

Acculturation and Specificities of the Social Structure in Papua New Guinea

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Introduction ; Point of view of the approach

Among the islands in Melanesia, especially in the case of Papua district and New Guinea district in Papua New Guinea (PNG), various social structures have built because of the differences between the historical processes and the socioeconomic developments. If we look more closely, their reality is not similar at all. In the native religions, social customs, history, culture, language, and social structures, it is much easier to find differences than similarities, but there is a common social phenomena which can be observed in a wider range. In this paper, as there is not enough space to give thorough consideration to the various sides of the traditional social structures, the focus will be put on the problems related to the recent urbanization and the evolution of the cultural particularities of the area according to the introduction of the governmental policies in the fields of culture, language and education in Papua New Guinea.

In the conduction of our survey, a main concern is to look for changes of life style and regional characteristics (evaluating the historical characters, economical differentiation processes and migrations) caused by sociopolitical influences in Lae, Goroka, Mt. Hagen, and Port Moresby, where social changes have been developing rapidly. The survey is comparative through interviews and existing records.

The scope of this work is limited. Probably, it is difficult to grasp correctly the differences in this areas. Therefore, referring to some practical cases of each area, the principles of cultural and social and social changes are abstracted and set up within the framework of the social structure. It is namely in the establishment of theoretical concepts that we can operate.

Background

There is a word "Wantok" which directly expresses characteristics of Melanesian culture. "Wantok" is Pidgin English and comes from the English word "one talk" (one dialect). It seems that this word was made by white missionaries or anthropologists. It means a social or political community where the same language is used. The

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population of one wantok is, at most, only several thousand.

For example, in Papua, New Guinea, there are more than 700 different tribal languages. This means that PNG was constituted on more than 700 wantoks, and each wantok had not only a different language but also a different religion and different customs.

In the social structure, PNG differs from other Polynesian countries; it is characterized by the fact that it does not have a traditional caste system based on the centralization of power in the hands of a chief. The reason seems to originate in the social structure and the people's consciousness of values based on the geographical conditions and the historical particularities.

Historical conditions, which influenced the social structure of PNG and changed the traditional caste system, can be pointed out.

First, the fact that PNG people were suddenly forced to enter a modern society expresses the fact that modernization in PNG is not the result of a gradual approach to the outer world, but the result of historical conditions owing to western countries convenience. Therefore, the PNG people, who did not have to be conscient of any concept of nation at all, have been forced to face the realities of belonging to a nation and the need to change their values and life style quickly in order to modernize. As a result, tribal identity and national identity are not harmonized among the PNG population and this disharmony has caused excessive political decentralization and social conflicts among tribes based on wantokism.

Second, western goods, especially the abundant material brought by American stationary troops in New Guinea during World War II, triggered a Cargo Cult movement among PNG peoples. In those days they believed that any material thing was given by a spirit, so seeing that Americans had a lot of materials, they were interested in believing in the same spirit as the Americans and imitated the American behaviors. This movement itself was characterized as one of social movements and some movements developed into political power. For instance, Napidakoe Navitu in Beugainville became the source of the separatist movement of the island. These movements are due to changes of values and behaviors resulting from their hesitations toward western abundance of materials which have never been in the traditional society of PNG.

Third, churches have been active in educational activities: mainly bible classes in a wide range that have changed the religious consciousness so that more and more inhabitants have received a school education at the elementary and junior high school levels. This paved the way for new leaders to think PNG as a whole, and English was used to communicate with other tribes. As one modern factor, an academic career has gradually become to be recognized in the traditional cast system in PNG.

Papua (called British Territorial New Guinea in former days) had become a British territory in 1884, and in the same year New Guinea became a German territory. The former was put under the control of the Australian government in 1905 and the latter was occupied by the Australian army during World War I, and, since 1921 has

become a trust territory of Australia.

Before PNG was ruled as a colony, Christian missionaries and white planters had cultural influence on the natives, and it is needless to say that the educational and cultural policies carried out by administrators of dominant countries have had much influence after PNG was colonized.

Cultural policy in Papua, New Guinea

Under the circumstances that many of the tribes in PNG maintain their own culture, which is rare in the world today, they should confirm racial-identity-consciousness and try to unite and develop as a new nation, but keeping their traditional cultural inheritances.

