the picture and my observation from within the picture. As a result, five major principles underlying the various aspects of assessment and evaluation strategies were highlighted.

In Chapter 6, further investigation continued, horizontally, in relation to the process by which indigenous teachers syncretise indigenous culture with Western culture, in the context of their vernacular elementary school. This aspect of the investigation was also likened to the process of discovering the
relationships between the hidden threads and the visible threads. The third set of research questions was utilised for this investigation:

1) Which subject areas of the curriculum do parents and teachers perceive as the major priorities of the vernacular elementary school?

2) How have the teachers been assessing and evaluating the children in their classrooms?

3) How do the teachers know the extent of the children’s achievements?

4) What reasons do the teachers give for making assessments and evaluations?

5) How do the teachers perceive the effectiveness of currently used assessment and evaluation strategies?

6) Do the teachers perceive any necessity to improve the present strategies or to devise some other strategies?

7) How do the teachers syncretise their cultural values with those of the Western school system in the process of devising assessment and evaluation strategies?

Now, in this chapter, I look at the completed jigsaw puzzle picture, or the completed tapestry, and re-examine the findings from a wider perspective and different angles. Various features of the findings are discussed in relation to the conceptual framework of cultural and educational change defined in Chapter 1. Firstly, the findings from the first set of research questions are re-examined and discussed in the context of educational change in PNG. The discussion refers to the various changes caused by Western culture, especially through Western education. It also refers to the local people's perspectives on the maintenance of their culture and language, especially through initial vernacular education.

Likewise, the findings from the second set of research questions are re-examined and discussed in relation to assessment and evaluation strategies at home and in the formal school classroom. Under the imposition of Western
education, children were not only taught Western values and ideas, but they were also assessed and evaluated on their fitness for Western society. As a result, children became alienated from their community. In order to solve the problem, it is necessary to develop culturally more appropriate educational practices in relation to the children's future life in their communities. It is also necessary to devise culturally more appropriate assessment and evaluation strategies. Therefore, the comparison of indigenous practices and the formal classroom practices helps to highlight significant events in the process of syncretising indigenous values in the formal education system.

The third set of research questions is also re-examined and discussed in comparison with the assessment and evaluation strategies used in holistic classrooms in the Western context. In the past, expatriates have unsuccessfully had numerous attempts at introducing educational changes from their perspectives. The lack of success was the consequence of their tendency to adapt ideas and practices, developed elsewhere in the world, without a prior careful analysis of PNG culture. Therefore, this discussion suggests the necessity of a more sensitive approach to change by comparing similarities and differences between the locally developed approach and holistic approaches in the Western context. It also suggests that a locally generated bottom-up approach to change will be of greater value than the introduction of change from the top down.

Throughout the discussion in this chapter, I aim to re-examine the findings of the research questions from all possible directions and angles.
7.1 The First Set of Research Questions

7.1.1 Who is expected to teach, assess and evaluate children's achievements?

This question relates to changing features of the family structure in the community. Traditionally a man moved out of his parents’ home when he married a woman. When a man is considered fit for marriage, he has already acquired all the necessary skills, such as building a house and a canoe, making a paddle, a spear and an axe. He also owns a garden and knows how to hunt and fish. However, nowadays, most young men do not have the necessary skills for a successful life in the community. This is largely because they have spent most of their time at school, leaving them little opportunity to learn at home. Instead, they depend on their families to feed them. When they marry, they live with their wives’ families. Ironically, the independent life of the men has been violated by Western ideas of individualism. For this reason, both men and their wives lack independence from their parents, who have already lost their traditional authority, and remain unable to confront them.

Living with parents and parents-in-law often causes problems in the training of the children. Parents tend to interfere with their daughter and her husband in training the children. As a result, many young parents fail to discipline their children. It is common to adopt or foster children in PNG. This practice also causes problems in training the children, due to a fear that the real parents might misinterpret the discipline as ill-treatment. Consequently, many foster parents fail to train the children. However, an increasing number of these parents feel that it is their responsibility.

Traditionally at Maiwala, it was the uncles (i.e., mother’s brothers) who were responsible for the training of children. Some parents still expect the children’s
uncles to have the responsibility to teach various skills and discipline their children, but they also claim an equal responsibility. On the other hand, some other parents do not allow any other relatives to interfere with the training of their children. The training of children refers to the parents’ responsibility for teaching, assessing and evaluating them. As children’s learning is incidental, it is up to the parents (or uncles) to assist them in developing their willingness to learn. Failure to discipline the children produces adults who cannot perform appropriately.

The shift in responsibility from uncles to parents seems to be part of the Western influence on the Maiwala culture. Some parents welcome the change, while others prefer to syncretise the old ways with the new Western approach. In this changing society, there seems to be confusion among the parents as to what extent they should pursue their responsibility. Discipline of children has been an ongoing problem. Children have developed a disrespectful attitude towards older people, especially through Western education (Newton, 1933, cited in Smith, 1987; Giraure, 1976). Some parents grieve over the loss, but they do not seem to know how to solve the problem. They tend to tolerate the situation, while the children take advantage of the inertia by doing anything they wish.

7.1.2 How do members of the local community perceive the cultural change that is occurring through their interactions with Western culture, especially in the Western school system?

In relation to the training of children, parents in PNG grieve for the children’s lack of respect towards adults. They see this as a consequence of Western schooling, which has influenced the children in their learning of values, attitudes and habits (Giddens, 1993). They also grieve the loss of traditional songs and dancing (Giraure, 1976). However, Maiwala parents have welcomed
the breakdown of some of the traditional practices, such as fighting and killing, the division between men and women in the house, and fearful relationships towards parents-in-law.

Parents also grieve for the alienation of children from the community. As the children have spent most of their time at school (Tetaga, 1989, cited in Crossley, 1990b), many of them have not learned much at home. Moreover, Western education has undermined the people's belief system by introducing compulsory school attendance, and school work that is considered to be of little value (Illich, 1976). Consequently, not only the leavers of grade six but also the leavers of grade ten, aimlessly hang around in the community. They own neither their gardens to produce food, nor canoes for fishing. Thus, many parents, nowadays, are disillusioned (Avalos, 1991a). They have come to the recognition that the children have wasted their schooling by learning what is irrelevant to a successful life in the community. Consequently the value of schooling has been downgraded (Avalos, 1991a), and some parents have become careless about sending their children to school (Bray, 1984b).

For example, gardening at primary school is often associated with punishment and hard labour in the sun (Giraure, 1976). The role of the school garden was different from having one's own garden for subsistence. When children graduate from school, they leave the school garden behind. Moreover learning agriculture at high school does not seem to contribute to the improvement of traditional gardening because of the lack of suitable equipment in the village (McClymont, 1972). In other words, the outsiders' ideas for solving the problem from their perspective did not match the indigenous people's needs from their perspective. Consequently, attempts for the first-order changes failed to alter fundamental belief systems in the school curriculum (Cuban, 1988a).
Although most parents think that most learning at school is useless, many of them still hope that one of their children will go to high school. Schooling is still valued because of its connection to wage labour and the monetary economy (Carrier, 1982). For these people, it does not matter how useless the content of learning is (McNamara, 1976), as long as the children can bring in a cash income in the future. For these reasons, schooling in PNG has become a part of the imposed, Western culture, and its competitive consumer society (Sheehan, 1976: 88).

The people's needs for cash is often seen in everyday life of the Maiwala community. Since Maiwala is only 19.5 kilometres from Alotau, the members of the community frequently go to Alotau to market their garden produce and fish, and to shop for Western materials, such as rice, kerosene and clothing. There are trade stores in the community, and polished rice has become the people's favourite food. Many children cry for rice and tinned meat, as their parents have failed to train their children to eat garden produce, and do not supply fresh fish. As a result, some parents have come into financial difficulty, in order to feed their children with the introduced food. A vicious circle continues as these children grow up to be parents themselves without having their gardens or canoes.

Western influence is seen in various aspects of the Maiwala community. There are several permanent houses built with planed timber flooring and non insulated iron roofs, resulting in extremely hot living conditions. Likewise, foam mattresses are becoming popular. However, in the humid weather at Maiwala, it is much cooler to sleep on a pandanus mat. Plastic bags and plastic containers are also becoming popular among the people, in order to keep ants out of the food. However, many of the users are not aware of the decaying effect that airtight containers will have on food unless it is refrigerated. Similarly, they do not realise that plastic bottles and bags cause environmental
damage. Rather, the more the people are attracted by Western materials, the more they tend to bring substitutional changes to their lifestyle.

Some people own a generator, but most use kerosene lamps at night. This kind of substitutional change has not met the real needs of the people because it has introduced an unwanted noise problem. By contrast, the effectiveness of a solar panel has been recognised by many since I stayed in the community. I did not intend to bring disturbance to the community life by introducing new ideas. However, my solar panel fitted well into the community system and was appreciated by its members because of its quiet, cost-effective nature. Nevertheless, the people need to raise money first, in order to obtain such benefits of Western materials.

Although there is no tap water facility in the community, some people have adjusted to the idea of doing the dishes and laundry at home, rather than going down to the river. This new idea, however, is another example of a change occurring on a superficial level. These people still collect and use the same river water in these new household practices. On the other hand, an increasing number of people are aware of the need for clean drinking water. Although several permanent rain water tanks have been erected in the community, many people still use buckets and large dishes as make-shift water collectors, when it rains. Ironically, most families need to raise money to purchase water tanks or any other Western materials. This means hard labour. To raise money more quickly and more easily, the parents still see schooling for their children as a necessity.

Generally, the members of the Maiwala community welcome Western materials that provide convenience. For example, aluminium pots are preferred to clay pots, when they need to cook several items on the same fire. Some parents prefer to cook rice, rather than garden produce. Rice requires neither peeling
nor preparation time. If they have enough cash, they prefer tinned meat or tinned fish, so that they do not need to go fishing or hunting. Ironically, most people need to sell either garden produce or fish, in order to earn money for these convenient items. However, some locally available materials are still preferred. For example, some prefer steel wool to polish saucepans, whereas most use local leaves and ashes.

Traditional clay pots, of course, do not require polishing. Likewise, traditional clothes did not require Western soap for laundry. However, nowadays, nobody wears traditional clothes at Maiwala. Usually people use either powdered laundry detergent or bar soap, as well as bleach to remove the sap stains from their clothes. For bathing, many people still prefer to use freshly scraped coconut rather than buying shampoo or body soap from a store. In this way, most of them tend to utilise readily available materials. For example, nobody buys toilet rolls, but instead use the inner parts of coconut husks, leaves, newspapers or used school exercise books.

Although health workers have encouraged people to build their own toilets for hygienic purposes, there are still several families who are not convinced that this is necessary and prefer to go into the bush. They do not seem to be bothered about animals, especially, dogs, cats, pigs and fowl, which roam around and consume the faeces left in the bush. As digging a toilet hole is associated with punishment at school (Giraure, 1976), many grown men are not willing to build toilets for their families.

An increasing number of people are becoming aware of the health risks associated with malaria and poor eating habits. Although most people sleep under mosquito nets, they do not take chloroquine tablets as a prophylaxis. Instead, they choose to take a course of treatment when malaria attacks. Health workers have been encouraging healthy eating habits without excessive
amounts of salt and polished rice. However, most people are not convinced about what is being suggested until they experience personal health problems and are warned by a doctor. Baked food has become popular and some people own their permanent ovens, built from 44 gallon drums covered with concrete. Others use a large baking dish placed between coals. Thus, many people prefer Western refined foods rather than local foods with more nutritional value.

In addition to the other influences of Western culture, children have grown away from the traditional music and dancing, especially through Western education (Giraure, 1976). Young people, nowadays, are attracted by Western music and clothing. Some people own a stereo and play pop music or disco music for dancing. Although older people complain about the loud music, they tend to be tolerant. Young girls have begun to wear shorts, although older women do not like them. Consequently, most parents watch hopelessly as their children's desire for Western materials increases. Whether or not they approve, the parents want to see their children satisfied.

These young people also frequently borrow English terminology while speaking in Maiwala. Often, they do not know the equivalent Maiwala terms. As English has been the medium of instruction at primary schools, its superiority over the Maiwala language has been asserted. Older members of the community grieve about the mixture of Maiwala language with English. They do not seem to know how to maintain the vernacular. Extensive use of English becomes more acute when the children go to high school and interact with other language groups. At this point, the children start to use English terms more often at home, especially when they cannot find the equivalent Maiwala terms. The parents have even begun to join the children in creating new forms of Maiwala terms with an English stem and a Maiwala suffix, such as 'daddy-au' (my daddy) and 'mummy-au' (my mummy). As a consequence,
everybody has become a victim of the imposition of English through formal education.

As children were forced to learn English, they were also taught to have associated values and ideas through the hidden curriculum (Giddens, 1993). In the traditional culture, the Maiwala people had polite manners. For example, they used the term teinani for multiple meanings, such as greetings at any time of the day, 'thank you', 'I'm sorry' and 'excuse me'. In particular, when someone was trying to go to the other side of the room, he or she would bend down and walk behind the people, saying teinani. However, nowadays, people often say, 'Excuse!', and just march into the middle of the room or walk in front of other people. Members of the community grieve the loss of such manners.

Western values and ideas were initially introduced by Christian missions. As indigenous people were forbidden to participate in traditional practices (Smith, 1987), they began to forget dancing and various other practices. Nowadays, Maiwala people are glad that there is no more killing and eating of people, but they grieve the loss of their culture and associated manners, and the spirit of cooperation, especially evident in traditional feasting. However, in recent years, they have become aware of their active role in the maintenance of their culture, such as the building of war canoes, and associated ceremonies. Further revivals, or rather re-creations of traditional practices, have also begun from within the Maiwala Elementary School classrooms.

7.1.3 What are the perceptions of the local community members about having a vernacular elementary school?

Originally, vernacular preparatory school was begun for the purpose of easing the children's transition from home into the formal education system (Delpit and Kemelfield, 1985a). The Maiwala Preparatory School began for the same purpose, but also had a strong emphasis on the maintenance of the Maiwala
language. Since it was the only place where Maiwala literature was kept, some older people, who were educated in the Suwau language, went to see the Maiwala books to learn how to spell Maiwala properly.

However, as the school has now developed its curriculum and teaching strategies, it has a far greater role than the teaching of basic literacy and numeracy in the Maiwala language. The school has become the pride of the Maiwala people, as its curriculum was adopted by NDOE (1993b), and an accompanying video programme was produced (NDOE, 1994a). As the school was not recognised in the new system, it was closed down during 1995, with much disappointment. This brought bitterness among the members of the community. However, they are now even more proud of their newly opened Maiwala Elementary School, which has been recognised once more as a demonstration school and as the centre of teacher training for Milne Bay Province.

The Maiwala Elementary School is also becoming the centre of the maintenance of Maiwala culture and language in the community. The teachers have promoted the use of the Maiwala language as much as possible. For example, they have created equivalent Maiwala phrases, such as malatontom ahiahina (good morning), in order to encourage people to greet in Maiwala, instead of English, as taught at primary school. The teachers are also trying to teach children appropriate manners associated with the Maiwala phrases, such as teinani for English 'excuse me'. Through the extensive use of new Maiwala phrases at the elementary school, the children have now influenced their parents and other members of the community. Consequently, they have become actively involved in the maintenance of their language and their culture.
As a result of initial vernacular education, the children were able to perform better in English at primary school, confirming the findings of studies elsewhere (Cummins, 1980, cited in Litteral, 1986; Litteral, 1994). By seeing the actual performance of the children, the Maiwala parents have become convinced of the advantage of having a vernacular elementary school in their community. In the past, children spent most of their school time learning skills and knowledge that were not relevant to their community life. However, teaching in the vernacular has brought formal schooling closer to the community. Moreover, the Maiwala Elementary School is actively engaged in the promotion of not only the vernacular but indigenous values and practices as well. These are necessary if the children are to become useful members of the community.

For example, the teachers encourage children to become aware of the importance of having their own gardens and learning to fish. In the educational history of PNG, expatriates have tried to bring in substitutional changes. Currently, the Maiwala teachers are introducing change on the basis of their own fundamental belief systems. They have returned the responsibility of the teaching of gardening and fishing to the parents in the community, but they relate these activities to the school context by teaching the children ways of earning money through a school market. They also teach appropriate manners when sharing food. By being directly related to the learning at home, school has become more meaningful to the children.

The Maiwala Elementary School is also a place for syncretising Western culture with indigenous culture (Williams, 1969, cited in Ashcroft et al., 1989). The teachers no longer watch young people perform disco dances at school. Now, they have created their new Maiwala dancing on the basis of the children’s stories taught at school. They have invited an old man to come to school to teach the boys how to beat kundu drums. In this way, the school has become
the owner of kundu drums and Maiwala dancing. By seeing the achievements the children have made, both in their academic learning and in the maintenance of their culture, the members of the community are now totally convinced of the benefit of having a vernacular elementary school.

Moreover, the news of the revival of Maiwala dancing spread to nearby communities. As a result, one high school near Alotau sent their students to Maiwala Elementary School to learn how to dance in the traditional way. This incident encouraged the Maiwala people to have more confidence in their ways of maintaining their own culture, and to assist nearby communities to become aware of the benefit of initial vernacular education.

Understanding the value of indigenous education has helped the Maiwala Elementary School teachers to develop innovative ideas and to implement them in their classroom practices. The involvement of these implementers in planning a change is crucial to its success. This has been proven through this study. The Maiwala Elementary School teachers were able to examine the current educational practices in light of an indigenous approach to education. Through trial and error, they compared and weighed up the values of formal classroom practices with indigenous practices. Through a process involving the subtraction and addition of values from both cultures, they are developing an approach that is more appropriate for their particular needs.

Now, the process of constructing and reconstructing appropriate solutions is re-examined according to the second set of research questions. During the process, informal indigenous practices are compared with formal classroom practices in relation to the five principles of assessment and evaluation presented in Chapter 5. Through this comparison, I aim to highlight the importance of the indigenous teachers' active involvement in the process of innovation and educational change.
7.2 The Second Set of Research Questions

7.2.1 How do the adults teach, assess and evaluate their children?

In the everyday life of the Maiwala community, children choose what they want to learn from something familiar to them. As they watch adults doing daily chores, they set up their goals for learning. As the parents have intuitive knowledge of the children's goals, they teach and monitor their learning continuously. During the learning process, children can ask their parents questions, if they are unsure of how to proceed, and the parents can help them to achieve their goals. Although there are individual differences in the learning pace, all the children try to do their work 'properly', just like adults.

When the parents monitor children's learning, they accept their imperfect attempts as part of the learning process. This allows them to help the children by immediately showing them how it really should be done, and advising them orally. This encourages the children to continue improving their skills. In this way, assessment and evaluation are integral parts of instruction. Parents continuously teach, assess and evaluate children throughout their learning. This involves a spiral process, incorporating the outcomes in further teaching. During this process, there is plenty of interaction between the parents and the children. This also allows the parents to improve their ways of teaching and subsequently help the children to achieve more in their learning.

The interaction between the parents and children is not a planned event, but occurs naturally in the environment of physical and emotional closeness between them. This kind of closeness is structurally possible, because a parent usually teaches only one or two children at a time. As learning is incidental in everyday life, parents do not need to force children to stay close to them.
Rather, it is up to the children to choose to do so. If the children stay close to their parents, the parents have more opportunities to teach, assess, and evaluate them. On the other hand, parents are expected to train children to stay close and to learn the necessary skills and knowledge.

In contrast, in the formal school system, children’s attendance is compulsory. As the children sit at desks in rows and face the teacher, there is an ‘apartness’ (Boomer, 1982b) between the teacher and children. Although all the children in a classroom are within the teacher’s reach, there has been a clear division between the teacher and the children. This ‘apartness’ has also prevented teachers making close observations of individual children. In this kind of formal classroom setting, teaching is focused on dispensing the teacher’s stored knowledge, the learning of which is assessed by tests. Although a test shows only a sample of a child’s particular skill or ability, in a limited context, children are evaluated on the basis of test scores and judged as successes or failures (Chall, 1967; Curtis, 1989; Anthony et al., 1992).

These tests focus on segments of knowledge or small skills in isolation, rather than what children know or can do in a meaningful context. For this reason, tests do not tell us what children ‘know’. They only tell us which children ‘know about’ particular questions (Stake, 1991). The results of these tests are used for ranking by most primary school teachers in PNG, with the exception of a few, who have used them for diagnostic purposes. In these instances, testing and teaching can complement one another for the promotion of learning (Martinez and Lipson, 1989; Maeroff, 1991). However, when tests are used only for ranking, many children became discouraged, their learning is distorted, and their future achievements are hindered (Holt, 1969).

In the informal setting at home, parents are required neither to plan for teaching, nor to follow a format of record keeping. Teaching, assessing and
evaluating occur naturally and spontaneously. With no written record to refer to, the parents’ memory, based on their observations, as well as the children’s intuitive knowledge about their achievements, becomes a valid basis for evaluation. In this incidental learning and teaching, there is neither a structure nor a strict time-frame. Hence, there is no need for the parents to plan children’s learning or to negotiate with them. Each child can freely experiment in doing the task that is of interest, and they can investigate how they might acquire the necessary skills involved in the task. In this way, children are immersed in doing the task in a meaningful context.

