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How can Traditional Culture be a link to Positive Youth Development?

A Case Study in Goroka, Papua New Guinea.

RICHARD KORATI HAMENA

2008

How can Traditional Culture be a link for Positive Youth Development? A Case Study in Goroka, Papua New Guinea.

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Richard Korati Hamena

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Abstract

This research explores the experiences of young people, youth leaders, villager elders/ leaders, parents of teenagers, and government workers in Goroka, Papua New Guinea (PNG), to facilitate further understanding of youth development approaches and strategies. The study in particular investigates the possibility of establishing a link between relevant traditional youth upbringing methods and the positive youth development approaches emerging from the Western world. Positive youth development approaches are those strength-based approaches that promote young people's capabilities to learn and strive in the diverse settings they live, in contrast to the conventional youth development approaches which addresses immediate youth problems.

The National Youth Policy of PNG focuses on involving young men and women in meaningful activities in social, spiritual, political, and cultural development through participation in the affairs of their families and communities. The results of the research indicated that the Youth Policy's objectives were never fully implemented in Goroka. This may have contributed to the numerous problems encountered by young people that include: confusion between traditional and modern cultures, poverty and hardship, drug and alcohol abuse, prostitution, theft, and unemployment. The enormous efforts by schools, churches, government departments, donors, and youth-oriented organisations to deal with youth issues seemed inadequate in relation to the contemporary youth population.

It is evident that conventional youth development approaches have failed to educate young people that it is a viable option to return home and become productive citizens. Thus alternative youth development approaches have to be found to assist these youth. This finding points to a need to establish a link between traditional culture, whereby the whole community takes responsibility for guiding young men and women through the transition to adulthood, and positive youth development. It suggests further research should be conducted to determine how this might be achieved by building upon the existing youth development approaches and strategies.

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LIST OF ABREVIATIONS

AusAID	- Australian Agency for International Development
CIB	- Coffee Industry Board.
CIC	- Coffee Industry Corporation
CUSO	- Canadian University Services Overseas
CYP	- Commonwealth Youth Programme.
GDP	- Gross Domestic Product.
HIV/AIDS	-Human Immunodeficiency Virus/ Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome.
MDGs	- Millennium Development Goals.
MP	- Member of Parliament
NEC	- National Executive Council.
NGOs	- Non-governmental Organisations.
NYC	- National Youth Commission
NZAID	- New Zealand International Aid and Development Agency.
OLIPPAC	- Organic Law on Integrity of Political Parties and Candidates
PEC	- Provincial Executive Council

PNG - Papua New Guinea.

SPC - Secretariat for the Pacific Community.

UNDP - United Nations Development Programme.

UNESCO - United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

UNFPA - United Nations Population Fund.

UNICEF - United Nations Children's Fund.

YWCA - Young Women's Christian Association

Chapter 1: Introduction

All young people deserve respect as equal human beings and should be provided the opportunities to acquire good life-skills and be able to utilise their initiative in a creative and innovative way to meet daily needs. If their rights to learn, understand, and participate are denied, they may encounter many problems in life. But if they are allowed to play active roles in various practical activities, they can gain self respect and contribute meaningfully to the community rather than being passive recipients of social services (Alinsky, 1971, as cited in Wheal, 1998, p.vii).

Much literature emerges from Western countries, predominantly from the United States of America, about finding positive youth development approaches. There is an assumption that these strategies can be replicable in different societies. The main reason that many young people face problems and have no way to get assistance to live a normal life is that their nuclear family relationships break down. For example, when a father deserts the home, only the mother is left to support her children and they may suffer from poverty; children with abusive parents often find it difficult to seek help from others; teenage single mothers often encounter problems in raising their children; and young school leavers, bored at home, may be prompted to participate in illicit activities (Catalano, et al. 2004, p.99). Similar problems occur in the South Pacific, thus a need exists for encouraging positive youth development.

Relevant youth development approaches and strategies in many developing countries seem to be non existent, while in other developing nations youth policies and programs have not been implemented due to financial difficulties. Also in the homes, many parents seem to have failed to teach their children and the daunting task of educating the young people is left to the schools and churches. If both state and family cannot educate and nurture young people to remain in their communities, and state funds are not made available for youth development plans and programs at the provincial and district levels, then, youth organisations' efforts may do little for the growing number of young people each year.

Youth upbringing has always been a normal task embedded in every family, tribe, culture, community and society around the globe. In the traditional PNG society young people were raised to maintain certain principles and regulations perceived as important by individual communities. The whole community played important roles in nurturing young people until tested through rites of passage and bestowed with recognition as adults. However, the main concern is that the norms and values of traditional cultures are gradually dying out due to the vast influence of Western cultures, Christianity, and other forces at play since the colonial days.

Several studies show that the nuclear families that support young people seem to be falling apart as a result of rapidly changing modern lifestyles (Lloyd, 2005, p.32). However there is a search for strength-based positive youth development approaches in the West (Catalano, et al. 2004, p.101,102 & 117), that promote young people's interests, unique talents, and future potential (Damon, 2004, p.13); and move away from the old negative assumptions of children as problems to be solved (Roth, et al. 1998, p.435 & 436). These studies emphasize that a need exists for the development of relevant youth development approaches and strategies that can be applicable to different places.

It is unknown to what extent the absence of appropriate youth development approaches and strategies in PNG has influenced the escalation of youth problems. This research study is designed to explore questions stated below and, in doing so, contribute to the bigger picture of youth development in the Pacific and other developing countries around the world.

The key research questions are:

. What types of youth upbringing methods were used in the traditional cultural societies around Goroka, PNG, in the past?

. What sort of youth development approaches and strategies are used by existing youth-oriented organisations for youth development work?

- To what extent are the current youth-oriented organisations assisting youth development and is it possible to take on board the traditional approaches and work in partnership with the communities?

- What have recent positive youth development approaches in the West contributed to community-based approaches and strategies for youth development in a PNG context?

1.1 Background to the Research

As I was performing my delegated tasks as a social worker, particularly working with youth in PNG, I had conversations on numerous occasions with youth leaders, village leaders, youth, women, church officials, government workers, and non governmental organisations, about youth development. Many of these people I interacted with differed in their views on how best youth development should occur. A lot of discussion was centred on youth issues and about temporary measures to rectify youth problems; while ignoring long term positive youth development approaches, believing them to be unachievable. Most of these people blamed young people for all the troubles in their respective communities and reported that youth are becoming a difficult group to handle. None of the conversations led to a clear cut way of caring for the young people.

The ideas for this case study originated from these interactions. As positive youth development is a large topic, I chose to concentrate on how traditional culture can be a link for positive youth development, although many traditional cultures in PNG have been diminishing or modified or eliminated. I understood that Western societies typically regard modern cultures as superior and ideal, and treat traditional cultures as inferior and primitive. However, in this study I intend to investigate the possibility of integrating the traditional youth upbringing methods with modern positive youth development approaches. Preliminary research on this topic depicted that there was very little information available in PNG, as well as in the Pacific countries, about traditional culture as a link to the recent positive youth development approaches and strategies. So, I hope that this study will promote further research and contribute

toward addressing problems affecting young people in PNG, the Pacific and elsewhere in the developing world.

1.2 Terms and Definitions

Although, the key terms mentioned below are elaborated upon further in chapters 2 and 3, they are defined briefly here in order to give clarity to the focus of this case study. These terms and phrases are: adolescence, youth, positive youth development, and traditional culture. The terms 'adolescence' and 'youth' refer to the same group of young people but how these terms are perceived and defined differ from culture to culture. As young people do not exist in isolation and are part of society and culture, they are defined by the individual society and culture they belong to.

The term 'adolescence' originates from the Latin verb 'adolescere' which means "to grow into adulthood" (Kagan and Gall, 1998). In the 1900s Stanley G. Hall was the first person to popularise the term adolescence as a stage in life (Furstenburg, 2002, p.1; Arnett, 2006, p.186). In the words of VandenBos (2007), adolescence is a time of human growth from puberty (10 to 12 years of age) and ceasing with physiological maturity roughly at about 19 years of age. The major changes that occur among the young people around this time in varying rates include: sexual characteristics, body image, sexual interest, social roles, intellectual development, and self-concept (VandenBos, 2007, p.22).

'Youth' is a term expressed by various writers, societies and cultures in different contexts. Nonetheless, the Commonwealth Youth Programme (1998, p.16-21) defines youth in three ways: as an age category; as a transitional stage from childhood to adulthood; and as a social construct. Another writer Kreutz, defines youth as a separate phase of life in which the individual finds his or her individuality and identity. This phase becomes the starting point of adulthood or is termed the 'second birth' where the young person with an 'inner orientation' internalizes the demands of society (Kreutz, as cited in Mitterauer, 1993, p.25). However both 'adolescence' and 'youth' are often used interchangeably by numerous writers and social scientists to refer to the same transition period in young people's lives or "the early part of life" (Chambers Concise Dictionary, 2004, p.1424).

‘Positive youth development’, is another major term for discussion in this thesis. This Western concept refers to the strength-based approaches that result ‘in promoting positive youth behavior outcomes and preventing youth problem behaviors’ (Catalano, et al., 2004, p.117) in young people. This approach surfaced from frustrations over youth being referred to in negative terms rather than promoting their future potentials. Thus, positive youth development tends to promote young people’s interests, unique talents, and future potentials (Damon, 2004, p.13); and move away from the old negative assumptions of children as problems to be solved (Roth, et al. 1998, p.435 & 436).

Finally, the term ‘traditional culture’ is another key interest area of this study. Before defining the word ‘culture’ let me discuss the word ‘traditional’. It originated from the word ‘tradition’ and it refers to customs, beliefs or methods that have existed for a long time without changing (Advanced Learner’s English Dictionary, 2003. p.1540). So the term ‘traditional culture’ in this case study context is referred to the old ways of doing things in the community before modern influence.

Generally culture, as portrayed by different writers, includes the values, traditions, norms, customs, arts, history, folklore, and other institutions shared by a group of people (Bodley, 1994, p.9; Edward Tylor quoted in Maidment and Mackerras, 1998, p.234; Kuper, 1992, p.3; Thompson, 1990, p.132). Culture shapes how people see their world and structure their community and family life. A person's cultural affiliation often determines the person's values and attitudes about solving daily problems and ways to cope with changing cultures (Hall, 1999, p.4; Watson, 1997, p.8). Writers, Maidment and Mackerras (1998, p.8), state that in the Asia-Pacific region societies and cultures have been changing constantly and have never been static since European contact, including the influence of convergent forces like industrialisation, capitalism, travel, migration, tourism, communication, and the global media. PNG among them, is also undergoing cultural changes and is regarded as “the most environmentally complex and culturally diverse nation in the Pacific” (Hyndman, 1994, p.2).

1.3 Purpose of the Study

The research was designed to investigate traditional youth upbringing methods from the Goroka community in PNG and to examine whether these traditional approaches can become a link to the emerging positive youth development approaches from the Western world. Thus, this study explores and establishes links between relevant traditional cultural methods and suitable western ways of dealing with youth issues toward achieving positive youth development in PNG. It seeks to identify worthwhile traditional cultural youth upbringing concepts that could contribute to youth development approaches in PNG, the Pacific, and other indigenous global societies.

The research was also designed to explore the nature of the youth development work implemented in PNG at the present times and establish whether current youth development measures integrate traditional community-based approaches. Finally, the study seeks to explore appropriate ways in which youth can participate in positive youth development approaches and draft strategies that may enable them to solve or avoid problems in the future.

At the regional level, Pacific governments, civil society and donors have put in more efforts to improve the lives of youth with many initiatives like training in life-skills and employment, reproductive health services, and addressing substance abuse. Collaborative efforts were made by Pacific states, Secretariat for the Pacific Community's Youth Bureau, United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), and United Nations Population Funds (UNFPA) to address youth issues, and have contributed to regional strategies like development of the Pacific Youth Strategy, the Pacific Plan, and the Pacific Millennium Development Goals movement (The State of the Pacific Youth 2005, 2005, p.3).

It seems the Pacific countries have not fully implemented the above regional strategies because these strategies cannot be replicable to all countries. The reasons may include: many different groups of Pacific people with varied cultures, norms, and values; geographical barriers; lack of financial support; lack of community support; and shortage of skilled youth development workers. It means more effort is required by individual governments to improve the lives of their young people in their

respective countries. Hence, as there is little research done on traditional culture and positive youth development in the Pacific including PNG, this study may provide insights to their relationship, as a basis for further study.

1.4 Thesis Structure

Chapter 1 introduces the question of how traditional culture can become a link for positive youth development in PNG. It provides a background to the study and defines some key terms and phrases associated with this research, like adolescence, youth, positive youth development, and traditional culture. It reveals the aims of this study and gives an overview of where and how this study was done.

Chapter 2 provides a literature review of youth development, followed by a discussion on a conceptual framework for youth development. It discusses the history of conventional youth development approaches and their limitations, and also elaborates on the emerging positive youth development approaches in the West.

