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VILLAGE BASED PROJECTS  
AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT  
IN KALA VILLAGE, PAPUA NEW GUINEA

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This paper, first presented at the GPID III meeting, Geneva, 2-8 October 1978, can be considered a contribution to the Liberation and Autonomy Processes sub-project of the GPID project.

Geneva, June 1979

Johan Galtung

### Editor's Introduction

This paper is presented as a background document to the work of the Papua New Guinea Unit. Apart from editorial changes and the addition of explanatory notes to the text, the paper was entirely prepared by John Wak, a research assistant with the P.N.G. Unit. John Wak is a second year undergraduate student at the University of Papua New Guinea who has taken a year off from his studies to work on village development projects amongst members of his own family and clan.

This paper was solicited from John Wak as part of the work being undertaken for the GPID project, but it is essentially a statement of activities that were underway before John Wak became involved in the GPID project. The value of the paper lies in the insights that it gives into empirical development situations, particularly as perceived by villagers caught up in change processes of great magnitude and consequence. John Wak is himself involved in major personal changes, consisting of a rapid translation from traditional village life to the status of undergraduate student in the national capital. Even though John Wak is a son of a village Bigman, and himself has aspirations to Bigman status, only in a very local sense could he be seen as a person of prestige let alone wealth. John's property is limited, and his cash income is negligible. While working at the village level he lives in the traditional bush houses of his clan, and experiences the same problems he has all his life of limited food and water supply, rural isolation, non-existent services and so on.

In his own image of himself John Wak has in no way made the personal transition from a member of his clan to a member of the new elite of Papua New Guinea based upon education, and the access this gives to modern sector employment and other resources. John Wak continues to define his ambitions in terms of traditional service to his community, and sees any future success and status as tied to that community.

John Wak is an authentic voice of present day Papua New Guinean aspirations for the future. The model of development that John Wak proposes would be generally accepted by the majority of Papua New Guineans; when village level development is discussed this model is at the base of those discussions. The importance of this is that it makes us aware as development planners that empirical development situations have a logic and inertia of their own which may not be amenable to easy change. Too often it has been assumed that intervention to promote an alternative development strategy is intervention in situations which are open and manipulable. Radical development strategies in particular, often suffer from the assumption that in strategic intervention there is a large margin of choice for the planners; that given a new vision producing a new direction is simple. This paper shows that this is not so: John Wak and his clans-men have a reasonably clear view of development and any intervention that does not accept this as a central feature of the empirical situation is preordained to failure. The number of such failures of radical development alternatives in Papua New Guinea are legion. The reasons in most cases are not to do with the inadequacies of the alternative visions, or the technical quality of projects, but rather can be traced to the lack of account that was taken of the existing models and desires of development of the village people.

This paper demonstrates another crucial feature of the empirical development situations in Papua New Guinea, namely the support which is given to the model described, by the major development institutions of the country. The Department of Primary Industry, the main rural development agency, local and national sources of credit such as the P.N.G. Development Bank, and the office of Business Development, all reinforce the villagers view of development, and indeed demand a certain view before assistance is given or credit advanced. From the D.P.I. this would include both promoting and supplying chemical fertilizers and weedicides, and giving advice about their use.

In this situation it is extremely difficult for alternative views to flourish. What is perhaps more important is that it is very difficult for village development workers to give credibility to alternative visions. Starting from a position of deprivation and insecurity it makes complete sense to villagers to trust to the models which are promoted and legitimated by those in authority around them, particularly when access to credit and other resources depend upon this.

While one may criticise the model of development John Wak proposes, it is not possible to ignore it, nor is it possible to ignore the necessity of working with committed individuals such as John Wak if the goal is to bring about beneficial development to meet human needs. This is a goal of greater complexity than the intellectual goal of conceptualizing needs and modelling alternative development scenarios, and it involves taking clear account of the cultural and political reality of situations where interventions are planned. This is not a philosophy of crude pragmatism, even less one of despair, but one which demands a full scientific understanding of development strategies located in their social context. Anything less than this understanding reduces development alternatives to utopian speculations.

The model of development which is implicit in this paper can be seen crudely as a classical trade dependency model, or in Papua New Guinean terms as a "Bisnis" model (see note 22 p. 18). John Wak as a land owner organizes his cooperative to produce cash crops which are used to buy commodities from outside the village, as well as a truck to transport those commodities. Crops are produced by the application of fertilizer, herbicides, fungicides and pesticides in the village. A road is constructed as the communication link for the trade dependent relationship of village and town, including the connection of the latter to the wider economic system.

An alternative self reliance model would emphasise the authentic identification of local needs through dialogues (obviously going beyond a cash income); land reform to make property available for food production; self-sufficiency and an eschewing of commodity imports; locally organized and relevant education; and natural methods of composting, green fertilizing, diverse and complementary planting, and organic pest and fungus control.

The empirical situation is in reality much messier than either of these models suggests. Land ownership in P.N.G. is extremely dispersed,ambiguous, and a source of constant and often bloody conflict. Very large individual landholdings are rare. Most villagers support themselves exclusively by subsistence agriculture on their own land, growing kau kau (sweet potato) in the highlands, and yams,and sago on the coast, supplemented by fishing. Imported food is still seen as supplementary,other than in the urban areas, although the use of tinned fish and rice is increasing. Acknowledging this the government has imposed a reduction of rice imports in 1979/80. Income from cash crops is mostly too uncertain as a basis for food buying, so in the main the villagers retain the ability to support themselves from their gardens.