In contrast, teaching and learning, in the formal school system, occur as planned events, in accordance with a certain time-frame. Children are taught isolated skills for future tasks in an isolated school context. Moreover, some meaningful tasks in everyday life, such as gardening, have been taken out of the meaningful context and taught in isolation at school. This explains why these children often have difficulty understanding the purpose of learning at school.

'Informal' learning at home is incidental, as children are actively involved in their decisions. Contrastively, 'formal' learning at school is highly structured, as children passively receive what the teacher presents in a lecturing mode (Northern Territory Department of Education, 1988).

7.2.2 What major criteria are used for assessment and evaluation of children of elementary school age?

Although children’s learning is incidental in the everyday life of the Maiwala community, there is an expectation that the children will have eventually learned how to do the necessary daily chores. On the other hand, teaching children is the responsibility of the family and the local community (Matane et
Therefore, the parents, as the experts, are expected to both teach children, and to cultivate their willingness to learn.

In the formal school system in PNG, the teaching of specific learning is 'prepackaged' (Boomer, 1982b) and allocated in rigid time slots. Similarly, in formal schooling within the Western context, there is a distinct difference in the roles of the teacher and the children:

Teachers teach and children learn. Teachers guide and children are guided. Teachers decide what is to be done and children usually try to comply. Teachers accommodate children and children accommodate teachers, but they have different roles (Boomer, 1982b: 150).

In these kinds of teacher-learner relationships, teaching is often focused on the bright children. The children in need tend to drag along behind.

In informal everyday life, parents know that their teaching is worthwhile and meaningful because they share the same goals with the children. During the process of teaching, the parents also have intuitive knowledge or 'senses' (Goodman, 1989) of the children's attainment levels. However, their intuitive knowledge does not demand that all the children reach certain goals by a particular age. Rather, it gives a flexible time-frame in which individual children are encouraged to reach their goals eventually. This kind of assessment and evaluation, focused on individual differences, is in marked contrast with assessment and evaluation used for ranking children. As ranking is based on comparisons between the children, many of them are discouraged by their low rank. However, in everyday life, parents do not compare children for the purpose of ranking. Instead, assessment and evaluation are done for the purpose of finding the next step in teaching, and helping the children to make further achievements.
7.2.3 How do the adults know the extent of the children’s achievements?

Although children’s attainment levels are not made explicit in everyday life, parents know how to observe children and what to look for. Parents monitor the children's learning process for their achievements rather than measuring the acquired skills or abilities as a product. In this process-oriented learning, individual children are encouraged to experiment, to pursue their own interests and to learn gradually through trial and error. The parents continue to assess and evaluate them throughout their learning.

In the formal school setting, the teachers’ intuitive knowledge of children’s learning is not often respected (Goodman, 1989), and children’s individual differences may be ignored. All children are expected to learn within a restricted time-frame, in accordance with the attainment levels, and to face the same test at the end of their learning. By conducting such a test, the teacher implicitly assumes that half of the children are not performing well (Harp, 1994b). In this way, compulsory learning at school can become burdensome to the children who are unable to meet these requirements, needing more time to learn, or a different, more flexible time-frame in which to learn.

In this formal school system, teaching proceeds, leaving assessment and evaluation until the end of the term. Hence, children who need assistance remain indistinct and largely ignored during the term, but are tested and ranked along with their peers at the end of the term. The purpose of assessment and evaluation in the formal school system in PNG is to achieve levels of competency according to the prepackaged knowledge dispensed by the teacher (Mel, 1996). Thus, those children who were not assisted are ranked as 'below average'. Moreover, it is the children who are blamed for their poor performance, rather than the teacher who failed to assist them. The negative effect of a test does not seem to lead children to any constructive end (Perron, 1990: 1).
In everyday life, the ratio of parent (as the teacher) to child (as the learner) is usually one to one, and rarely more than one to three. However, this ratio becomes extended as much as one to forty in primary school. This large class structure is a typical feature of the Western school system in PNG. Actual attendance is usually lower than the number of registered children (Avalos, 1991b). Nevertheless, class numbers are structurally large. In recent years, in the Western context, smaller classes have been recommended to create a more child-centred approach to teaching in elementary classes. However, in PNG, it is not an easy task to change the deeply rooted formal school system. In a smaller class, the teacher is able to observe each child more closely. This is similar to the role of parents as they teach their children in the Maiwala community.

Regardless of the size of a class, teachers in the formal school system often feel time constraints (Woodword, 1993). These teachers cannot find enough time either to observe and interact with the children, or to analyse the outcomes (Bertrand, 1994). They are the only authority who can teach, assess and evaluate children's performance. As a result, many teachers consider that the easiest way to get through the teaching content is to leave assessment and evaluation until the end of the term, using teacher-made tests (ibid). This contrasts with the role of the parents at home.

In the past, Maiwala parents have been told quite often by primary school teachers that parents are the first teachers. However, many of them could not understand how this might be. Learning was thought to happen only in the formal school environment (Illich, 1976). They did not realise that they had always been teaching their children in the informal everyday life of the community. Moreover, they were not aware of their involvement in
assessment and evaluation. This was because assessment and evaluation are integral parts of teaching and learning at home.

In the informal setting at home, both the children and the parents continue to gain intuitive knowledge of the children's achievements. When both the child and the parent know that the child has achieved what he or she aimed at, it marks the end of teaching, learning, assessing and evaluating. Therefore, there is no need for a final testing in order to identify the children's achievements on certain skills or abilities. Rather, at certain points of learning, parents make a thorough evaluation of their children's learning on the basis of their accumulated knowledge. By doing so, the outcome influences the parents' planning of further teaching. Furthermore, parents will share this knowledge with others who are responsible for teaching, like uncles, through informal, personal and oral communication.

During the process of teaching, assessing and evaluating, parents interact with their children. This keeps both parents and children well informed of the strengths and areas of need in each child. As the parents have a clear understanding of the child's learning on the basis of their accumulated knowledge, there is no need for them to keep written records for later reference. Their interaction is informal and occurs naturally, as an integral part of daily life. By contrast, primary school teachers have tried to communicate with parents by sending for them to come and see the teachers in the formal school setting. Although these teachers recognise the advantage of parental involvement, this planned event often occurs when there is something wrong with the child. Consequently, it causes apprehension and uneasy feelings among the parents.

On the other hand, teaching and learning in the community are not planned events, but occur informally as integral parts of everyday life. Children observe
their parents and show interest in imitating their parents. The children's interest and initiative to do tasks are incidental, but often related to their current need. As the children begin to experiment, doing real tasks through trial and error, the parents observe their learning by seeing, listening and feeling. Through observation, parents gain intuitive knowledge of what the children can do. On the basis of this accumulated knowledge, parents evaluate and interact with the children, in order to provide appropriate assistance, at appropriate times.

7.2.4 How do the adults explain their reasons for making assessments and evaluations?
In everyday life, children's learning begins with them wanting to imitate adults. Their learning is incidental because they choose to learn daily chores. When the children attempt to do a task, parents let them experiment with it through trial and error. They also let them complete the task without interrupting them. This allows the children to gain satisfaction in their independent achievement. On the completion of the task, however, the parents show the children how their learning can be improved. In this way, children are encouraged to pursue their learning in their own time-frame.

Children are independent learners who are in control of their own choices and their own processes of learning. Each child can set his or her own goal and can pursue an interest or goal in a flexible time-frame. As assessment and evaluation are integral parts of instruction, they are also integral parts of learning. While the parents teach, assess and evaluate children, the children also assess and evaluate themselves. While learning, children also learn to assess and evaluate their own work by comparing it with the work of parents, seen as a perfect example. When learning together, children also observe each other's work. In this way they learn to evaluate each other's work and this influences their own work.
In the everyday life of the Maiwala community, parents teach, assess and evaluate children continuously during their process of learning. As children’s learning occurs in a meaningful context, the children know intuitively why they want to learn and what they want to accomplish. Parents also understand the purpose and goals that motivate their children. As the children continue to learn through trial and error, they accumulate intuitive knowledge of their own achievement, knowing when they have reached their goal.

In the formal school system, children have very little choice. They are passive recipients of instruction delivered by the teacher. These children often lack an understanding of the purpose of learning at school. In this formal school classroom, away from the meaningful everyday context, teachers tend to teach children by cramming, rather than helping them to make sense of their learning. If a teacher lacks particular skills in teaching, he or she may try to get through the required teaching by giving children a lot of homework. This kind of teacher cannot expect to observe the process of learning, as a means of helping the children. They will see only the end product. As a result, the parents end up doing the homework and the children do not learn the skills intended for them.

Children who lack an understanding of the purpose of learning do not achieve much. As most learning at school is irrelevant to community life, children have become alienated from their community. Hence, Matane et al. (1968), reflecting the indigenous peoples’ perspectives, have advocated a new concept of education which should prepare children to fit into their society. However, this concept has not been implemented well. This is largely because educational changes were planned and introduced by the expatriates from their perspective. In recent years, indigenous people are increasingly invited to participate in educational planning. However, expatriates, who hold many
higher technical and professional positions, are still controlling and directing educational change. This is due to PNG’s dependence on foreign aid for finance and personnel (Avalos, 1991a; Luteru and Teasdale, 1993).

Educational history in PNG is full of unsuccessful changes introduced by expatriates. Ideas for these changes have been developed elsewhere in the world, in situations with some similarities to the PNG context. However, curriculum developers often failed to understand that there were cultural differences. Moreover, they have failed to view the new ideas and practices from the indigenous people’s perspectives. What expatriates think to be the best is not necessary the best for the indigenous people. Expatriates have a tendency to introduce the latest trends in the Western context, such as a holistic approach to teaching. Although indigenous people think more holistically, a Western holistic approach is not necessarily appropriate or compatible. Introducing a Western approach from the expatriates’ perspectives can be seen as another example of the imposition of Western culture.

This study has shown that it is more effective to develop educational change from within the locally familiar context. During this process, the Maiwala Elementary School teachers have played an active role in thinking and action through trial and error. They weighed up the values between the informal approach at home and the formal approach at primary school. By subtracting and adding, they were able to construct and reconstruct innovative ways. Consequently, the assessment and evaluation strategies devised for the Maiwala Elementary School have many similarities to the holistic approach in the Western context. At the same time, there also are differences which may be easily overlooked by expatriates.

The discussion continues further by examining similarities and differences between the Maiwala approach and the holistic approach in the theoretical
framework of assessment and evaluation defined in Chapter 1. Through this comparison, I aim to highlight the importance of the process through which indigenous people generate culturally more appropriate educational practices from their own perspectives.

7.3 The Third Set of Research Questions

7.3.1 Which subject areas of the curriculum do parents and teachers perceive as the major priorities of the vernacular elementary school?

Members of the Maiwala community are concerned about the alienation of children from the community. They are similarly concerned about the Maiwala language being mixed with English. For these reasons, both parents and teachers wish the children to learn to speak, read and write in the Maiwala language, in culturally appropriate ways. They also wish their children to become competent English speakers. Hence, initial vernacular education has a potentially vital role in satisfying these concerns and interests. Many parents have become increasingly convinced of its importance and value after seeing the children who, having attended the Maiwala Preparatory School, demonstrate their advanced learning in English at the primary school.

Besides learning in the vernacular, maths is expected to be taught according to the original aim of vernacular preparatory school (Delpit and Kemelfield, 1985a). However, the Maiwala Elementary School teachers believe that the teaching of appropriate behaviour is far more important than any other subjects. Such behaviour is often associated with the appropriate usage of the Maiwala language. The parents expect the teachers to take full responsibility for teaching the children whilst at school. For this reason, the elementary school teachers devote themselves to teaching the children appropriate behaviour. They also teach respect and appreciation for each other as the
appropriate way to maintain co-operative relationships in the community. This kind of behaviour was initially suppressed by the missions (Williams, 1972). Subsequently, it was replaced by individualism and competition through Western education (Thomas, 1972).

Similarly, holistic classroom teachers have recognised how the traditional Western education system has encouraged children to be individualistic and competitive. In their classrooms, they have an informal setting as a way of encouraging children to build up co-operative relationships with each other. In this 'planned informal' classroom setting (Northern Territory Department of Education, 1988), various subject areas are often taught as integrated parts of a certain theme in the learning context. However, in the formal education system, highest priority for learning is still placed on the acquisition of academic knowledge and skills, rather than manners and behaviour.

At the Maiwala Elementary School, legends and traditional dancing are also taught in accordance with the expectations of the parents and the teachers. As the members of the community have begun to view the school as the centre of cultural maintenance, it seems natural for the children to learn traditional cultural practices. Traditional dancing used to be taught in the community, but because it has been lost and nobody can teach it at home, it is now taught in the context of elementary school. On the other hand, parents do not expect the elementary school teachers to teach gardening at school. This was unsuccessfully tried at primary school. Rather, the elementary school teachers expect the parents to teach gardening. In this way, the teachers and parents cooperate to teach the children self-reliance in the most meaningful and appropriate context of daily community life.

Due to the breakdown of the traditional culture, many parents now are unable to teach appropriate behaviour. The children’s behavioural problems are often
the result of family problems. Therefore, the teachers avoid direct confrontation with the parents, but let the children teach their parents from what they have learned at school. In this way, the teachers continue to reach out to the community, in order to close the gap gradually and steadily. This kind of indirect contribution to social change is also effective in the Western context (Beare and Slaughter, 1993).

In the process of closing the gap between school and community, the Maiwala Elementary School teachers are devoted to strengthening the ties between the children and their parents, especially by creating a learning environment similar to everyday life in the community. In this 'planned informal' environment, more culturally appropriate classroom practices are created on the basis of the assessment and evaluation principles used in everyday life. In the process of innovation, the indigenous people's perspectives on Western education also are considered an important element. As the indigenous teachers are actively involved in the process of innovation, they have a clear understanding of its purpose and feel responsible for the outcome. Such a bottom-up approach to educational change based on the insiders' perspective is far more effective in comparison to the imposition of Western ideas using a top-down approach.

7.3.2 How have the teachers been assessing and evaluating the children in their classrooms?
Although the Maiwala Elementary School operates within the school calendar, each child is allowed to learn within a wider time-frame, similar to informal, everyday life. Such a learning environment is carefully planned to provide a culturally more appropriate context for teaching and learning. Although children were able to participate in their investigations, initially, their classroom was highly structured. It was subsequently improved by making it
more informal, providing children with a more natural and meaningful context, like at home.

In this 'planned informal' setting, the teacher consciously plans to teach, assess and evaluate individual children. Teaching and learning do not always proceed in a pre-arranged framework. Hence, the children's learning often results in natural, unpredictable responses beyond the teachers' expectation. Providing opportunities for children to make their own investigations also gives them the joy of co-operative discovery, together with the free and open sharing of their ideas. In order to provide a more meaningful learning environment, the Maiwala Elementary School teachers have recognised their responsibility to plan very carefully.

Similarly, in holistic classrooms in the Western context, the teachers, as experts and professional educators (Bird, 1989; Weeks and Leaker, 1992), assist individual children in a more informal classroom environment. They plan carefully within the school structure. This is considered necessary, in order to monitor children carefully, and to make sense of teaching and learning (Pigdon and Woolley, 1993b). As the teachers learn to respect children, as independent learners who are in control of their own investigations, they make allowances in their planning for unpredictable behaviour (Wilson and Egeberg, 1990).

While the children are respected as independent learners, who take responsibility for pursuing their investigations, the Maiwala Elementary School teachers also take responsibility for careful observation of their achievements. During the observational process, the children and the teacher interact with each other through dialogue. This kind of interaction helps the teacher to gain knowledge of the child's learning and identify his or her strengths and areas of need. Through the monitoring of children during their learning activities, the teacher also accumulates intuitive knowledge of the children's achievements.
This becomes a valuable source of information in an evaluation and decision making process that is directed at helping the children.

Similarly, in holistic classrooms in Western contexts, teachers have the responsibility for facilitating children’s learning (Goodman, 1989; Wilson and Fehring, 1995) by focusing on the children’s strengths through assessment and evaluation (Hood, 1989; Kemp, 1992). They also encourage children by viewing their imperfect work more positively, as a sign of growth, rather than negatively, as a sign of failure (Field, 1982; Weaver, 1982). The process of learning, for each child, is seen as his or her personal growth (Woodley and Woodley, 1989), moving from "what they are to what they come to be" (Goodman, 1989: 3). In other words, the teacher's role is "not to make an endpoint judgement about them but to help strengthen the foundations" of the children's learning (Kemp, 1989: 135).

The teacher's personal interaction with individual children continues to be the major component of effective instruction, assessment and evaluation at the Maiwala Elementary School. As each individual child is expected to achieve at school, the teacher makes an effort to help by being close to him or her. Through this physical and emotional 'closeness', the teacher is able to identify each child's areas of need. This is useful in planning the next step of instruction. In this way, the assessment and evaluation of children have become an integral part of instruction in the Maiwala Elementary School.

Similarly, in holistic classrooms, assessment and evaluation are carried out as integral parts of instruction throughout the process of teaching (e.g., Goodman, 1989; Morrissey, 1989; Dilena and Leaker, 1991; Wilson, 1993; Harp, 1994b). The teacher gives instruction and gathers information about strengths and areas of need. The accumulated information helps the teacher to discover patterns of growth in the students’ learning (Wolf, 1989). During this process
of teaching, assessing and evaluating, the teacher not only observes children but also interacts with them, providing encouragement, stimulation and challenge (Goodman, 1989).

When the Maiwala Elementary School teachers give instruction, they also assess and evaluate children simultaneously. Through watching and listening, and continuous interaction with each individual child, the teacher gains intuitive knowledge of the child’s learning. As the teachers’ knowledge of the children's learning helps them plan the next step of teaching, the teachers monitor children carefully and interact with them personally. Interaction with the children helps the teachers to identify unseen problem areas or any ambiguities in their observations (Fairbairn, 1988).

Similarly, in holistic classrooms, assessment and evaluation occur together and complement each other, making full sense of the collected information on the children’s learning (Routman, 1991). In a state of 'paradigm paralysis' (Betts, 1992), assessment and evaluation contradict teaching. However, in holistic classrooms, they complement each other with a high degree of congruence between them (Teale et al., 1987; Hancock, 1990; Cambourne, 1994). In holistic classrooms, observation is at the centre of assessment and evaluation (Harp, 1994b). The teacher is able to monitor children continuously through the daily on-going process of the classroom (Galindo, 1989; Turbill, 1989; Reardon, 1994). Continuous observation is essential in order to identify the children’s strengths and areas of need, while "too few observations are just as dangerous as one time testing" (Cockrum and Castillo, 1994: 98).

The teachers in holistic classrooms view each child’s capabilities as being of "intrinsic value and individual worth" (Woodward, 1993: 14). They know how and where to look for their strengths and areas of need, in order to assist the children more effectively (Johnston, 1987; Harp, 1994b). Thus, in holistic
classrooms, it is considered that humans are more "sensitive, reliable, trustworthy and credible instruments" than tests for gathering information (Cambourne, 1992: 14). Tests are rather counterproductive, while real communicative experiences are of primary importance (Harp, 1994b).

Personal communication through an interaction with children gives the teacher an advantage by enabling immediate judgement and facilitating action that is encouraging, stimulating and challenging (Goodman, 1989). Consequently, children become empowered to achieve in their own learning by the teacher’s positive attitude. The teacher is an advocate of, rather than an adversary, to the children, while each individual child is respected and recognised as a person of learning (Wisconsin State Reading Association, 1990, cited in Harp, 1994b).

7.3.3 How do the teachers know the extent of the children’s achievements?
The Maiwala Elementary School teachers continue to monitor individual children while teaching, assessing and evaluating them. Through their careful monitoring processes, they gain various kinds of information on the children’s achievements. The teachers’ interaction with the children enhances this process, and the information helps the effectiveness of their teaching.

Similarly, a holistic teacher monitors children's performance, in order to keep track of their learning in various activities (Goodman, 1978; Anstey and Bull, 1989). Monitoring children helps the teacher to identify their strengths and areas of need. It also helps the teacher to evaluate his or her teaching for planning further instruction. In this sense, the teacher is also a learner in his or her professional development (Goodman, 1989).

Continuous monitoring of children and interaction with them helps to avoid producing discouraged non-achievers. Throughout the continuous assessment and evaluation, the Maiwala Elementary School teachers encourage individual
children to eventually reach their goal by the end of the school year. The teachers do not focus on bright children, but let the bright children’s achievements be an example for the encouragement of other children who need extra assistance. Subsequently, children can stimulate each other’s learning. In this way, the teachers continue helping children achieve by assessing and evaluating their performance as well as their own teaching performance.

Similarly, holistic teachers are accountable for individual learning (Kemp, 1987; Harp, 1994b). They teach, assess and evaluate individual children, and themselves, continuously (Goodman, 1989). This is based on the periodic collection of the children’s work and record keeping through careful observation. Additionally, a careful analysis of the information on the children’s achievements helps the teacher to make appropriate decisions for further instruction (Harp, 1994b). In this way, the teacher is able to assess and evaluate the children’s learning during the term (Wisconsin State Reading Association, 1990, cited in Harp, 1994b).