Chapter 3 looks at youth development and culture in the Pacific and in PNG. It reviews the Pacific youth development approaches and their limitations. It investigates the link between traditional culture and youth issues towards conceptualizing positive youth approaches appropriate for the local youth population. Also, it describes the cultural traditions and changes affecting young people from the impacts of Western culture, Christianity, and other social forces. It describes the traditional youth upbringing methods of the past and also reveals the agents that support contemporary youth development in PNG.

Chapter 4 gives background information on the PNG context including histories of its people, population, religion and culture; and the political and government system. It also explores the background of Eastern Highlands Province and its capital town Goroka, which is the focus area of this research. It describes its history and geographical location; provincial administration; population and language; its economy and religion; and its socio-cultural activities. This background information provides the broader picture of what is happening in terms of youth development approaches.

Chapter 5 elaborates on the design and research methods used for this research study; this includes semi-structured interviews, focus groups, and open-ended questions, and raises concerns relating to research ethics. The interviews produced extensive and detailed information about youth development approaches. The same questions used for the focus group discussion were used to solicit responses from various participants at different places. Open-ended questions were used for interviews with street youth. Discussions with the Division for Community Development, a government organisation working with young people provided background and perspective on the theme of study. The interview participants were given choices whether or not to participate, and if they did, were not obliged to answer all questions.

Chapter 6 presents the primary data collected during the case studies. The results show the type of problems faced by youth; the past youth upbringing methods; and the existing youth development approaches used by youth-oriented organisations. The chapter also explores how cultural methods can contribute to positive youth development approaches by involving the youth themselves and the wider communities in PNG.

Chapter 7 discusses themes and findings in the light of research questions raised in this study. The discussion focuses on strengths and limitations of youth development approaches in PNG and elaborates on how traditional youth upbringing techniques can be a link to the recent positive youth development approaches. It also discusses the possibilities of allowing youth participation in decision-making in matters that affect them within families, communities and youth-organisations; and how that could be done.

Chapter 8 summarizes the main themes and findings that have emerged during the research. Conclusions are drawn from the research about the link between traditional culture and youth upbringing methods, and how they can be integrated into positive youth development approaches for the contemporary youth in order to minimise youth problems.

Chapter 2: Youth Development in the Literature

2.1 Introduction

In its broadest sense, as young people grow and develop, youth development occurs all the time. It occurs in different places and at anytime individually, in homes, in schools, and in community groups. It also happens in many deliberate ways within these areas, particularly within schools. Youth development involves working with young people using holistic, systematic, and strength based approaches (Lane, 1996, p.14-18). This implies that young people's crucial stage of development requires planned action. This action can focus on problems of young people, especially on what they lack (a deficit approach), or alternatively, on building young people's strengths (Holdsworth, et al. 2005, p.14). This thesis is particularly interested in ideas for positive youth development that build on people's strengths.

Many young people around the world are bombarded by the sophisticated rapid changes that are occurring today. As documented in the recent National Academy of Sciences Report on transitions to adulthood in developing countries, young people face both new challenges and opportunities created by cultural and economic globalization. Also, young people may easily be connected to the changing outside world through advanced technology, especially electronic communication (Lloyd, 2005, p.32). However, for more young people to succeed in today's competitive global world they must be equipped with advanced skills beyond literacy; for example, the need to know how to live healthy lives, avoid obesity, and avoid sexually transmitted infections (The World Bank, 2007, p.2). These changes facing youth increase stiff pressure on the family, community, and the nation, to come up with better approaches to support youth to grow into productive adults. If youth development theorists, scientists, and practitioners reach a consensus on certain workable approaches and strategies we may see progress.

The term 'development' differs in meaning to different people, but in the words of Walsh (1993) it requires vision, hard work, and deferred gratification; it is people, society and time specific; and needs cooperation and favourable support from political,

social and economic forces at all levels to eventuate (Walsh, 1993, p.A1). Thus, in terms of youth development, it is not that easy to achieve but needs a more coordinated effort from all adults in all sectors of the community.

In social terms, youth development can mean improvements in young people's standard of living, with equal opportunities for participation in political, economic, and social spheres in a country. Moreover, it refers to the changes and the various programs designed to direct young people in their transition from adolescence to adulthood. According to a World Bank (2007, p.175) report, youth programs combine sports, mentoring, theatre, life skills, leader-ship training, peace building, and livelihood skills, usually in a defined geographic area. These programs often aim to build confidence, trust, and problem-solving among young people. Yet for PNG, the above stated programs are inconsistent or lacking in most parts of the country.

The World Bank (2007, p.5 & 40) provides advice that it is wise to invest in young people, as they need to continue to learn skills and acquire human capital. The five life transitions that shape young people or the human capital are identified as: learning, going to work, staying healthy, forming family and exercising citizenship. Making a decision for the future is difficult so many young people have to be guided properly. Furthermore, in a broader sense, the well-being of the society depends on how well-educated and prepared the young people are to take on adult tasks from the older age group. Correspondingly, stability and strength of a nation depends on the ability of its citizens to educate young people to handle different jobs in the community. The only way to prepare young people to meet future demands is through the involvement of schools, families, and communities (McWhiter, et al. 2007, p.4).

This chapter presents from the literature a brief history of Western approaches to youth development and their limitations. It also discusses the emerging positive youth development approaches defined earlier in chapter 1. This leads to discussion on traditional Western approaches and their limitations.

2.2 Traditional Western Approaches and their Limitations.

The Western ideas of studying 'adolescence' as a second period in life (Lerner & Steinberg, 2004) began from the writings of Stanley G. Hall in the 1900s. This sparked the first phase of the scientific study of adolescent development. Hall's theory regarded the adolescent period as 'storm and stress' (Furstenberg, 2002, p.2; Lerner, 2005, p.4) and he believed that human beings need to change from what he calls 'being beast-like' (Lerner, 2005, p.4) to being civilized. He implies that all adolescents have to overcome the beast-like impulses. Only few scientists believed Hall's theory. For instance, Anna Freud (1968) adopted his ideas into her theories and added that adolescence is a universal period of turmoil, while, Erikson (1968) declares it brought more challenges and changes for adolescents, such as: experiments, identity crisis, and testing of boundaries towards becoming a self-regulating adult (see Lerner, 2005, p.4). Steinberg (2001, p.2) points out that the adolescence period causes problem for both the young person and the adult trying to help this troubled young person. Most of the literature written in the first half of the 20th century thus depicts adolescents as deficits and discusses how to make this adolescence period trouble free.

The second phase of the scientific study of adolescent development occurred in the 1960s. In this phase, Hall's claim that the adolescence period is stormy and stressful was not true from evidences provided by research (refer to Bandura, 1964; Douvan & Adelson, 1966; Offer, 1969; Block, 1971). In Lerner's research, many adolescents considered values in life, for instance, gaining a good education, social justice, or spirituality, as similar to what their parents value, and also interacted with peers who shared similar values. Only a minority of young people indicated changes reflective of stormy and stressful behaviours (Lerner, 2005, p.5).

As identified by Lerner (2005, p.5), different research undertaken on adolescent development made two invaluable contributions in this second phase. Firstly, the level of research work on development of adolescents promoted great interest towards improving the lives of adolescents. This triggered the growth of different organizations and publication of several journals to address adolescent issues. For instance, the Carnegie Council (Hamburg & Takanishi, 1996); the Handbook of Adolescent Psychology (Adelson, 1980); the Society for the Study of Adolescence's

Journal of Research on Adolescence (Lerner, 1991); and the Society for Adolescent Medicine's Journal of Adolescent Health. Secondly, the information published by the above groups was used for both further research and application for positive human development (Lerner, 2005, p.6 & 7).

In the 1980s, according to Catalano, et al. (2004. p.100 & 101), the prevention practitioners, scientists, and policy makers shifted focus from prevention efforts aimed only at a single youth problem behaviour, to prevention efforts that expands programs beyond solving single problems. Meanwhile, Lerner (2005, p.11) highlights that the relationships young people have with their environment often influence the adolescents' development and the specific changes that affect them. In social contexts, the way young people establish themselves with key people and institutions, like their family, peer-group, school, workplace, neighbourhood, community, society, culture, and their place in history. Despite these findings the predominant concept that regarded youth as deficits continued until the 1990s when the study of adolescence became intermeshed with development theories (Lerner, 2005, p.8).

The most common youth problems documented in this adolescence stage include: drug and alcohol use and abuse, unsafe sex and teenage pregnancy, school failure and drop out, crime and delinquency, violence and depression, and self-harming behaviours (Catalano, et al. 2004, p.100; Lerner, 2005, p.12). While, Lerner (2005, p.12) pointed out that a lot of tax payers' money is spent annually to reduce or prevent problems "caused" by the alleged deficits of adolescents. Nevertheless, he emphasises that the arrival of a development systems perspective, in the on-going third phase of the study of adolescence, had paved the way for the prevention of adolescence problems. He recommends that the best way to prevent problem behaviours is to focus on adolescence strengths rather than deficits.

The third phase of the scientific study of adolescence began around the 1990s and in this period practitioners, policy makers, and prevention scientists adopted a broader focus for addressing youth issues (Pittman, O'Brien, and Kimball, 1993). Lerner (2005) elaborates that this phase has three foci in regard to youth development. Firstly, there is focus on development systems ideas as a frame for research and application. Secondly, there is focus on interest in the application that involves interactions and

collaboration among professional researchers and practitioners in the field of youth development. Thirdly, there is an interest in the ideas associated with positive youth development perspective, both for advancing theory and research, and for improving policies and programs for youth in the community (Lerner, 2005, p.12).

Lerner argues that the origins of the positive youth development perspective lies in the work of comparative psychologists and biologists who studied the developmental processes that arose from the fusion of biological and contextual levels of organisation (Lerner, 2005, p.13). Some of the most intriguing issues in the study of cognitive, social, emotional, and physical development arose from the debate over nature versus nurture issue. As defined by Santrock (2000, p.69), the term nature is used to describe an organism's biological inherited abilities, while the term nurture is used to describe an organism's environmental experiences. Bryner (2006) noted that this nature-nurture controversy, over whether heredity or environment is more influential in the development, especially of human beings, has been around for a long time. Many theoretical papers were written, on how the controversy may be resolved by taking an integrative, relational perspective about the genetic and environmental influences on human development (See Overton, 1973, p.74-89; Lerner, 1978, p.1-20).

As research on the scientific study of adolescent development began to grow from the second phase into the third phase, scholars opted to change the frame for the study of human development from a developmental psychology focus to a developmental science. Basically, Lerner (2005, p.14 & 15) links change to the strong connection between the development of the positive youth development perspective and the growing interest in development systems theories. The change of frame for the study of human development, mentioned above, also shows the key intellectual change in the last decade for the field studying adolescents, the second human life span.

It seems that an end has come to the debate over the nature-nurture issue and the reductionist approaches that support either nature formulations or nurture formulations. Some writers pointed out here that both the interaction of nature and nurture, genes and environment, are necessary for a person to exist because they have influences on every aspect of mind and behaviour to a degree. In other words, without genes and without environment, there is no person (Brown, 1995; Mader, 2000. Cited

in Santrock, 2000, p.69). There is a rise in theoretical models that promote concepts that seek to fuse systematically the levels of organisation involved in human development and avoid the nature or nurture splits and reductionism (Lerner, 2005, p.16). As mentioned earlier, adolescence development is influenced by multiple levels of integrated relationships among hormonal and neural changes, personality and cognitive development, and the social context (Lerner, 2005, p.10 & 11).

In sum, since Hall's theory that sparked the research on adolescence as a special period in life, to the on-going third phase of scientific study of adolescent development, youth development approaches have taken a twist from regarding young people as deficits (Benson, 2003, p.25; Roth, et al. 1998, p.423-459), to positive youth development that recognizes the abilities of young people (Damon, 2004, p.13). As writers Benson (2003) and Roth, et al. (1998) have indicated here, the common constraint that hinders youth development is the negative assumption that young people are problems to be managed, to which the concepts of Hall and his supporters, specifically Anna Freud and Erikson, have been influential. Families, communities, organizations, and nations often spend more time, money, energy and resources to reduce negative youth behaviours than focusing on positive approaches that can enable youth to utilize their capabilities towards becoming productive adults (Lerner, 2005, p.12).

On the other hand, Lesko (2001, p.6) hints that many people, especially adults, are overwhelmed by the numerous visible and invisible instabilities of adolescent period. Thus, many adults worry endlessly and pay careful attention to such instabilities more than helping to develop appropriate pathways for the youth to explore their skills, talents, and ambitions positively. In a modern society young people ought to be more self-determined, individualized, and reasoning.

Another drawback is that many theories of adolescent development seem to disagree with one another. For instance, as mentioned earlier in this writing, Hall's theory about adolescence as a period characterized by high anxiety was disputed by other theorists (Bandura, 1964; Douvan & Adelson, 1966; Offer, 1969; Block, 1971). In addition, the nature-nurture controversy remains to be resolved (Bryner, 2006), while the scientific study of adolescence in its third phase, as described earlier, continues to

be explored to date. Further, the advent of the development systems perspective paved the way for the prevention of adolescence problem behaviours via focusing more on adolescence strengths rather than on deficits (Lerner, 2005, p.12). Although all these theories have contributed to the knowledge of the adolescence period, the theorists, researchers and practitioners differ in their views and that probably hinders them from devising model strategies to support positive youth development. The following section discusses the current youth development approaches.