John Wak has not imposed a view of development upon his clansmen, rather they share a common view. His tribe does not live *in vacuo*, it exists in a context of contact with government, missions and other agencies. This contact has created an enormous respect for the obvious material wealth of these agencies, and by derivation for the models of personal and social development they propose. Simple demonstration effects not just cargo-cult mentalities explain the success of christian mission and trade dependency development models.

In P.N.G. the government has defined self-reliance in financial terms: that is encouraging foreign investment in order to increase taxation and other derived revenue, and reduce dependency on Australian aid (currently 49% of government revenue). In this national context self-reliant models at the village level are not seen as able to influence national development with its increasing penetration by western influences in all spheres of life.

There are movements in P.N.G. which it is claimed are concerned with promoting self-directed change for the rural people: community schools, vocational centres, village development schemes, the sharing of appropriate technology and so on. Given the pattern of national development, however, and the local examples of modern sector "cargo", these movements are seen by rural people as designed to provide second rate opportunities for the masses in order to protect the real opportunities, those of modern sector employment and consumption, for the privileged elites.

Community and vocational education cannot be acceptable while it is academic high school and university education that get highly paid and high status jobs in government and industry. Appropriate technology is seen as a cheap substitute for the physical ease of the life of the urban elites, and village development is seen as a plot to keep the masses in rural squalor in order to keep the towns safe for the rich. The consequence is that development alternatives are rejected and urban migration, rural depopulation and other attendant problems increase. This is hardly surprising, for people learn by what they see and experience, and what they see is the glorification of the modern sector, and what they experience are only token gestures in their direction justified by the empty rhetoric of social decision makers.

Planners do not work in situation of either total freedom or total constraint. Acknowledging this leads us to seek messier, shorter term, more incremental, and more pragmatic development tactics. This is the strategy John Wak is working towards, accepting the increasing penetration of the modern world but attempting to direct it through commercial activities with shared labour and resources, including his land. John Wak is caught between two worlds: the village, and the relative luxury of the modern sector and an urban life-style that his education make automatically available to him. The wonder is that he has chosen the rigours of village life at this time with the sole intention of promoting rural development by his direct involvement in the life and hard labour of his people.

This paper is not intended to glorify the implicit model, therefore, but to indicate both its basis and logic, and the rationality of the response of the villagers in accepting it. If the model is to change it will only do so through experience and example, and the end product of this change will inevitably be more of a mixture of alternatives, and less theoretically elegant than many development strategies might suggest.

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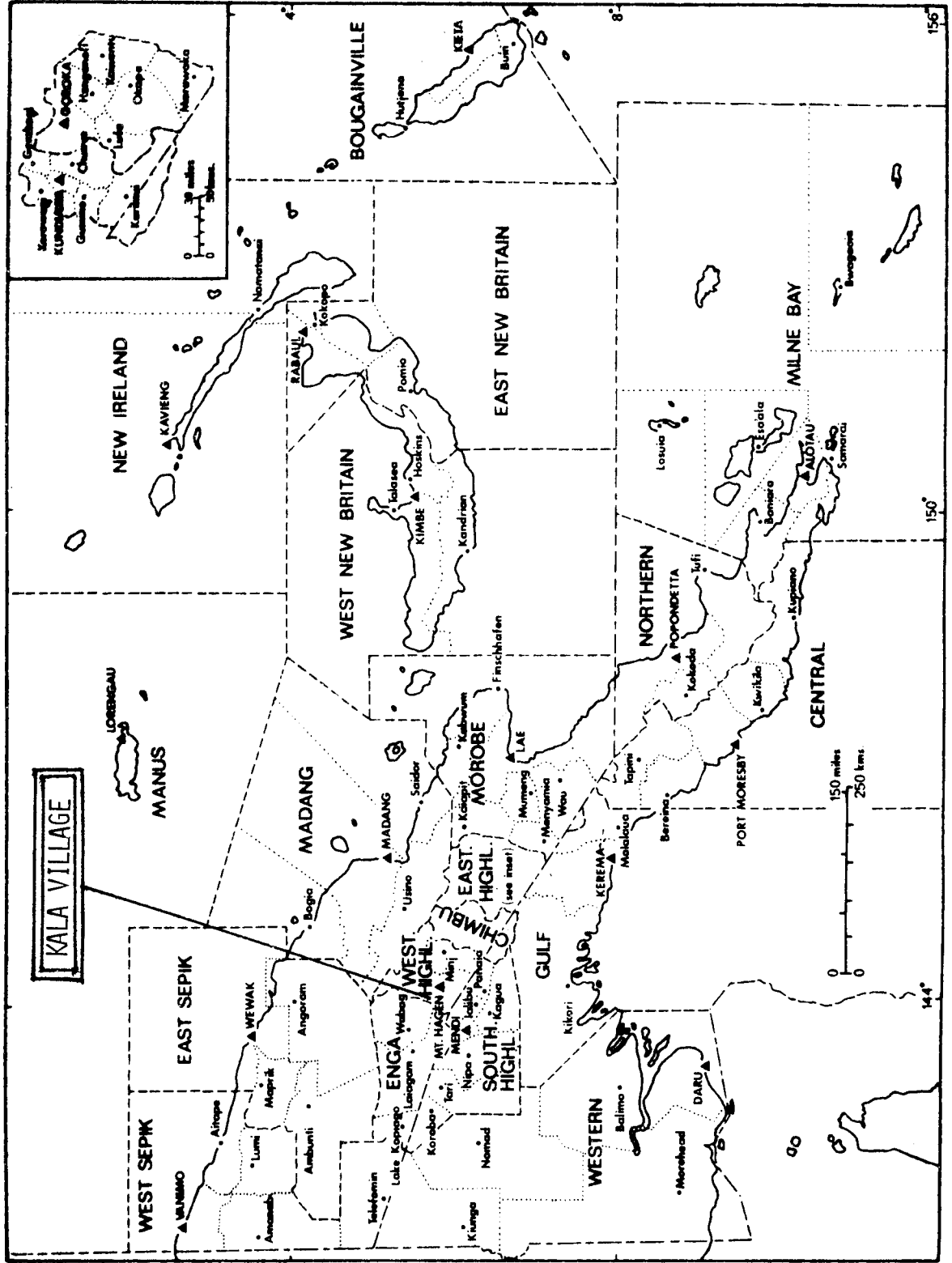
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PAPUA NEW GUINEA