Decentralization would be an inevitable result for cutting the difficult way. This matter is reflected clearly in the exceptionally long sentences in the PNG constitution. The section "National Objects and Principles of Guidance" of the constitution includes many sentences about culture. Even a conception of development "The Papua New Guinean Way" is stated there. Since there is not enough space to quote the whole sentence, a summary will be given here :

"The family unit is considered as the original basis of our society and every possible means should be tried in order to improve the mental, cultural, economical and social status of the Melanesian family."

"Our nation's cultural, commercial and tribal variety should be recognized as its positive strength, and it is recognized that a cultural richness and a variety that include traditional living styles and languages and that dynamic and creativity applicable to their development, should be held in high respect and comprehended."

"As for language, it is prescribed that one should make efforts in order to attain general reading and writing ability not only in Pisin, Hiri Motu (the same language as Police Motu, although Hiri Motu is used in the constitution) and English, but also in other tribal languages."

Until independence (Sept. 1975), the policy to develop PNG culture has been promoted on the base of the Cultural Development Programme which started in 1973 with A\$ 5,000,000 as support from Australia. In February, 1975, the National Cultural Council was established as a consultative organ of the Office of Cultural Affairs in the Ministry of Education, Science and Culture section of the PNG government.

"The most important aim of this council is to support the realization of the PNG national identity. This awakens the nation to its cultural inheritances, and emphasizes the fact that the ways of living of PNG people are different from other nations because of these inheritances. It means to foster the national pride and to strengthen confidence in the fact that PNG culture and style of living are as rich as in other countries." (Crawford, A. L. "The National Cultural Council : its aims and functions" The National Cultural Council, Boroko PNG, 1977, p. 31)

The National Cultural Council itself does not operate activities, but consults the

government (Ministry of Education, Science and Culture) about cultural developments, and distributes the government budget as shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Organization of Ministry of Education, Science and Culture

Ministry of Education, Science and Culture
Office of Cultural Affairs
National Cultural Council
– National Museum & Art Gallery
– Institute of PNG studies
– National Art School
– National Theatre Company
– Provincial & Local Cultural Centres
– Village Arts

In "The National Cultural Council: Its Aims and Functions" published by the National Cultural Council in 1977, there is the question, "What did Christianity give us?" and it answers as follows:

"It gave us a lot, but as for some regions, it has resulted in an unfruitful life and the deprivation of ancestral fruit which was fertile before. Now it's time, before it's too late, to fertilize the seeds which still remain only in the memories of the old men and women."

And, as a typical example, the following is noted: "For example, in the Papua Bay area people gave up some special ceremonies because a part of their essential elements were prohibited by a church. The main prohibition was the drinking of Kava and Gamada. One church made a criticism of these drinks because they were considered as alcoholic ones. Although many churches in our country criticize alcohol consumption, the first miracle in Christianity was to change water into wine in order to please the host at a wedding ceremony. If so, why does the church prohibit us to drink Kava during traditional ceremonies?"

PNG became the host country of the 3rd South Pacific Art Festival in June, 1980. At the opening of the Festival, Stephen Tago, who became PNG's Minister of Art Festival, made a speech.

Mr. Tago, who was the person responsible for the Art Festival, emphasized the importance of the preservation of Pacific national traditions and cultures and with strong words he criticized Christian missions that "destroyed many traditions" and encouraged participants of the Art Festival, "not to be ashamed of conforming their lives to their ancestral ones." (PIM, August 1980).

Almost all of the Papua New Guinean people are nominally Christians. The author of "A Certain Foreign Cult Called Christianity", published by the Institute of Papua, New Guinea Cultures, in 1975, makes an appeal for "de-colonization" and "de-Europeanization" of the church.

In 1944, the Public Library was established at Port Moresby and the Central Library was formed from the Public Library. During this process, National Archives were also established in 1957. The new library buildings were completed in the Waigani district of Port Moresby in 1978, and functions of the National Library were expanded.

The National Library buildings include the National Archives and also the Waigani Public Library. In the National Library there is a "Public Library Service" section which gives advice for the operation of the 23 national state libraries and cooperates with them as a service.

The National Library has many other departments or sections : Library Admission Service, References Library, Bibliography Service, Technical Service, School Library Service, etc. The governmental library advisor gives counsel to libraries of local government central offices about their operation and trains librarians. The National Library also has sections for PNG collections, periodical publications and a film-library.