2.3 Recent Positive Youth Development Approaches

In most instances, when a young person is successful in what he or she is doing people portray that person as someone whose problems have been managed or are, at best, absent. Likewise, a young person showing good behaviour indicative of positive development is described as someone who is not involved in problems such as drugs, unsafe sex, crime or violence (Lerner, et al. 2006, p.1). Positive youth development has often been weighed against the absence of negative or undesirable behaviours. In the case of children, many adults' assumption is that young children are most likely to cause or be in trouble, and so young people are referred to as problems to be managed (Benson, 2003, p.25; Roth, et al. 1998, p.423-459).

Benson, et al. (2006, p.1) asserts that the change of focus from addressing youth's negative behaviour to addressing positive behaviour came about as a result of the study of resilience. This was after practitioners realised that some youth have abilities to succeed and prosper despite many obstacles, challenges, and deficits, while many of their peers end up in disastrous situations. So, positive youth development emerged from the practitioners' arena with little attention from the academic world until recently. Consequently, many people began to recognise youth as resources to be developed rather than as problems to be solved (Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2003, p.197-223).

In order to achieve positive youth development, some writers (Scales, 1990, p.420-438; Jessor, 1991, p.597-605; Benson, 1997; Kirby, 1994, p.339-360) insist that the approaches to alter negative youth behaviours have to be built on strengths (youth assets) which are both internal and external to youth (such as family support,

resistance, or skills), rather than simply fixing negative youth risk behaviours and related health problems. Hence, positive youth development aims to improve on the essential roles families, schools, and communities play in providing a sound environment that prevents negative behaviours, and support youth to strive in future (Scales, et al. 2003, p.22-34; Catalano, et al. 2004, p.99; Kirby, 2001).

This is linked to the proverb 'it takes a village to raise a child' (Sullivan, 2003, p.2; Scales, 2003). This phrase infers that everyone who lives in the community where the young people come from should support them to grow healthy and become industrious citizens. In doing so, it is anticipated that positive youth development may bring great benefits to families, communities and nations, if built on strengths that create good outcomes for young people.

The research on positive youth approaches, as highlighted by Damon (2004, p.13), has changed the way people look at a young person, the interaction between the child and community, and moral growth. In this sense, it is a strength-based approach that promotes young people's capabilities to learn and thrive in the diverse settings they live. Pittman and Cahill (1992, p.32) explain that whilst positive youth development processes meet young people's physical, personal, and social needs; they also build a set of skills and competencies that may be useful in their present and future lives. In a broader sense, while youth development meets young people's different needs, it also supports development outcomes from both educational programs in schools and non-academic programs that operate in non-school hours (Pittman, et al., 2003, p.1 & 2). Basically, these writers (Damon, 2004; Pitman & Cahill, 1992; Pittman, et al. 2003) view that positive youth development is a process that meets young people's needs and helps them to acquire necessary skills to survive in their communities.

Some of the likely strengths that are needed to achieve positive youth outcomes, as identified by McLaren (2002), are as follows: to surround young people with positive influences; to build abundant strengths into young people's lives; to support young people with rich resources; to deliver optimum parenting; to induce positive peer influence via power of friends; to provide education that is accepting, sets limits and has high expectations; to place young people in well-resourced communities with

supportive neighbourhoods; and to involve young people in constructive activities outside school and work (McLaren, 2002, p.8-10).

Positive youth development, to conclude, is an approach that identifies the innate potentials and strengths of a child to develop positively into a resourceful adult that can contribute meaningfully to a society (Damon, 2004, p.13 & 14). In other words, the positive youth development approach supports full integral human development for young people in terms of their physical, mental, social, spiritual, educational and non educational growth. It recognizes young people not as deficits but as those bestowed with capacities to grow into useful adults if provided with environments that are very conducive to growth, and provided with opportunities to actively participate in society (Pitman & Cahill, 1992, p.32; Alinsky, 1971).

2.4 Summary

This chapter provided a discussion on the conceptual framework of youth development. Since the writings of Hall (1904) described the adolescent period as 'storm and stress,' a lot of theories were written, and this sparked the first phase of scientific study of development. A few of the scientists believed Hall's theory but many others disputed his theory. In the second phase of the scientific study of adolescents that occurred in the 1960s, a lot of research on the development of adolescents was done, and that triggered the increase of organisations and several journal publications that addressed youth issues. The theories were also used for further research and application for positive human development. Then, the third phase of the scientific study of adolescents came in the 1990s and focused on: development systems as a framework for research and application; the application that involves interactions and promotes collaboration of researchers and practitioners; and in the positive youth development ideas for improvement in the lives of young people (Lerner, 2005, p.6, 7 & 12). The information provided through research theories and practice paved the way for people to better understand adolescent development.

The positive youth development approach discussed in this chapter identifies the potential and strengths of young people to develop into productive adults that can contribute positively to a society (Damon, 2004, p.13 & 14). It recognizes young

people not as deficits but as those bestowed with capacities to grow into useful adults if provided with environments that are very conducive to growth and with opportunities to actually participate (Pitman & Cahill, 1992, p.32; Alinsky, 1971). This contrasts with the old ‘deficit’ model which assumes young people as ‘broken’ or in danger of becoming broken (Benson, et al. 2006), or as likely trouble makers to be managed (Roth, et al. 1998), and with prevention efforts primarily to solve single problem behaviours (Catalano, et al. 2004, p. 100). The next chapter will cover youth development and culture in the Pacific and Papua New Guinea.

Chapter 3: Youth Development and Culture in the Pacific and PNG

3.1 Introduction

This chapter will firstly examine youth development issues in the Pacific and strategies for working with youth. Secondly, it will discuss culture and its importance to youth development in a PNG context. It will elaborate on the concept of culture, the changes affecting traditional culture, and the contribution of these changes to youth development. It will also identify the prevalent youth issues in PNG communities and discuss the youth development approaches undertaken to address these issues.

It is common knowledge that different groups of people around the world have different cultures. Many of these fascinating traditional cultures are found in developing countries including PNG. The traditional cultures, as mentioned earlier in chapter 1, cover all forms of art including dance, music, visual arts and crafts, literature, music, and oral history (Maidment and Mackerras, 1998, p.234). Culture is described as: a way of talking about collective identities (Kuper, 1999, p.3); a collective society and its conduct of life (Bodley, 1999, p.9); and a matter of ideas and a pattern of meanings in symbolic forms including actions, utterances, and various meaningful objects which people use to identify and communicate with one another and share their beliefs (Thompson, 1990, p.3). Generally, culture encompasses more or less the whole of human life (Parekh, 2000, p.143).

From another stance, Haviland (1974) defines that culture may appear as a flexible set of rules that prescribe standards of proper and acceptable behaviours within a society. In this point of view, culture is a social phenomenon and a learned behaviour that is conveyed through the communication of ideas, emotions, and desires, expressed in one's language (Haviland 1974, as cited in Olutimayin, 2002, p.1). Haviland, thus infers that members of a society are expected to conform to these flexible set of rules but, if desired these rules can be changed to suit its members' needs. Culture is passed on from adults to young people mostly through informal training.

For a particular culture to function properly and serve its intended purpose, Olutimayin (2002, p.2) suggests that culture ought to provide its members with subsistence and biological continuity and motivate them to maintain their cultural systems. Essentially, culture should provide for the creation of its members, and sustain harmonious relationships within its own members, and between its members and the outsiders or those who do not belong to that particular culture. Also culture should express clearly how authority can be imposed and the kind of obedience is expected from subordinates.

Similarly Mosley (2001) summarises culture broadly as a set of beliefs, ideas, forms of interaction and way of understanding, organising and making sense of the shared surroundings, by a group of people living in a community. It is a medium whereby the members interact and create harmonious relations with one another and with their immediate environment. The author views that culture is spread socially and is constantly changing rather than something passed on from the past. She also believes that diversity of culture and language is an important social resource. Therefore, communities have a right to maintain, develop and protect them at all costs (Mosley, 2001, p.21).

For most communities, these cultures that people transmit across generations or use to define and sustain their collective identities and establish relationships with each other and outside, have not been static (Hall, 1999, p.4). These cultures may seem unwavering but culture is a fluid notion that has been evolving and changing constantly and is very rarely passed on unchanged from parents to children over many generations. Most people choose the type of culture they would prefer from their heritage, and amplify and modify it to suit their present needs. Furthermore individuals or groups have different tastes and so folklore grows and changes over time (Watson, 1997, p.8). So, in every society human beings live, culture seem to be changing due to interactions among the members themselves or with influences from outside cultures and forces. In other words, culture changes as people change over time.

However, in terms of youth development traditional cultures, norms, and values have always been passed on from parents to young people (Hall, 1994, p.4) either orally,

through rites of passage, or through observation and practice. The adult generation from each community have the prerogative to train young people to behave appropriately in their transition from childhood to adulthood. But due to rapid changes occurring between the traditional cultural ways and modern lifestyles, young people are confused with what cultures to accept and live with. The next section will discuss Pacific youth development approaches and their limitations.

3.2 Pacific Approaches and their Limitations

This section will reveal current youth development efforts in the twenty-two South Pacific Island Countries and territories scattered around the Pacific Ocean, discuss the major issues affecting youth development in the Pacific, and identify the types of programs implemented to assist young people in the Pacific. Although attempts have been made to promote youth development by the respective states, donor agencies, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), churches, and communities, it seems there is more work to be done.

The Pacific Region, as described by UNICEF (2006), is an ocean of islands, of varying sizes and shapes, with unique patterns of settlement. It has a diversity of cultures, and a long and varied history of encounters with the outside world. The total Pacific population, excluding Australia and New Zealand, is about 8 million people; over half of which reside in PNG (International Labour Organisation, 2001). From the total 8 million people in the Pacific, the estimated proportion of young people by mid 2005 was about 1.6 million, aged between 15 and 24 years. This age group represents about 20 per cent of the total population of the Pacific (McMurray, 2006, p.27).

The growing number of young people definitely increases demand for essential services like education and health, as well as for employment opportunities. As a result government budgets and services directed at young people will be under even more pressure and young people themselves will suffer as a result. In addition to population pressures, the rapidly changing modern societies and values clash with the traditional cultural norms (Vainerere, 2004, p.3; Vainerere, 2006a; The State of the Pacific Youth 2005, 2005, p.2). The population figures above point to the enormous task the Pacific governments, donor agencies, and other youth-oriented organisations

and individuals, have to address common youth problems and identify appropriate youth development approaches for the Pacific region.

McMurray (2006, p.4) explains that in a Pacific society young people's views and needs are often ignored by both their own families and communities. Parents or guardians expect young people to listen and respond to them quickly without question. A lot of adults think they have the absolute authority to manipulate young people's lives. Sadly, young people are expected to 'be seen and not heard' and often left with little opportunities for active participation in various community activities. Similarly, the respective Pacific governments who provide social services like education and health expect young people to be passive recipients and be satisfied with what they are offered.

McMurray (2006) adds further that the majority of the Pacific Island people depend on subsistence or semi-subsistence lifestyles and usually have low incomes. Apart from the public sector there are limited opportunities for waged labour for young people. Some Pacific countries are categorised as poor or least developed nations like Kiribati, Tuvalu, Samoa, Solomon Islands and Vanuatu. But, in the case of Papua New Guinea, it has the greatest disparities in income within a single nation. The problems that many of the young people in these Pacific countries face are aggravated by poverty and gender issues. For instance, girls have less freedom than boys, and the roles of boys and girls are determined by culture (McMurray, 2006, p.4). In most Pacific countries, development has been confined to urban areas and special places like the mines and plantations, while the villages continue to live much as before (McMurray & Muagututia, 2003, p.41).

The lack of sufficient educational opportunities has left many Pacific young people with limited skills and life choices. These limitations in turn can undermine self-esteem and lead to anti-social and risky behaviours. Throughout the Pacific, it seems, there is a lack of a coherent policy framework within which appropriate services are planned and delivered for young people as they move from childhood to adulthood. This results in ad hoc and uncoordinated approaches by government agencies and the non-government sector to meeting the specific needs of young people. Also, it is compounded by insufficient training and resources allocated to Youth Ministries and

non governmental organisations (Vainerere, 2004, p.4; The State of the Pacific Youth 2005, 2005, p.3 & 22).

Another problem is the lack of consultation with young people when decisions are made in areas that affect them (McMurray, 2006, p.4). Part of the reason is that young people are not represented at regional and national levels to lobby decision makers to recognise youth needs. Although youth councils exist in some Pacific countries they need ongoing support before they can have a positive impact on policy development. For instance, in the 1990s, PNG's National Youth Commission (NYC) established Provincial Youth Councils to implement its national youth development programs in the provinces, but due to lack of financial undertakings by the government, all ceased their operations (National Youth Service, 1996, p.15). In order for young Pacific Islanders to participate more in the organizations that represent them, and in the life of their communities, they need to develop a range of practical skills that are not currently available in their school curriculum. These skills include leadership, project development and management, and lifestyle skills. However, the Pacific way of learning is passive observation while the modern education systems promote active engagement and research, so a lot of young people do not participate actively in schools (McMurray, 2006, p.5).