The Maiwala Elementary School teachers continue to monitor children and collect information on their achievements, especially during the children’s individual activities. During the process of individual learning or group work, children also assess and evaluate their own work as well as each other’s work. The outcome is reflected in their own learning and in future achievements.

Similarly, in holistic classrooms in the Western context, children’s co-operative learning is encouraged through sharing and clarifying ideas (Green, 1994). In this way, children are able to gain a clear understanding of their achievements according to their goals. During group work or individual work, teachers have opportunities to interact with individual children, in order to collect necessary information (Brown and Mathie, 1990). Assessment and evaluation in a holistic
classroom are not based on the teacher’s one-way observation or test results, but through two-way interaction between the teacher and the children.

The Maiwala Elementary School teachers do not usually compare children, but value individual differences and allow each child to pursue his or her learning. At times, however, they compare children, in order to evaluate their own teaching. This kind of comparison does not make children become discouraged when they need more time to learn. Rather, each child is encouraged by the teacher’s extra assistance. The teachers also try to encourage children by giving opportunities to compete with each other in groups. Group competition helps children to increase their enthusiasm in learning.

Although the Maiwala Elementary School teachers focus on individual children, they have come to realise that it is impossible to either observe an individual child, or to remember that child’s achievement accurately, when working with a group of twenty or more. As a result, the necessity of developing systematic ways of observing the children and keeping effective observational records grew out of the teachers’ convictions. Keeping written records has helped the teachers to accumulate more accurate information in various areas of learning than their previous intuitive knowledge based solely on their memory.

Record keeping, during the learning process, is highly encouraged in holistic classrooms. The teachers observe children in various activities and keep systematic records of their learning. The accumulated information is evaluated from time to time and the outcome is reflected in the next step of teaching. In this way, children are assessed and evaluated without being afraid of the unnatural atmosphere created by tests done in an artificial setting (Woodward, 1993). Rather, evaluation is based on assessment that is drawn from various
sources of information gathered during the actual process of learning (Wortman and Haussler, 1989).

On the basis of the outcomes of their evaluations, Maiwala Elementary School teachers communicate with parents in order to assist the children further. In this way, the teacher is not the sole assessor and evaluator; the parents and the children themselves also assess and evaluate. However, the outcome of the children’s self-assessment and self-evaluation is not expected to be made explicit to the teacher. Rather, the teacher identifies the outcome that is implicit in the children’s facial expressions and actions. Contrastively, in holistic classrooms, children’s self-assessment is often required to be made explicit, in order to assist the teacher’s observational information.

As the Maiwala Elementary School teachers interact with the children and their parents throughout the term, the parents are well-informed of their children’s achievements. In other words, reporting is an integral part of assessment and evaluation throughout the school term. Since the parents already know about the children’s achievements, the teachers do not feel the necessity of having a system of reporting at the end of each term.

In holistic classrooms, the outcome of evaluation is reported to the parents at the end of the term. However, such a one-way reporting system is based only on the teacher’s view. As an alternative, Davies et al. (1994) suggest having a ‘three-way conference’ between the teacher, the parents and the children in the process of reporting. This three-way conference is to help children learn about themselves and their learning, while the parents learn about their children and the processes of their learning (Williams, 1994). A three-way conference provides interaction and communication between the teacher, the parents and the children, in order to assure the children that they are supported in their learning (Davis et al., 1994). In this way, assessment and evaluation are carried
out collaboratively between the teacher, the children and the parents (Chall and Curtis, 1987; Rivalland, 1992).

Having a conference at school, however, is likely to create uncomfortable feelings among the Maiwala parents. In the past, this has always been a formal, unnatural event, taking place at the primary school. Therefore, the Maiwala Elementary School teachers prefer to keep the centre of interaction, between the teacher, student and parents, at the children's homes. In this informal environment, a kind of three-way conference can occur. However, it remains unstructured; the child happens to be present when the teacher and the parents are in dialogue. The Maiwala Elementary School teachers have found this kind of informal interaction to be the most comfortable and effective way of keeping parents informed about their children's achievements.

7.3.4 What reasons do the teachers give for making assessments and evaluations?

Having a clear understanding of the purpose of teaching helps the Maiwala Elementary School teachers to observe individual children more effectively. These teachers can help the children to understand what they are expected to accomplish in tasks that are not familiar to them. By sharing the same goals with the children, the teachers know what to look for when collecting information about the children's learning. Once the children understand the purpose of learning certain skills, the Maiwala Elementary School teachers let them set up their own goals and pursue their investigations independently. In this way, the teachers acknowledge the children's independent choices, and the pace of learning that they have developed at home.

On the other hand, holistic teachers help children to have "guidelines and a clear sense of direction" (Bird, 1989: 15). At first the teacher negotiates with each child to set his or her own goals and the pace of learning. This is to
cultivate their motivation for learning, and to help them 'become' independent learners (Boomer, 1992; Wilson and Jan, 1993). Through negotiation, children's understanding of the purpose of learning is made more explicit, in accordance with short and long term goals within the school structure (Anstey and Bull, 1989). The negotiation with the teacher is an expected component in the children's choice of investigation. However, once the decision is made, the child takes responsibility for pursuing his or her own inquiry in a less rigid time-frame. In this more informal classroom setting, teachers are required to plan carefully, monitoring and assisting children according to their individual differences.

In the 'planned informal' setting of the Maiwala Elementary School, teachers also plan various activities for each day, but they let the children set up and pursue their own goals, without negotiation. These teachers do not try to make the purpose of learning explicit, but let it be reinforced implicitly, while the children experiment by doing the real task through repetition and trial and error. These activities are planned in the familiar context of a weekly theme, similar to various daily chores in everyday life. This makes the children's involvement in these activities more meaningful by their participation in them. Consequently, children have more opportunities to learn the necessary skills and knowledge in the more familiar atmosphere of the classroom.

Although the teacher's observations provide valuable information on children's learning, it is impossible to fully describe their true feelings, such as satisfaction and enjoyment (Woodward, 1993; Wilson and Fehring, 1995). For this reason, self-assessment and self-evaluation are valued in holistic classrooms (Wilson and Egeberg, 1990). The teacher has a responsibility for helping the children to learn to use their own strengths, in order to find ways to overcome their areas of need (Goodman, 1989). For example, the children are encouraged to be involved in systematic ways in their own assessment and evaluation, such as in
responding to self-assessment questions in writing or orally (Wilson and Fehring, 1995). The teacher also negotiates with children in order to enhance children’s reflective and metacognitive thinking (Wilson and Jan, 1993).

In the Maiwala Elementary School, the children's assessment and evaluation are not systematic but rather incidental. Whenever an opportunity arises, the teacher questions children in order to encourage them to assess and evaluate their own actions through reflective thinking. This exercise is not just an exchange of simple questions and answers. It is “the process of analysing and clarifying” (Van Manen, 1977: 266) in order for the children to respond with a variety of possible answers. This kind of reflective thinking is different from critical thinking at a higher level (Van Manen, 1977). However, through the informal process of thinking together, with my involvement, the elementary school teachers were empowered to begin to think critically. This has the potential to be reflected in their teaching practices.

7.3.5 How do the teachers perceive the effectiveness of currently used assessment and evaluation strategies?

The Maiwala Elementary School teachers take responsibility seriously, in order to assist children by teaching, assessing and evaluating their learning. The teachers often evaluate their accumulated knowledge of the children's learning, in order to identify the areas of need. The teachers then share their concerns, through informal dialogue with the parents, by making casual calls at the children's homes on their way to or from school. As they initiate communication with the parents, they show their genuine interest in individual children's learning. They also invite the parents to join the team, in order to extend help to their children at home. The parents’ co-operation has often enhanced children's achievements in their behaviour and skills. For example, children who played the 'say-it-fast' game at home were advanced in their
learning of phonics at school. This encourages the teachers to continue their informal interactions with parents.

By contrast, holistic teachers send for the parents to come to join the learning community at school. In this friendly way, the teachers are trying to re-educate parents towards holistic instruction, assessment and evaluation. As holistic classrooms are considered a part of the larger community outside the school (King, 1994), parents are expected to assist children’s achievements at home (Toomey and Allen, 1991). For this reason, they are encouraged to be involved in the process of assessment and evaluation (Cambourne and Turbill, 1994b; Davies et al, 1994; Warren, 1994; Williams, 1994). This does not mean that the parents have to duplicate the teacher’s role at home. The parents, who are considered the child’s first educators, can help children in their own way. For example, they might read books with the children at home (Warren, 1994).

Although the Maiwala Elementary School teachers used the child-centred approach to reading, at first there was a physical ‘apartness’ between the teacher and children in their formal classroom arrangement. However, the more the teachers became concerned about the achievements of individual children, the more they began to pay attention to each child’s learning. As a result of the teachers building closer relationships with the children, the classroom arrangement became more relaxed. Through the close relationships with the children, in an informal atmosphere, the teachers were also able to collect more accurate information on the children's achievements, in order to assist them more effectively. The teachers are now convinced of the benefit of planning an informal setting.

Similarly, in holistic classrooms, children can pursue their own investigations in an informal atmosphere. As the teacher celebrates the children’s strengths and facilitates their learning (Harp, 1994b), knowledge of a topic unfolds
naturally to the children (Pigdon and Woolley, 1993a). This kind of children’s quest for meaning is considered fundamental in holistic classroom practices (ibid).

Despite the above differences between the Maiwala and the holistic approaches, children in both are not 'disengaged observers'. They are 'key players' in the assessment and evaluation process (Routman, 1991; Harp, 1994b). In both cases, the teacher is trying to inform parents, in order to make learning at school more appropriate and more meaningful to everyday life, and vice versa. However, it is up to the teachers to determine the most appropriate ways for their particular cultural context.

7.3.6 How do the teachers perceive a need to improve the present strategies or to devise some other strategies?

At first, the Maiwala Elementary School teachers were unsure of how to improve the children's learning environment in a formal school setting. However, the more they thought about the children's learning in everyday life, the more the home environment began to be reflected in their classroom setting. Effective changes occurred when similarities were recognised by the teachers themselves. This convinced them that a change was necessary.

The Maiwala Elementary School teachers have become the learners and pioneers in devising more appropriate approaches for assessment and evaluation. When they compared the principles of informal assessment and evaluation strategies with the ones in the formal school system, they realised a need for innovation. As they recognised the individual children’s differences in the school context, they began to feel the need for helping them in accordance with their varying goals and pace. In order to meet the individual children’s needs, they also realised the necessity for a change in their classroom arrangement.
For example, the benefit of having a smaller class was recognised by the teachers through trial and error. When they made this change in their classrooms, they were able to pay closer attention to individual children. On another occasion, a segment of children's free choice of learning was introduced, in order to solve the problem of children waiting to consult with the teacher. In this way, children who had finished writing their stories early, for example, could do the work of their choice. This is similar to the holistic classroom, where the teacher trusts the choices made by the children, allowing them to take responsibility for their learning (Routman, 1991; Wilson and Jan, 1993).

Another change has been made in the Maiwala Elementary School teachers' approach to the teaching of reading and writing. While employing the shared reading approach, they still used skill-oriented teaching through test-like activities. However, through trial and error, they have learned that "the time spent in test-like activities robs time from the much more important experiences of real reading and real writing" (Harp, 1994b: 59). As a result, they began to teach the skills of reading and writing by actually doing the real, meaningful task. In this way, their classrooms were shaped into a more natural and more informal setting. As a result, the children also began to understand the purpose of learning in relation to their current life in the community.

In contrast to the imposition of past educational changes, the Maiwala Elementary School teachers were not forced, but were challenged to make a change. As the teachers' values and knowledge gradually changed through trial and error, they were empowered to make various changes in their teaching practices. Although they first began with their experience in a formal school setting, they have increasingly gained confidence in applying everyday practices in their classrooms. Consequently, they have become aware of the
necessity for creating a more appropriate environment and classroom practices for the children's learning.

As the Maiwala Elementary School teachers took their responsibility for teaching more seriously, various changes were made, in order to more effectively assist children's learning. The more they became concerned about individual children's achievements, the more they became aware of the necessity for a change in their belief system and teaching practices. As a result, becoming aware of a need for a change has helped the teachers to learn to be more effective teachers.

7.3.7 How do the teachers syncretise their cultural values with those of the Western school system in the process of devising assessment and evaluation strategies?

The Maiwala Elementary School teachers could not see much value in most of the teaching content of the primary school. This is especially true of English teaching. Rather, they were convinced of the necessity to maintain their own language and the accompanying norms and behaviours of their culture. For example, the teachers have created Maiwala phrases, in order to substitute frequently used English greetings. By being encouraged to use Maiwala terms as much as possible, especially through reading and writing in Maiwala, the elementary school children encouraged their parents and family members to become more aware of the maintenance of their language.

The more the Maiwala Elementary School teachers thought about the existing problems, the more they became convinced of the necessity to have a clear understanding of the purpose of teaching at school. For example, in order to deal with the alienation of children from the community, they have come to realise the necessity for a fundamental change in the teaching of gardening. Instead of gardening being associated with punishment at primary school, the
Maiwala Elementary School teachers have returned this teaching responsibility to the parents, in order to assist the children to become good subsistence farmers.

When the teachers began to clarify the reasons for teaching certain skills and doing certain activities, they were able to gain a clear understanding of the purpose of teaching. As a result, they were able to devise appropriate solutions, in order to assist children to understand the purpose of learning at school. This kind of change, generated from within the hearts of the indigenous teachers, is very effective, in order to bring an alteration of the fundamental belief systems. As a change is generated on the basis of the teachers' clear understanding of its necessity, they are also able to take responsibility for its implementation.

Although, in the past, expatriates have tried to make education more appropriate to indigenous culture, their understanding of indigenous education was not always accurate. For example, the existence of a co-operative spirit was totally ignored by early missionaries in Milne Bay Province. Likewise, most recently, the holistic approach has been introduced because of its similarities to the indigenous approach, leaving some differences overlooked. For example, 'negotiation' is encouraged in a holistic classroom, in order to help children to become independent learners who can take responsibility for their learning (Routman, 1991; Wilson and Jan, 1993; Green, 1994). However, as Maiwala children are already independent learners in everyday life, the teacher's task is not to help them to become independent but to reinforce being independent.

Ironically the children's independence and active involvement in learning have been replaced by passive learning in Western education. A co-operative spirit in feasting has been replaced by individualism. Recognition of these problems
has led the Maiwala Elementary School teachers to devise appropriate approaches to cultivate what has been lost in their culture. In order to cultivate and regenerate a co-operative spirit of working together, the Maiwala Elementary School provides many opportunities for the children to negotiate with the teacher and with each other during the week. As the teachers negotiate with a group of children, such as in writing a story and drawing a picture together, children are also encouraged to negotiate with each other. During the time for individual work, however, the teacher respects each child as an independent learner. They allow the child to pursue his or her own choice of learning without negotiation. The exception, of course, is when a child is unsure of what to do.

In order to assist individual children more effectively, the Maiwala Elementary School teachers have come to realise the necessity of record keeping. Although there are various formats for record keeping available in the Western context (e.g., Goodman et al., 1989; Brown and Mathie, 1990; Badger, et al, 1991; Weeks and Leaker, 1992), none of these was introduced to the teachers for adaptation. Rather, each teacher was encouraged to devise the best way that suited her. Likewise, the necessity for systematic organisation of the children and the classroom was identified first by the teachers and devised through trial and error. In this way, the teachers were assured of being comfortable with their approach to instruction, assessment and evaluation.

Thus, each teacher has designed her own format for keeping records in the way that suited her. Each teacher has also discovered how frequently, or during which activity, she should observe a particular child. As experts at observing children in everyday life, each teacher began to keep track of individual children's learning in the way she could understand best. During the process of devising their own formats, teachers shared their ideas, in order to make their format easier to use. It is up to the teacher to decide how often she should
evaluate the children’s learning from the accumulated records, just as it is up to the parents in everyday life. The more the teachers became interested in the children’s achievements, the more they began to pause for evaluation and reflection.

At school or at home, wherever it is culturally appropriate, the Maiwala Elementary teachers facilitate the development and adjustment of the individual child’s learning programme, through teamwork with the child and the parents. Through interaction with the teacher, each child learns about himself or herself, and knows about his or her interest areas, goals and achievements. Interaction with the teacher also helps the child to learn about his or her strengths and areas of need, and this provides encouragement for further achievement. In addition, parents are informed of their children’s achievements through informal interaction with the teacher.

Reporting to the parents has been informal in the Maiwala Elementary School. Most parents prefer oral personal communication rather than written reports at the end of the term. The teachers also feel that informal interaction during the term is more effective than written reports at the end. However, as the Maiwala Elementary School is a part of the formal school system, some parents may expect written reports. In much the same way as they have devised their own, most suitable ways of record keeping for themselves, the teachers can satisfy this need for written reporting.

As revealed in this discussion, the process of developing a culturally more appropriate approach still continues among the Maiwala Elementary School teachers. These teachers no longer wait for a curriculum or pedagogy to be introduced to them as a ‘prepackaged’ course. Now, they are actively involved in shaping their own course, as their ideas grow and changes occur. As an expatriate, I was involved in this process of innovation. I was the facilitator
and catalyst who continued to encourage the teachers to develop their own vernacular elementary school. It was a process of comparing and syncretising the established formal school system with the principles drawn from informal everyday life. It was also a process of negotiating with, and learning from, each other through ‘pruning’ and ‘sprouting’ (Mel, 1996) towards new ‘regeneration’ (Verhelst, 1990).

During interaction through dialogue and negotiation with me, the Maiwala Elementary School teachers have become increasingly aware of their active involvement in devising a culturally more appropriate curriculum, and more appropriate classroom practices for their school. Their attempt to change continued through trial and error. It began at the stage of ‘paradigm paralysis’ (Betts, 1992), where there was a mismatch between the new approach to teaching and the old mould of the classroom setting. The more incidents in everyday life were reflected in classroom practices, the more appropriate strategies and curriculum began to emerge. This process contrasts with the traditional approach used by expatriates, in which they introduced new ideas from their perspective, imposing them upon indigenous people.

7.4 Summary

This chapter has discussed the findings from the initial research questions, presented in the previous chapters. Findings from each question were highlighted for re-examination in the wider context of Western educational practices.

Firstly, this discussion has revealed the typical features of PNG communities where Western culture has been dominant, especially through Western education. Western influence is seen in the material aspects of the Maiwala
community, as well as in human relationships among the members. A breakdown of family structure and changing roles of family members are evident. In particular, most uncles have lost control over their nephews and nieces. Nevertheless, an increasing number of parents are becoming more responsible for their children's lives. Although the people, old and young alike, welcome friendly relationships with parents-in-law, they grieve for the loss of respect for older people.

In recent years, the members of the Maiwala community have come to realise the importance of maintaining their culture, especially through the building of war canoes. The development of their vernacular elementary school has also encouraged them to maintain their language. Through my association with them, and my genuine interest in understanding their lifestyle, my frequent inquiry has encouraged them to think of innovative ways to maintain their culture and language. As a result, they have felt empowered to become more actively involved in the maintenance of their culture and language, especially through the vernacular elementary school.

Through the use of the Maiwala language, the Maiwala Elementary School teachers are trying to teach children their traditional manners. These were in decline as a result of teaching in English. Despite the loss of Maiwala dancing, the teachers are also creating their own dancing at the elementary school. As they reconstruct the ancient forms of dancing, on the basis of legends and children's stories taught at the Maiwala Elementary School, they are syncretising Western ideas with indigenous ideas. As a consequence, the Maiwala Elementary School is becoming closer to the community. This is closing the huge gap that developed between formal schooling and the community.
Secondly, the distinctive features of assessment and evaluation in everyday life were compared with those used in the formal school system in PNG. At primary school many children have not been helped in their learning achievement, being left behind by the bright children. Assessment at primary school has been considered synonymous with testing for the purpose of ranking at the end of the term. However, many parents are dissatisfied with numerical reports, based on test scores. They are similarly dissatisfied with the way their children are marked in terms of 'average', 'above average' or 'below average'. These terms do not indicate how much each child has achieved during the process of learning, but show only a part of the product.

In order to find solutions to assist individual children's achievements, informal assessment and evaluation strategies at home were investigated, and have been compared with those currently used at primary school. In everyday life, parents do not wait until the end of the children's learning for assessment and evaluation. Rather, the parents assess and evaluate children during their learning, as integral parts of instruction. Parents continue to observe children and accumulate information on their learning. This information provides parents with intuitive knowledge of the children's achievements. Parents then use the outcomes for planning the next step of instruction, in order to assist the children more effectively.

The process of developing a new approach has challenged teachers to make a significant change in their beliefs and perceptions, as well as in long-established classroom practices in PNG (Smith and Lovat, 1991). This kind of bottom-up approach to change is very effective, as the teachers know the reasons for the change and have responsibility for its implementation. Discussion in this chapter about the process of indigenous teachers weighing up values between two cultures, has highlighted the importance of understanding indigenous
practices from the indigenous people’s perspective, especially in the process of designing an educational change.

Thirdly, assessment and evaluation strategies in the Maiwala Elementary School were compared with those of holistic teaching in a Western context. In the past, expatriates viewed indigenous education from their own perspective and tried to introduce educational changes for the indigenous people. As they weighed up the values of educational practices on their own scale, they planned and introduced changes on the basis of their own perspective. For example, there is a tendency among the NDOE staff members to introduce holistic approaches without examining differences from the approach in indigenous education.