At present, state libraries which are under the control of the state governments are established in all states with the exception of West New Britain. Each one does not have a large collection and is not open to the public, except the one in Port Moresby.

4. Language and education in Papua, New Guinea

It is said that in PNG there are more than 700 native languages, but during colonial control, beginning with the end of the 19th century, a common language, which is Police Motu or Hiri Motu, has been used beside English in Papua, and in New Guinea, but now Pidgin (Pijin), also called Neo-Melanesian, has spread as the common language.

At present, English, Pidgin, and Police Motu are used as the official languages. The only way to know the diffusion rate of these three languages is to conjecture the general tendency from the following results of the 1966 and 1971 censuses. Because of the extension of education after the independence, it is needless to say that the percentage of the following charts of language varieties among the natives seems to have been rather modified.

About other languages than English, Pidgin and Police Motu, a linguist, Mr. Wurm, points out that in the beginning of 1960's there existed 37 languages which were used by more than 10,000 people, and that 34 of them can be classified more or less into three similar language groups.

As a result of the influence brought by Christian missions, Table 2. shows eight languages have become regional common languages.

Table 2. Regional common languages and main influence of the Christian churches from England in each area :

(1) Kate (Morobe Province, Hiland)

Lutherian church

(2) Yabem (Morobe Province)	Lutherian church
(3) Graged (Madang Province)	Lutherian church
(4) Wedau (Milne Bay Province)	Anglican church
(5) Dobu (Milne Bay Province)	Methodist church
(6) Kuanua (New Britain, New Ireland)	Catholic church
	Methodist church
(7) Toaripi	Anglican church
	Catholic church
(8) Kiwai (Fri. delta)	Anglican church

Table 3. Linguistic differences statistics of PNG population (over 10 years of age) according to the 1966 census

1. Speaking ability				
	Papua	New Guinea	Total	% of pop.
English	82,853	110,483	193,337	13.26%
Pidgin	50,752	480,939	531,690	36.46%
Police Motu	109,405	9,170	118,575	8.13%
Non local population				
English	10,777	14,917	25,694	97.18%
Pidgin	4,865	12,800	17,665	66.81%
Police Motu	1,584	612	2,196	8.31%
2. Reading and writing ability				
English	65,051	101,332	166,386	11.41%
Pidgin	18,692	159,579	178,386	12.23%
Police Motu	43,165	6,145	49,310	3.38%
Non local population				
English	10,676	14,734	25,410	96.10%
Pidgin	3,632	10,316	13,948	52.75%
Police Motu	1,160	450	1,610	6.09%
— Reference —	According to the census of June/July, 1966, the repartition of local and non-local population is:			
	Papua	New Guinea	Total	
Local pop.	591,959	1,558,358	2,150,317	
Non local	14,377	20,292	34,669	
Total	606,336	1,578,650	2,184,986	

Table 4. Linguistic differences statistics of PNG population (over 10 years of age) according to the 1971 census

	Natives	Foreigners	Total
Language used at home			
English	35,648 (2.2%)	36,531	72,178
Pidgin	91,993 (5.8%)	376	92,369
Police Motu	2,127 (0.2%)	19	2,146

Other	1,459,825 (91.8%)	4,311	1,464,136
Total	1,589,593 (100.0%)	41,237	1,630,829
Spoken language*			
English	323,766 (27.4%)	40,561	364,327
Pidgin	707,125 (60.0%)	26,920	734,045
Police Motu	150,652 (12.6%)	2,779	153,431
Read and written language*			
English	288,875 (14.5%)	40,045	328,921
Pidgin	308,802 (15.5%)	20,595	329,397
Police Motu	71,694 (3.6%)	1,863	73,511
Other	217,827 (10.9%)	14,311	232,138
Illiteracy	1,106,294 (55.5%)	591	1,106,885
Note)	*Due to the fact some people speak, read or write more than 2 languages there is an increase of the total		

It appears from the above data that 91.8 % of the natives speak one of the various native languages at home. Only 5.8 % speak Pidgin at home and a mere 0.2 % use Police Motu at home. Of the three official languages, 60 % of the population speak only Pidgin and 12.6 % speak only Police Motu. This percentage highly exceeds the proportion of those who speak these two common languages at home. It is an important condition to be able to speak Pidgin or Police Motu in order to go to school or to get a job outside of the family.