Village Based Projects and Rural Development in Kala Village.  
Mount Hagen, Western Highlands Province. (1)

Introduction.

This is a background report on some village based projects. The report will mainly describe the problems that relate to or affect the projects. However, the report also examines how the projects are undertaken. The projects have been started by a village group know as "Kimminga People's Group".

In this paper we will look at the land tenure and the changes that have taken place. Secondly, we will look closely at four projects that had been started by the group, namely a road project, a weedicide spraying project, a coffee buying project, and a market gardening project. Thirdly, we will examine the impact of these four projects on the lives of the village people. Fourthly, we will investigate some specific problems of undertaking these projects. Lastly we will look at the point on problems again but will concentrate more on the access to the Government extension services.

This report, I hope will help others who want to start projects of their own to see some of the problems. This report will also help to find out the services provided by the present Government and to find out if there are any problems and to see what makes that problem exist. Overall, as I have said this report should in one way or another help others who are involved in rural development projects.

Land Tenure and Changes in Kala Village.

Kala is a village situated west of the Mount Hagen township at a distance of 5km.,

In Kala village there are four sub-clans which makes up the Moge Kimminga clan. The population of the clan is approximately 3 000 people. According to the traditional and present land distribution in the village every clansmen has sufficient land to work and enjoy life. However, some clansmen have more land than others. Why this

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happens is a question to look at now.

During the time of tribal fights or pre-contact time a powerful clan group would have no hesitation in chasing out the owners of the land and to own the land and utilize it themselves.(2) This was quite common around the Hagen area and in some other parts of the Highlands and the rest of the country. Seeing this my clansmen (Moge Kiminga) had a fight with another clan known as the Kemi Kuklika clan. The two clans had a conflict resulting from a death of a man from the Moge Kiminga clan and later took part in a fight. The Moge Kiminga clan was powerful and they chased out those clansmen and got hold of the land owned by the Kemi Kuklika clan, and thus became the owners of the land.

During that time land acquisition was a matter of choice. This is to say that a man who worked hard with his wife had more land than a man who did not work hard. As evidence I take the case of my grandfather who during the time of the takeover of the Kemi Kuklika clans' land, worked on a lot of land so that now I have the advantage of owning a big area of land. Now, apart from my brothers and my relatives I own an area of twenty acres of land. In comparison to the amount of land I have, my age-mates in the village aged between 18 - 21, have less than an acre of land.

After the takeover of the Kemikuklika mens' land, and as soon as the land was utilized, the grand children of the person utilizing the land became the owners of the land when the sole owners died. Looking at this we of the young generation of the Moge Kiminga clan face a shortage of land. This shortage of land is because of the unequal distribution of land among the young generation as inherited from their grandfathers'. This does not imply that some people or boys of my peer group do not have land. Every person has a piece of land but it is not equally distributed. I myself don't face any shortage of land because my grandfather worked on a lot of land and my father inherited it, and now I inherit most of the land from my father. I now own half of the land. The other half will be shared by my other brothers.

Generally speaking, conflicts of land tenure come from the unequal distribution of land. As an example of conflict within my own clan

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itself, I have a bigger area of land, so if one person from my clan works on any of my land my relatives would go hard on him and a conflict would arise within my clan and end up in a small fight. When having conflicts over land, these often result in a clan or tribal fight.

The lives of the village people in Kala village have changed rapidly, including how they live, their shelter, what they eat daily, what they value most in life, and what they wear.

The types of housing or houses have changed, as have the materials used. Before contact, there were no nails, paint or sawn timber. The size of the houses was small with an average of two rooms, which is one living room and kitchen and the other as the sleeping room. In others like a womens' house we have an extra pigs' room which makes up to three rooms.