Nonetheless, to improve young people's lives in a collaborative effort, a new partnership was initiated between three agencies to address Adolescent Health and Development in the Pacific. These three lead agencies are: UNICEF Pacific, Secretariat for the Pacific Community (SPC), and UNFPA Office for the Pacific, while their work was funded by New Zealand's International Aid and Development Agency (NZAID). These partners together presented 'The State of the Pacific Youth 2005' report that identified some of the key issues that affect youth including education challenges, limited employment opportunities, and crime and juvenile delinquency. Other issues related to youth health comprises of sexual and reproductive issues, mental health, suicide, and substance abuse. These issues are of great concern because they undermine and reduce the potential that young people have to contribute to their society while enjoying a satisfying life (The State of the Pacific Youth 2005, 2005, p.2).

The State of the Pacific Youth 2005 report points out that the participation of young people in crime and delinquency results in deprivation of freedom, alienation from society, and jeopardizes their opportunities and choices in life. Likewise, those with health problems caused by substance abuse, unsafe sex, and pregnancy while they are still children themselves, limit their opportunities in life and the potential to contribute to their society. In very unfortunate situations, young people die from high risk and self-destructive behaviour. The major health risk facing youth in some Pacific countries is Human Immunodeficiency Virus/ Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome (HIV/AIDS); it seems to affect girls at a younger age than boys. As more and more cases are reported, young people offer the greatest hope for defeating this epidemic. It is anticipated that young people have the potential to be agents of change and break the silence on sensitive issues surrounding the deadly disease like: sex, gender inequality, sex work, sexual orientation, substance abuse, and violence (The State of the Pacific Youth 2005, 2005, p.2 & 3).

As mentioned above, the three leading agencies (SPC, UNICEF and UNFPA) that have collaborated as a regional mandate to address youth issues, also formed partnerships with different governments of the Pacific countries and territories, and participated in the formulation of the Pacific Youth Strategy in 2005. In addition, these partners contributed to the Pacific Plan and the Pacific Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) movement, and have indicated great support for the creation of a more integrated approach to address youth challenges at both the national and regional levels. This has prompted some nations including PNG to establish their own National Youth Councils and prepare their own youth strategies. But the bulk of Pacific young men and women still appeal for opportunities to participate in different socio-economic activities and contribute meaningfully to development. The youth are bestowed with valuable resources, including skills and lots of energy, and have the capabilities to thrive but only if allowed to participate actively (The State of the Pacific Youth 2005, 2005, p.3).

According to The State of the Pacific Youth 2005 (2005, p.3) report, many young people have benefited from the efforts and initiatives for improving youth lives, made by the Pacific governments, civil society, and donors. These benefits were derived from programs like: training in life skills and employment generation; youth

reproductive health services; and various specific projects to address issues such as substance abuse.

Meanwhile, Vainerere (2004, p.5) commended some of the regional and international organizations that have contributed significantly to youth development in the Pacific and deserved recognition. These reputable organisations include: the SPC's Youth Bureau for youth activities (Vainarere, 2006b); the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) for skills development among youth and organizing a regional youth forum (UNESCO, 2003); the Commonwealth Youth Programme (CYP) for youth worker training, enterprise development and micro-credit schemes (Commonwealth Secretariat, 2007); the UNFPA for work on adolescent reproductive health (UNFPA, 2007); United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) for youth initiatives under the Pacific Sustainable Livelihoods Programme (UNDP, 2006); the UNICEF for Pacific Stars Life Skills Programme (UNICEF, 2005); the US Peace Corps for village based Youth Volunteers (Peace Corps, 2008); and the World Bank for the Pacific Youth Charter (The World Bank, 2006). Not to be undermined, various church organisations, smaller non-governmental organisations (NGOs), and civil society have also contributed to youth work. These latter organizations are often involved in conducting youth activities like regional conferences, seminars, training programmes, and co-funding of youth projects. Hence if these stated programs and projects have brought tremendous benefits to the young people, then they have to be intensified, modified to suit different communities, and replicated widely for more young people to benefit.

The transition from childhood to adulthood seems quite challenging as it involves physical, psychological, and social changes. There is not much evidence to indicate that young people's lives have improved across the Pacific. In some places the opportunities and prospects for youth may have become even more limited than before (The State of the Pacific Youth 2005, 2005, p.3).

To conclude this section, youth development requires a lot more collaborative and well coordinated efforts from all these youth-oriented organisations before it can flourish in the Pacific. The initial collaborative effort by SPC, UNICEF and UNFPA, discussed earlier, should be supported by all Pacific governments, civil society, and

by all the different youth-oriented stakeholders. The key challenges facing youths in the Pacific Islands reflect on a larger scale the problems of society. The youth problems identified in The State of the Pacific Youth 2005 report will have to be addressed within the framework of national development policies, and the search for solutions should involve the creativity of young people themselves. Young people have to be provided with ample opportunities to participate in tackling their own problems and express their own views (Van Beers, et al. 2006, p.16). Hence this leads on to the next part about linking culture into addressing Pacific youth issues.

3.3 Linking Culture and Pacific Youth Issues

Youth upbringing, as stated earlier in chapter 1, has always been a communal task in every family, tribe, culture, community and society in the Pacific whereby the adults generally impart the knowledge, skills, norms and values of the society to young people while in their transition from childhood to adulthood (Bodley, 1994, p.9; Kuper, 1992, p.3; Thompson, 1990, p.132). In the recent decades, however, a number of social forces have changed both the landscape of family and community life and the expectations for young people (Catalano, et al. 2004, p.98).

In some societies, many factors have weakened families and the informal community support that was usually available to young people. Some of the factors identified are as follows: high rate of changes affecting families; more parents are at work and in study in schools; and therefore absent from home for long periods; extensive media exposure to the themes of violence, use, and abuse of drugs and alcohol; in some cases, the break-down of neighbourhood and schools as a result of crimes, drugs, and poverty (Eccles & Gootman, 2002, p.2 & 3). Simultaneously, the rapidly changing world with its complex modern technology and knowledge has placed new and challenging demands on young people (Lloyd, 2005, p.32). Thus, it can be seen that young people in the Pacific Island countries experience and interact within political, economic, and socio-cultural contexts that are much different to what their parents' and grandparents' generations experienced (Buchanan-Aruwafu, 2008, p.107).

Culture, in the words of Hooper (2000, p.3), plays a much bigger role in the national economies and national life of Pacific countries than it does in most regions of the

world. This portrays that Pacific people, although it differs with situation and setting, do not become less traditional and more modern, but must be both at the same time. Throughout the Pacific, conflicts between traditional culture and modern lifestyles have affected families, land ownership, gender roles, sexuality, political authority, and observances of birth, marriage and death.

The nature of many families in the Pacific, according to The State of the Pacific Youth 2005 (2005, p.29 & 30), has been changing rapidly, and a shift, for instance, to a nuclear family reduces shared or communal childcare and support for a young person. For a young wage-earning couple the continuous social obligations and responsibilities of the extended family may become a burden. Also, cultural changes may contribute to confusion about roles and responsibilities, in which parents may neglect their own child at critical periods in their lives. Interestingly, in some parts of Micronesia nuclear families are swinging back to larger family, to increase the chances for their children to meet other members of their extended family who once would have played a major role in helping them make the transition to adulthood (Hezel, 2003).

Furthermore, the Western media have created adverse impacts and promote Western culture and values as the ideal lifestyle. Many young people have been lured by Western entertainments with fantasies for good lives rather than informing them of real life situations. Just to achieve their dreams young people often commit immoral and illegal activities. It is fair to note that Western media has portrayed some positive ways of living for young people.

On regional basis events like the South Pacific Games, Mini South Pacific Games, Festival of Arts Pacific, Pacific Youth Festival, and other minor socio-cultural exchange events have been promoting the involvement of young people to learn and share different cultures and values. The exposure to these social-cultural events may permit young people to understand cultural differences among the Pacific society and learn to live with one another. Here is a brief description of these important events.

The South Pacific Games has been held every four years since 1963 and the most recent one was held in Apia, Samoa from August 25 to September 8, 2007. This

sports event brings Pacific people together, especially young people, to create friendship, and celebrate, through a multi-sport event designed for the Pacific. The Games maintain a high standing within the Pacific and has a growing reputation for sporting excellence. The 11th South Pacific Games in Suva, Fiji saw for the first time the introduction of a full program of 32 sports. This event involved some 4,000 participants, and 22 Pacific Island nations and Territories. Despite all the changes, the perpetual spirit of cultural friendship through sports remains the essence of the games (South Pacific Games, 2007). The next South Pacific Games will be held in New Caledonia in 2011. Also, the mini-South Pacific Games that began in 1981 and is played every four years with the same spirit that promotes youth sports, building friendships, cultural exchange, and unity among the Pacific people. The most recent mini-South Pacific Games were held in Palau in 2005 (Watanabe, 2005). The next Pacific Mini Games will be held in the Cook Islands in 2009.

The Festival of Pacific Arts is another major cultural event that the Secretariat for the Pacific Community initiated to minimise the erosion of traditional customary practices among young people in the Pacific. Representatives of 27 Pacific Island Countries and Territories come together to share and exchange their cultures at each Festival of Pacific Arts held every four years. The Festival's major theme is traditional song and dance, but each participating country and territory is free to include other activities. This cultural event makes a significant contribution, especially to the young people in the Pacific Island countries, as it: promotes unity, identities, mutual appreciation and respect for one another's cultures; improves political and economic stability by developing a deeper sense of solidarity; unites the geographically isolated Pacific Island countries and territories; and facilitates inter-regional communication. Tourism and related industries also benefit, with the proceeds often going to local communities. The 10th Festival of Pacific Arts will be held in Pago Pago, American Samoa beginning from July 20 to August 2, 2008 (Festival of Pacific Arts, 2006).

The Pacific Youth Festival is another event specifically for the youth, organised by the Ministry of Youth and Culture of French Polynesia; the Secretariat of the Pacific Community (SPC); Polynesian Union for Youth; and the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO). About 900 young participants from 22 countries and territories of the Pacific attended this regional youth meeting in

Tahiti from July 17-22, 2006. These young people came together and shared experiences, exchanged cultural views, and promoted their concerns and visions of how they can take the lead in promoting positive changes in their respective communities, and make an impact on the agenda for regional development. The six-day Festival comprised a series of conference sessions, seminars, and youth-led workshops, structured around major themes of particular concern to young people and aimed at producing a Pacific Youth Charter that sets out young people's priorities and recommendations for action in the region (UNESCO, 2007). The next Pacific Youth Festival will be held in Fiji in 2009.

The above stated events depict that many young people have been allowed more opportunities to participate in these organized sports and cultural events. The more opportunities young people have to participate in these events the better for their personal development. Youth advocates and developmentalists argue that constructive organized activities make good use of the adolescents' time, because such activities provide opportunities for youth to acquire assets. The assets are predicted to facilitate both current levels of school engagement and achievement, and subsequent educational and occupational attainment, and prevent the emergence of risky behavior patterns that can mortgage young people's future (Harris & Eccles, 2005, p.2).

Young people who participate in youth programs have the opportunity to acquire assets like: self-affirmation; positive identity; respect; decision-making skills; a commitment to learning; positive values; family and community support; meaningful roles and empowerment; new physical, social, and intellectual skills; clearly enforced boundaries and expectations; opportunities to develop and express passion and creativity; and constructive use of time (Eccles, Barber, Stone, & Hunt, 2003, p. 865-889; Scales & Leffert, 1999; Earls & Carlson, 2002). Thus young people should be given the opportunity to participate in various youth development programs both in and out of school, in order to benefit from these assets and avoid problem behaviours in the future. In the following section, the discussion is about common development issues occurring in PNG.

3.4 Prevalent Development Issues for Youth in PNG

The next few paragraphs will describe some of the main prevalent youth issues that are encountered by young people in PNG. The common youth problems identified here are similar to what is experienced by other Pacific nations and they are: dropping out of school; unemployment among school leavers; youth substance abuse; sexually transmitted infections including HIV/AIDS; teenage pregnancy; youth living on the street; youth crime and civil unrest; and youth suicide (The State of the Pacific Youth 2005, 2005, p.iii).