The population of those who can speak English is 323,766, and 89.2 % of that population can read and write English, but 308,802 persons reading and writing Pidgin represents only 43.7 % of the population speaking Pidgin. In the case of Police Motu, 71,649 persons reading and writing Police Motu represent 47.6 % of the Police Motu speaking population.

Although there is not enough space to give detailed figures of the proportion between men and women in the above statistics, the proportion of women to the population that can speak Pidgin is 33.4 % and 31.1 % for police Motu.

The fact that the diffusion rate of Police Motu is lower than that of Pidgin is said to be due to the use of Pidgin by Australian and American stationary troops in Papua during World War II. It is easier for the English native speaker to use Pidgin in order to communicate with natives.

As for education in PNG, most of the mission schools have used Pidgin or tribe languages (about 30 tribe languages have been used for education) before they teach English. In the public schools English has been used and tribal languages have been used as supplements. The diffusion rate of school education since 1970's will be presented in the following.

It is natural that the educational system under the Australian administration was in accordance with the Australian system, but since 1970, on the way to independent government, a reform of the PNG educational system and education development have been planned. The plan is based on the advices in a report made by the Advisory Committee on Education and classifies the elementary schools in to three groups :

Member Schools, Sub-member Schools and Co-operative Schools. All together they from the Territory Education System. 88 % of public elementary public schools and official mission schools have become Member Schools, and very few mission schools have become Sub-member schools, and only about 10 % have become Co-operative schools while 2% have not determined their position.

The 1966 statistics show that there were 2823 mission schools (elementary) as compared with 449 public elementary schools. As for high schools, the number of public schools was 23, the number of mission schools was 3, and there were 3 public and 16 mission schools for teacher's training.

According to the 1971 census, the ration of men to women, who have had no school education, in the native population over 5 years old, is as follows :

Table 5. Population with no school education according to the 1971 census

	Men	Women	Total
Population	1,030,608	953,329	1,983,935
No school education	630,424	698,995	1,329,419
Percentage	61.1%	73.3%	67.0%

The number of students in the University of Papua New Guinea, which has begun to accept students since 1966, has increased from 59 in 1966 to over 700 in 1970, and the number of students in the Institute of Technology, previously called the Engineering College, in Lae has increased from 31 in 1967 to 210 in 1970.

In PNG, in 1970 the number of various elementary school pupils was 215,258 (208,420 natives), and the number of high school (including training schools) pupils was 200,266, but the number has increased since then.

In February, 1976, after independence, the PNG government adopted a five year educational plan. It was planned to promote the spread of education through a 6-year elementary school system and a 4-6 year high school system in which English was used, but in the 1970 Educational System Reform, the policy of decentralization transferred elementary and secondary education administration to the District Education Board, with the result that the realization of the 5 years plan was to be turned over to the Provincial Education Board, and would no longer be conducted as expected by the central government.

There are two kinds of public high schools : National and Provincial. Some of the Provincial Education Boards plan to introduce a two year education that would enable the students to read and write in Pidgin, Police Motu or some other tribal language. Provincial Education Boards also have the decisive power on tuition fees. In the case of the province where the most expensive tuition was required in 1979, an elementary school charged 20 kina* and a high school charged 150 kina*. (*1 Kina = 280 Yen)

Although there has been an increase in the number of elementary and high school students in the statistics, the number has failed to reach the mark set in the 1976-80 five

years education plan. As a matter of fact, the objective of the plan was to rise the number of high school students to 41,000 by 1979, but the actual educational statistics are listed in Table 6.

Table 6. Statistics of students and teachers in 1979

	schools	students	teachers	
			natives	foreigners
Elementary (Community school)	2,014	277,301	8,872	320
Provincial High School	98	34,625	880	419
Technical College	9	2,607	59	151
Skulanka (Vocational School)	83	4,524	191	89
National High School	4	1,521	2	89
Teacher's college	9	2,101	38	91
International school	50	7,325	---	263

One more matter that should be pointed out here is the fact that social science has been newly added to the provincial high school curriculum as an important subject and usual subjects such as history and civics have been withdrawn (integrated). Social science gives knowledge that the youth of an independant country should have. The seventh grade (the first grade in a high school) and the eight grade get 12 credits each, the ninth grade gets 8 credits and the tenth grade gets 5 credits.

A student who has finished the tenth grade goes on to the eleventh and twelfth grade in a national high school if he passes the requirements used by the Provincial Education Board for evaluation.