There has been little or no change in the womens' house but with the mens' house nowadays, people in my village build houses of more than three rooms and the shape is different. Before the contact times the shape was a circle with a radius of less than 2metres. Now some square and rectangular shapes are built with an area of over 4 sq. metres

The food eaten ten years ago is different to what is eaten now. Before Kau kau (3) was eaten everyday. Nowadays, besides having kau kau as our staple meal, rice, tin fish, meat, and other store commodities are eaten every week.

Types of clothing are rapidly changing from traditional garments to introduced western clothes like shirts, and blouses. In my clan each family has over half of the family members in western clothing.

As far as the village people themselves are concerned the main changes as they see them are the introduction of cash crops and the provision of the local market in Hagen for selling food for cash incomes. However, there are other small ways of earning a cash income like running a small trade store.

On the topic of cash cropping, the only cash crop grown in Kala village

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is coffee (4) and apart from that some vegetables like cabbages, onions, tomatoes and other small goods to sell.

During the pre-contact times, there was a great interest in the value in the kina shell as the main form of wealth used for exchange of pigs, marriage, and other purposes.(5) After the introduction of cash crops money became the form of wealth of most importance to the village people. With the introduction of money through cash crops the lives of the village people have changed incredibly fast. Now the wealth that is valued most is money (kina) and not the traditional shell money which were used ten years ago. The people in the village say that money can get anything in the stores and in life. It can show people far away places, it can pay for brideprices and many other things. In short money is the most important item to the villagers.

#### The Aims of the Four Village Projects.

##### 1. Road Project:

Kala village is 5km west of the Mount Hagen township. It has always been difficult to have village development projects within the village because of the fact that the village is not linked by a road network. The main aim of the road project was to facilitate those developments at the village level. For example:<sup>(a)</sup> educational development; school children in the village could have a better road to use to go to and from school. The road would make it easier to walk the 5km to school.(6) (b) economic development: coffee and other cash earning goods could be transported to town easily. Besides that, small businesses could start within the village like operating trade stores, piggery and poultry projects, as well as coffee buying and market gardening projects in the village.

Looking at these points I was able to persuade the village people to build a road from the village to town (Hagen). At that time I was only 18 years old, but as I was looked on by the village people as a boy of good character my idea of building a road was accepted. Also, I was the son of a bigman in the village so the village people had to listen to me.(7) How I convinced the village people was that I told them the good benefits we would get from building the road and there was no problem in building the road.

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On the financial side, helped by my village councillor, (8) I requested a subsidy Rural Improvement Grant of K.4 000. This was K.1 000 less than the money which was needed to build the road. (9)

All the K.4 000 was used to pay for the land for the road and to compensate for coffee trees and kau kau gardens damaged by building the road. Since the labour was provided by my clansmen, I asked the council again for another K.2 000 to pay my clansmen. Of the amount of K.6 000 only K.2 000 was shared by my clansmen for labour. The K.4 000 was paid to a clan by the name of Maninga clan whose land was damaged by the road. Wherever our land, kau kau, or food and coffee gardens were destroyed we did not claim any money because we knew that after all the road would benefit us.

Looking at my role performed I think I was very successful. Firstly, I had a character respected by my clansmen, and I am also respected for my education as I am the only university educated person from my village or clan (Moge Kimminga clan). When I called on my clan for free labour and other support to construct the road project they agreed and supported me very much. One other point is that the road was mainly built by the young men or youths who supported me very much.

One minor problem faced by myself was that our village councillor did not help me in getting the RIP subsidy, and there was no organization from him to build the road. This is quite typical of councillors of the Hagen area and to be more specific, the Hagen Council. I was obliged to go ahead with the road because I am educated and can see things more clearly than other people including the councillor so I did not have any bad feelings for him, I would often talk with him and explain how things work within the Government, and raise other issues to do with the government that interested him.

It took six months to finish the 5km of road. It was started in the Christmas of 1976-77 and finished in August 1977.

During the Christmas vacation after completing my preliminary year of University studies (1976-77), I was involved in organizing the workforce. The way the workforce was organized was that I put all the young boys in one group and the middle age men in another group,

and the third group was composed of the old men in the clan. From here I got three separate groups by mixing those three age groups. Out of the 50 men building the road, I put 16 men in one group each. Among the sixteen men, 5 were young boys, 5 were middle aged men and the other 4 or 6 were older men. Each group was given 1 and 1/5th.km. of the length of 5 km.

The reason why the young and old men were mixed together was that the old men would give advice, and make jokes and tell traditional stories. The young ones in the group would build the road. So here we could see that the old men did not build the road but were there to make the young men work faster and more happily.

On the organization of the workforce there were some minor conflicts which I would like to outline. One conflict which arose from the young men was because of some wrong advice they got from the old men. The argument was that the old men told the young men to build the road on a steep hill while the young men wanted the road to go along the hill on the side so they argued. Later the road was built as the young men wanted it.

Coming again to the financial side of the road project there was the amount of K.6 000 total financed by RIP money which was looked after by the Mount Hagen local government council. The K.6 000 was the only amount needed to pay for the land's destruction and the payment of labour.

In my personal opinion I think that this road project if it was evaluated for economic purposes is an economical one. The value of the projects that take place in the villages would amount to K.6 000 every year. The growth of cash income helped on by the road, the village peoples' own income per year would increase. With these I see that the road is more economical and the K.6 000 spent is quite good.