A successful change needs to be planned and generated from within the indigenous society. However, such a decentralising or localising approach to innovation has not yet been practised widely in PNG. In the Maiwala example, holistic approaches from the Western context were not adapted. In the beginning, the teachers did recognise a similarity to their ways in everyday life. However, instead of introducing any new approaches, using an expatriate’s assumption of its applicability, the local teachers were encouraged to examine the existing approaches in the established formal school system. They compared this with the indigenous approach. As a result of examining these, through trial and error, they were able to devise a more relevant approach for their elementary school, without being influenced by Western ideas.

The indigenous teachers’ independent investigation has been presented in the discussion of similarities and differences between the holistic approach and the indigenous approach. As the teachers have developed their approach, within their school context, they have a clear understanding of why they have chosen to teach, assess or evaluate in certain ways, without being obliged to conform to
Western ideas. For example, the teachers have developed informal ways of interacting with the parents at home, by bringing the school closer to the community. They have identified their ways to be more effective in the Maiwala context, whereas holistic classroom teachers send for parents to come to school, bringing home closer to school.

There are many similarities between the holistic approach and the indigenous approach. However, introducing the holistic approach could have become another failure in educational change, as the local teachers may not have had sufficient conviction for the change. At first, even the Maiwala teachers were not fully convinced of the necessity for change in their classroom practices. However, as they were encouraged to weigh up the values of informal practices and formal school practices, they have become aware of a need for change through trial and error. Their conviction for the change did not emerge all at once. It developed bit by bit, case by case, during a period of six years. As a result, they have generated successful educational changes from within their community.
CHAPTER EIGHT
CONCLUSIONS

8.1 The Focus of the Study

This study focused on the process of educational change, especially in the development of culturally more appropriate assessment and evaluation strategies for the Maiwala Elementary School. This process was developed on the basis of mutual relationships between the local elementary school teachers and myself, through PAR. Traditionally, research is conducted by isolated researchers working alone, for their own interest and benefit, and in accordance with their own plans and time-frame. However, in PAR, the local people play the role of co-researchers who are equally responsible for the processes and the outcomes of the research. In particular, local teachers in this study were actively involved in the processes of planning, making decisions and implementing their ideas in their time-frame. My research role was that of catalyst and facilitator.

The most significant feature of PAR is that the researcher can never be certain about how the project will develop and where it will reach. This study was no exception. My preliminary plans began to change once I commenced my field work. Although at first the study focused on assessment and evaluation in vernacular literacy, it subsequently broadened to include all aspects of assessment and evaluation for the local vernacular elementary school. As PAR has action implications, in order to meet the needs of the local community I needed to change my plans, in order to facilitate and assist their project.
In the past, educational changes were planned and introduced by expatriates from their point of view, and local teachers were expected to implement them. However, in this study, Western ideas were not introduced to the indigenous people for adaptation. Rather, principles of assessment and evaluation, discovered from within community life, were highlighted for the local teachers’ attention. The teachers were encouraged to critically view problems within the formal school system from the perspective of these principles.

Although the Maiwala Elementary School teachers were not accustomed to being actively involved in the change process, they became increasingly empowered to think and act independently through PAR. The process of thinking involved weighing up values through a comparison of the formal with the informal approaches. This process of constructing and reconstructing the most appropriate classroom practices has brought several benefits to the Maiwala Elementary School teachers.

Firstly, discovering the parents’ responsibilities in everyday life has helped the Maiwala Elementary School teachers to relate their own everyday experiences to school life. Their new experiences, insights and perspectives gained through interaction with me, such as a higher level of critical thinking (Van Manen, 1977), have likewise become a part of natural everyday life. Because of their appreciation of being able to think critically and independently, this change of thinking has the potential to become evident in their teaching at school.

Secondly, recognition of parents’ responsibilities in everyday life has helped the Maiwala Elementary School teachers to improve their classroom practices. In particular, they adapted the child-centred approach of everyday life into their teaching, within the context of compulsory schooling. In everyday life, some parents take their responsibilities for teaching children more seriously than
others. Parental responsibility is not thought of as compulsory, but they are expected to teach. Hence, the failure of parents to teach results in children who lack appropriate training. The Maiwala teachers, who are also parents in everyday life, have considered this expectation seriously in their teaching at school.

Thirdly, becoming aware of the responsibility to teach has helped the Maiwala Elementary School teachers to define the content of their teaching programme, with a clear understanding of the purpose of teaching. They have realised that they want the children to learn something meaningful and worthwhile in everyday life. They no longer value a style of teaching based on dispensing knowledge with no real concern about each individual child’s learning. The more they became serious about teaching, the more they began to pay attention to individual children, giving them extra assistance and encouragement.

Fourthly, understanding the purpose of teaching and learning has helped the Maiwala Elementary School teachers to recognise that everyday life in the community is the centre of children's learning, not the school. Although there has been a gap between the formal school system and life in the community, these teachers have been able to bring the elementary school closer to the community. The more they closed the gap, or 'apartness' (Boomer, 1982b), between the school and the community, the more learning at school became relevant to the children’s life in the community. As a result, children's difficulty in understanding the purpose of learning has been eliminated and their learning has been made more meaningful.

Thus, through trial and error, the Maiwala Elementary School teachers have successfully syncretised the holistic and meaningful approach of informal everyday life with the skill-oriented approach of the formal school system. By having identified and examined similarities and differences between the two
approaches, the teachers have become responsible for their own decisions, their implementation, and the outcomes. This confirms the view of Matane et al. (1986), that a successful curriculum change is on the shoulders of those who use it. Active involvement of local teachers has contributed not only to the creation of ideas, but also to the verification of their effectiveness through their own classroom practices. Although it is a time consuming process to think and practise alongside local teachers, gradual development for change, through gradual empowerment of the members of the society, results in the most effective outcome (Mathie, 1994).

8.2 Major Findings of the Study

The most significant finding of this study is that the process is as important as the product. Firstly, the crucial factor of PAR is the process of developing personal, symmetrical relationships. Secondly, the active involvement of indigenous people in the process of planning and trialing is crucial to a successful educational change. Thirdly, children's achievements are assisted by assessment and evaluation throughout the process of their learning.

In the past, research was carried out through asymmetrical relationships between the superior researcher and the inferior researched. In PAR, however, the 'researched' are respected as 'co-researchers', in order to think and act along with the researcher. In this study, I discovered that my expectations of this kind of role change also resulted in the imposition of an outsider's ideas. I also discovered that the changes being made, on my part, became the crucial factor in the development of symmetrical relationships. In order to assist the indigenous people, I needed to learn to understand various events from their perspective. Through the process of changing myself, to share my life with the people in the Maiwala community, I found myself dealing with frustration and
several dilemmas. These were very similar to the ones that the Maiwala people have had to deal with, in order to fit into the imposed Western culture, especially through Western education.

Under the imposition of Western education, indigenous education was ignored. However, in the recent nationwide promotion of initial vernacular education, indigenous approaches to educational practices are being taken into consideration. However, culturally appropriate education is often viewed and planned from the expatriates' perspective. As their perceptions of indigenous culture have often been based on an objectified view of previous research, they have not realised that these views contain biases and misunderstandings. These expatriates have tried to improve education for indigenous people, on the basis of a paternalistic view, with new ideas that are not necessarily appropriate. Although indigenous people are increasingly invited to take a part in the planning of educational change, expatriates are still in control of the whole process.

By contrast, in this study, local indigenous people were empowered to play the major role of planning and implementing an educational change. In order to assist them in this process, I first participated in the everyday life of the community, in order to highlight significant features of the people's thoughts and feelings towards their changing culture and language. On the basis of this background information, I made further investigations of the principles underlying the use of assessment and evaluation strategies in informal everyday life. By being immersed in Maiwala culture, I was able to learn to understand various events from the insiders' perspectives, especially through my unique Japanese Australian background. At first, various features of indigenous education were not visible to the members of the community or to myself. However, they began to emerge in the people's patterns of actions and

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thoughts, after which I was able to understand various events from the insiders’ perspectives.

In addition to the major principles of assessment and evaluation, this study has identified differences between the socio-cultural features of the Maiwala community and of formal schooling. It has also identified similarities and differences between the Maiwala approach and the holistic approach introduced by expatriates during the 1990s, based on their own perceptions of PNG cultures and values. Because of many similarities between them, differences tend to be overlooked by expatriates who wish to introduce an educational change. The findings in this comparison suggest the necessity of a culturally sensitive approach to a change, in order to avoid imposition of Western ideas. An expatriate person’s cultural sensitivity can be enhanced by his or her participation in the culture. However, many expatriates who have lived in PNG for many years have not fully participated in the indigenous culture, especially not in the lifestyle of the local community. As a result, they have viewed various incidents objectively, as outsiders of the culture, rather than subjectively, as insiders.

In this study, I participated in daily village life, in order to understand various events more subjectively, from the insiders’ point of view. The more I participated and interacted with the members of the community, the more I was able to build my sense of ‘bonding’ (Brewster and Brewster, 1982) to the community. As a result, I became fully involved in the process of problem solving with the people from within the community, rather than trying to solve problems for the people from outside the community. Throughout the process of developing our close mutual relationships, I was able to assist the indigenous teachers to generate an educational change from within the hearts of the community members.
Once I had learned to become like the members of the community, I began to understand their thoughts and feelings more easily. In this study, I have found that healthy human relationships are important aspects of planning and implementing a successful educational change. As I began to understand the Maiwala people, they also began to understand me. Mutual relationships between the local people and myself were developed on the basis of a two-way communication. As a result, we were able to establish symmetrical relationships with each other.

Through my willingness to participate and learn from the local people, I was able to identify various aspects of assessment and evaluation strategies. During the process of investigation and discovery, I have also found that the Maiwala people’s approach to assessment and evaluation was focused on the process rather than the product. In the formal education system, the children's learning process is often ignored but their achievements are judged according to their products at the end. Contrastively, in the Maiwala community, parents pay much more attention to the process of children's learning. Because of this parental focus, they gain intuitive knowledge of the children's achievements.

The five principles underlying the use of informal assessment and evaluation strategies found in this study have helped the local people to recognise the value of indigenous education. These principles have been ignored under the imposition of Western education. In addition, by weighing up the values of Western culture and indigenous culture, for the development of culturally more appropriate classroom practices, asymmetric relationships between Western education and indigenous education were also broken down. On the basis of symmetrical relationships, a much more effective and significant educational change was generated from within the local community.
8.3 Implications of the Study

My experience and the findings from this study are potentially adaptable to other cultural contexts in PNG. However, it must be noted that there would be some differences that need to be taken into consideration. Adopting such an approach, without the consent of the local people, would be imposing an outsider’s perspective. This has happened too often in the past. Although there may be very similar conditions, it would be extremely rare for these to be identical, especially when different people are involved.

Therefore, the findings from this study are not meant to be generalised for wider use. Rather, they need to be viewed as one discrete case, and the individual cultural context needs to be carefully and sensitively recognised for its uniqueness. If each culture is respected and its uniqueness is acknowledged, no further inappropriate cultural imposition is likely. Rather, the Maiwala example suggests to expatriates that they should make a careful examination of the principles in any approach developed elsewhere in the world, before introducing them to a particular cultural context.

This study also suggests the effectiveness of developing a curriculum from within the local community, rather than adapting a curriculum developed elsewhere and introducing it to indigenous people. In order to avoid the imposition of other people’s ideas, it would be necessary for the curriculum developers to examine other approaches carefully, in comparison with particular cultures in PNG. Moreover, it would be most effective to have active involvement of implementers (i.e., local teachers) (Matane et al., 1986) from various cultures in PNG throughout the process of developing a unified curriculum for elementary schools. Contributions from various PNG cultures towards a co-operative project have proved to be effective for creating a personal, meaningful outcome (Mel, 1996).
8.4 Future Directions

Although PNG is still dependent on overseas aid for finance and personnel, this study suggests the need to reconsider the indigenous perspective in educational change. This study has shown that any true sense of change will need the involvement of local teachers in the planning process. Their understanding of the need for a change will be crucial to its implementation. Although a change is often associated with overseas aid and time constraints, this study has also revealed that it takes time for local teachers to implement a change through trial and error. History tells us that there is no 'quick fix' solution to educational problems. Nevertheless, in reality, the vicious circle of fast-paced educational change continues in PNG.

While new approaches to classroom practices are being introduced, teacher training continues, away from actual classrooms. Although the importance of cultural maintenance has been promoted, it does not seem to be implemented in a culturally appropriate context. However, in the Maiwala example, the local government has incorporated a teacher education programme into the classroom of the Maiwala Elementary School. This example demonstrates how a top-down approach to education reform was incorporated into a bottom-up approach.

Nationwide education reform is complex. However, it can be adapted to the most effective ways of implementation. In this complex situation, as demonstrated in this study, expatriates can play a catalytic role in assisting indigenous people in their communication towards smooth planning and effective implementation. In the context of PNG, misunderstanding can easily occur through communication breakdowns. For example, most villages have
no access to a telephone and must rely on personal, face-to-face communication. Local transport is not as reliable as it is in Western society, as it operates within a flexible time-frame. Until I discovered my role as facilitator, I found this situation very frustrating. My role has been to offer a true sense of assistance, in order to empower indigenous people to think and act independently, rather than to impose my ideas and direct them what to do.

As demonstrated in this study, there is a necessity for a change of roles between expatriates and indigenous people. This will ensure the planning and implementation of successful educational changes. Such a role change is only possible if expatriates are willing to give way to indigenous people, especially concerning their views and time-frames. After all, expatriates are no longer colonial masters, but guests in the country of PNG. It is time for them to change their superior views and to respect indigenous people as equal to themselves. The colonial government had to recognise the capabilities of indigenous people in handling Independence, through the example of Papuanisation in Irian Jaya. Likewise, expatriates in the neo-colonial era also need to recognise indigenous people's potentials and capabilities in taking an active role in their educational change.

This study also demonstrated that it is the indigenous people who can best syncretise Western knowledge with indigenous knowledge, in the process of creating culturally more appropriate classroom practices. In the past, Western schooling has taught PNG children Western values and ideas. It has also assessed and evaluated them according to the expectations of Western society. However, the maintenance of indigenous culture in the school curriculum has been promoted in the recent education reform. Children who are taught through a culturally appropriate curriculum should also be taught, assessed and evaluated in culturally appropriate ways.
In the past, various features of indigenous culture have been viewed and applied by expatriates from their perspectives. Indigenous people have the capabilities to determine what is best for them, but they have not been given enough opportunities to demonstrate these capabilities. Now it is time for indigenous people to develop the most suitable approach from their own perspectives. By allowing indigenous people to play the major role, expatriates can still work with them as facilitators and catalysts. In this way, expatriates can truly assist indigenous people to develop the most appropriate education programmes for their society.

While suggesting that expatriates change their roles and their views, I am not proposing that indigenous people should change. As discussed in Chapter 2, history shows how much indigenous people have already been expected to change, while missionaries and colonial masters remained inflexible. As I have demonstrated in this study, I believe that a change occurring in expatriates' attitudes would naturally encourage indigenous people. By becoming bonded to a local community, an expatriate person can contribute to the change process, especially through interaction with its members. I have demonstrated that it is possible to build up symmetrical, mutual relationships as a result of my willingness to change. In return, the indigenous people have expressed their appreciation of being trusted for their capabilities:

"In the past, expatriates used to look down on us and call us 'natives'. But now, we know that you have respected us and treated us as equal to you."

Now, at the conclusion of this study, I am able to rejoice with the community members about the successful outcomes of our relationships and the educational changes that have emerged.
APPENDIX ONE

Excerpts from
THE MACLEX DOCUMENTATION

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Summer Institute of Linguistics
Papua New Guinea Branch
Revised ed., 1994

What is MacLex?
MacLex is a tool for collecting and sorting pieces of information of any kind. It is
designed primarily for making and updating a dictionary (or lexicon). It can also be
used for other kinds of database, such as correspondence lists, annotated
bibliographies, anthropology observations, etc. It allows the user a variety of ways to
navigate through the lexicon's records, to edit records, add new ones, or delete records.
MacLex has no save button; like HyperCard it immediately saves any changes to disk,
keeping the database up to date at all times.

MacLex includes a simple word processor which can be used for editing files, or
preparing control files (eg. your special collating sequence). This editor does not
support tabs. You can type them, but they are treated as spaces.

MacLex can also be used as a categorizing and analysis tool for Naturalistic Inquiry -
see the documentation for details.

MacLex is not yet a finished product, perhaps it never will be. I have many features
yet to add to it. I make no guarantees whatever, and accept no responsibility for how
you use it. MacLex, while free, is the intellectual property of the author, and of the
Summer Institute of Linguistics, and is copyrighted.

This product is not for sale or profit. It may be used freely by anyone, and distributed
to anyone provided the documentation is distributed along with it. Anyone is
welcome to localise it for another language; I do not have to be asked or informed.
WordFormat and its documentation should also be distributed with it. If I am asked to
supply it by mail, a small gift towards handling and postage costs would be
appreciated (about US$3-5, depending on distance).

1 MacLex will eventually be able to give sophisticated printed output, but in
the meantime other tools are available for doing that. A useful one is Michael Hore's
"Word Format" application which allows the user to build a consistent changes table
via a dialog, taking input files of the type that MacLex manipulates (ie. tagged fields)
and converting them to formatted (plus style support) Microsoft Word-format
documents. The latest version of Word Format is included, it is free and is System-7
smart. You can then fill out the styles in Microsoft Word to get professional quality
documents - including multiple columns.
An Analogy

To a new user, MacLex might seem a little formidable. There are many dialogs, and many different functions to choose from. But all of its power is useless if you do not understand the basic building blocks and how it manages your database. So I will discuss it in terms of an analogy. No analogy is perfect, and this one has its limitations, but I hope it helps.

MacLex and its database is like a librarian and her library. Not an ordinary ‘book’ library, but more like a library of "reprints" (ie. photocopied sections of books packaged like a small book, with cover, title, etc.). Our library might have the following things in it (with sincere apologies to the artists among you).

The reprints are stored on shelves, and the librarian allows you to have unrestricted access to the reprints. The reprints are the records (or 'entries') of your database. The librarian is the MacLex application's dialogs, buttons and menu items.

Now in this library there is a book archive. The books in that archive are precious, there is only one of each title and the archive holds the only copies of those books in the whole world. If one is lost, it is irreplaceable. (Unless, of course, you have made backups!) So the librarian will not allow you to access those books yourself. She reserves the right to manage them, and update any information in them that might be incorrect. So the information in those books is available to you only by means of the reprints on the library shelves. If you want to see what is in a book, you must go to the reprints on the shelves. The archived books are the files of your database. MacLex does not allow you to input a database file like you would expect for a document in a word processing application. It just shows you a record taken from a database file, and keeps the actual file hidden from you, so you cannot mess it up.

In the library, the librarian knows how to accept information from other libraries. New books arrive from time to time, and they have to be made available to the library users. So the librarian accepts them, adding the books to the archive and making new reprints available on the shelves. Adding new reprints to the shelves is MacLex's merge operation. With this operation the user can merge a file of records into the database. The file may have been created in another application, or by another person, or within MacLex's word processor.
Our librarian is really quite smart. She not only manages the reprint library, but it's in her job description that she can take the reprints or parts of the reprints and arrange them in new ways to produce books of her own, which she then makes available for anyone who wants them. This operation is MacLex’s ability to do reversals. For example, from a Tok Pisin to English dictionary, you can produce a sorted English to Tok Pisin dictionary.

But all of the library functions would not be possible if the librarian did not have a catalogue of the reprints that were in the library. The catalogue is the heart of the library. In the catalogue there is a card for every reprint on the shelves. The card has the title of the reprint, and the shelf reference for it. By looking up the card, the librarian can go straight to the correct shelf and get the wanted reprint at a moment’s notice. The library’s card catalogue is like MacLex’s internal index table. The title on each card of the catalogue is like the sort key of a record in the database.

MacLex’s index table is held in memory and the user cannot see all of it directly, but when one of the ‘divisions’ buttons on the left of the screen (in lexicon mode) is pressed, then a list of sort keys is shown in a window - rather like choosing one of the catalogue drawers in the library and opening it in order to look at the cards with titles ranging from, say, ‘d’ to ‘e’. Double clicking on a sort key brings that key’s record to the screen; just like selecting a catalogue card and showing it to the librarian would cause her to go and get the wanted reprint from the shelves for you.

Most of the work you do in MacLex will be done in what is called “lexicon mode”. In lexicon mode, you are looking at one of the records from your database, and there are buttons and tools available for doing a variety of operations on that record or on the whole database. These things might include adding records, deleting them, modifying them, and so forth. This is similar to the situation in the library with the librarian patiently sitting at her desk waiting for you to give her work to do. You can tell her to process new books; to remove reprints from the shelves, to produce a new publication for you, and many other things.

**MacLex as a Tool for Naturalistic Inquiry**

In this chapter we show how MacLex can be used for a number of tasks within the discipline of naturalistic inquiry. This chapter assumes the user has at least read chapter 30, and has some familiarity with the naturalistic inquiry (ie. post-positivist analysis) discipline.