As for higher education, the University Commission, whose members were persons in contact with the universities in Australia and New Zealand, was created in 1963 in order to confer about the development of higher educational institutions including the establishment of universities.

The University Commission submitted a report in March, 1964, and the establishment of a university was agreed upon in May, 1965, with the first 80 students entering the university in February, 1966.

After that, the Institute of Higher Technology was established in Lae, but, since Australia has promoted the policy of giving vocational education, for the development of PNG, to the students who finished the tenth grade in high school, so-called post-secondary institutions received 232 students in 1966.

At present (1979), there are 9 vocational schools, which have 2,607 students, and 9 elementary school teacher's colleges (seven of them managed by Christian missions). The number of students in these teacher colleges, including Goroka Secondary Teacher's college (part of the University of Papua New Guinea) is 2,101.

The Institute of Higher Technical Education in Lae changed its name to the Institute of Technology and then became the University of Technology in 1973. The high school education system and the University of Papua New Guinea in Port Moresby provide educational programmes in all fields throughout the country.

Changes in Urbanization and Industrialization

Here, based on government policies and present conditions of culture, language and education in PNG, the problems caused by recent urbanization and the changes in the specificities of local cultures will be discussed.

In consequence, in order to understand the process of urbanization in PNG, one must begin with an analysis of the social structure based on the uniqueness of PNG's geographical conditions.

Most of the PNG inhabitants live along the sea coast, and in valleys or basins partitioned by steep mountains. Under such geographic conditions, mutual exchanges among PNG inhabitants are limited. Even now, in 1980, the road network doesn't connect the capital, Port Moresby, with the other main cities. Recently the domestic cargo and passenger transportation depends much on air transportation. PNG's airport traffic per person is one of the highest in the world. (PNG Government Office of Information "This is Papua New Guinea". 1980, pp. 5-15.)

Since PNG is a multi-racial nation, the style of living and the language are very different in local areas. However the style of living in the main cities shows few differences because of the recent developments in transportation and communication systems. Pidjin, as the national language, can be used anywhere in the cities, but not in rural areas.

In the life of the people the community awareness is very strong, and even in urban areas the ties of friends coming from the same area are also very strong; norms of life among them being based mainly on a sense of "Wantok", similar in rural areas. Due to the recent modernization of the economy class differentiation among the masses has been expanding. In urban and rural areas, dropouts who left the community society based on "Wantok" have been increasing. A feeling of uncertainty in the life of the masses has spreaded because of a deficiency of the legal system to protect them.

In June, 1980, the total population of PNG was estimated at 3,139,700 including 3,139,700 natives and 29,000 Europeans and Asians. ("Profile on the P. N. G. Government Leaders". Obtained from the Public Information Section of the PNG Government.)

Table 7. Number of Expatriates

1975	about 4,100
1976	4,800
1977	3,800
1978	3,900
1979	3,500
1980	3,700

(Source: Information Office in PNG)

According to the 1981 statistics, the total number of foreigners including their

families, who live in PNG, is about 40,000, half of whom are Australians. Expatriates who work for governmental offices number about 3,700 as indicated in Table 7. Since PNG's total number of national public officials is about 43,000, the percentage is a little over 8 percent. Judging from the fact that it was 21 percent in 1972, native employment shows a respectable rising tendency.

Since it is natural that this unstability becomes a political issue, the government has carried out a welfare policy for the purpose of social justice, but it is not very effective due to lack of funds and administrative ability. There are various social security systems such as unemployment insurance, workmen's accident compensation insurance, and health insurance. However, these systems apply to only a part of the nation such as national public officers or persons concerned with contract enterprises; mainly foreign affiliates. Fine medical facilities are provided in various parts of the country, but only the upper classes are permitted to use them.

Most of the inhabitants in Port Moresby and Lae are concentrated in slums which are called "squatter settlement houses". Housing conditions are unsanitary (when possible, water to public toilets is supplied through the water supply network, but in many cases it relies on rivers and water sellers) and crowded (usually 4 or 5 persons per room), and the rent is very high. In Port Moresby it is said that these areas have been expanding another 100 to 150 *ha.* a year.

Foreigners live in high class residential areas where the upper classes (about 10 percent of the urban population) are concentrated. In Port Moresby the monthly rent of a 3 LDK is relatively high (\$ 800-\$ 1,500 ?).