The Formation of the Kimminga Group and the Weedicide Project.

Since the road project was underway there needed to be more projects to help the village people. During the Christmas holidays (1976-77) when I was at home I formed a business group known as the Kimminga People's Group. After the formation of the group, the first project completed was the road project mentioned above. The second one was a weedicide project.

Looking at the formation of the group, I called a meeting for all the village people and then gave a talk on village projects as a way to promote village development and upgrade the standard of living at the village level.

I asked only the young men of ten to twenty-five years of age to join the group. The sole reason behind doing that was to have young people who have got the talent, muscles and fair knowledge of village projects to take part. The rest of the clan would give any other support to help them if needed, such as on the financial side; if they needed money the village people from the Moge Kimminga clan would contribute.

After the formation with more than twenty financial members with a minimum membership fee of K.5 00, we had collected a total amount of K.100 00 to start the weedicide project.

The main aim of the weedicide spraying project was to help the village people weed their coffee gardens by using chemicals. This would make their work easier so that less time would be spent in the coffee gardens.

Apart from that the other aim was to get a good yield of coffee berries since the soil is not fertile, and the coffee trees do not bear enough coffee in comparison to other coffee growing area east and south of Hagen. An evidence is that an average coffee grower from my clan would get K.600 for his coffee produce a year while the coffee planters from south of Hagen where the soil is suitable for coffee would get as much as an average of K.1000 a year.

The total amount got from membership fees was K.100: K90 was spent to buy 3 gallons of weedicide and K.10 was deposited in our new passbook account. (10) My father had two weedicide sprayers and he contributed



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both of them to the group to use. Another member of the group contributed one more sprayer so altogether we had three sprayers and three gallons of weedicide (paracol) chemicals. We had to find some containers to dilute the chemicals, so my father again contributed two 44 gallon drums, and four other village men contributed four 44 gallon drums. One of these was put in each part of the village so that everyone whether he/she is a member or non-member would benefit from the project.

Did we make some profit from that weedicide project? The way it worked out was that we filled out an empty tinfish container with the weedicide chemicals and then diluted them in 44 gallon drums filled with water. With every tinfish full of weedicide we made a small charge of K.6 00. The total amount recieved for one gallon of weedicide was K.60 00. The actual cost of one gallon of weedicide was K.30 00, so the net profit was K.30 00, which is 100% profit. When the 3 gallons of weedicide were finished we made a profit of K.90 00 in just over two weeks.

The labour provided which is spraying and filling the 44 gallon drum with water was done by the members of the group, and at certain times it was done by the owners of the coffee garden. Once in a while the members go to some other village to spray the coffee gardens.

The project was looked after by the executives of the group namely the President and the Vice President, and the secretary/treasurer.

What sort of problems came from the project? When the weedicide was finished and we wanted to get some new stock, it had not arrived so we had to wait for a month. Thus we slowed down in making some money.

Taking the labour side we had some problems of obtaining water. When it did not rain we had to get creek water to the coffee plots which were sometimes  $\frac{1}{2}$ km. away from the creek. Spraying too was a difficult task but the members committed themselves to do the job. This project and the hard labour continues now.

As I have pointed out the members of the group who work on the project are my agemates of 16 - 25 years of age, who I have mobilized for the project so as to occupy their time usefully in village development projects.

Looking at the impact of the weedicide programme to the village people it is mainly to help the village people to weed their coffee gardens fast so that more time can be used in other activities in the village.

Coffee Marketing Project.

After the weedicide project the second money making project was the village coffee marketing project. It was started six months after the society was formed, in July 1977 during my semester break. I was financed by the Extension Studies Department of the University of Papua New Guinea in its student extension work programme.

The aim of the project was to buy the coffee cherries within the village itself, to stop outside coffee buyers coming in and exploiting our village people by giving them less money for their produce. During July I suggested this idea to my members and it was agreed on and then it was carried out.

Before buying coffee the road was nearly completed so I used the local radio and announced that the road into the village should not be used publicly by outsiders in buying coffee or for some other purposes.

The second aim of the village peoples' involvement in buying coffee cherries was to have the coffee buying place based in the middle of the village, so that the village people could sell their raw coffee cherries at anytime of the day from 6 a.m to 6.p.m.

The project above is again undertaken by the groups' financial members. The way it is organized is that two groups are formed in which ten men make up each group. Coffee is brought daily so on Wednesday one group pulp the coffee cherries. The first group washes the fermented coffee on Thursday and dry them while the second group wash the fermented coffee on Monday which has been pulped on Saturday because Sunday is the Lord's Sabbath day. The labour is free.(11)

Coffee is brought by the secretary and V/P of the group and they organize the workforce and see that the weeks work is done properly. The coffee is sold as dried beans fortnightly and the average amount of net profit made is K.200 every fortnight. The profits should increase when a lot of money is at hand to buy coffee with.

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The price paid for the cherries depends on the prices given out by the Coffee Marketing Board. For example, if the factory door prices for dried Arabica coffee beans is K.1.00 or above per Kg we would give 10t. per Kg for raw beans. If the price is less than K.1.00 at the factory door price, then we give less than 10t. for the coffee cherries bought for a Kg.