We also provide two special “starter” folders. The first is called Nat. Inquiry Starter, which contains data files, a preferences file, and a minimal database file - ready for the user to “walk through” some common naturalistic inquiry tasks from the beginning. That is, starting from uncategorized texts to produce a naturalistic inquiry database founded on the data files supplied. The second folder is called N.I.Categorized Starter - this one contains categorized data already set up as a naturalistic inquiry database, in case the user does not want to complete the categorization process using the first folder before trying other operations.

The ‘data’ for these sample operations is a few paragraphs from the text of chapter 30. What we shall be doing will be, of course, trivial from a naturalistic inquiry point of view, but it will illustrate well how MacLex can do necessary tasks of that discipline.

Let us begin.

**Task 1 - Preliminary Analysis**

Before using MacLex you must do some thinking first.

- You know what area of research you will be investigating, so you will have some idea of which category names you will expect to use.
You should at least have these written down on paper.

Decide on the token to be used as the 'header' (ie. the first one in every record). The header token MUST be used for referencing purposes. Its data will have some text which uniquely identifies the particular text being segmented and categorized; and the final characters of the field’s data must be a number - typically an audio tape counter reading (eg. 001, 009, 015, 362, etc.), or a paragraph or sentence number, or even a line number. For example, sample data in the header might be: TAPE 05 Karl A:008 meaning "audio tape number 5, respondent named Karl, size A of the tape, tape counter reference of 8.

The reason for the constant reference information being there, and ended with numbers in ascending sequence as you work through the categorization of a text, is that when this field is used for sorting it will bring all the text fragments together into their respective texts, and order the fragments correctly in the order originally spoken or written.

Note - always use three or four digit numbers, adding leading zeros as necessary, to ensure sorting works correctly. That is, 014 is okay, but 14 would be incorrect if the numbers can go larger than 99. For example, 135 would sort earlier than 14 - which is incorrect, but 014 would sort before 135 - which is correct.

In our sample folders, we shall always use \ref as the header token.

You should decide if you are going to need to handle hierarchical categories (almost certainly you will need to do so).

Decide if you want to handle some hierarchical categories\(^2\) within a single field in MacLex, or whether you will limit yourself strictly to 'one category per field'. (Note, non-hierarchical categories should not be combined in a single token's field. Such categories may potentially co-occur with any other category, so they should be in a different token's field.)

There are pros and cons for choosing category combinations within a single field. The following might help you decide.

**Choice:** Several (hierarchical) categories in one token's field. For example (based on the preceding footnote's examples), "furniture:chair" as one category, "furniture:bed" as another, "furniture:table" as another, etc.

**Cons:**

a) If many categories are likely to be needed, then combining the various possibilities in this way is likely to eventually exceed the capacity of a popup display to list them all (remember, no mWaters, B. d by a popup - this is a Macintosh limitation, not something built into MacLex, so we cannot get round this).

b) Makes a popup display much longer, therefore it takes a bit longer to locate the required category combination.

c) It can get tedious typing in all the category combinations, though it need only be done once.

d) The limitation of 31 characters might require you to use abbreviations which could be cryptic when viewed after a long absence.

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\(^2\) A hierarchical category is one with a unique set of subcategories which belong only with that (superordinate) category and never with any other category. For example: a category “furniture” might have subcategories “chair”, “bed”, “table”, “sofa”, “cupboard” etc. These subcategories would be inappropriate as subcategories of “motorcar”, “ship”, “wagon”, etc.
Changes to the spelling of a category take longer, since each time the category occurs as part of a category combination it has to be changed.

Pros:

a) Results in a much more satisfying splitting up of the database when you sort using just the one field type as the sort key.

b) Leaves you with two tokens "free" to be used by MacLex for secondary and tertiary sort keys. In effect, it increases your subcategorization power.

c) Allows several categories to be chosen from a popup display with one mouse click.

d) Allows several categories to be inserted with a single button press.

Recommendation: The (b) 'pro' is a very important consideration. Subcategorization is so basic to naturalistic inquiry that it is probably best not to limit this capability unnecessarily. So I suggest using composite categories in at least one token's field.

A Walk-Through Example

We start with the data file "nat.inquiry sample #1" in the "Preferences, etc." folder within the folder "Nat.Inquiry Starter." Since our domain of research is going to be MacLex's categorizing capabilities, we need categories relevant to that. We start with the following ones:

categorizing pane       dialog          editor      database  
Special menu             tokens          categories   fields    
main window              icon button     arrow button popup       
token specs              category specs  records      text data

This list is unordered, and we have not yet decided which categories 'belong together' as categories of one 'domain'. Let us do that now.

The domains these categories might suggest are 'windows', 'controls', 'menus', and 'system features'. But on further consideration, we observe that there is a sharp distinction between what goes on in the main window, and the system's categorizing functions which are mainly connected with another window (of a dialog kind). This suggests it would be good to use 'dialog', 'main window' and 'menu' as the first category of two-level composite categories. This causes us to rethink our tentative domains - a typical task in the early stages of naturalistic inquiry. Let's try it, and see what we come up with.

First we decide on what 'belongs' as subcategories of the 'dialog' category. The subcategories we will put in the second column below.

dialog       categorizing pane
             token specs
             category specs
             popup
             icon button
             arrow button

(This gives us composite categories of the form:
dialog: categorizing pane
dialog: token specs
dialog: popup, etc.)

Similarly for the 'main window' category.

---

3 MacLex can sort using sort keys derived by combining the data in three different token's fields. If this proves to be insufficient power for someone's needs, I am willing to increase the limit to at least four different fields. Contact me on ccMail, or internet with the address bruce.waters@sil.org
For menus we just have, at this stage:

- menus
- Special menu

This leaves the two categories 'tokens' and 'categories' in none of the groupings. But that is sensible, since these categories could belong with many of the composite categories defined above. So it makes sense to put these two into a separate token's category list.

Which tokens shall we use? The composite categories can be associated with a token called `system` (having a description 'system feature'). The other two we will associate with a token called `comp` (having a description 'system component'). In addition, we will have a `ref` token for the header information, and a `d` token ('d' for 'data') for the actual text data.

Note that these categories cut across our earlier tentative grouping into windows, versus controls, versus menu, versus system. We hope that our second guess will be better. As we start categorizing, we may find we are not able to categorizing very well. If so, the normal thing to do is to rethink the categories and their combinations, then change to the revised system you come up with.

Note that MacLex, or any other software, will not make uninsightful category choices result in elegant and insightful analysis. If your categories, and how they may combine, are garbage, MacLex will allow you to manipulate your garbage in nice ways, but you'll still end up with garbage and lack of insight.

This preliminary stage is very important. Do it with real, but limited data, and develop a system which handles limited data well first. Then extend it by adding lots of addition data, and extra categories as needed.

Starting the other way, with lots of data categorized poorly, will mean that every time you need to modify your categorization system you will have a lot of extra work to undo what you have earlier done.

Okay, now we are ready to begin on our next task.

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**Task 2 - Segmenting and Categorizing Text Data**

This is a basic task of naturalistic inquiry. Our goal is to take our text data and 'cut it up' into a number of subparts, each subpart having some relevance to one or more categories that we have decided are important for analysis purposes. The subparts we will call 'records', since will will eventually manipulate them with MacLex in similar ways to how we might manipulate lexicon records (ie. 'entries').

This task of segmenting and categorizing will be done entirely with our text open in MacLex's word processor (ie. in edit mode). A later task will be to merge our results into the database. We will not need MacLex's database capabilities until that later step.

---

4 Everything in a MacLex record has to be in a field, which means that everything has to be associated with its own unique token - including the actual data we are analysing.
In what follows, what you type will be shown between double quotes. Do not type in the quotes. We use <CR> to represent the carriage return key, <TAB> to represent the tab key, <SP> to represent a space.

Step 1. Launch MacLex by double-clicking the "sample preferences #1" file in the folder "Nat.Inquiry Starter".

Step 2. Use Open... from File menu to open the file "nat.inquiry sample #1" file in the folder "Data sources". (This is a raw data file, and data files can be put anywhere you like except in the "Nat.Inquiry Starter" folder where the "A" file currently is. Only database files are put in that folder.)

Step 3. Use the Show Categorizing Pane item in the Special menu to open the pane.

Step 4. Our preferences file is not yet quite set up properly. In particular we need to make the template contain the tokens we will be wanting to use, in our desired order. So choose the Preferences... item in the Edit menu. In the first template box at the bottom left, after \ref<SP><SP> type the following:

"\system<SP><SP>\comp<SP><SP>\d<CR>"

(You might prefer two carriage returns after the \d, which will separate your text data from its categorization by a blank line, as you will see later.) If already set up this way, then just click OK.

Save the template permanently by using the Save Settings button, and replace the earlier version of the preferences file with the current version (ie. no name change). Then click the OK button.

Step 5. We now have an insertable template. Looking at the first 6 words of the text, we will treat that as a meaningful unit and segment it.

1) Click on the window and ensure the cursor is preceding the first word "This".
2) Choose the Insert Template item from the Edit menu (or type Command-Y). Notice how the template is inserted at the cursor location, and the cursor is left at the position where reference information will need to be put.

Step 6. So far we have not entered any token or category specifications. Let us do so now for the \ref field.

1) Click on the Tokens... button in the categorizing pane
2) Type "\ref " in the top box, and "referencing header" in the second box.
3) Click Accept Specifications (note that the Add... radio button is selected by default, if not, select it before clicking the Accept Specifications button).
4) Click the Close Dialog button. Note the changed appearance of the categorizing pane.
5) Click the Tokens... button.
6) Note the top part of the dialog shows the last typed token as the "current" one. Type "Sample:1 Line:" as the category and click Accept Specifications.

---

5 We will illustrate using line numbers for our referencing scheme. Of course, with real data which could be hundreds of lines long, counting lines will be too tedious. Most word processors have a line-numbering option, and you probably would find it convenient to use that option to have line numbers printed on a paper copy of your file before you begin segmenting and categorizing. If you do, be sure that you
7) Click Close Dialog button. Note the ‘category’ just typed is shown as 
the current one in the categorizing pane.

Step 7. Safeguard what you have entered by saving the specifications entered up 
to this point as a resource within the preferences file.
1) Choose Save Settings... in the File menu.
2) Locate the old preferences file, then Click the Save button.
3) Click the Replace button in the alert which the dialog puts up.

Step 8. Now we want to insert the current category into the \ref field, and 
although we cannot see where the cursor is, it is still in the correct 
location. (If you want to check, do so by clicking on the main window.) 
The data we are categorizing is in line 1, the first part of the line.
1) Click the insert category icon button.
2) Type "001a"

Step 9. Now we will segment a second record. We will treat 
the text ‘a special 
nonmodal dialog’ as the data. It is in part ‘b’ of line 1.
1) Click to place the cursor preceding the word ‘a’ of the text substring 
quoted above.
2) Choose Insert Template from the Edit menu.
3) Click on the insert category icon button.
4) Type "001b"

Step 10. We leave it as an exercise for the reader to:
a) Continue segmenting in this fashion.
b) Type extra token specifications (for \system and \comp) using the 
Token's dialog.
c) Type extra category specifications for \system and for \comp using 
the Categories... button’s dialog.
d) Save the specifications by repeating Step 7.

Step 11. We will illustrate inserting a composite category into a \system field. The 
text fragment we assume to be:
'by choosing the Show Categorizing Dialog item from 
the Special menu,'
which is in line 3. We will categorize it as: "menus: Special menu" which 
should have been entered as a category associated with the \system 
token at Step 10.
1) Click to place the cursor preceding the word 'by' of the text 
fragment.
2) Go through earlier steps to complete the \ref field, using a line 
number of 003.
3) Click the ‘next token’ arrow button in the categorizing pane to select 
the \system token.
4) If the categorizing pane does not show the category: 
‘menus: Special menu’ as the current one, use the categories popup to 
select it.
5) Click the insert category icon button.

Step 12. Practise adding categories to fields, using the 'next token' and 'previous 
token' arrow buttons to navigate, the categories popup to choose a 
suitable category characterizing the contents of the text fragment you 
have isolated, and inserting the category using the insert categories icon 
button.

don’t later change your window width, otherwise line-wrap will alter your line counts. 
Use the paper copy to add line numbers as necessary to your \ref field.
From time to time, save the main window’s contents to disk (to a different filename) using the Save As... button of the File menu for the first time, and the Save button thereafter.

Practise until you feel familiar with the functions provided. You don’t have to categorize the second sample file, but if you do, you might like to add further categories as you work through it, perhaps add an extra token to the template which you insert with the Insert Template command (the template is found in the preferences dialog), perhaps modify some categories, etc.

**Task 3 - Merging Categorized Text To The Database**

To manipulate our categorized data we have to make it a part of our database. We do this by using MacLex’s merging capability (the Merge... command in the File menu). The database into which we merge our categorized records can be any size, that is, it can have many categorized texts in it, and can be thousands (or millions) of records in length.

For merging to work correctly, there must be at least one record in it to start off. That is why there is an "A" file with a single dummy record in it. (Its content is just a \ref field, with text reminding you to delete this dummy record as soon as your database has more than one record in it).

1. **Step 1.** Launch MacLex by double clicking the preferences file in the folder "N.I. Categorized Starter".

2. **Step 2.** Choose the Merge... command in the File menu.

3. **Step 3.** There will be a file dialog on the screen, and you use this dialog to locate the file of raw text data that has been categorized into records, so that MacLex can merge it into the database. Double click the "Data sources" folder to open it, and then you will see the file "nat.inquiry sample #1". This is the file to be merged. Double-click it (or hit the Open button).

4. **Step 4.** Accept the dialog which comes up showing \ref as the header token, by clicking the OK button.

5. **Step 5.** MacLex then puts up the Open Lexicon... command’s dialog.
   1) Use it to locate the "A" database file in the outer folder.
   2) Double-click that file.
   3) Click the Begin button to cause merging to take place.

6. **Step 6.** With the database open (the outcome of the last step), there will be a 'd' button at the top left.
   1) Click the 'd' button.
   2) Double-click the resulting window’s sort key text. This displays the "A" file’s dummy record.
   3) Click the command box’s Delete button to delete this dummy record from the database. (Once you have something else in the database, this dummy record is no longer needed.)

Your file has now been merged, and you have a non-trivial database. If you have a second file of categorized data, you could do a Close Lexicon... (in File menu) and then repeat steps 2 to 6 to merge the second raw data file into the database formed from your first merge operation.

Each time you categorize a raw data file, you afterwards make it a part of the database by the merge operation. Once your categorized raw data files have been merged, from
then on you work with the 'cut up' form of the text as stored in the database, and the original raw data file(s) can be put away in an archive.

**Task 4 - Grouping by Resorting the Database**

To bring things together which have been categorized alike, or nearly alike, all that has to be done is to resort the lexicon. You have control of the field (or fields) to be used as the sort key (or keys).

This operation is done while the database is open (ie. in lexicon mode).

Step 1. Choose This Lexicon... from the Sort menu. This command allows us to resort by different criteria than previously. In particular, we can change the field used as the sort key, and / or use other fields for secondary or tertiary levels of sorting.

Step 2. When the Sort Setup dialog is visible, choose the parameters you want. For this exercise we will specify that the sort be done using just one field, and that field's token will be \system.

1) Type "\system" as the first sort key token.
2) Increase the length value from 16 to 24, to ensure the digits don't get chopped off the end of sort key strings such as 'Sample:1 Line:001b', etc.
3) Click the Begin button when ready to continue.

Note that the order of records will be different when MacLex reopens the database. Because the order will be different, text which has been categorized the same way in the current sort key field will not be collected as a contiguous set of records, which which you could then print out using the Print Range... item of the File menu. This "bringing together" of formerly scattered pieces of similar information from a variety of sources is a fundamental goal of Naturalistic Inquiry analysis.

**Task 5 - Adding an Extra Field to Records**

As you proceed with your analysis, you are likely to want to add an extra token(s) to the template inserted by the Insert Template command. It is easy to add the extra token(s) to the template in the preferences dialog, and we leave that as an exercise for you. (Remember to hit Save Settings in order to update the preferences file, so that your change becomes permanent.)

But changing the template has not affected any of the records in your database, and you probably want to include the extra token(s) in all or most of your records. That is what we shall do now. Let is add a token called \new which we want to come immediately preceding the \d token in each record. We will use MacLex’s find and replace functions, and the fact that the \d token occurs only once per record.

Step 1. Choose Change... from the Search menu.

Step 2. 1) Type "\d" in the Find: text box.
2) Type "\new<SP><SP>\d" in the Replace: text box.
3) Type "\ref" in the Field token list: text box.  
4) Click to turn on the checkbox "In all except listed field(s)"
5) Click to turn on the checkbox "From lexicon start"

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6 Replace All would not be available if we do not exclude the sort key field (currently \ref) from the search, in this particular case. This is because the replace string includes the same characters as the search string, and when this happens there is potentiality for infinite recursion in some circumstances. So MacLex ensures it cannot happen.
Step 3.  1) Choose Replace All from the Search menu, or type Command-T (it is quicker).
   2) Token checking might be on. If it is, the \new token will not be recognised and a small dialog will come up. Click the Add To List button in that dialog. The rest of the replacements will then be done. If token checking is not on, this substep will not be necessary.

Task 6 - Exporting a Subset of Records for Further Analysis
MacLex has an record-exporting feature that enables you to place a subset of the database records into a new set of files in a folder which you can name. The main database can then be closed with the Close Lexicon command, and the exported database opened for manipulation using the Open Lexicon... command. Any changes you make to records in the exported database will, of course, not be reflected in the main database. However, if you merely with to examine, search, analyse and perhaps print records, this technique can be very useful (see Task 7).

There are three ways you can specify which records are to be exported. You can use the 'trace list' feature (this is discussed in detail in chapter 24, in the section immediately preceding the picture of the Change dialog) to compile a list of records in the trace list. Export allows the exporting of only those records as one of its options. Or you can specify a range of records for exporting. Or you can export all records. When exporting, it makes no difference what order the records might happen to be in.

For our example, we will use the trace list method. We will export all records which have the string "dialog" in the \system field. We will store the results in a single file, in a folder called My Exports. (We will use this in task 7 later, so after completing this exercise, do not delete the folder.) To do this exercise you need to be in lexicon mode, with a record of your database visible in the main window.

Step 1.  Choose Find... from the Search menu.

Step 2.  1) Type "dialog" in the Find: text box.
   2) Type "\system" in the Field token list: text box.
   3) Click to turn on the "From lexicon start" checkbox.
   4) Click to turn on the "In listed field(s)" checkbox.
   5) Click to turn on the "Compile trace list" checkbox.
   6) Click the Find All button (it is the one at the bottom right)

Step 3.  (The correct records are now in the trace list. If you like, you can see which they are by choosing the Turn Trace On item in the Search menu, and then click on the next or previous arrow buttons in the command bar at the bottom of the screen. The record numbers will be shown as white on a dark background.) When you are ready to do the exporting, proceed as follows:
   1) Choose Export... from the File menu.
   2) Click to turn on the "Use a single output file" checkbox.
   3) Type "My Exports" in the box for the output folder name.
   4) Click the "Trace list only" radio button.
   5) Click the Begin Export button. The export will now be done.

Step 4.  1) Choose Close Lexicon from the File menu.
   2) Choose Open Lexicon... from the File menu.
   3) Click the Locate Lexicon Files button.
   4) Open the "My Exports" folder, and double-click the "A" file.
   5) Click the Begin button. Your exported database will be opened and you can start playing with its contents. Click the View button and note
how which records are in this database - it will be just those in the trace list in the master database you closed at step 4.1 above.

**Task 7 - Searching by a simulated Boolean "AND" Condition**

Often you will want to choose records which meet a Boolean "and" condition. For example: "all records which had 'dialog' in the \system field AND which have 'token' in the \comp field".

MacLex is not designed (yet) to handle Boolean conditions as a 1-step operation. We can simulate a Boolean condition like that of the preceding paragraph by doing it as a two-step process. For this exercise we will use the result of Task 7, since we have already found all the records meeting the condition "all records which have 'dialog' in the \system field". Those records are in the data file in the My Exports folder.

**Step 1.** Repeat Task 7 using the database which is in the My Exports folder, the only differences being:
1) that you use the string "token" to be searched for, and
2) the token "\comp" as the field in which to do the search, and
3) the folder name My Boolean Export (or any other name you might wish to use) as the place to put the exported records.

**Step 2.** As in Task 7, open your newly exported database and see which records are in it. Notice also that each newly created database folder is automatically placed in the folder where the currently open database's files are. This is handy because it makes it easy to locate each derived database; and equally easy to ignore them whenever you like. (When opening a database MacLex does not look into any folders, so it cannot get the different databases mixed up.)

**Step 3.** This process can be repeated any number of times. You would do it three times to handle a condition such as "X and Y and Z", for example. When you are finished with the derived (lower level) databases, at the desktop select the topmost database folder that you no longer want, and drag it to the trash, and then empty the trash. All lower level databases within it will be trashed along with the topmost one you dragged.

This completes our survey of naturalistic inquiry tasks that can be done by MacLex. We have not commented on the use of the categorizing pane while a database is open in lexicon mode; however, it can be used in that context as easily as in edit mode. Try it.