In PNG after completing primary school education closer to home, the students who continue secondary school have to leave home, as many of the secondary schools are located away from home. Dropping out of school is one of the major concerns for PNG and other Pacific countries, because there is a high rate of young people who do not complete their education. According to The State of The Pacific Youth 2005 report, the churches and colonial powers established most of the education systems in the Pacific that emphasised competency in core academic subjects as preparation for white-collar jobs. The rate of dropout occurred at all levels of primary, secondary, and tertiary education in Melanesian countries (which include PNG), but the rate of drop out at the end of primary schools is high because students fail to pass the entrance exams to secondary education. Often there are insufficient places in secondary school as well. Thus in the Solomon Islands they are referred to as ‘push outs’ rather than ‘drop outs’. Some parents are not willing to support their children to continue schooling at a distance, which is necessary for many who go on to secondary school. Other parents simply withdraw their children whom they think are not performing academically, because of the higher tuition fees. Another reason for the drop out is the use of punishment by teachers for student discipline; many students desert school to avoid harsh punishments and embarrassment (The State of the Pacific Youth 2005, 2005, p.4). To reinforce these points the youth from Vanuatu confirmed the reasons for school drop outs as: no money for fees; expected by family to find jobs; failing grade six exams; pregnancy; and running away from conflict or discipline in school (Mitchell, 1998, p.29).

In PNG, a drop out or school leaver is often a young person who has some formal education but has left school because of the following reasons: not coping with the English only curriculum; not passing the eliminatory examinations; no classroom space; and could not afford to pay school fees. Hence, school leavers are often viewed as misfits who have learned neither the skills for a well paid job in town nor the skill they need for work in the village. Since they can not survive in the industrial economy and they are seen to lack the desire and skills to work in the traditional society, they are categorised by others or see themselves as 'useless' individuals, who wasted their parents' hard-earned money for school fees (Ahai & Faraclas, 1993, p.82 & 83).

Another youth issue is the rate of unemployment among school leavers in PNG because of limited development in the private sector and the secondary industry. Many young people are disadvantaged by their lack of experience and skills for specific jobs. As it will be discussed later in chapter 4, increasing numbers of young people leave their school and homes and migrate to towns in search of jobs that are often not there for them (Canadian University Services Overseas - CUSO, 2007).

McMurray (2002) emphasises that only about 1 in 10 school leavers in PNG find work in the formal sector and there is little absorption of labour in rural areas. The author points out that PNG has a stagnating economy that promotes exports of minerals and raw materials, with little support for growth of local industry and small businesses in the midst of a rapidly growing population. She states that the problem of unemployment is further compounded by poor transport and communication infrastructures which hinder development of modern industries like information technology. Also, the concentration of wage employment in urban areas has promoted large-scale and short-term rural-to-urban migration, resulting in urban congestion and high crime rates (McMurray, 2002, p.1).

While discussing unemployment, the writer (McMurray) added that a new approach to human resources development is needed, one that prepares the majority of young people for village-based livelihoods and informal activities and income generation, rather than formal wage employment. McMurray recommends that a workable strategy should, at the onset, restore law and order, provide rural electrification, and

have the right attitudes for rural community development that supports youth enterprise (McMurray, 2002, p.1).

Drug abuse is another problem among the young people. They take drugs and alcohol as a strategy to cope with problems of unemployment, neglect, violence and sexual abuse (UN Economic and Social Council, 1999, p.1). The common substances abused by young people, including those in PNG, are alcohol (both home brewed and retailed), tobacco, marijuana, kava (in countries like Vanuatu, Fiji and Tonga), petrol sniffing, and other narcotic substances. The danger of alcohol is that young people go on binge drinking, which in turn spoils their health. Under the influence of drugs or alcohol young people may engage in unsafe sex which can result in unwanted pregnancies for girls and the risk of sexually transmitted infections for both sexual partners. Substance abuse is often associated with youth crime and suicide. This happens when young people realise they do not have money to buy more alcohol, so they steal or commit armed robberies. A lot of idle youths roam the streets of urban areas looking for trouble. In numerous cases, some young people die from drug overdoses or from drug or alcohol related vehicle accidents and fights (The State of the Pacific Youth 2005, 2005, p.6). Most of the young people know the consequences of substance and alcohol abuse but get involved due to economic and social factors (PAHP, 2001, 2003).

The recent spread of HIV infection is another major issue for young people in PNG. The National AIDS Council (2007) in collaboration with Department of Health revealed that many young people in the country are infected with HIV/AIDS. They estimated the number of people living with HIV to be about 46,275 as of December 2006. In the year 2006, 4,017 people were tested positive, representing a 30% increase from 2005, bringing the total cumulative number of diagnosed cases to 18,484. The revised estimate indicates that the numbers of HIV cases are increasing especially in the rural areas. There are also projected increases in the number of AIDS related deaths, the number of people requiring treatment, and the number of children and youth (0-17 years) being orphaned (National AIDS Council, 2007, http://staging.nacs.org.pg/www/html/167-current.asp- Cited on 23/02/08).

Poverty was never an issue for the Pacific youth in the traditional culture because everything was provided for by the land and sea (Fisk, 1978) and also of the 'social safety net' to assist those facing hardships (McMurray, 2002, p.2). But modernisation brought in the need to have money to pay for basic goods and services, even in remote villages. For instance, parents have to pay for their children's school fees and health clinic fees for medication. Poverty also can drive young people into high risk activities; when they have no money they think of ways to find easy money to meet their needs. A classic example is found at the Kakaruk Market in Goroka, as discussed later in chapter 6, where the young people participate in various illicit activities to find instant cash.

To conclude, young people face many of the problems as discussed in this section. The continuous clashes between traditional and modern culture may have contributed to these problems. The modern lifestyles require young people to be educated in schools and work for wages to meet their needs and wants. But those who drop out face enormous economic and social problems, like unemployment, drug abuse, HIV/AIDS, and poverty. Those young students who pass through the education system seem fine, but if they cannot get job, they often face problems too. Some young people who find themselves with problems simply turn to drugs as a short term solution. Few of these young people get involved in problems because they chose to, but for many others they do it for survival, they have no choice. According to The State of the Pacific Youth 2005 (2005, p.8-10) those who end up on the streets desert home for various reasons which include: broken family; unsympathetic relatives; severe discipline; physical and sexual abuse; and other unbearable situations. In PNG 'rascal gangs' steal and commit other crimes; some end up losing their lives. The next section of this chapter looks at traditional cultures and youth development.

3.5 Traditional Cultures and Youth Development

As will be described in more detail later in chapter 4, a typical PNG society ranges from traditional village-based life dependent on subsistence farming, with 97 percent of land still under customary tenure systems, to modern urban life (Turner, 1990, p.23). About 85 percent of the population work on their land to earn their living while the remaining 15 percent are employed by the formal sector (AusAID, 1998, p.7). The

800 languages found on the island of New Guinea reflect the diverse origins of people, and PNG cannot be compared with any other nation for its rich cultural and language diversities. Although the impacts of modernisation continue, much of the inherited social behaviours regarding, for example, gardening, marriage, and death, remain unchanged in the villages (Dorney, 2000, p.1).

In PNG every community has its unique traditional culture which has been part of the Melanesian society's way of life and passed on from their ancestors many years ago. According to Kinjap (2007, p.1) many people in PNG have claimed that cultures and traditions are old-fashioned because they hold back development, and should be discarded and adapted to modern ways of life. He (Kinjab) predicts that the traditional cultures and indigenous systems may be lost forever if they are not practiced regularly, recorded, preserved, and widely promoted. He emphasised that young people need to practice these traditional cultures regularly in order to maintain and preserve them from the detrimental impact of modernisation. If not, the cultural identity of the Melanesians will be gone (Kinjap, 2007, p.2).

Some people view traditional culture as dying out, but many cultural practices and traits still linger in different villages and communities in PNG. Knauft (2002, p.20), an anthropologist, on his second visit in 1998 to the Gebusi people of Western Province, was amazed that some customs and beliefs of these people have not changed sixteen years later. For instance, fathers and brothers still emphasize that daughters and sisters should marry through direct reciprocity in sister-exchange marriage. While another anthropologist, Tuzin (2001, p.48) observes that similar sister-exchange marriage was fast becoming extinct among the people of Arapesh in the East Sepik Province. Among the Arapesh people, many young men reject traditional pre-arranged marriages and those with money were free to pay for their bride in the marriage market. As portrayed here, even similar cultural practices seem to change at their own pace and time. But those cultural practices that were assumed to be bad were totally eliminated, for instance, the 'tambaran' cult that calls for human sacrifice; and endemic tribal warfare (Tuzin, 2001, p.121). Unfortunately, the latter seems to be re-occurring, particularly in the PNG highlands region due to land disputes these days.

On the other hand, some cultural activities have been amplified and modified to suit needs or situations. For example, the traditional bride price exchange that occurs in the PNG highlands and in several coastal provinces usually includes kina shells, birds' plumes and feathers, garden food stuff, and pigs (Salisbury, 1956, p.641 & 642). These communities have a patrilineal system wherein the groom's parents and relatives pay the bride's family with cash and other gifts. Today in the same society similar bride price exchange gifts consist of a large amount of hard cash, garden food, pigs, cows, goats, chickens, frozen cartons of meat and other manufactured goods like cars in the case of wealthy men who can afford them (Layton, 2000). In monetary terms, the bride price exchange has become a costly exercise for young men in these areas, although its value differs from place to place.

The changes affecting cultural behaviours illustrated above are to draw attention to the changes affecting young people in PNG. This country has some very unique cultures and traditions (Dorney, 2000, p.19) and that means that youth upbringing methods may differ from one place to another. To understand how young people were brought up in a typical traditional PNG society, I have provided descriptive examples of a youth upbringing process that was followed in the past in my own Litipinaga community in the Lufa district of the Eastern Highlands Province prior to the influences of modernisation and Christianity. I also present a youth upbringing method from Siar, a coastal village in the Madang Province, where the people have recently revived their culture to instil discipline among their young men.

3.5.1 Upbringing of Youth in Lufa District

The information from my community presented here is a collective oral history revealed to me by my own parents, grandparents, and other elderly village people. In the past, the rearing of children from birth till pre-adolescent period was left to the immediate parents or close relatives, for both male and female offspring. However, at the pre-adolescent stage, in the case of young males, they are separated from their parents and taken away to the "hausman" (men's house) for their initiation as required by custom. While there, they are banned from seeing their mothers or any females. At the men's house, these young boys undergo intensive training from experts, particularly elderly men, who teach them the cultural trades, knowledge, societal

norms and values through informal “hands-on” experience. The major areas necessary for skills acquisition include: hunting; building huts; making fences with wooden posts; cooking; warfare; chanting and dances; gardening techniques like slash and burn; and soil preparation and planting. However, the real testing time comes at the final part of the initiation period, which involves nose bleeding and cane insertion into the stomach via the mouth.

In the case of nose bleeding, a certain type of shrub was slowly pushed in and out of each young man’s nostrils until blood trickles out from small cuts made by the sharp edged grass. The blood is believed to be from childhood years and forced out, makes the young boy to grow stronger. In the case of a cane insertion, a long specially prepared cane is inserted slowly into the stomach through each young man’s mouth to induce vomiting. As the young boy vomits, it is believed to remove milk he was fed by his mother at a young age so that he can become a young adult. Those young boys who failed to endure these procedures were often punished severely, and the process was repeated another time until they proved their manhood through these painful tasks. The whole initiation period took from a few months to a year until all the young men were tested through rites of passage. At the end of this important life process, they were bestowed with recognition as young men who were prepared to take on adult roles. On the day they were released from their seclusion the whole community welcomed them with traditional dances, chants and big feasting with slaughtered pigs and other food. This initiation process was repeated every few years when another group of boys reached their puberty. Today, this type of initiation process is no longer practised in the community.

Correspondingly young girls, from birth, are taken care of by their parents or relatives until they reach the puberty period. These young girls often remained with their mothers who teach them basic skills like house keeping, cooking, gardening and other chores until puberty. When a girl begins her initial monthly period, she is often kept in a secluded house with her peer mates for about 1-4 weeks. While in seclusion, the elderly women explain the changes related to menstruation and advise these young girls to keep the traditional culture, norms and values. They also provide counselling, particularly to the menstruating girl to behave more like a young woman and advise on how to care for her husband and children at marriage.

A party is hosted for the young women on the day of release from seclusion, but this is less intense than compared to the time when the young men are released, as the patrilineal community favours males over females for inheritance purposes. The girls are all dressed in traditional costumes and led out of the house to feast on the best cooked vegetables, pork, and other meats prepared for them. The particular girl is publicly announced as a young woman who is now ready to take on adult tasks including marriage. In the ensuing days, this young adult woman and other young girls accompany elderly womenfolk who teach them life skills through 'hands-on experience' such as: gardening; planting crops and harvesting; childbearing; animal domestication; and cooking. The initiation process is repeated for every young girl on reaching first menstruation. This unique initiation process has diminished and is no longer been practiced.

3.5.2 Traditional Initiation for Young Men in Siar

Similarly, a revival of a traditional initiation ceremony was reported in the daily newspaper, the Post Courier (February 1, 2008) which took place in Siar village in Madang Province. This particular ceremony was to revive the dying local culture and specifically to instil discipline in the young males. In this case, 24 teenagers between the ages of 15 to 25 were kept secluded with little food and water, inside a makeshift house for 30 days. It was regarded as a life and death experience. To enforce the strict rules of the men's house, a fence was constructed around the house to prevent unwanted people from entering, except for certain identified adult males. As a custom, the events that ensued daily inside the men's house were kept secret and were done in the men's way. It was all about total discipline and no one was allowed to sneak out of the fence.