Issues caused by recent the urbanization phenomenon can be summarized as follows. Between the 60s and 70s the population flow from rural to urban areas started in PNG. Industrialization in PNG has progressed in urban areas, and the commercial and working population has been increasing. In all, the development of a monetary economy has changed the economic life of a traditional community society and increased necessities to gain money in order to purchase general goods and clothes, and to cover expenses for education even in PNG where in the traditional village society it is possible to rely on a self-supplied natural economy. Because of this, there has been a tendency to push farmers to become the labor force. This is the reason for the rapid increase in the population of main cities in PNG such as Port Moresby and Lae.

Disintegration of agriculture seems to have been started in PNG gradually. Under these changes of economic structures, the separation of social stratification based on wealth and social status has been in progress. While shifting from a traditional society to a modern industrialized society, the establishment of effective governmental organizations and local administrations should be speeded up in order to organize the new social processes. At the same time, organizations of people sharing the same interests, such as enterprises associations, Chamber of Commerce and Industry or labour unions, have been established.

As a result of this research and records analysis, it is obvious that there is an increase of unemployment in the cities and suburbs caused by the population flow from

Table 8. Sources of Funding for Provincial Activities 1982

	MUG	NFC Grant	Secretariat Salaries	Derivat'n Grant	Royalties	Cigarette Tax
WESTERN	1,063,037	330,000	53,632	41,107	100,000	18,924
GULF	1,372,717	200,000	53,632	65,463	4,800	11,940
CENTRAL	1,726,651	210,000	53,632	63,025	75,000	149,505
MILNE BAY	1,386,577	210,000	53,632	49,889	60,000	71,284
ORO	883,681	210,000	53,632	13,892	25,000	55,421
S. HIGHLANDS	3,675,140	440,000	53,632	0	14,000	21,089
ENGA	2,685,228	350,000	53,632	60,673	5,000	11,759
W. HIGHLANDS	3,049,231	350,000	53,632	636,552	20,000	108,244
SIMBU	2,943,548	300,000	53,632	244,165	0	76,042
E. HIGHLANDS	6,734,395	510,000	53,632	492,133	5,000	134,110
MOROBE	2,707,035	460,000	53,632	0	300,000	119,895
MADANG	2,150,339	260,000	53,632	135,772	100,000	60,296
E. SEPIK	1,922,211	310,000	53,632	120,181	0	52,728
SANDAUN	1,459,151	260,000	53,632	38,476	100,000	8,833
MANUS	1,341,719	100,000	53,632	93,510	0	18,682
NEW IRLND	5,294,943	120,000	53,632	99,347	200,000	48,796
E. NEW BRTN	6,537,744	120,000	53,632	146,419	550,000	171,753
W. NEW BRTN	1,166,593	140,000	53,632	243,509	575,000	39,346
N. SOLOMONS	6,463,770	120,000	53,632	304,956	3,940,000	71,972
TOTAL	43,412,510	5,000,000	1,019,008	2,849,069	6,073,800	1,250,619
MEAN,	2,284,869	263,158	53,632	149,951	319,674	65,822

Source: Transfers from National Government taken from Estimates of Revenue and Internally raised revenue for Simbu are 1983 figures.

high ground villages to cities. At the same time, in high land areas, rapid development in a variety of styles of living can be recognized by the quick penetration of a material economy in the food habits. Fundamentally, it seems that unevenness of mobility between cities and high land areas has influenced the changing process of the life structures of both.

To understand the differences between cities and highland areas, it is necessary to analyse the differentiation of social stratification, the changes of vocational social structures, and the emergence of various functional groups and interest groups in PNG, in order to recognize the uniqueness of local culture in all areas of PNG, and the reality of modernization with the changing processes of social structures in the area.

Some points which should be examined are noted as follows:

- 1) Rural-urban trade and national development.
- 2) The relationship between wantok and tribalism, on the one hand, and urbanization on the other.
- 3) The social (not physical) indicators of urbanization.
- 4) The role of plantations and mines in migration to underdeveloped countries.