How much was needed to start the coffee marketing project?

Looking at the cost of the project the total amount needed for the project was around K.600.00. From this K.600.00, K.170.00 was used to buy a coffee pulper, K.50.00 was used to buy a scale to weigh the coffee cherries; K.50.00 was used to buy plastic sheets to dry the coffee beans on. About K.20.00 to K.25.00 was used to buy bags to store the dried coffee. The outstanding K.300.00 was used to buy coffee cherries with.

From the cost of K.600.00 how much was contributed by the members themselves? The members themselves gave around K.150.00. The other K.350.00 was contributed by the Extension Studies Department of the University of Papua New Guinea. Another K.190.00 was financed by the society or groups' fund available from the weedicide project.

Looking at the six months of buying coffee from July to December the net profit made was K.700.00. The coffee season was from June to August or September so we bought coffee for only three months and after that only very small amounts were bought. If a vehicle had been used to buy coffee outside the village itself we would have anticipated making a lot more money within those six months of operations. This is because within the village not much coffee is available because our village people don't grow big areas of land with coffee. With a vehicle more coffee would have been bought outside the village along the roadsides. (12)

The role of the school leavers on this project is very helpful. (13) Before there used to be a lot of stealing and breaking and entering cases done by the present members of the group and many of these boys in the group had been in prison. Since I formed the group and started these two projects all these boys promised me not to do anything of this nature again. Now in my village it is peaceful

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and I am really satisfied with what I have achieved and the boys are pleased with myself (Wak) as well.

Market Gardening Project.

The market gardening project is the third money making project which has been undertaken by the Kimminga Peoples' Group. It started six months after the coffee market project and one year after the group formed.

The main aim of the project undertaken is to get some cash income for the group, but also to some extent it was to help the village including non-members of the group to learn how to plant good vegetables and consume most of it, and sell the surplus for a cash income.

The market garden is more than one acre and should increase from one acre to six acres by the end of 1978, and still then it would expand in area. The land is fully owned by myself, inherited from my father. I provided the land so that it would be used by the group to plant crops and make money.

The total cost of the project was about K.500.00 to start with but should increase as the area is increased in production. The K.500.00 was used to buy potato seeds, fertilizers, weedicides, pesticides, fungicides and buckets. The land is mostly to be grown with cabbage and potatoes. We have also planted carrots, capsicum, tomatoes, celery, beans and many other vegetables. Most of the advice was obtained from the RDO (Rural Development Officer). The RDO helped in supplying seeds, purchasing fertilizers and the chemicals used for spraying. (14)

The next point is to discuss how the communal work is organized. It was agreed by the members of the group that working on the market garden project should start every Wednesday and finish every Friday. On Friday's both males and females take part in the communal work. On Monday's we have general community work enforced by the village court system. (15) On Tuesday's the village people do their own personal work like making gardens, cleaning coffee gardens, and picking coffee cherries. For this the members form groups of five to help each other in any personal work. The coffee marketing project discussed earlier, if there is any work to be done then it is worked early in the mornings; around 9.00a.m. the people go to the garden

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to work. The members are quite satisfied with the daily routine which keeps them really busy and makes the young boys who are members of the group become "handy" in the village and the project undertaken.

The money made from the project will benefit the whole society, and if the project goes on to give nutritional help then it might help the whole village. A problem that might arise has to do with the DPI (16). The reasons for that is that there is only one officer involved in market gardening projects around the whole of Hagen and that is a very large area so everyday he is busy so he might not attend to our daily or weekly problems on our market gardening project. This extension officer I consider to be the most useful one in comparison to other extension work provided by the Government. The DPI officer helped us in budgeting the cost of the project. He prepared seedlings like potatoes, peanuts, capsicums, cabbage, and sometimes when we needed transport we borrowed the DPI vehicles to transport the seeds from town (Hagen) into the project area in the village. We also had some help from the Office of Business Development (17) and with their help we got a loan from the Papua New Guinea Development Bank (PNGDB) for a short time. (18)

Looking at this Office of Business Development there was some form of wantok system.<sup>(19)</sup> This had happened in a way in which the person helping me was a best friend of mine in the High School days and helped me with the Development Bank application form, and the typist was a school mate of mine. For that reason it took only two days to do feasibility studies of our project, and write up the application forms. Other people's application took at least two weeks or more to be written up with feasibility studies made on them.

On the PNGDB side when my application was submitted it took only four days to be finalized, while on the other hand it would have taken two to three weeks for other people's applications to be considered. The wantoks in the Development Bank were the loans officer who was a good friend of mine, and I knew many of the typists who worked there. When my application was approved by the loans officer the typist typed the papers in a matter of one day, and after a couple of days everything was finalized, the money was given. My group then brought a vehicle to transport the vegetables to town, and to help the coffee marketing project in which the vehicle would be used to buy coffee

on the road sides.

These are some of the things we face whether hard or easy with Government extension workers or banks. It seems as I see, that for educated people it is very easy to obtain loans while it is hard for a normal villager.

The Impact of Village Projects on the Village People.