Also, if you want another way of entering hierarchical categories in up to three pre-defined fields, then you could use the semantic categories functions discussed in chapter 26. You can even use both systems at the one time.

Remember too that when you have grouped text fragments by resorting, you can use the Show Several command in the Lexicon menu in order to see several records at once on the screen, and scroll using the wedge buttons at the bottom. The View button also might be helpful, though each record is then limited to one line for its display.
APPENDIX TWO

RESEARCH PARTNERSHIPS WITH LOCAL PEOPLE: NEW APPROACHES TO RESEARCH IN INDIGENOUS SOCITIES

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Introduction

In the past in Papua New Guinea (PNG), expatriate staff have tried to bring in many changes in their attempts to “improve” education without the consent of indigenous staff (O'Donoghue, 1994). Consequently, such changes were superficial because the indigenous staff lacked understanding. A true sense of cultural change involves the alteration of fundamental belief systems (Fullan, 1991). Fundamental changes that affect the curriculum are best generated through collaborative research with local teachers. Involvement of stakeholders as co-researchers in the research process helps them feel responsible for the outcome and its implementation (David, 1988). However, in the past, not only the people of PNG but those of many other non-western nations have had the experience of being subjects of research rather than co-researchers. Moreover, the outcomes of these research projects have not usually been made available to the people of the researched nations (Salmi, 1985).

This paper presents a research breakthrough in the structure of dominant western cultures over indigenous cultures. In this new research process, the western processes have been syncretised into the whole-of-life process in a local community in PNG, and developed into collaborative research.

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1The term ‘syncretise’ as an intransitive verb means: "to combine differing beliefs"; and as a transitive verb: "to reconcile or attempt to reconcile (differing religious beliefs, for example)." The term ‘syncretism’ means: "the attempt or tendency to combine or reconcile differing beliefs, as in philosophy or religion" (Morris, 1969: 1304). Williams (1969; cited in Ashcroft et al., 1989) notes that “full independence of culture and political independence is impossible, but cultural syncreticity is a valuable as well as inescapable and characteristic feature of all post-colonial societies and indeed is the source of their peculiar strength.”
The Limitations of Conventional Research Processes

In the mid-1970s I taught at three new preschools in Perth, Western Australia. These schools were open only to Aboriginal and disadvantaged non-Aboriginal children. Two of the schools operated once a week and the other three times a week. One day my adviser asked me if I could have a male university student as an observer, as he wished to do research. I asked her what kind of research he wanted to conduct, as I wondered why a male student showed interest in the female-dominated field of preschool teaching. Her answer was vague and all she could tell me was that he wanted to observe Aboriginal children in one of my preschool classes for two weeks. Reluctantly and politely, being Japanese, I accepted my adviser’s request.

When the university student came to my class, I asked him the purpose of his research. He said he wanted to know about Aboriginal children. Each day, he came and observed my class. He sometimes sat with the children and made jigsaw puzzles with them. He neither made it clear to me the purpose of his research nor asked me why certain things had occurred in my class. As the days went by, I became increasingly uneasy about having him around and I was very glad when his final day came.

A few weeks later, my adviser showed me a copy of the student’s research report. As I read it, I regretted that I had agreed to have him come. His comments on the children’s behaviour often showed a biased view. Why couldn’t he have asked me the reasons for particular incidents that had happened in the classroom? Later, when my adviser asked me again if I could have another research student, I said ‘No’, decidedly and firmly, being Australian.

The above experience made me feel like I was a mere subject in a laboratory during the research. I was not given any opportunity to voice my feelings or thoughts, but my children’s behaviour was observed and interpreted independently by the researcher through his eyes. I was extremely unhappy with the way the research was conducted, because a university student with no teaching experience acted as the superior researcher and I, a better qualified person, as an inferior research subject. There was a clear distinction between the researcher and the researched. Although the researcher participated in some of the children’s activities such as making jigsaw puzzles, he basically used the method of observation for his research.

Originally, observation methods were used in anthropological studies to describe cultures in non-western nations from the westerner’s point of view. In so doing, the researcher has full authority to describe and interpret another culture on the basis of his own. In the above example, although my classroom operated within a western cultural framework, the university student observed and described the classroom from an outsider’s perspective. He tried to justify his view as unbiased by participating in some of the activities with the children in order to describe situations “from the standpoint of participants” (Jorgensen, 1989: 12), and to present the culture “as seen by the participants in the culture” (Jacob, 1987: 13). However, he failed to interpret the meanings of various social experiences by describing them subjectively rather than objectively (Burgess, 1984). He did not realise that, as pointed out by Quantz (1992), he was in danger of constructing a Eurocentric perspective since he could not be free of his own values when dealing with the contradictory values of the researched. This danger became intensified in the above example, as the researcher spent only six mornings in an unfamiliar preschool classroom and drew his own interpretations and conclusions without consulting with the participants of the research community (e.g., the teacher of the classroom). If he had spent more time becoming familiar with the preschool class, it could have reduced the distortion of his data. If he had checked his perceptions against the perceptions of the teacher, it also could have reduced the distortions in his interpretations.

New Ways of Research -- the Purpose of Research

Why does a researcher conduct research? Is it solely for the benefit of his or her own interest, as seen in the above example? If that is the case, the researcher does not
belong or is not 'bonded' (Brewster and Brewster, 1982) to the research community. The researcher can come into a research community and participate in its activities. However, he or she still views things in the community on the basis of his or her culture. In this case, he or she is an 'outside-insider' (Dye, 1980). Such a researcher remains superior to the participants of the research community, and 'knows about' its culture.

On the other hand, a researcher can be an 'inside-outsider' (Dye, 1980) who has a sense of 'bonding' to the research community. Such a researcher has learned about the insiders' attitudes and feelings and 'knows' their needs. Therefore he or she can think with the members of the community about the best ways to meet their needs. In this sense, the researcher is a facilitator who can conduct research with the participants of the community for their benefit. An 'inside-outsider' researcher respects the members of the research community, and acknowledges them as co-researchers, and frankly shares his or her concerns with them. It is more than a process of data collection. It is a process of building up human relationships. Such an interaction helps him or her to witness, examine, and interpret the process of social interaction as closely as possible to the viewpoint of the participants of the community (Woods, 1992).

A New Way of Research in Non-Western Nations
The above interaction between the researcher and the local co-researchers can be developed into Participatory Action Research (PAR). PAR is a collaborative form of Action Research\(^2\). Action research was first developed by Kurt Lewin (1946) with the context of research for social management and social engineering. Action Research takes a spiral procedure of planning, action, and fact-finding\(^3\) about the result of action. Action Research is concerned with individuals as well as the culture of the group. Members of the group take responsibility in their decisions and actions throughout the process of constructing and reconstructing their culture (Kemmis and McTaggart, 1988).

According to Whyte (1991: 7), PAR is "a powerful strategy to advance both science and practice" by involving members of the research community as co-researchers throughout the research process. They participate in identifying the research problems, designing the research project, gathering and analysing data, and acting on the outcomes of the research. PAR is a collaborative process aiming to utilise research as "a tool for joint problem-solving and positive social change" between the researcher and the local practitioners (Schensul and Schensul, 1992: 163).

Distinctive features of PAR are summarised by Maclure and Bassey (1991) as follows:

(i) there is shared ownership of the research enterprise with the local practitioners involved as co-researchers in most or all aspects of the research process;
(ii) the method involves community-based learning with reflective dialogue through collaborative investigation or experimentation; and
(iii) community-initiated action is achieved by applying what the local practitioners have learned.

Although the competence of local practitioners as co-researchers has been questioned, especially by positivists, cultural knowledge is best derived from the local

\(^2\)Kemmis and McTaggart (1988: 5) define action research as "a form of collective self-reflective inquiry undertaken by participants in social situations in order to improve the rationality and justice of their own social or educational practices, as well as their understanding of these practices and the situations in which these practices are carried out."

\(^3\)Lewin (1946) explains that 'fact-finding' as reconnaissance has four functions: 1) to evaluate the action that occurred, 2) to gather new general insight, 3) to be used as a basis for planning the next step, and 4) to be used for modifying the 'overall plan'.
practitioners’ experiences, especially when the aim is to devise a culturally appropriate curriculum for the local school.

Whyte (1991) differentiates PAR from other action research strategies in terms of its social research methodology, the participation in decision making by lower ranking people in organisations and communities; and the socio-technical framework of behaviour.

First, according to Whyte (1991), the position of PAR in social research is that of an applied science. In pure science, the social researcher is not directly involved in action but only in discovering basic scientific facts or relationships. However, in applied science, research and action are closely linked to each other. In applied science, therefore, ‘research advances science as well as producing practical results’ (Whyte, 1991: 8). Aiming at practical objectives distinguishes PAR from ‘participatory research’ that has no action objectives.

Secondly, in American research history, managers have come to recognise the importance of worker participation in decision making. According to Whyte (1991), in PAR the idea of worker participation is further advanced to the participation of both management people and workers in the process of decision making. In other words the dynamics of the organisation or community are discussed and interpreted so that actions can be taken by both managers and workers. The idea of PAR therefore contrasts sharply with a top-down model of research in which professionals devise solutions for low-ranking groups of people.

Thirdly, in the socio-technical framework of a workplace, factors such as behaviour rather than technology should be considered. Whyte (1991) posits that both social and technological factors need to be integrated in order to understand behaviour at work. In order to integrate technological knowledge in social research, the researcher tries to learn "something about the technology from those who create it and those who implement it" (Whyte, 1991: 12). In other words in whatever workplace (e.g., industry, agriculture, or even schools), the practitioners of the technologies (or particular skills) are treated in PAR not as passive informants but as active participants and co-researchers.

**Research at Maiwala Community in PNG**

Interaction involves two-way communication. Good communication cannot be established in six mornings but takes considerable time, depending on the researcher's capability to adapt to a new situation. My association with the Maiwala community began in 1990. The members of the community, especially the local vernacular preparatory school teachers, shared with me, a literacy consultant and trainer, the problems of establishing their school. We have since kept in touch in workshops and in-service courses, as well as through correspondence. I therefore built up my sense of belonging to the Maiwala community, even though I had never lived there. With this sense of 'bonding', I went to live in the Maiwala community and conduct research in 1995 and 1996.

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4 Whyte expands this principle to agriculture and refers the term ‘technology’ in industry to agricultural engineering.

5 Vernacular preparatory schools are community based schools for children prior to their entry to grade one of the primary school. The main purpose of the vernacular preparatory schools is to teach literacy and basic numeracy in the local vernacular, as it is too difficult for the children to learn in a foreign language such as English from the beginning of grade one.
During my research, I chose to stay with families in the community in order to observe any relevant incidents at any time of the day. However, the members of the community were hesitant to have me stay in their homes, as no expatriate had ever lived with them before. They also had a stereotyped view of an expatriate from their previous experiences of working for the missionaries who lived on a mission station. Z mentioned her concerns thus:

We are worried about your accommodation. You will not feel comfortable in our homes, because of mosquitoes, no tap water, dust during the dry season, and muddy ground and flooding during the rainy season, and many other inconveniences.

Despite their worries, finally one of the preparatory school teachers offered her home for me for the first two weeks. I went to town with her and bought some of the favourite and essential food items of the local people for sharing with the teacher and her family. In addition to the food, I took a minimum amount of my own gear to her home.

During my first two weeks at Maiwala, I participated in the normal, everyday life. I slept on the hard floor without a mattress, bathed in the river, and ate all the local foods that my hosts prepared. Everybody in the community was very curious and watched my every movement, or asked the host family members how I was, and what I was doing. They observed me as much as I observed them.

Then another preparatory school teacher opened her home to me for the following two weeks. Her worries disappeared when she learned from the first family that I ate everything they prepared. This time, I took my solar panel and all the connecting gear to run my laptop computer. Everybody was curious again, and many people came to see my gear. While staying with the second family, the hostess commented about me and said, “You are not a ‘dimdim!’” indicating that I didn't fit the stereotyped model of an expatriate.

Through the experiences of having me in their homes, these two teachers were able to demonstrate to others that they did not find it a problem to have me live with them.

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6 For example, they recalled them preparing the missionaries’ bucket shower by boiling hot water and mixing it with cold water. They also knew that expatriates have their toilet and bathroom facilities inside or adjacent to their houses.

7 I estimated my stay with each family should be two weeks optimum. As a result, it proved to be the most acceptable length of stay for each family as well as for myself for the following reasons: 1) Every host or hostess thought that a two week period was not long and wouldn’t be burdensome to him or her. 2) Some families organised their children to behave well during my stay with them. However, such a high expectation could not be expected to last long. In one family, children began to show their normal behaviour after three days, while other children in another family after ten days. By the end of two weeks with each family, I was able to observe and assess the real situation of each family. On the other hand, some other families continued their normal everyday life while I was present.

8 I chose to do so, as I knew that people from other communities used to bring some food to Maiwala when they came to preparatory school teacher training workshops. Some of my western friends hardly give anything to the host or hostess of a family where they stay. However, as a Japanese, I felt it appropriate for me to take a fair amount of food as gifts. As a result, it was the right thing to do in the Maiwala culture, and I was accepted as a person who knew her way. The kinds of food I provided for each family were rice, flour, sugar, salt, tea, coffee, cordial, oil, milk powder, hard biscuits, and sometimes leftover margarine, jam and butter from my stay at the SIL Diwala Centre.
The longer I stayed in the community, the more the people of the community became relaxed about having me among them. As a result, several families expressed their wish to have me stay with them.

While developing personal relationships with the people, I conducted participant observation and informal interviews. Participant observation is not based on existing theories or hypotheses, but aims to "generate practical and theoretical truth about human life grounded in the realities of daily existence" (Jorgensen, 1989: 14). Through participant observation, I aimed to describe not only the patterns of assessment strategies in everyday life but also various features of the people's thoughts behind assessment strategies.

When I moved into each home, I explained to the host or hostess of each family what I intended to do. I also told him or her that I would write stories from what I observed. I then asked him or her to read and check all the stories in order to make sure that I understood each incident correctly. I also assured him or her that I would keep confidential the written materials of each family, and would not show them to anyone from another family. Thus the host or hostess of each family checked every entry of my data written on an index card (7.5 cm X 12.5 cm). At first, most hosts or hostesses just said 'OK' after reading my data. However, after a few days, he or she began to comment or ask me questions, as illustrated in the following examples:

While staying with V, she asked if I was going to make a book with all that I had written during my stay with her. I explained to her that only some of the stories would be used, and assured V that real names would not be used but would be represented by alphabetical letters, in order to protect each person's privacy.

At V's home, after reading several stories, V said, "It's so true, what you have written."

While writing my data, I sometimes asked questions, especially when I was not sure if I understood correctly from my observations, or if I could not understand at all what was going on. I also asked why certain incidents had happened.

My participation in everyday life involved not only involvement in activities, but sharing and thinking about problems with the people:

Both Z's son and daughter went to Maiwala Preparatory School. Her son was taught by the syllable method, while her daughter was taught by phonics. Although her daughter could work out spelling by sounding out, her son couldn't. Thus Z thought that her son could not spell words in English. Z was glad when I asked if she wanted me to check the spelling abilities of her son and daughter. As I checked their stories written during the book week at school, her daughter had numerous spelling mistakes while her son had none. I praised the work of both and encouraged them to polish up their stories by process writing. Then I keyboarded their stories onto the computer and printed them out page by page. Both children drew pictures on each page for their respective stories. When I stapled and completed each book, not only the children but also Z were extremely encouraged and happy. One day Z called in to see me at P's place. Z said that her son's teacher at community school had told her that her son was now improving in his school performance. Z said, "Thanks to Yasuko for her encouragement to him while staying with us. I was underestimating my son, and was a discouragement to him before she came."

Others also thanked me for the opportunity to have me stay with them, for various reasons:

One evening while everybody was eating, S's sister said that they were having fewer visitors to their home since I had come to stay with them. They used to have many visitors all day who came to enjoy music from their stereo player, and
so they consumed cordial, tea and sugar very quickly. So S's sister was glad that these items had lasted longer during the two weeks.

One day when Z was visiting P and myself, P said to Z that her brothers refrained from coming to borrow sugar, etc., since I had come to stay with her and her family. She said, "Thanks to Yasuko, we've saved some money." P was also glad that her two brothers stopped smoking on the verandah.

On the last day of my stay at T's home, T said to me, "We will not have a big light any more. While you were staying with us, we were able to save K1 from not buying kerosene. What are you going to do with the solar panel, when you go back to Australia?"

My research at Maiwala began with developing personal relationships. Participant observation is to understand and describe the researched. However, I disagree with having status distinctions between the researcher and the researched. With my past unhappy experience of being treated as a subject of the research, I did not want the Maiwala people to feel the same way as I did. Rather, I wanted them to be my partners in the research. While I was trying to understand them, I also wanted them to understand me. I believe that healthy human relationships are built on two-way communications.

Thus a close relationship of trust has developed between myself, the researcher, and the local people of Maiwala community, as co-researchers. Such a trust relationship is crucial to successful PAR. This kind of relationship was created by my willingness to learn to live my life with the local people, and my openness to sharing the observational data with the host or hostess of each family. As I opened myself to the people, they began to open themselves to me. Through this close relationship, the people, especially the families with whom I stayed, became aware of their role in solving the problems of the closing down of their vernacular preparatory school, and the inefficient assessment strategies used at the local community school. As a result, they were directly involved as co-researchers in the process of seeking solutions to these problems. Thus participant observation has become an essential part of PAR.

**Developing an Appropriate Research Process**

The process of my research at Maiwala began with my positive attitude towards the Maiwala people. Although some early missionaries described the Papuans as lazy (Garrett, 1992), others praised the capabilities of Papuans in adapting introduced ideas and taking responsibility for their own actions (Williams, 1972). Among the Papuans, the Maiwala people are said to be one of "...the best organised and have one of the closest-knit communities" (Loney, 1995: 33). I myself have known the excellent organisation of the Maiwala community through the vernacular preparatory school workshops and inservice courses I have attended there.

I was able to put my own positive attitude into action by participating in everyday activities and showing the participants my data for them to check its accuracy. I did not intend to conduct research as a superior researcher. Although I was becoming an 'inside-outsider', I did not have full confidence in interpreting particular incidents accurately. Therefore I humbled myself in order to learn from the local people. I respected them for their knowledge and understanding of particular incidents. Through the process of sharing of my data, further comments and discussions emerged. These interactions contributed to the development of a trust relationship between the local people and myself. Sharing of my data also contributed to their awareness of their problems and their positive role in solving them, as illustrated in the following example:

One day when Z finished reading a few cards, she said, "Now I really understand what you mean by ‘assessment’."
Thus the local people and myself have established a shared, interdependent way of research. They have commented that I am a ‘keduluma Maiwalei’ (woman of Maiwala), and have come to recognise that they also are conducting the research, as co-researchers with me.

The research process is one of continuous learning by observing one another. There is no superior researcher and inferior researched. The people contributed to me by sharing their lives with me. In return, I contributed to them by sharing my observational data and my perceptions. Reading my data made them think twice about what had happened and often developed into further discussions. Although asking many questions is not a part of the local culture, my frequent inquiries prompted them to think in ways they had never thought before.

The research process often requires the researcher to question ‘why’ certain things are occurring. However, in the everyday life of the Maiwala community, people seldom question ‘why’, but passively accept the situation as it is. Therefore the western method of research is not a part of the local culture, as illustrated in the following examples:

Early one morning at about 5:30 while most people were still in bed, there was an earth tremor for about two seconds. C explained that in the olden days (his grandparents’ days) people used to throw any kind of leaves out of the house when there was a tremor. If they didn’t, they might not have plenty of harvest. "But," he said, "they have stopped doing it." I asked him why they stopped it. He said, "I don’t know. They had a funny belief."

One evening Z cooked and served a crab caught by her present husband. Z explained that traditionally children were not allowed to eat crab. She said that her children could eat fish instead. Z explained that her grandmother had taught her and her brothers that eating crabs would cause children to have a stomach ache, especially girls, or girls’ future children. On the following day, I asked Z if she tried to find out why her grandmother taught such a rule. Her answer was ‘No’. I also asked why her youngest child from her present husband was allowed to eat crab while her other children from the previous husband were not. Her answer was that there was not such a rule in her present husband’s family and her youngest child has been eating crab since she was small.

On the other hand, the introduced method of research by questioning ‘why’ has been appreciated:

One day V commented on my frequent inquiries and said, "You’ve asked me many questions! It was hard for me to answer some of the questions you asked, as I wasn’t used to the questions like ‘why . . .’ But it was good that you asked, as I began to be able to think many things about teaching and assessing my children. So I want to thank you for staying with us."