Motor Vehicles	Book-makers	Maintenance Subsidy	Internally Raised	Division 248	Air Charter	Marine Charter	Total Funds
3,841	0	0	990,000	3,816,400	139,169	177,600	6,733,710
3,372	0	9,538	847,000	3,225,200	117,089	58,573	5,969,324
583,544	117,840	0	573,000	6,230,700	75,910	104,532	9,963,339
11,337	0	0	1,208,000	5,314,300	54,402	494,300	8,913,721
36,241	0	67,240	170,000	3,502,300	99,949	33,445	5,150,801
26,557	0	183,172	57,000	6,506,000	164,472	0	11,141,062
38,625	0	163,682	622,000	4,576,000	75,910	0	8,642,509
228,570	18,331	12,000	209,000	6,517,900	69,584	0	11,273,044
98,873	0	61,900	1,487,000	4,713,100	58,198	0	10,036,458
184,009	9,165	0	1,892,000	1,983,700	111,335	0	12,109,879
599,942	73,322	711,900	4,583,000	9,723,000	139,169	68,308	19,539,503
180,900	36,661	110,013	333,000	5,978,000	99,443	76,472	9,534,528
123,321	0	132,892	1,380,000	6,617,200	97,418	108,781	10,918,364
9,706	0	0	52,000	5,098,700	126,517	16,735	7,223,750
11,194	0	0	317,000	1,657,500	8,856	121,091	3,723,184
39,437	0	0	376,000	1,320,100	20,243	156,395	7,728,893
288,976	130,933	145,391	1,556,000	2,108,100	48,077	221,598	12,078,623
48,079	1,964	0	416,000	3,853,400	50,607	214,353	6,802,483
333,494	11,784	186,002	2,290,000	1,611,800	12,652	99,817	15,499,879
2,800,018	400,000	1,793,730	19,358,000	84,353,700	1,569,000	1,952,000	182,983,054
147,369	21,053	94,407	1,018,842	4,439,668	82,579	5,211,911	9,630,687

Expenditures 1982. Internally raised revenue from Downing (1893 forthcoming)

- 5) The role of women in urbanization in underdeveloped countries.
- 6) Social inequality and urbanization.
- 7) The informal employment sector and labour migration.
- 8) The nature of socialization in urban centers.
- 9) Urbanization and social services.
- 10) Urbanization and development in PNG.
- 11) Squatter settlements and urbanization.
- 12) Urbanization and detribalization.
- 13) Policies and planning for urbanization.
- 14) Roads, transportation and migration.
- 15) Education and migration.
- 16) Reverse migration.
- 17) Food and urbanization.
- 18) Crime and urbanization.

Academic Research System in South Pacific Countries

Finally, social scientific studies from Japan about Asian and South Pacific areas

is rather behind western countries. For that reason, the studies in this field require more than anything else a collection of data and documents and an enhancement of mutual exchange programs among scholars.

In this research project, urbanization in PNG and problems in rural areas (a research about local governments, social structures and cultures from a different point of view, centered on the changes in local society) have been generalized and observed and the changing processes of culture, language, educational policy, urbanization and industrialization have been brought forward.

In order to improve the study standards and study conditions of developing countries, the disposals of Japanese study research organizations are summarized by the two following points. One is a study exchange with local scholars, especially with scholars in Asian countries and Australia. The other is the opening of a symposium organized by local scholars.

(1) As for a study exchange with local scholars, "the Third Scientific Survey of the South Pacific" can be noted. This survey, in which the Kagoshima University Research Center for the South Pacific took a leading part, has been carried out three times since 1981 as a research in cooperation with research organizations in South Pacific countries.

(2) As for a gathering of domestic scholars, various preparatory works have been done toward local common surveys. One of them is the symposium supported by the Scientific Research Grant for General Study of the Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, and held with the cooperation of the Information committee of Sociology in the Japan Scientific Council and the Japan Sociology Academy. The basic theme of this symposium is "a comparative study of social changes in developing countries".

As mentioned above, grasping the present conditions in which the active role of Japanese sociologists has been naturally expected with the progress of study exchange with local scholars, and the fact that results for the achievement of cooperative studies in a country have been obtained gradually, it seems that the conditions to carry out regular cooperative study researches in developing countries by Japanese sociologists are ready. It is needless to say that this work should be done under close cooperation with local scholars.

The point to which special attention should be paid in these research activities is the documentation of social changes happening in the area, together with a comparative point of view. By giving constant consideration for a point of contact with Japanese social studies and repeating occasional debates with researchers in other fields under the cooperation of each field in sociology, the accumulation of really valuable research materials will be gained.

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