When we look at the road project and the three money making projects discussed above we could see that most of the projects outcomes would be of benefit to the members of the Kimanga Peoples' Group, but relatively the services are also of benefit to the non-members as well as the financial members. Secondly, the village people could not quite fully understand the projects undertaken but since I was the organizer of all the projects I showed them how the project ran, how money would be made, and similar things of interest to the village people.

Overall, the four projects have contributed to the peoples' way of life.

Firstly, the road project helped the school children. This is so because it is quite short in distance and the children go to school in a short time. This is not as before when it took an hour to go to school, and the school children were late for their classes and had to suffer the consequences :they were punished for their lateness. The village people now get taxi's from the town into the village when it rains or, the people who own trade stores, they transport goods by taxi into the village (20). Before the road was built they had to carry them by foot. The road benefits the village very much. On the construction of the road it was built with tools like spades and bush knives only and nothing else besides these two tools.

Secondly, the weedicide project has helped the village people in their labour and time spent with spade weeding. The amount of coffee cherries should increase in evidence to the fact that the weeding method is excellent to give nutrients to the coffee trees. The village people told me how they have more money to spend than before to satisfy their needs and wants, or pay school fees and council taxes.

Thirdly, the coffee marketing project has changed the village people's way of life in that they can now sell their coffee cherries whenever they need money. This saves them from waiting along the roadside for coffee buyers to come and buy their coffee. Sometimes before, people might wait to sell their coffee for two hours, but now they can sell their coffee anytime from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m.

One impact of the market gardening project as I see it, is to provide co-operation in group or communal work and other activities within the village. The people would learn from the DPI officer on the procedures of growing crops, and this is a new innovation to my village people. When the vegetables grow and are ready I assume that the surplus will be used to upgrade the village people's diet.

#### The Kimminga People's Motive Behind Their Involvement in Projects.

As co-ordinator of the Kimminga People's Group, my village peoples' motive behind undertaking these projects is to upgrade village life. In the village we plan to set a base or foundation of living conditions. When everyone in the village is enjoying village life we are intending to undertake major projects dealing with a considerable amount of money for the peoples' business, and for their children and the unknown generation yet to come. Generally we feel we want to raise the Moge Kimminga People's living standard for the new generation and for the future generation. Until we reach our aims we would not slow down in our involvement with projects.

#### The Need for More Development by the Rural People.

Papua New Guinea is a country of many cultural and language groups, and attaining development is not an easy thing. However, looking at the rural people, they make up the majority of this country. In order to achieve development we had to mobilize the village people in groups, associations, or development co-operations to see that even the lowest status person is benefiting from the group and also takes part in the development of the country. In groups no-one person would own the business. I see this as a manner of dissolving to some extent, class structures between individual big business men and the majority poor of the country.

Also, I see that in the formation of groups, co-operatives and such, the country's rural majority would utilize the rich resources

they have, namely labour, land, and money, to generate employment for themselves now and to set up a foundation for the future generation. When the rural areas are developed and people enjoy the products of their produce P.N.G. will have a good chance of reaching prosperity and to achieve its rural development and self-reliance aims of the National Development Strategy. Through groups we have a good channel for political issues, to achieve political development, and through these political developments we can achieve our economic development.

#### The Role of Educated People in Rural Development.

I, as an educated person and intellectual of this country, see that educated people have got a good challenge for their people in terms of rural development. We have a good knowledge, and so why should we not utilize this for rural development instead of doing nothing worthwhile with it. Some of us have to work in offices to plan for the nation, but some of us, even though we work in offices it would not benefit the people as if we work with our rural people. After all, I see that all of us have once lived in a rural isolated village and now we are very good in living in urban areas like our masters had. (21) And for that why should we not go back to our villages and stay with our village people and get enjoyment which the whole nation has for us.

Lastly, I see that some sort of magnet is pulling us out of our village and it does not want us to go back again. What I believe is that we should all have to take an active part in rural development and in this way we develop the nation with bisnis, (22) a high standard of living, and so on.

When I graduate from the university I will give my first preference for village or rural development of my country as I see that is a major part in the development of the country.

#### Conclusion.

To conclude, my plans of undertaking the projects are going very well but on the other hand I face some small problems which I had to experience and learn from them. My role in rural development is needed by the masses of this nation, so if anyone intends to do similar projects then you are taking the right step to the real development of the nation and the people.



Editors Notes.

- (1) Mount Hagen is shown on the map preceding the text. Kala Village is about 5Km. north of Mount Hagen. Being a Western Highland Village settlement (in what was New Guinea) Kala Village is a dispersed community. Every family occupies houses situated on their own areas of land, separated from other family houses.

The Western Highlands are composed in general of heavily populated valleys separated by very lightly inhabited, high, mountains and ranges mostly over 3,000 metres in height. Mount Hagen itself is about 1,500 metres above sea level.

This highland pattern of settlement is distinct from coastal, lowland, villages, which are collections of family houses built within clearly defined boundaries.