Their appreciation indicated that I did not impose a western method of research, but introduced it naturally through interaction with the local people during the course of normal everyday life. While I was observing and questioning them, they were observing me and began to question me as to why I did certain things:

The day before I moved from V’s home to T’s home, I visited T’s home to see where my solar panel should be placed. A few days after I moved into T’s home, she said to me that her husband was wondering why I came to see where to put a solar panel. I explained to her that I had to organise it in the previous three homes as young men were not helpful. T said that she and her husband have helpful boys and I did not need to worry about it. Indeed, their boys helped me move my gear from V’s home and put up my solar panel very efficiently.
As discussed already, developing close relationships and exchanging ideas are important parts of the research process in the Maiwala community. Such a process takes time and cannot be accomplished in a defined time frame. In PNG, people generally have a concept of flexible time. At Maiwala, some people own a watch or clock, but there is no strict time schedule except at the local primary school. The flexible time frame also applies to the research process. If the research has to be conducted within a certain time frame set by an expatriate researcher, the research could be distorted. In order to conduct research with the local people as co-researchers, the researcher must fit into the local people's time frame. I have learned the necessity of flexible time for conducting research from my past experience with the preparatory school teachers when developing culturally relevant teaching strategies in 1992 and 1993. During the research in 1995 and 1996, as an 'inside-outsider', it was easier for me to fit into the local people's time frame.

The research I conducted at Maiwala is owned by the Maiwala people, and I am a part of them as an 'inside-outsider'. My role in the research was that of facilitator, recording what I observed, and getting the local people to check if my observations and interpretations were correct. Fitting into the local people's time frame, I frequently reviewed my data for initial theory formation before moving on to the next stage of research. I shared such initially formed theories with some of the preparatory school teachers, who were the key people in developing assessment strategies. In the Maiwala culture, they usually don't say when a respected person has made a mistake. Although I was a respected expatriate who worked with them as literacy consultant and trainer, I was able to develop a close personal relationship with the people while living and sharing with them. Thus they checked my data and told me if I had misunderstood or misinterpreted my observations.

After the research, I, as a facilitator, have a responsibility to report the outcomes of the research, and my co-researchers expect me to do it. Although the local people took the part of co-researchers, ‘writing’ was something I did from the beginning as none of the co-researchers had ever thought of writing a report. Rather, they were glad that they didn't have to do it. Despite the nation-wide promotion of vernacular literacy and later transfer to English literacy in PNG, most people in Milne Bay Province, even the staff of the local education office, cannot be bothered to communicate in writing but prefer oral communication.

Conclusion
Research at Maiwala community was a time of sharing and thinking together. Although the Maiwala people had known of their problems, they had never thought of their active involvement in solving them. As the western process of research was not a part of their culture, I did not want to impose such a process on the local people. As it turned out, however, it was introduced slowly through the natural processes of personal interaction between the local people and myself. Although such a process of thinking together was new, it was appreciated by the people in the end. In other words, I contributed to them through a process of research that became a meaningful part of their everyday lives. In turn, the local people gave me insights into their feelings and thoughts in relation to their changing culture. As a result, the local people and I were able to conduct collaborative research and solve problems successfully.

Bibliography


APPENDIX THREE

COMMUNITY-BASED CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT
IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA: A CASE STUDY

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Introduction

In recent years in Papua New Guinea (PNG) there has been a nationwide promotion of vernacular literacy for all ages. However, the teaching and learning of vernacular literacy is not an easy task for a nation of 860 languages, as vernacular literacy for oral languages involves setting up their orthography, preparing materials and training teachers. These time-consuming tasks only can be successfully accomplished by collaborative work between the local people and expatriates.

This paper presents a case study of collaborative work in establishing a vernacular school for young children. When I began work as a literacy consultant and trainer with the Maiwala people in 1990, I also initiated an associated research study (Nagai, 1993). It was not conducted using a conventional style of well-planned or well-organised inquiry. Rather, it was an experiential process of collaborative inquiry tailored to the Maiwala people and myself. It also was a process of developing a close human relationship between the people and myself. On the basis of this first study, I explored other possible approaches to research methodology. Then, I returned to Maiwala to conduct the second study in 1995 and 1996.

During the first study, we developed a curriculum and a method of teaching for the Maiwala Vernacular Preparatory School\(^1\), and for a teacher training programme for the Milne Bay region. During the second study, we developed methods of assessment and evaluation within the same curriculum.

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\(^1\) Vernacular preparatory schools are community based schools for children prior to their entry to grade one of the primary school. The main purpose of the vernacular preparatory schools is to teach literacy and basic numeracy in the local vernacular, as it is too difficult for the children to learn in a foreign language such as English from the beginning of grade one.
Through the processes of these two research studies, the Maiwala people and I have made a break-through from the typical relationship between the expatriate as a ‘superior researcher’ and the local people as the ‘inferior researched’. This paper commends the advantage of having the local people as co-researchers in the development of research methodology as well as in the development of a school curriculum and a teacher training programme.

**Education in PNG**

Since Western schooling was first introduced by missionaries in the late 19th century, PNG has had a history of changing education and language policies. Initially most primary education was provided by various church missions. In the mission schools, the local vernacular or lingua franca of that region was used as the language of instruction. On the other hand, colonial governments used English in government schools. Then, after World War II, the Australian government established the first curricula for the territory of PNG that emphasised the teaching of English. After independence in 1975, the English language policy continued, due to the resistance to change by influential expatriate staff of the University of PNG and various Government departments. As a result, children lost their control over thinking and expressing themselves freely in their first language:

> [In the school] all conversations had to be in English despite the fact that at this stage I had no English vocabulary. Teachers made sure we followed this 'golden rule' . . . Children caught breaking this rule were punished with grass-cutting, extra work or smacks. I remember being completely inhibited during my first years at school. I could no longer chat idly with my mates. . . I was like a vegetable. I was controlled by the limits of my vocabulary. My days were spent listening to my teacher. Many questions I wanted to ask remained unasked because I did not have the ability to express them in English. Eventually, I found it much easier just to sit and listen rather than attempt to speak, so I sat and listened. (Giraure, 1976: 62)

The problem of the English policy was becoming acute, and many parents began to complain about the alienation of their children from community life and local culture. As a result, teaching in the vernacular prior to commencing primary school began in the North Solomons Province in the late 1970s. It was not to replace the existing English policy, but to "ease children's transition from home into a Western-inspired education system" (Delpit and Kemelfield, 1986: 7). This Village Vernacular School (later, called Vernacular Preparatory School) inspired other provinces such as East New Britain and Enga to make similar adaptations.

Thus the original ideas of vernacular education grew out of the need of local people as a bottom-up model. However, it was promoted by the PNG government as a top-down model when vernacular education was officially recognised as part of the education policy in 1986. Once it had become a nationwide policy, everybody was expected to turn around and believe that "knowledge of local history and tradition is best transmitted through the mother tongue" (National Department of Education, 1986:18). Moreover, every community or language group was expected to begin their own community-based vernacular school.

For example, in Milne Bay Province, the officer in charge of vernacular schools at that time was very keen to start several around the Alotau area in order to show advanced progress to visitors more easily (Nagai, 1993). When I was asked to assist to get such schools going in three communities around the Alotau area, I discovered that the people of these communities lacked conviction of the necessity for such a school. However, Maiwala was different. The officer did not count on them, but the community caught on to the idea of vernacular preparatory school and asked for the officer's assistance. Although he could not offer financial assistance, he suggested to the community that they seek assistance from me, a literacy consultant, for materials production and teacher training.
The Government policy on children's vernacular literacy has developed further in recent years. From the late 1980s to 1993, initial vernacular literacy was encouraged through one year of vernacular preparatory school or grade one of primary school throughout PNG. Then, in 1994, a new system of three years of initial vernacular education was established prior to transfer to English language education.

The Research Community

A choice of a research community is often justified by various reasons. In this research, however, I simply chose Maiwala community because of my close association with the people there. I sensed my on-going association with them right at the beginning in 1990, when I was invited to help them establish their vernacular preparatory school. Since then, I have developed a sense of belonging or 'bonding' (Brewster and Brewster, 1982) to the community. I believe that 'bonding' is crucial to the understanding of social interaction from the insiders' point of view.

The Maiwala community is one of 860 language/culture groups in PNG. It is a small community with a population of approximately 550. It is situated at the neck of Milne Bay, as shown in Figure 1. Members of the community speak the Maiwala language that belongs to the Taupota language family in Milne Bay Province. Many of the older people at Maiwala also speak Kwato Suwau, the mission language developed and used by the Kwato Mission.

During my association with the members of the community, I have discovered the unique features of the community during this period. One of the unique features of the Maiwala community is the writing of their language. Oral languages were often written first by outsiders who were non-native speakers. However, it was the Maiwala people who first wrote their own language themselves in 1990. They also had strong ideas on the spelling of their language.

Another unique feature is the Maiwala canoe. In the pre-missionary days, Maiwala warriors were the fiercest in the Milne Bay region. However, today Maiwala is known as one of the best organised and closest-knit communities (Loney, 1995). Moreover, Maiwala people are the only people who paddle canoes without outriggers in Milne Bay Province. Because of the community being spread along the Maiwala River, and there being no bridge over the river, canoes are an essential part of everyday life. The Maiwala paddlers won the canoe race at Samarai during the Pearl Festivals held in 1973 and 1995. Maiwala people's pride in paddling a canoe is well expressed in the following song:

Maiwala wanna wam ahiahina.
Lava hai ani hakwa.
Ta duhuna gogona, ta voevoe.
Apaiaina vigeduwei?
Apaiaina vigeduwei?
Haugana ma apo tau.

(Maiwala canoe is an excellent canoe
For the people to ride.
Let's sit down together and paddle.
Who will be the captain?
Who will be the captain?
I may be the one.)

2 Although the glottal stop occurs frequently in the Maiwala language, the native speakers did not want to mark it with an apostrophe. When a linguist, without careful analysis of the language, tried to persuade them to mark glottal stops, the Maiwala people resented the linguist's behaviour. They also wanted to use a digraph ('gh') for the velar fricative sound rather than a single letter such as 'x'. I respected the Maiwala people for their ideas, as they are the owners of the language. However, they appreciated my help in determining word breaks and appropriate punctuation marks (Nagai, 1993).
Tailored Research Methodology

In universities, research methodologies are taught to the students, who are expected to put the theory into practice in their subsequent research. My approach to research methodology, however, was the other way around. I put my practice in the field into theory at university. In other words, my research methodology did not begin in a university classroom but in my experiences. For example, I did not choose to use participant observation because I agree with its theory. Rather, on the basis of my own experience, I am convinced that it is the best way for me to learn about different cultures and languages. Throughout my learning, I have made frequent inquiries. Such informal interviews in a meaningful context also have helped me to understand implicit meanings embedded in culture and language.

My experience of participant observation and informal interviews began in 1973 when I stepped out of Japan. Ever since I have learned to live among different kinds of people: Australians, Australian Aborigines, Americans, and the people of PNG. As I moved from one culture to the other, I tried to learn to speak the language and adapt to the lifeways. By doing so, I have experienced and learned that every culture has its uniqueness, and within the culture, there exist unique individuals.

There is a tendency among my colleagues to apply the same method of teaching or the same method of research elsewhere in the world. However, I disagree with the assumption that a method that works well in one situation should work in another. There may be very similar situations. However, it would be extremely rare to have identical situations especially when different people are involved. If we respect each culture and acknowledge its uniqueness, we should not fall into the situation of imposing one particular approach in other settings.

However, history tells us that people in PNG went through a period of being dominated by European missionaries and colonial administrators. Under European
domination, people in PNG were expected to learn European ways that were considered superior to the ways of local people. Both missionaries and colonial governments did their best to educate the local people in European ways. For example, the founder of the Kwato Mission, that influenced the Maiwala community, considered that local people needed "the virtues of the evangelical middle class family -- industry, polite speech, cleanliness and sportsmanship" (Garrett, 1992: 38). Colonial government also expressed the necessity of educating the local people up to the standard of the Western civilisation that was considered "incomparably richer than the native's" (Williams, 1951: 3).

Thus, local teachers were taught English language and culture, and in turn were trained to transmit it to the children. Through this education system, relationships between 'superior' Europeans and 'inferior' locals became deeply rooted in PNG. Even now, the majority of expatriates still expect to teach local people, and local people still expect to be taught by expatriates. However, I could not accept that I was one of the 'superior' expatriates who should teach local people who were 'inferior'. It was mainly because I strongly agreed with my university lecturer in Tokyo who warned us in late 1960s, saying: "You should not give out your knowledge like shop assistants in a delicatessen, who sell luncheon meat bit by bit." I did not deny that I knew many things that the local people didn't know. At the same time, I also could not deny that I didn't know many things that the local people knew. Therefore, when the Maiwala community invited me to come to teach those who wanted to become teachers, I also wanted to learn from them. I believe that teaching is not just to deliver one's stored knowledge, but to learn to determine what is appropriate for teaching and to encourage and support students' learning. Hence, I needed to develop not only a method of teaching but also a research methodology that would suit the Maiwala setting.

**First Research Study**
The Maiwala community did not choose me as their trainer without checking who I am and what kind of work I do. When the local Department of Education told the Maiwala people to contact me, a couple of women (Z and G), who wished to be trained as vernacular preparatory school teachers, came to visit me. They were delighted to see the big books we had made in another community, and wished to make such books in Maiwala. When I briefly showed them how to use a big book for teaching, Z said, "Oh, that's the way we teach children at home!" Then they decided to join the women of the other community in book production.

Z was a trained and experienced primary school teacher. As she used to teach children in English, she knew the children's difficulty in learning a foreign language. In the late 1980s when the promotion of vernacular literacy became widespread in PNG, Z also caught on to the idea of teaching Maiwala children in the Maiwala language. Later Z told me that she had previously been to another materials production workshop for vernacular preparatory school. She said, "The teaching method was dull and stories were not interesting. So I was looking for something more exciting and relevant to our ways of teaching." When I heard this, I immediately knew that 1) Z was taught an

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3Expatriates have often asked me how I have trained vernacular school teachers at Maiwala. When I said that I have trained them, or rather assisted them to develop skills to 'think', many of them said, "Oh, it's a big job! We don't have time to make them think. It's a lot easier to give them what we think is best." On the other hand, when I was encouraging the trainee trainers to think for themselves how to keep a record of assessment, many of them said, "Why don't you tell us what to do like other lecturers?"
analytic method\(^4\) that teaches fragments of language, and 2) Maiwala people learn things in a meaningful context.

In everyday life at Maiwala, children learn by observing their parents. In return, parents allow their children to learn by personal experience through trial and error in a meaningful context. Parents also explain verbally and show them how, if necessary. Since Z confirmed such a way of learning in relation to the method of teaching by big books, I decided to use the same pattern of informal teaching and learning in the materials production and teacher training workshop. However, at first, Z and others did not expect such an informal approach to teacher training from me, an expatriate. Although Z and other trainee teachers identified the method of teaching by big books with their informal teaching in everyday life, they were still thinking of teacher training according to the old system of teaching at school. As a result there arose a conflict between the expectations of trainee teachers and myself, the trainer.

Here in the case of Maiwala, Z and others have voluntarily chosen to participate in the change when they found dissatisfaction in the previous method of teaching. However, they were expecting a different teaching method within the same old system. In other words, they were not expecting to alter fundamental belief systems, but to improve old ways by substitution (Spindler and Spindler, 1982; Cuban, 1988; Fullan, 1991). On the other hand, I expected a fundamental change that would involve a new regeneration (Verhelst, 1990). Nevertheless, I did not want to impose new ideas on them but encouraged them to have plenty of time to think and experiment.

Thus during the next three years, I tried to have a dialogue\(^5\) with the teachers by asking them to think what and how they wanted to teach children by using big books. I also asked them why they wanted to do certain things. They often answered that it had been that way and they had never thought about its reasons. When they had a strong idea of teaching new ways in their old system, I let them experiment in the way they preferred. In this way the teachers could discover what needed to be changed by trial and error\(^6\). Then we had another dialogue on the outcome and made some modifications for further trial. This process of involving teachers in constructing and

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\(^4\) This analytic method was based on the 'Gudschinsky method', that was developed in the Americas during the 1960s and widely used by fieldworks all over the world. This method begins with a word, as it is based on the belief that a unit that is either smaller or larger than a word is hard to focus on (Gudschinsky, 1973). This method involves five kinds of syllable drills: analysis, synthesis, identification, contrast, and word building. By repeating these drills on different syllables, more and more words are built for making short simple sentences that is meaningful. However, simple sentences built with a limited number of syllables in the early stages are often unnatural and irrelevant. Thus this analytic method is difficult for a holistic person to make sense of his/her learning.

\(^5\) Senge (1990) differentiates 'dialogue' from 'discussion'. He defines 'dialogue' as from the Greek 'dia-logos' meaning "a free-flowing of meaning through a group, allowing the group to discover insights not attainable individually" (Senge 1990: 10). He also defines 'discussion' that has "its roots with 'percussion' and concussion", literally a heaving of ideas back and forth in a winner-takes-all competition" (ibid).

\(^6\) For example, nearly forty children were kept together in one class, as in the primary school. Although I suggested the teachers divide the children into two classes, they did not pay attention to what I said. They thought that it would be better for teachers to work together in the same class. As a result, teachers spent more time in organising children, rather than giving close instruction to individual children. At the end of the school year, Z said to me, "Now I know what you meant by having two small classes rather than one large class."
reconstructing the method of teaching and curriculum was very similar to Action Research (Kemmis and McTaggart, 1988). The difference was that I involved leavers of grade eight and nine, who were not formally trained as teachers, but being trained through informal teacher training workshops. Therefore they said that they were just 'grassroots' people in the village.

Involvement of grassroots or low-ranking people, such as in agriculture and industry, as co-researchers in Action Research is identified as Participatory Action Research (PAR) (Whyte, 1991; Maclure and Bassey, 1991). My research is very similar to PAR because of the involvement of grassroots people as co-researchers, but unique in conducting it in education. At first these trainee teachers were perplexed by being given opportunities to think and express their thoughts as co-researchers. During the course of the research, however, they became increasingly involved in the collaborative process of joint problem-solving and positive educational change (Schensul and Schensul, 1992). Indeed, PAR is an experiential methodology that contributes to "the acquisition of serious and reliable knowledge upon which to construct power, or countervailing power, for the poor, oppressed and exploited groups and social classes -- the grassroots -- and for their authentic organisations and movements" (Fals-Borda, 1991: 3).

Thus Maiwala teachers and I continued to develop a method of teaching and curriculum through the workshops and teachers' inservice courses. Through this process many alterations have been made in their teaching practices. This process also became one of tailoring a research methodology specially for the Maiwala setting. However, at the end of the first study, I knew that my co-researchers were not yet fully convinced of their equal status to me, but still retained the relationship of ‘superior’ expatriate and ‘inferior’ village people.

Second Research Study
When I reviewed the first study, I recognised a few points that hindered a breakthrough to the barrier between myself as expatriate and the village people. Firstly, I lived in the regional SIL centre at Labe, 12 km from Maiwala (See Figure 1.), and commuted to Maiwala each day during the workshops and inservice courses. Although I ate everything the people served, and sat and worked on the floor with them, I did not fully participate in the everyday life of the Maiwala community. In fact Maiwala people didn’t think that I was fit to live in the community, as they had a stereotyped view of an expatriate from their previous experiences of working for the missionaries who lived on a mission station.

Secondly, I expected the local people to assume equal status as co-researchers, rather than placing myself on the same status as the local people. The local people could not believe that I had much to learn from them, as they had never seen me learn the things of their everyday life. Historically in PNG schools, English culture and language have been taught, and the local culture and language have been almost ignored. Now the recent education reform promotes local cultures and languages. However, local

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7Kemmis and McTaggart (1988: 5) define action research as "a form of collective self-reflective inquiry undertaken by participants in social situations in order to improve the rationality and justice of their own social or educational practices, as well as their understanding of these practices and the situations in which these practices are carried out."

8For example, teachers discovered that children did not become fluent readers by learning through the syllable method from workbook activities. So they looked for an alternative way. Then they began to try using phonics and we developed a systematic way of teaching sounds in a meaningful context. As a result, teachers began to see how well children began to read and write in Maiwala.
people were not fully convinced of the value of their culture and language above English language and culture. Therefore, they could not see anything that I could learn from them. For example, when I said that I wanted to learn to cook in their way, they said, "Why? You have a stove at the SIL Centre."

Thirdly, the research was conducted in my time frame. Because of my extremely busy schedule of travelling extensively in PNG, I was under constant time restraints. As a result Maiwala teachers had to fit in to my schedule. From time to time, I felt that they did not have enough time to reflect on what they thought and to experiment by trial and error. No wonder the teachers did not feel equity with me in controlling the research.

Therefore I aimed to improve on the above matters in my second study. I explained to the teachers what I intended to do. I also apologised that I had put them under time restraints during the first study, and assured them that we would work together in their time frame. At first everybody was worried about the living conditions in the community. However, the people became increasingly at ease by seeing me living there. As a result, a total of eleven different families took turns to let me live with them over a period of eight months. Every time I moved to the next family, I explained to the new host or hostess that I wanted to learn to do the things they did in everyday life, and to understand how parents teach, assess and evaluate their children. I also said that I would write stories of the family on index cards (7.5 cm X 12.5 cm) and would ask him/her to check for their accuracy. I also assured him/her that I would not show the stories of his/her family to any others. By asking him/her to check my data, I placed myself in the position of learner. At first the host or hostess just said "OK," after reading my data. However, eventually, he/she began to comment on certain points or corrected my misunderstanding on certain events, or my misspelling of Maiwala phrases. This interaction with the individual members of the community helped me build a relationship with them as co-researchers regardless of their educational background.