In the men's house, these boys were taught many life-experiences. Selected elderly men in the village shared their wisdom with these young adults. They were educated on many aspects of being a man which includes: caring; sharing and respect; protecting their families and their communities; and they were particularly drilled on the 'dos' and 'do nots'. Tales and folklore was taught about the yellow-fin tuna and other sea creatures, to show their significance to human nature. All the instructions in the men's house were taken as an order and no objections were allowed. Each

morning at 3 a.m, under strict control, the young men were taken out to sea to swim and sink deep into the sea like the yellow-fin tuna. In the men's house, they ate nothing but 2 bananas, roasted over an open fire twice a day, one for breakfast, and the other for dinner. The piece of banana was swallowed with the aid of crushed ginger, to form a lump of saliva. No water was allowed for the young boys to drink, but they were allowed to chew juicy sugar cane, if available. Everybody was treated equally, so, if one person made a mistake, every young man received the same punishment, for instance, a slap on the palm. If one became sick or wounded no pharmaceutical product was used except special herbs.

At the end of the seclusion, it was party time; the boys were decorated in red cloth like the colour of the red reef fish and led into the village in the midst of cheers, drum beats, and dances. These young adults were warmly welcomed with a big party with lots of food, which they had missed very much. After feasting, each young adult was made to live on his own in the boy's house for the next two to three months. He was provided with basic cooking utensils and other essential household items for his private use. He prepared food for himself and was not allowed to visit his parents, so as to test the training received in the men's house, and as a sign of manhood towards an independent life. What also transpired was a sense of respect accorded to these young men after the completion of their initiation period. They entered the men's house as teenagers but after 30 days of seclusion, they came out as trained adults prepared to take over mature men's tasks (Post Courier (2008, February 1).

3.5.3 The Value of Revival of Traditional Rituals

The main motive behind these cultural practices is for both young men and women to master important life skills, and acquire valuable knowledge, norms, and values prior to marriage. At marriage, their respective communities would expect newly-wed couples to independently meet their own needs rather than depending on other people.

Although initiation ceremonies differ from one place to another in PNG, the traditional youth development approaches stated above illustrate the unique ways people nurture and educate young people to become resourceful adults in their respective communities. The most intriguing part is that the whole community

appears to play important roles in nurturing these young people until they are tested through rites of passage and bestowed with recognition as adults. But today, it is disheartening to mention that many of the similar traditional youth upbringing methods have vanished and are no longer available for youth's induction to life. The Siar people's effort to revive their culture may provide insights into the revival of practices to prepare young people for adulthood.

Many changes have taken place in PNG, inspired by the Western concepts and Christian ideologies, especially among the young people. Many young people have experienced a sense of conflict between the traditional and modern ways of life in their lives. Waiko (1993) argues that many people are caught between traditional and modern societies, and in some cases people have difficulty in coping with the demands and obligations of the receding traditional society, and the demands and expectations of the emerging society. This creates a situation of divided loyalties, in which many people find it difficult to continue to identify with the village society and at the same time become members of the modern institutions (Waiko, 1993, p.246. Cited in Kulwaum, 2007).

The youth upbringing methods which I have discussed earlier have vanished and are no longer practiced due to the rapid impact of western influence and Christianity. Many local Christian churches have categorised some cultural practices as sinful. However, the important point about the traditional youth upbringing methods from my society is that almost every adult participates to ensure that all the young people transit into adulthood smoothly. In today's society the job of youth upbringing is left only to the parents and close relatives. In cases where the parents have marital problems or are deceased or when the relatives ignore the child's needs, that child may end up in disastrous situations.

In addition, the Western lifestyles that seek the accumulation of wealth and material goods portray cultural practices as very primitive and unhealthy for development. The western ways were deemed as superior and traditional cultural practices were seen as inferior. The latter practices were thought as lacking and as not contributing towards improving people's lives (McMurray, 2006, p.5). Hence, many young people had the

illusion that adoption of Western life-styles may lead them to high-quality lives and prosperity but for the bulk of them this has led to disappointment.

To conclude, the main concern is that many traditional cultures are gradually dying out from the impacts of western society, Christianity, and other forces at play since the colonial days. As such, something has to be done to retain the important features of the traditional cultures, particularly to see if there is value in the youth upbringing methods that require the involvement of everyone in the communities. The break down in the maintenance of these cultural norms and values may have contributed to youth problems which hinder progress from childhood to adulthood. Hence this leads to the next section of this chapter about agents promoting youth development.

3.6 Agents Promoting Youth Development

This section of the thesis will reveal the different agents that support youth development in PNG. Every attempt is made to ensure that young people grow up healthy, keep the local culture, norms and values intact, and follow simple rules in order to maintain harmonious social relations in the community. Different individuals, groups, schools, private institutions, and state departments, have been involved in youth development activities. But they all deferred in their youth development approaches and strategies to suit their purposes. For instance, the local traditional society teaches young people to be conservative and keep the culture, societal norms, and values, while the Western society requires young people to be innovative and work hard to obtain material wealth and status. On the other hand, Christianity calls for young people to accept the Christian principles and live peacefully at home, whereas the schools educate and nurture young people, to find paid jobs after school outside their homes.

The key state institution in PNG that is responsible for youth development policy, plans, and program implementation is the National Youth Commission (NYC), formerly known as the National Youth Service. The NYC comes directly under the Department for Community Development and it facilitates the training, education and rehabilitation of young men and women to improve the quality of their own lives, the lives of their families, and their communities, as they grow into responsible adult

citizens. The Commission encourages young people to participate in social, spiritual, political, economic and cultural development activities. It also seeks to encourage and provide avenues for young men and women at the local level to enter the workforce in order to create and maintain a regular cash income. It also works in collaboration with other government departments, churches, non-governmental organisations, Youth Movement Organisations such as the Scouts and Girl Guides, and private enterprise, in order to strengthen their work with young people (Department for Community Development, 2007). At the Provincial and District levels, the Division for Community Development office in each province support and extend the services of the NYC to the young population in various communities.

As I have mentioned earlier in this writing, the National Youth Commission implemented three nationwide youth development approaches throughout the 20 Provinces in the 1980s. It began with the National Youth Employment Strategy, followed by the National Youth Movement Program and the National Youth Service (National Youth Service, 1996, p.15). Those projects were very viable for promoting youth development but ceased to achieve their purposes due to little financial support from the state (McMurray, 2002, p.5). At the moment no major youth development programs have been initiated for the country on a large scale. However, there are plans for National Youth Commission and the Minister for Community Development, Carol Kidu, to launch the new look National Youth Policy in 2008 (Hriehwazi, The National, March 26, 2008), which will reveal the new direction for youth development in PNG. It is hoped that this policy document will contain achievable aims and objectives with appropriate youth development approaches and strategies for a PNG context.

The Education Department is another of the main institutions that have a great impact on the lives of young people in PNG. School, in the words of Smith and Guthrie (1980, p.6) is one of the powerful agents of social change that affects the lives of children. Obviously, the school often influences the social positions of the young people in the village. The schools, which were built in the communities since the colonial days, were owned and operated by the different missions, private organisations, and the state, and have in the past aimed to educate school leavers to

find white collar jobs (Ahai and Faraclas, 1993, p.82 & 83; The State of the Pacific Youth 2005, 2005, p.4; McMurray, 2006, p.5).

However, a large number of school leavers in PNG migrating to towns can not find work (Canadian University Services Overseas, 2007). The obvious reason was that the education system has failed to educate the majority of the young school leavers to go back home and live in their own communities (Department of Education, 1991, p.167). Many school leavers regard themselves as 'useless' because they lack the skills to get a paid job and also cannot live in the community because they are not taught how to live there. As stated earlier, McMurray (2002, p.1) emphasises that there is need for a new human resource approach that supports village-based livelihood, and informal income generating activities, instead of seeking formal employment. The educational reform is expected to come up with alternative approaches to train students to live and work in their villages.

The Education Reform in PNG, as described by Wroge (2002) began in July 1991, after the National and Provincial Departments of Education officials agreed to restructure the formal education system to include vernacular preschools in PNG. The Education Reform aimed to improve educational access, equity, quality, and promote vernacular language instruction in the first three grades of a child's education. In 1997 the implementation of the nationally approved Provincial Education Plan began in the twenty provinces of PNG. According to the writer, Wroge, the Education Reform ensures that each child receive an early education in the local vernacular, gradually bridging to English as a language of wider communication. The Reform includes: the development of a culturally relevant curriculum and materials; the years for basic education increased to nine years instead of six; and school located closer to the child's village. It was anticipated that providing education in the first language of a child, this may prepare him or her to transfer the learning of skills in their own language, and to learn better in English (Wroge, 2002, p.2). The basic approach of the reform to promote local culture and language at an early age of young people is encouraging, but whether this education reform is working well or not is another issue. A good evaluation of this Education Reform should reveal the success and failures of this venture and may make recommendation for further improvements.

Christianity, as highlighted in chapter 4 later, has also been very influential in the lives of young people in PNG. Since the arrival of missionaries in PNG in the early 1800s and the eventual establishment of respective churches, people in PNG have embraced Christianity. This was accompanied with substantial cultural changes, creation of new social divisions, and progressive reorganisation of society around the church (Schieffelin, 1981, p.150). Many churches have their own youth programs that seek to train young people to follow Christian doctrines and live a better life. Some churches train young people to become lay workers and spread the gospel, while other churches have outreach programs where they go out into the community to help people in need. Most churches in PNG place more emphasis on spiritual growth as well as supporting physical, social, and psychological development of young people. However, the limitation of most churches in regard to youth development approaches and strategies is that they do not look beyond their church boundaries. That is, they cater for the needs of those young people within their congregation and often ignore those ones who are not their church followers.

The intriguing feature about churches in PNG is that the very active church members appear to be young people who take leading roles in all the programs prepared by church workers like Ministers or Pastors. Different denominations have specific programs for their young people, such as: Sunday school, Youth Camps, Outreach, Youth Pathfinder, Youth Conference, and other activities. These churches play significant roles in the development of the young people who tend to acquire fundamental Christian principles such as: obedience; caring for others; respectfulness; and forgiveness. These young people eventually become well disciplined and productive members in the church as well as in their communities.

Another of the important agents that contribute to youth development in PNG is the civil society organisations which include community-based and non-government organisations (NGOs) and churches, as mentioned above. These organisations often represent a collective voice for the poor and the oppressed. They serve as the supplement to the family and community in meeting social needs, and their ability to serve in the lowest level of the community mean they can compliment the state in ensuring the delivery of services to the needy people (National Youth Service, 1996, p.15).

A classic example is the Save the Children of PNG, which has its head office in Goroka. This organisation has been involved in assisting the needs of children, youth, and mothers. In one of its project to improve the women's and children's health, Save the Children PNG had supported and created partnerships with existing community-based organisations including East Sepik Health Services and Provincial Division of Health, Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) of Goroka, Callan Services for the Disabled, Simbu Women's Counselling Centre, Eastern Highlands Family Voice, AT Projects, Faith Mission, Eastern Highlands Provincial Health office, Goroka Hospital, Morobe Special Education, and Baua Baua Theatre and Popular Education Troupe (Papua New Guinea Medical Journal, 2000, p.78). It is obvious that NGOs have the ability to establish networks and serve young people in a wider community. The above mentioned agents are not the only ones that promote youth development in PNG, there are numerous groups and organisations but collaborative effort by the state is required to organise these agents to serve youth better in their communities.

3.7 Summary

This chapter discussed the changes affecting traditional cultures among PNG communities and how young people were in the past taught to maintain these traditional cultures, norms, and values. In a traditional society everyone in the community including parents, relatives, and neighbours contributed to the upbringing of the young people, in accordance with the individual community's expectations. With the rise of Western lifestyles and Christianity, social structures have changed and the job of child rearing has been left to parents and close relatives. Many of the traditional ways of life have been forsaken and lots of people have adapted the Western lifestyles, but they often struggle to meet standards and on the way they encounter problems due to the need or greed for material goods and status.

The most common youth problems in the Pacific are dropping out of school, unemployment, sexually transmitted infections, drug abuse, teenage pregnancy, living on streets, crime, and suicide (The State of the Pacific Youth 2005, 2005, p.iii). Some of these problems occur as a result of confusion between the traditional and modern ways of life (Waiko, 1993, p.246). A major issue is that the schools are supposed to

educate and nurture young people for waged jobs; but there are insufficient jobs and when the youth leave school they can not fit back into their communities (Ahai and Faraclas, 1993, p.82 & 83). Another issue regarding youth problems is that people dealing with youth including youth workers, youth organisations, and authorities, tend to ignore negative behaviours until it is too late to help them. When the needs of young men and women are not met they have no choice but to engage in illicit behaviours to find food for their next meal.