- (2) Contact refers to European contact which began in this area of the Highlands only in 1930 with labour recruiters and gold prospectors. Official contact did not occur until 1933, and by 1960 only half of the district then known as Western Highlands was controlled by government officers. Even as late as 1970 a small section of the North West remained uncontrolled.
- (3) Kau kau is the pidgin (Neo Melanesian) word for sweet potato, the staple diet of the highlands of Papua New Guinea.
- (4) Arabica coffee is grown extensively in the highlands. The economic importance of the highlands is its wet equatorial climate which is limited in world extent. Only in this type of climate can some special crops such as Arabica coffee and Pyrethrum be grown.
- (5) Kina shell: a sea shell which was traditionally a form of wealth and medium of exchange. It gave its name to the currency of Papua New Guinea.
- (6) Education opportunity is very unevenly distributed in Papua New Guinea. The education referred to here is at community school, age range 7 - 12 years. In the Western Highlands less than 50% of this age group are in even intermittent schooling. Tertiary education is even more restricted, which is one reason why the presence of an educated man such as the author in his village can be an important impetus to change.
- (7) Prestige, status, and leadership in the Highlands of PNG are only to a small extent ascribed and do not follow hereditary principles. To achieve the status of a "Bigman" a man must be conspicuous for courage, resourcefulness, community work, and for wealth (especially pigs) which form the basis of elaborate exchange rituals known as Moka. In these rituals the "biggest" and most prestigious man is he who arranges the biggest feast at which most pigs and pearl shells are displayed and slaughtered or exchanged. An important aspect of Moka is the scrupulous observation of obligations derived from gifts received from others in the past.

- (7) cont'd. One reason the author is concerned to be active within his community is that he wishes to develop his own bigman status. Although the status of his father helps the author in this, he cannot acquire bigman status without his own continued efforts. As the only local boy to have attended university he is already on the way to bigman status, but he has to demonstrate the value of his educational achievements in providing services to others in his clan.
- (8) Councils are the smallest administrative unit operating at local village level.
- (9) Rural improvement grants are available from the Central Government for approved development projects.
- (10) A Passbook account is a bank savings account which can be opened with a small sum of money and accrues interest on deposits. Passbook accounts are used extensively by Papua New Guineans, especially in the Highlands where seasonal coffee earnings can amount to many thousands of Kina. Passbook deposits are generally seen as savings for important events such as brideprice ceremonies, rather than as a form of capital accumulation.
- (11) Raw coffee beans are purchased directly from small holders and then "pulped" that is the outer soft skin is removed using a simple hand operated machine. The beans are then sun dried on plastics and the partly processed coffee sold to the coffee factories. This simple processing raises the factory door value of the coffee for the villagers by up to 50%.
- (12) Raw coffee beans are sold literally at the roadside by small-holders. Some roadside locations have developed into regular coffee market sites where the representatives of major buyers negotiate coffee purchases.
- (13) The uneven distribution of educational opportunities and the very hierarchical nature of the educational system means few children have a full primary and secondary school education. Most students do not drop out but are selected out of the educational process. This has created a large group of young people who have the beginning of an academic education but no access to further education or modern sector employment. This group is typically (but not always fairly) believed to be associated with various forms of delinquency and crimes against property. Integration of this school push-out group into development projects is seen as a major contribution to their welfare and future.

School push-outs illustrate a current debate about the value of schooling. One view is that schooling has been destructive of the traditional ties of youth to the village community without replacing those ties with other opportunities. The opposing view claims that youth who have received some schooling are able to be more productive in village development projects.

- (14) Rural Development Officer's are agricultural extension officers of the Department of Primary Industry, the PNG Central Government's agricultural department. The author is fortunate that his village is close to an administrative centre. More remote villages receive little assistance from extension officers.
- (15) Village courts are run by lay magistrates supported by the police. The magistrates have minimal legal training but as local bigmen attempt to arbitrate on traditional terms in disputes, or in dealing with law breakers. Magistrates can impose fines or pass sentences for offences, or require offenders to undertake community work. In addition the courts require villagers to maintain access roads, sewage facilities etc. by general community work.

The village courts are proving to be an effective institution and are respected (and indeed feared) by villagers.

- (16) See note 14 above.
- (17) The Office of Business Development gives advice about commercial undertakings.
- (18) The Papua New Guinea Development Bank extends credit, on commercial terms to individuals and groups with minimum security.
- (19) Wantok, a pidgin word meaning literally "one talk" refers to the fact that linguistic groups in PNG (there are over 700 distinct linguistic groups) are also social groups, corresponding to tribes or clans.

Social obligations of a Papua New Guinean to a person of the same language group (a "wantok") are totally binding traditionally. For this reason the "wantok system" as it is called, has been seen as both a major social security system of PNG in that resources are shared throughout a group of wantoks, and as a nepotistic barrier to development along individualistic and rational bureaucratic lines. The author shows here that he received preferential treatment from a wantok in the banking bureaucracy. This allowed him to complete arrangements that might otherwise have taken weeks, and even then not have had a successful outcome.

The wantok system is considered by those who wish to thoroughly "modernize" PNG., as the local equivalent of corruption. Overt corruption is otherwise not a major problem in PNG at present.

- (20) Group hiring of taxis makes this form of conveyance an important public transport facility
- (21) The pidgin word for a white man is "Masta" and that for a woman "Missis" (for obvious historical reasons).
- (22) "Bisnis", (pidgin for business) means any cash earning activity. The desire for bisnis is the main expressed need in the Highlands. (The pidgin word for neo-melanesian pidgin is "tok pisin" which some consider was derived from "tok bisin" or "tok bisnis", an early lingua franca for trading purposes).