During my stay at Maiwala, I learned to do many things in the meaningful context of everyday life, such as scraping a coconut, making a fire, and paddling a canoe. I even owned my own canoe! I participated in the everyday life of the Maiwala community and observed the people and events. Since I was the first expatriate who had ever lived with the people at Maiwala, everybody was very curious to find out what and how I was doing. They observed me as much as I observed them (Nagai, 1996). Whatever I was doing, I almost always had someone watching me, even when bathing in the river.

Living with the people made them feel that I was not different from them. They soon discovered that I was not superior to them but inferior, when I attempted to learn many things. Especially my attempt to learn to paddle a canoe made the people think that I was a completely ignorant novice in the community. By watching the process of my learning and achievement, I began to hear comments like, "You are not a 'dimdim' (expatriate) but 'keduluma Maiwalei' (Maiwala lady)!" "Yasuko 'vigeduwei' (captain)!"

By seeing my struggles in learning, teachers began to understand teaching at school also involves learning. When having a dialogue with them about assessment and evaluation in the vernacular classroom, I shared with them my discoveries on assessment strategies in everyday life and let them check their accuracy. By doing so, they began to recognise the mismatch between their new methods of teaching and old

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9 Many of the hosts and hostesses were school leavers at grade six.

10 I did not mean 'learning' as mere acquisition of more information for teaching in the school, but a lifelong generative process of expanding our ability to produce something we truly want in life (Senge, 1990).
system of assessment and evaluation. Every time I had a dialogue with the elementary school teachers about teaching, assessing, and evaluating children, I referred to relevant events in everyday life. This exercise of bridging school and everyday life helped teachers to think clearly how they wanted to develop assessment and evaluation strategies in the school. In the past, most of the learning at primary school has not been relevant to the everyday life of the community. However, the process of developing assessment and evaluation strategies made the vernacular school teachers feel that the school and community were coming together, as the change began to take place in their belief systems.

Real change does not come about easily but involves uncertainty, anxiety and frustration (Shön, 1973; Marris, 1974). The case of Maiwala was no exception. However, during the second study, anxiety and frustration were lessened. As I lived my life with the local people, I came across many incidents that related to things in the vernacular school classroom. These incidents had been written by myself, and checked by each host or hostess. This process often developed into a further dialogue. Since I lived with each vernacular school teacher and her family, I was able to help the teachers identify the areas of change in their classroom with their own experiences in everyday life. I also encouraged them to think about the areas of change and experiment with them in their own time frame.

There also was a significant change in the research methodology during the second study. According to PAR theory, asymmetrical relationships between researcher and researched need to be broken down and transformed into symmetrical relationships of researcher and researchers (Fals-Borda, 1991). During the first study, I acknowledged the local people as co-researchers and became a facilitator or catalyst\(^\text{1}\). However, they could not fully understand my supportive role, and they expected me to tell them what to do. During the second study, I changed my approach and tried to place myself as one of the local people. I was willing to live my life with the local people and to share my thoughts with them in their everyday life. I tried my best to identify myself with the local people, rather than expecting them to identify themselves with me as co-researchers. As a result, local teachers were able to break through the preconceived asymmetrical relationship.

Towards the end of the second study, I asked three vernacular school teachers to check my paper that was prepared for a conference. By this time, these teachers were fully convinced of their relationship with me as co-researchers. To my amazement, they made comments on my paper freely in relation to their own experiences. They said, "In the past, expatriates used to look down on us and call us 'natives'. But now we know that you have respected us and treated us as equal to you." They think that I have taught them so much as a trainer, but I think that they have taught me even more to feel and think from the insiders' perspective. It was a great privilege for me to work with them and see them becoming empowered to think and act independently.

**Conclusion**

The processes of the two research studies at Maiwala gave me an opportunity to learn to be an effective facilitator and catalyst who can assist the local people 1) to develop their own curriculum, and 2) to take major roles in PAR.

During these two studies, the Maiwala curriculum was developed in the meaningful context of the local community. The curriculum is relevant to the everyday life of the community, as it has been developed by the local teachers from their perspective. Their role was not just as helpers but as major developers and users of the curriculum.

\(^1\text{Catalytic, supportive role of the researcher is one of the basic elements of PAR when working with low-ranking people (Rahman, 1991).}\)
Thus the curriculum they developed is tailored to the Maiwala Elementary School, and it was not intended for wider use. However, it has the potential for adaptation\textsuperscript{12} in other communities. In the process of adaptation, participation of the local people is crucial in order to make it their own. As I have presented in this paper, the users of the curriculum can best develop the most suitable one for themselves, while an expatriate plays the role of facilitator.

**Bibliography**


\textsuperscript{12}For example, many big books developed at Maiwala have been made available by the National Department of Education (NDOE) for adaptation in other languages.


APPENDIX FOUR

DEVELOPING A COMMUNITY-BASED VERNACULAR SCHOOL: A CASE STUDY OF THE MAIWALA ELEMENTARY SCHOOL IN MILNE BAY PROVINCE, PAPUA NEW GUINEA

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Introduction
Papua New Guinea (PNG) is a unique country in the South Pacific, especially because of its diverse cultures and languages. In fact, there are more than 860 language groups in the land area of only 462,840 square kilometres.

Since PNG was discovered by Europeans in the 1870s and 1880s, Western education has been introduced to them by various missions, and later reinforced by colonial administrators. As Western education aimed at the development of indigenous societies to the standard of Western civilisation, indigenous people have been expected to learn European culture and language (viz, German or English). Education in Western language also has a hidden curriculum of teaching Western values and ideas. As a result of the imposition of Western education, indigenous cultures and language began to be forgotten, and the children began to be alienated from their local communities.

In order to enable education to become more relevant to indigenous societies, expatriates have made numerous attempts to introduce educational change from their paternalistic perspectives. However, new ideas introduced by outsiders became superficial as they lacked the indigenous people's perspective on what kind of changes were needful and how to bring them about. By contrast, this case study presents a breakthrough in the process of educational change from the indigenous people's perspective, especially through the spiral process of Participatory Action Research (PAR).

The Initial Vernacular Education
Since cultural practices are made meaningful with the use of language (Saussure, 1983 and 1990; Bocock, 1992), losing one's language means losing one's culture and identity.
The more English was reinforced through the Western education system, the more the children became alienated from their culture:

Most of what was being taught to us was as foreign as the English language it was taught in . . . At no time were we taught about our own people. The way we lived was considered unimportant. . . So we grew up in ignorance of the value of our own community. Our heritage which had been handed down for generations was being allowed to die. As more children went to school the dying process became faster and faster (Giraure, 1976: 62-63).

As the problem grew deeper, indigenous people became aware of the necessity to develop an education system that is more relevant to their society (Matane, 1968). As a result, in the late 1970s, the idea of initial vernacular education was implemented in North Solomons Province. It did not aim to replace English education, but to ease the children's transition from the local community to formal primary schooling in English (Delpit and Kemelfield, 1985). The more the people saw and heard about the children's achievements through initial vernacular education, the more widely it spread to other provinces of PNG. Finally, in the late 1980s, initial vernacular education became the national policy.

Although the idea of initial vernacular education came from the local people in the North Solomons through a bottom-up approach, it did not take on successfully when it was introduced to other communities by the government through a top-down approach. As English education was imposed on indigenous people in the past, they were conditioned to believe that English education was the means towards economic growth and prosperity (Carrier, 1982). Now, the language policy has been turned around 180 degrees and the people are expected to make an instant change to follow the new rule. Consequently, this revolutionary change has become another imposition of an educational change that lacked the local people's perspective.

For example, in the most recent education reform, certain primary schools that have large numbers of children, such as urban schools in Milne Bay Province, have been appointed to have vernacular elementary schools attached to them. Ironically, these urban schools have decided to use English as the medium of instruction, as the children come from various language backgrounds. As a consequence, the new education system has defeated the original purpose of initial vernacular education. Moreover, these new elementary schools have to operate without teaching materials, trained teachers or even school buildings, as the local communities lacked understanding of their purpose.

The Maiwala Elementary School

The Maiwala community is one of the small communities scattered along the Milne Bay coast. It is 19.5 kilometres from Alotau, the capital of Milne Bay Province. Its population is approximately 550, and the people live in traditional houses built along the Maiwala River. There is no telephone or power supply to the community, although a few people own a generator or a solar panel. The Maiwala community has been well known for its war canoes from ancient days. It is also known as one of the closest-knit and best organised communities in the province (Loney, 1995). In recent years, the community has been in focus because of frequent flooding. Additionally, the Maiwala people are well known for their unique elementary school, which has been designated as the main centre of elementary school teacher training in the province.

The Maiwala Elementary School originally began as a vernacular preparatory school, when, R, an ex-primary school teacher caught on to the idea of initial vernacular education in late 1989. R had herself, as a child, experienced how difficult it was to learn in English from the beginning of schooling. She had also experienced, as a teacher, how difficult it was to teach children in English. She was also convinced of how irrelevant the school curriculum was to the everyday life of the local community,
and was deeply concerned about the alienation of children and the loss of the Maiwala culture and language.

When I was transferred from the Northern Territory of Australia to Milne Bay Province of PNG by the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL), the local education department advised R to seek my assistance in order to begin their school. When R came to visit me with another Maiwala lady, I showed them a big book we had made in a local language related to Maiwala. When I briefly read the book, inviting them to join me in reading, they said with amazement, “That’s the way we teach children at home!” Becoming very excited and wishing to make similar books in the Maiwala language, the community invited me to assist in their materials production and teacher training workshops.

During the workshops, I noticed that the local people were expecting me to tell them what to do. However, I confessed that I could not write stories for them, as I was new to their culture. Hence through the process of PAR, I encouraged them to be actively involved in creating their own stories. PAR is “a powerful strategy to advance both science and practice” (Whyte, 1991: 7) by involving members of the research community as co-researchers throughout the research process. Through PAR, the Maiwala people and I worked together in a symmetrical relationship for “joint problem-solving and positive social change” (Schensul and Schensul, 1992: 163). We also shared the ownership of the research enterprise through community-based learning with reflective dialogue1 and collaborative investigation (Maclure and Bassey, 1991). As a result, community-based action was achieved by applying what the local people had learned (ibid).

By encouraging the local people to play the major role in preparing their vernacular school, I was playing the role of catalyst and facilitator. As a result, the local people were able to search through their legends and recall their childhood experiences in order to find more suitable stories for the vernacular school children. As they thought of their childhood dreams and fantasies in their familiar local context, their ideas were put into writing. It was hard work thinking, writing, editing and illustrating, especially because it was the first time in history that the Maiwala language had been written down2. By the end of the workshops, forty big books had been made using butcher’s paper for the inner pages and sections from large cardboard boxes for covers. They were not stapled together as staples rust in the tropical weather, but were sewn together with a fishing line and covered by clear plastic bags that had held shirts at the local stores in Alotau.

Throughout the process of thinking and writing stories, a school curriculum was also developed by the local people. In the past, expatriates had tried to develop a culturally more relevant curriculum for the indigenous people. However, it was the Maiwala people who played the major role of developing their own curriculum. While

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1Senge (1990) differentiates ‘dialogue’ from ‘discussion’. He defines ‘dialogue’ as from the Greek ‘dia-logos’ meaning “a free-flowing of meaning through a group, allowing the group to discover insights not attainable individually” (Senge 1990: 10). He also defines ‘discussion’ that has ‘its roots with ‘percussion’ and concussion’, literally a heaving of ideas back and forth in a winner-takes-all competition’ (ibid).

2Although the glottal stop occurs frequently in the Maiwala language, the native speakers did not want to mark it with an apostrophe. They also wanted to use a digraph (‘gh’) for the velar fricative sound rather than a single letter such as ‘x’. I respected the Maiwala people for their ideas, as they are the owners of the language. However, they appreciated my help in determining word breaks and appropriate punctuation marks (Nagai, 1993).
producing materials, those who wished to become teachers\(^3\) were also able to experiment in reading together among themselves as well as with the children who had been observing the process of materials production through the windows. As a result, the curriculum was developed in the naturally relevant context of the local community, and the teachers were trained in a familiar everyday context by using familiar materials produced by themselves. Later when the Maiwala Preparatory School began to operate, their materials and curriculum were adopted by the National Department of Education (NDOE) in PNG. A teachers’ in-service package was also produced (NDOE, 1993a) with an accompanying video programme from the Maiwala Preparatory School (NDOE, 1994).

Despite the above achievements, however, the Maiwala Preparatory School was unrecognised in the most recent education reform. It was simply because the Maiwala Primary School did not have sufficient numbers of children for the establishment of a three-year elementary school. The preparatory school teachers were discouraged and the school was closed down for the year of 1995. They felt it was unfair. They also became bitter and felt hopeless. However, through my encouragement, they decided to reopen their school as an elementary school without the government’s assistance. As a result, their school was recognised as a demonstration school for teacher training for Milne Bay Province, and finally registered as a formal elementary school.

**The Development of More Appropriate Classroom Practices**

Although some other elementary schools in Alotau area have defeated the original purpose of vernacular education by using the English language, the teachers of the Maiwala Elementary School strive to maintain their culture and language. The maintenance process, however, is not just a revival of traditional customs, but the creation of a new culture by syncretising\(^4\) indigenous values with Western values. During this process, the Maiwala Elementary School teachers are encouraged to weigh up the values between indigenous culture and Western culture in order to determine the most appropriate solutions. They subtract from or add to the two in order to construct and reconstruct a new culture on the basis of their rich and ancient past (Narakobi, 1990).

For example, traditionally a Maiwala term, *teinani* was used for several occasions, such as a greeting at various times of the day. However, it has been replaced by English phrases taught at primary schooling, such as ‘Good morning’ or ‘Good evening’. Moreover, the people shortened it to ‘Goody’ placing the stress in the beginning according to the stress patterns of the Maiwala language. In order to encourage children to speak Maiwala, the elementary school teachers have invented equivalent Maiwala phrases, such as *malatomtom ahiahina* (Good morning) and *waguwala ahiahina* (good evening). It was solely the Maiwala elementary school teachers’ decision to use the direct translation of English greetings. However, knowing that I am a literacy consultant and teacher, many adults and children tried to greet me with *malatomtom ahiahina*, etc. These words are quite a mouthful to say:

One morning F brought some food to her daughter’s home where I was staying. As soon as she saw me, she said,

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\(^3\) They were leavers at grade six, seven and eight.

\(^4\) The term ‘syncretise’ as an intransitive verb means: “to combine differing beliefs,” and as a transitive verb: “to reconcile or attempt to reconcile (differing religious beliefs, for example).” The term ‘syncretism’ means: “the attempt or tendency to combine or reconcile differing beliefs, as in philosophy or religion” (Morris, 1969: 1304). Williams (1969; cited in Ashcroft et al., 1989) notes that “full independence of culture and political independence is impossible, but cultural syncreticity is a valuable as well as inescapable and characteristic feature of all post-colonial societies and indeed is the source of their peculiar strength.”
"Goody morning!  Oo!  Malatomtom ahiahina!"
[ good morning oops morning good-good-one]
(Good morning!  Oops!  Good morning -- in Maiwala.)

On other occasions among themselves, they preferred to use 'Goody morning!' or 'Goody!' During the first part of my field work in 1995 when I greeted the children who were walking to school with malatomtom ahiahina, many of them used to giggle and said nothing. However, when I greeted the children on their way to school with teinani, they immediately said teinani without hesitation. When they were passing by me, I said to them, "Uuu!" They responded, "Uuu!" without hesitation. Contrastively during the second part of my field work in 1996, I noticed that many people became more conscious of using the new Maiwala terms, and most people greeted each other in Maiwala without hesitation.

Traditionally, the term teinani was also used on other occasions, such as to say 'I am sorry' and 'excuse me'. Nowadays, however, many parents grieve for the loss of the original meaning of the term, teinani as well as the actual manners that were associated with it:

One day when everyone was eating, B (ten years old) marched into the middle of the room with wet feet. Her mother said to her,
"Hei B, egha nanaalena."
[hey B not like that]
(Hey, B, it's not like that; that's not what you should do.)
Immediately B said in English, "Excuse me, excuse!" Then she got her towel from her room and quickly walked through the middle of the room and went outside. After wiping her feet, she came into the room again. Her mother, Z was not pleased with B's manners, as Z has taught her children to wipe their feet before coming into the house, and not to march in, in front of others.

This was a rare occasion, as Z's children are all well-mannered. They usually say 'sorry', 'excuse me' and 'thank you' appropriately in English. However, Z's brother said that saying 'Excuse!' is not as polite as saying teinani:

In the olden days, Maiwala people used to bend down and walk in slowly saying teinani. Women used to hold their skirts around them to keep themselves intact as they bent over, and slowly walked behind the people. However, nowadays, people often say, 'Excuse!'\(^5\), and just march into the middle of the room or walk in front of other people.

In this way, an English phrase has been shortened and used in the place of a Maiwala phrase. As a result, the original meaning of the Maiwala phrase has been distorted by the use of the English phrase. Being well aware of the loss of traditional manners, the Maiwala Elementary School teachers consider that teaching appropriate behaviour has the highest priority. They also recognise that the children's behavioural problems often indicate the existing problems at home. In order to assist such children, the elementary school teachers visit parents casually on their way to or from school and have an informal dialogue with them. On the other hand, they avoid direct confrontation with the parents but let the children teach their parents from what they have learned at school. This kind of indirect penetration of a society with a change is quite effective (Beare and Slaughter, 1993).

The Maiwala people also grieve for the loss of a spirit of co-operation in their traditional feasting. As early missionaries did not recognise the existence of a spirit of co-operation, they discouraged feasting along with other traditional practices, such as fighting, killing and dancing (Williams, 1972). Then these missionaries tried to create a

\(^5\)Most people in Alotau area say 'Excuse!' instead of 'Excuse me'.

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team-spirit through the introduction of playing sports, such as cricket. Ironically nowadays cricket has become the obsession of many Maiwala men:

During the cricket season, most people go to the cricket ground near the church in order to play or watch cricket every Saturday, instead of going to their gardens. Z says that cricket has spoiled the life of many Maiwala people. U also said that she was not interested in cricket at all, although her husband was the chairman of the Maiwala Cricket Association\(^6\). These women usually go to their gardens rather than watch the men play cricket.

Thus, cricket has affected the whole community life. It preoccupies the indigenous people's valuable day for teaching their children gardening and fishing. In other words, an introduced change based on a Western perspective has failed to meet the needs of the indigenous people, but instead has created unexpected problems.

A spirit of co-operation has been ignored in the formal education system. As teaching has usually proceeded according to the provided syllabus, the children who needed extra help were left behind. As a consequence, this kind of teaching created individualism and competition, especially through testing for the purpose of ranking:

Z said that the same children who are ranked as bright are rewarded every year and the others all miss out. V also said that the same children who received rewards at school also received rewards at Sunday School.

Because of the negative effects of rewarding, both teachers quit giving rewards to the children at the end of the school year. As the rewarding system relates to ranking children, the Maiwala Elementary School teachers do not see it as a benefit in the process of teaching and learning. Rather, they have discovered that it is more appropriate to observe children continuously in order to assist them effectively. These teachers also pay attention to the children's behaviour that might affect their learning:

At the community gathering for the celebration of the Maiwala canoe race, many children could not eat half of the food piled up on their plates, as the ladies in charge at the table had served large amounts for them. Later, after another community gathering, many young people who did not help to prepare for the gathering came to devour the food.

One day the Maiwala Elementary School teachers talked about the children's manners. They said that children could be taught how to serve food on the table as well as how to serve modest amounts on their plates. Z suggested that the children's lunch could be served on the table and each child could learn to serve a modest amount of food on his or her plate at school.

In this way, the Maiwala Elementary School teachers tried to reinforce appropriate manners that should be taught by the parents at home. These teachers often talked about the identified areas of need for teaching and shared their ideas as to how they could best assist children in these areas. They also share mutual understanding of the purpose of initial vernacular education with the parents in order to develop culturally more appropriate classroom practices by weighing up the values between the two cultures. Therefore they teach not only Western skills and knowledge, such as literacy and numeracy, but also indigenous manners and behaviour appropriate to their culture. Thus they continue to assist children to develop their potential in the meaningful context of the community.

\(^6\)There is a cricket association in the Maiwala community, whose population is only about 550. There are five cricket teams and the membership fee is K100 per team.
Conclusion
In the past, expatriates have tried to develop a culturally more relevant curriculum for the indigenous people. However, the expatriates' perspective has not always been the same as the indigenous people's perspective. Through the example of the Maiwala Elementary School, it is clear that culturally more appropriate classroom practices are best developed by the indigenous teachers themselves. The process of planning and implementing innovative ideas that emerged from within themselves is quite effective, as the teachers can understand the need for a change, and feel responsible for the change. However, this bottom-up approach to an educational change has not been practiced widely in PNG.

It seems that the indigenous people have not been given enough opportunities to be actively involved in the process of change. If an opportunity is given to indigenous people, they have the capability of being responsible for planning and implementing an educational change. In the Maiwala example, an expatriate educator and the local people swapped their roles. While the Maiwala Elementary School teachers took the major role in the change, I played the role of catalyst and facilitator. As we worked together through symmetrical relationships, culturally more appropriate classroom practices were tailored to the Maiwala Elementary School from the perspective of the community members.

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