Youth development in the Pacific requires a lot more collaborative and well coordinated efforts from all these youth-oriented organisations before it can flourish. The initial collaborative effort by SPC, UNICEF and UNFPA, discussed earlier, should be supported by all Pacific governments, civil society and by different youth-oriented stakeholders. The agents, as stated in this chapter, that promoted youth development should be supported and networking established with other smaller youth organisations to serve the young population adequately and efficiently. The State of the Pacific Youth 2005 report identified many youth problems that need to be addressed within the framework of national development policies, and noted that the search for solutions should involve the creativity of young people themselves. Moreover, young people must be encouraged to think for themselves, express their own views effectively, and interact in a positive way with other people (Save the Children, 2006).

Young people can develop, as discussed in chapter 2 and suggested by Vainerere (2004), through the following ways: acquiring culturally appropriate education initiatives that serve to instil a sense of identity; engaging in health policies that involve young people in the planning, development and implementation of health education and promotion; development of youth employment and training schemes that will enable young people to participate more meaningfully in both subsistence and cash economies; promotion of gender issues that empowers young women; develop programs that prevent law and order problems and also to rehabilitate young offenders; and the use of new communication technologies to promote dialogue, sharing of resources, and exchange of experiences amongst young people (Vainerere, 2004, p.7-9).

Furthermore, the concept of current Education Reforms to maintain culture and language at the primary level of school is encouraging (Wroge, 2002, p.2), but such programs should also include secondary and tertiary educational levels. The call by McMurray (2002, p.1) to find a new approach for the development of human resources is a valid one, young people have to be educated to live and work in their communities after leaving school, rather than looking for jobs not there for them (Canadian University Services Overseas, 2007). Therefore, it seems a need exists for positive youth development approaches and strategies that are culturally appropriate for PNG and the Pacific. These would support the growing number of young people to become productive citizens and participate in meaningful activities and consequently minimise youth problems. I reiterate that young people can develop through proper education, to live healthy lives, become good citizens, have families and take on all tasks in the community; if provided the appropriate environment.

Finally, culture is vital for Pacific communities and should be promoted at every opportunity available, in order to be maintained and passed on to younger generations. As such, those major socio-cultural events stated above, like the Festival of Pacific Arts, Pacific Youth Festival, South Pacific Games and mini South Pacific Games, are moves in the right direction. Many youth problems arise because of confusion from the changes occurring between traditional and modern cultures. Although the youth development approaches in the Pacific have their limitations, they can be improved by constantly engaging youth in varied activities, conducting reviews of performance, providing recommendations, and replicating favourable approaches in other communities. I believe that by allowing young people to participate in different programs and activities, they can acquire valuable assets that can help them in their transition from childhood to adulthood. As mentioned above, a more collaborative effort is required by everyone in each community to support positive youth development. The best way is to allow the participation of young people to take the lead in bringing changes upon themselves, rather than adults creating programs and events for them (See Alinsky, 1971). This leads to the next chapter on the background of the focus area of this research.

Chapter 4: Background and context: Papua New Guinea

4.1 Introduction

To understand the research results it is necessary to explain the context of the research. This background chapter considers firstly, the context of PNG, and secondly, describes Goroka, the capital town of the Eastern Highlands Province where my research was conducted. It introduces key facts about PNG and offers a snapshot of the country's situation which helps to provide the background to understanding youth development issues in PNG. A map of PNG and its towns is provided to show the location of the case study (see Figure 4.1).

Figure 4.1: Map of Papua New Guinea and its Major Towns

Source: Tabubil International School (2007, http://www.tis.ac.pg/map.htm).

4.2 People, Population and Language

PNG is located on the eastern half of the island of New Guinea and is 160 kilometres north of Australia (see Figure 4.1). The western half of the island is Irian Jaya, a province of Indonesia. PNG comprises the mainland and some 600 offshore islands and atolls in the Pacific. It has a total land area of 463,000 square kilometres (Howlett, 1971, p.4-5; Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 2007).

PNG is, in fact, the most heterogeneous country in the world. It has several thousand separate communities with only a few hundred people, who are divided by their

diverse languages, customs and traditions (US Department of State, 2007). Most of its people are Melanesians, a branch of Negroid race, but some are Micronesians and Polynesians, who differ widely in their physical, ethnic and cultural characteristics. The population of PNG has been increasing rapidly caused by factors including healthy eating habits, improved health services, and better education. The recent 2000 National Census indicated that the total population of PNG stands at 5.1 million (National Statistics Office, 2000). The population forecast for 2007 was estimated to be between 6.1 million (Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 2007) and 6.25 million (2000 Census estimate). It is also estimated that the population growth rate is approximately 2.7 percent per annum (AusAID, 2007).

A typical PNG society ranges from traditional village-based life, dependent on subsistence and small cash-crop agriculture, to modern urban life in the main cities. In all traditional PNG societies land is not viewed as a mere factor of production but as the basis of many economic and social relations. About 97 percent of the land in the country is still under customary tenure systems (Turner, 1990, p.23). Traditionally land is not a commodity that can be bought or sold by individuals; it is a permanent and integral part of a village, a clan or a community. For instance, the Kragur village men of Kairuru Island, sometimes speak about land as commonly held resource for its members, passed down to the present generation (Smith, 2002, p.104). Most of the local clans own land which is used for communal purposes like hunting or individual use such as gardening, and the land rights are transferable to descendents. The PNG people's attitude to land ownership is very different as compared to other societies in the world. Many cases of tribal clashes occur between neighbouring clans over land usage rights and ownership. About 85 percent of the populations work on their land to earn their livelihood while the remaining 15 percent of the population is employed by the formal sector (AusAID, 1998, p.7; AusAID, 2007; Wilson, 1971, p.123). Unfortunately, many landowners around the periphery of urban areas are forced to sell blocks of land to outsiders for cash to meet their need for basic goods and services.

It is known that Papua New Guineans speak over 800 different languages. But communication is made easier for the people with the use of the several languages of convenience. The main official language is English, while Tok Pisin (Pidgin) and Motu (Papuan lingua-franca) are national languages. Among these three languages

English is spoken mostly by educated people and in the Milne Bay Province, and Motu is used by people from the southern region. Meanwhile Tok Pisin, a language created on the plantation line, and incorporating words of English, German and indigenous origins, has become popular around the country (Turner, 1990, p.22; Dorney, 2007, p.19-20; Investment Promotion Authority, 2007). The next section discusses the economy of PNG.

4.3 Economy

PNG is endowed with abundant renewable and non-renewable natural resources but has seen a low level of general economic and social development. From independence in 1975, to 1990, there was little increase in real income per person, but thereafter, the economy improved, prompted by significant increase in mining and petroleum exploration activities (AusAID, 1998, p.1). Two distinct economies exist side-by-side in PNG, these being the traditional and cash economies. As stated earlier in this writing, the traditional sector consists of subsistence and semi-subsistence farming that supports about 85 percent of the local population. While, the latter sector supports about 15 percent of the people who work in the rural and service industries, government offices and private wage-earning jobs (Wilson, 1971, p. 123). As revenue began to flow from the rapidly growing mining sector both PNG and Australian governments agreed to reduce Australian aid (Gupta, Deklin & Yala, 1995, p.2) though to this day Australian aid still provides significant budgetary support to PNG annually.

In the late 1980s, PNG experienced a number of economic shocks. Firstly, the closure of the world's largest Copper mine at Bougainville in 1989 was a significant set-back. Secondly, the prolonged drought in 1997 affected Ok Tedi Copper Mine's production due to low water levels up the Fly River. An additional problem was the reduction of world prices for a range of agricultural commodities essential to the economy. Thus, the government undertook drastic corrective measures by reducing expenditure, devaluing the PNG kina (the local currency), restricting wage increases and imposing restrained monetary policies (AusAID, 1998, p.2). These changes and the new mining and petroleum developments may boost the economy of PNG.

PNG's economy has improved with significant increase in its Gross Domestic Product (GDP) since 2003. Its positive macroeconomic performance indicates both low inflation and interest rates, with increases in foreign reserves and employment in the formal sector. Additionally, the state attained a balanced budget in 2005 and a fiscal surplus of 430 million kina, or 2.5 percent of GDP, in 2006. The state was able to repay its domestic debt reducing its total debt from 72 percent to 39.4 percent of GDP with the surplus money, the lowest level since 1982. The PNG government anticipates for GDP to grow by 5.5 percent, the inflation rates to increase to 4.3 percent and the interest rates to rise only slightly in 2007. The state forecasts a fiscal surplus of 84.4 million kina (K), about 0.5 percent of GDP for 2007 and projects a huge fiscal surplus of K229 million in 2008. A reasonably broad-based economic growth is anticipated with most sectors expected to contribute. Agriculture, forestry, and fisheries sectors are likely to contribute more, followed by construction and mining sectors (Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 2007).

Accordingly to Simon Tosali, the Secretary for Treasury, the total revenue and grants for PNG rose from nearly K3.3 billion in 2002 to K6.7 billion in 2007, which is a substantial increase of 28.2 percent of GDP in 2002 to 35.9 percent in 2007. He states that the increase in revenue was due largely to high prices in copper, oil and gold. The huge growth in revenue was boosted by copper, with an increase of 500 percent and oil by 300 percent since 2002. Mr Tosali said that last year, K1.9 billion came from the mining and petroleum sector and this year the government expects another K2.4 billion in revenue. He pointed out that the domestic fund under the Public Investment Programme of the development budget had increased from K236.8 million in 2006 to K509.1 million in 2007. He challenged the current government to encourage macroeconomic growth (The National, 2007, September 20).

PNG has a booming mining and petroleum sector that is improving its economic conditions. PNG was ranked number 10 with a gold production of 76 tonnes among the world's top 20 gold producing countries by volume, in year 2000 (Yakovleva, 2005, p.70). The main mineral and petroleum deposits in the country are: gas, oil, copper and gold, but there are also recoverable deposits of other minerals. Currently, Hides Project produces gas while both Kutubu and Gobe Projects produce oil, all in the Southern Highlands Province. PNG has several large and small gold mines

currently in operation, such as Porgera, Lihir, Tolukuma, Wapolu, Mount Sinivit, Misima, Hidden Valley and Wafi. The Ok Tedi mine produces both gold and copper, while Bougainville produces only copper. However, the mine has been closed due to landowners' demand for compensation (Moaina, 1997, p.117-124; Gupta, Deklin & Yala, 1995, p.1; Cook, 1998, p.172-173). New mines have developed recently at Billimoia for gold and at Ramu for nickel and cobalt, while numerous other prospective mining and petroleum explorations are carried out in many parts of PNG.

Although, the economy is dominated by mineral and petroleum projects, agriculture, forestry, fishing and manufacturing sectors combined provide a significant portion of the nation's gross domestic product. PNG's total exports are valued over 2 billion US dollars, with its major exports being minerals (gold, silver, copper and crude oil), timber, coffee, palm oil, cocoa and copra. Over the last five years, PNG has experienced a relatively even balance of trade, with exports marginally exceeding imports. PNG's major imports consisted of machinery and equipment, manufactured goods, processed food, and chemicals (Embassy of Papua New Guinea to the Americas, 2004).

As mentioned earlier, the PNG government's improved fiscal management and the high global commodity prices have supported the improved economic performance of the country. Nevertheless, some challenges remain before achieving full economic development, which includes the curbing of law and order problems, development and maintenance of national infrastructure, strengthening of, the business operating environment, and linking traditional methods of agriculture production in rural areas to modern urban and overseas markets (Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 2007). The challenge is now for PNG to use the strong economic performance to improve living standards for all citizens and deliver basic government services. Another challenge is to create jobs for the young school leavers going out into the community annually. The following section identifies PNG's colonial influence.

4.4 Colonial Influence

Prior to World War II, PNG was two separate territories, they were known as "Papua" and "New Guinea". The Territory of Papua was under British rule until Australia took

over in 1884. On the other hand, Territory of New Guinea was part of the pre-World War I German Empire, but it, too, was handed to Australia to administer at the end of World War I. During World War II, Japanese forces invaded and occupied most of New Guinea but the Allied forces with Commander, General Douglas MacArthur, of the United States, at the helm, eventually defeated the Japanese forces. After World War II, under the Papua and New Guinea Act, 1949, the two territories were amalgamated into one, called the Territory of Papua and New Guinea (Langdon, 1971 p.53-54).

The colonial Australian administration placed emphasis on developing PNG's cash economy and the establishment of a democratic central government but gave less priority to native education. The Papua and New Guinea Act of 1949, as a protectionist policy, provided for a Legislative Council, a judicial system, a civil service and a local government system in the 1950s. In 1964, the first House of Assembly was established to provide an opportunity for Papua New Guineans to play a greater role in the political decision-making process. As more domestic and international pressure for independence mounted, deliberations for political independence began in the late 1960s and 1970s. In 1972, after the first democratic elections, Michael Somare put together a coalition government and became the first Chief Minister. In 1973 the country became self-governing and was renamed - Papua New Guinea. Eventually it became a sovereign nation on September 16, 1975 (Embassy of Papua New Guinea to the Americas, 2004; Dorney, 2000, p.29-36).

The colonial influences mentioned above had impacted on the type of schools and education systems, industrial activities, and economy in PNG. In the case of schools and the education system, these were established by the colonial administration and missions to serve their own purposes. For instance, generally speaking, the missions educated young people to help spread the gospel while the colonial administration educated young people to establish a central government in the territory. Later, these schools were aimed at educating young people to find white collar jobs (Ahai and Faraclas, 1993, p.82 & 83). The education system used in PNG is similar to that of the Australian school system; only those who score top academic results continue further education while the majority return home.

As stated above, the Australian colonial administration pushed for development of cash economies, rather than supporting human resources development, they also encouraged agricultural plantations and extracting of natural resources, and have not promoted the growth of secondary industries like manufacturing. Similarly, the PNG government seemed to focus on non-renewable resources, like the mining and petroleum sector (Moaina, 1997, p.117-124; Cook, 1998, p.172-173) while little support is provided for primary sector that includes agriculture where the bulk of the population depend on (AusAID, 1998, p.7). The Australian government continues to provide budget aid to PNG government annually (Gupta, Deklin, & Yala, 1995, p.2) which seemed to make the country's economy depend on donor funds. The next section deliberates on culture and Christianity.

4.5 Culture and Religion

As stated earlier in this paper, in a country with a forecast population of over 6 million people (Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 2007; AusAID, 2007) and with over 800 different languages (Dorney, 2000, p. 19), PNG cannot be compared with any other country for its rich cultural and language diversity. There is no such thing as a typical Papua New Guinean culture. More than 200 cultures are identified with each endowed with different traditions. Although the impact of modernisation continues to alter people's daily living, the majority of people still remain dependent on semi-subsistence farming and live in small clustered villages.

In traditional PNG society, women's daily chores include cooking, planting of crops, childcare, and domesticating animals, while the men go hunting, builds homes and fences, clear bush land for new gardens, and fishing. Most social units are based on family, clan, and tribe, and often the head of the family (a male) controls any material wealth in the home. However, in a traditional society wealth was not amassed for its own sake, but to be given away, with elaborate ceremony, creating prestige for the giver and placing obligations on the receiver. Fundamental to the society were notions of reciprocity and family obligations. For instance, many Highlands societies of PNG are dominated by returns on exchange transactions, always involving some increment or increase on the origin value of goods given. Thus the Highlands prestige gift-giving

adapts to the introduced capitalist system remarkably well (Foster, 1995, p.233; Strathern, 1982, p.551).

Ancient rituals are still performed for important social events. These elaborate ceremonies are normally presided over by the elders of the clan, with warriors painted and decorated in bright colours, feathers, and shells. Today, each of the twenty provinces has its own cultural festivals and regional shows where groups are invited to perform and visitors have the opportunity to glimpse the many visual and performing arts of PNG. The most popular cultural shows include the Mount Hagen and Enga cultural shows held on different dates in August each year. The famous Hiri Moale festival in Port Moresby and the Goroka cultural show are held concurrently and both coincide with the commemorative PNG Independence celebrations in September that attract tourists from all over the world (Embassy of Papua New Guinea to the Americas, 2007).

PNG has very distinctive and varying art forms with diverse languages and it is no surprise that artistic expression differs in style from one place to another. For instance, the creative designs and styles used by different people in production of pottery, weapons, carvings, baskets, and musical instruments, reflect their own traditional artistic skills and beliefs. Many young people are not provided the opportunities to learn their traditions, cultures and values, and participate in cultural events prior to their transition into adulthood. If all the relevant traditional skills, knowledge, cultures and values are acquired at a young age they will less likely to, depart from them, and it should become part of their nature to uphold culture.

It is equally important to briefly discuss the history of Christianity and its impacts on the lives of the people of PNG. The preamble of the constitution stipulates PNG as a Christian country. The reason is that different Christian churches have played leading roles in teaching and bringing changes to PNG communities and citizens since the colonial era. In 1980 it was estimated that 96.6 percent of PNG citizens were Christians (Rath, 1989, p.8). The National 2000 Census statistics confirmed that about 96 percent of the citizens identified themselves as members of Christian churches. The churches identified to have the largest number of members in the country appear to be the Roman Catholic, the Evangelical Lutheran, the United, and the Seventh-day

Adventist churches (US State Department, 2007). Many smaller denominations also moved to PNG after World War II to compete with one another and to attract the members of mainstream churches to join them (Renali, 1991, p.17). As a result, these denominations brought significant changes to the local people and still continue to deliver basic services including health and education to date. The following part of the thesis is about PNG's government and politics.

4.6 Government and Politics

PNG has changed dramatically from a traditional society into a modern society by accepting introduced western styles of government. In traditional PNG societies the tribesmen or the clan elders normally choose their leaders or "big" men. Although hereditary leadership occurs in some island societies, in most cases leadership is contested through manifestation of prowess and power by young men in a number of fields like agriculture, warfare, dancing, hunting, oratory, and in organising trade and feast-exchanges (Turner, 1990 p. 23). Each community has its own criteria to select their potential leaders, but they are often appointed by the elders through discussion and consensus. Consequently, the leader seeks advice from the elders in any collective decision-making process for the majority of the people. According to Forge (1971) "big" men become "big" men:

> Because they understand their society; they show anger frequently but are never carried away, their stratagems are more subtle than those of their competitors, and by their success they attract followers with whose aid they can increase their prestige both within the group and among its neighbours (Forge, 1971, p. 66).

It is obvious that traditional PNG communities have been practising the concept of democracy prior to the European influence. People usually reach decisions through consensus by the majority and not by the dictates of the most powerful member of the village. This concept of democratic consensus can be seen in decision-making processes in the modern PNG society.

In 1973, PNG achieved self government headed by a democratically-elected Chief Minister, Michael Somare, and later gained its independence in 1975. The nation adopted the democratic Westminster system from its colonizer Australia. This system allowed adult citizens over the age of 18 the right to vote in public elections and the freedom of press and speech. The PNG national government consists of three independent branches: executive, legislature and judiciary. All the decision-making powers were vested in the National Executive Council (NEC) or the Cabinet. The Cabinet's core members include the Prime Minister and usually the 28 Cabinet Ministers (Embassy of Papua New Guinea to the Americas, 2004). Recently, the current Prime Minister, Sir Michael Somare, who is known as the Chief of PNG, is planning to amend the constitution to allow for an increase of PNG government ministries to thirty five (Nicholas, 2007).

PNG has 19 provinces but the government enacted the National Capital District (Port Moresby) as a province, taking it up to twenty provinces. These provincial governments have a similar constitutional arrangement to the national government and have concurrent power with the latter in areas such as agriculture, business development, town planning, forestry, and natural resources. If there is any conflict in the administration, the national laws take precedence over provincial laws (Investment Promotion Authority, 2007).

There are three levels of government: national, provincial and local. The national government is made up of the 109 duly elected Members of Parliament. Of these, 89 elected Members of Parliament represent the 89 districts and 20 elected Regional Members of Parliament represent 20 provinces. These Members of Parliament serve their electorates and people for a period of five years (Embassy of Papua New Guinea to the Americas, 2004).

Unfortunately, women are chronically under-represented in PNG with Dame Carol Kidu as the only elected female Parliamentarian. Though parties and party allegiances in PNG politics are fluid, the nation has always upheld democratic continuity since independence. The independent judiciary and bodies such as the Ombudsmen Commission Office are respected, the media has a free voice, and the civil society participates actively in development issues (Australian Department of Foreign Affairs

and Trade, 2007; US Department of State, 2007). This leads to the description of the research location, Goroka in PNG.

4.7 Research Setting: History of Goroka

Goroka is the Provincial capital of Eastern Highlands Province, one of the 19 provinces in PNG. Lutheran missionaries were the first to have explored the Asaro and Bena Bena valleys in 1927, followed by the Australian gold prospectors and the colonial administrators (Kiaps) who arrived in the 1930s. Goroka was established in 1939 and served as a resting centre and a producer of fresh vegetables for the American and Australian soldiers during the Second World War (1942-1945). In that period many local villagers were recruited as carriers and labourers for the construction of airstrips and anti-aircraft gun emplacements in the area. Unfortunately the Japanese bombed the Bena airstrip (the original Government station) and Goroka several times in late 1943. In 1946 Góroka became the administrative centre for the Highlands and had links with Madang, the closest port, by air. The first road into the Highlands from the coast connecting Goroka and Lae city, now known as the Okuk Highway, was built in the early 1950s. About the same time Arabica Coffee was introduced into the Kainantu, Goroka, and Daulo areas (Finney, 1987, p. 3-6; Sexton, 1982, p. 8-9).

Goroka was initially a small station in 1950s but has developed into a major town with modern facilities, and has a total population of about 25,000 people. Eastern Highlands Province covers about 11,347 km² and according to the National 2000 Census has a population of approximately 432,972 (Akogere Estates Ltd, 2005). The township of Goroka has been built around the airport; see Figure 4.7 (Nationwide, 2007).

Figure 4.7: **View of Goroka Town**

Source: Nationwide, 2007.

The Eastern Highlands Province has rugged mountain terrains and broad valleys such as the Lamari, Asaro, Dunantina and Ramu valleys and has big rivers like the Asaro, Lamari and Ramu. The Ramu River feeds PNG's largest Hydro-Power Station at Yonki which provides power to seven provinces in PNG. Two of its highest peaks above sea level are Mount Tabletop (3686 metres) and Mount Michael (3750 metres). The province has a wide variety of exotic flora and fauna species (Akogere Estates Ltd, 2005).

The Eastern Highlands Province has a climate of perpetual spring, with warm days and cool nights throughout the year. In the early morning, the valleys are submerged in fog with only the higher hills and mountain ranges protruding out into the sun. But during the day, the mist lifts towards the ranges and forms heavy rain clouds resulting in afternoon rains. The wet season starts from December and ends in early April with an average monthly rainfall of about 203mm to 305mm. Then dry season approaches from April to November with monthly rainfalls of about 51mm to 102mm. However, the season seems to be transitional in the months of April, May, October and November. The daily temperature fluctuates but the average yearly temperature for Goroka is 26 degrees Celsius (Akogere Estates Ltd, 2005; Layton, 2000).

4.7.1 Eastern Highlands Provincial Administration

As stated earlier, Eastern Highlands Province just like any of the 20 provinces in the country is mandated by the PNG Constitution to operate and maintain its own affairs and serve its people through to the grassroots level (Investment Promotion Authority, 2007). This Province has 8 districts - Goroka, Kainantu, Henganofi, Unggai Bena, Obura-Wonenara, Daulo, Lufa, and Okapa. The province is governed by the current re-elected Governor Honourable Malcolm Kela Smith. The Governor is also the chairman of the Provincial Executive Council (PEC) which is the policy making body of the province. The current executive members of the PEC include: the Governor; eight duly elected National Members of Parliament (MP); ten Council Presidents from the Local Level Governments; and four Nominated Members from the Community. The Eastern Highlands Provincial Administration delivers vital public service to the people at the village level. The Administration caters for the various Sectoral Program Managements; corporate and support services; health services; Local Level Governments which includes eight District Administrations; and monitors other National Bodies operating in the Province (Akogere Estates Ltd, 2004).

The prime role of the different sections of the Provincial Administration is to serve the basic needs of the ordinary population. The Division for Community Development is responsible for the implementation of youth development policy, plans, and programs in the province. One section of the Community Development office is the Youth office, which collaborated with the National Youth Commission and established the Provincial Youth Council. The Provincial Youth Council facilitated the establishment of 8 District Youth Councils in the province. The District Youth Councils in turn facilitated the election of Ward Youth Councils in their respective districts. Then the later supported the youth groups at the village level with their various project initiatives. The above network appeared to have worked in the 1980s but has disintegrated, I reiterate, due to lack of financial support from the state through the National Youth Commission (National Youth Service, 1996, p.15). Hence, the following section talks about people, language, and population.

4.7.2 People, Language and Population

According to the archaeologists the first residents of the Eastern Highlands Province may have arrived in the Lamari valley about 18,000 years ago. They lived in caves and other rock shelters. Also the first pig bones found at Kafiavana, dated at 6500 years ago (White, 1974, p.183), probably indicate domestication of animals. This would suggest that Eastern Highlands Province was one of the first inhabited regions of the Island of New Guinea.

It is not known when the first settlements began, but the majority of people in the Eastern Highlands Province live in villages with clusters of huts in settled communities. Approximately 94 percent of Eastern Highlanders still live in rural settings and depend solely on subsistence farming for survival (Akogere Estates Ltd, 2007). They practiced different forms of agriculture from one generation to another, such as fallow, slash and burn, drainage of swampland, and terracing gardens on hillsides. The Siane people, for example, used the "slash and burn" method of agriculture (Salisbury, 1956, p.162) while the people in the Arona valley at Yonki practised the terracing agriculture as discovered by archaeologists in the late 1980s (Dorney, 2000, p.14-15). They domesticated animals for meat, particularly pigs and goats, and their staple food includes: sweet potato **(**kaukau); sugar cane; cassava; banana; and taro (Layton, 2000).

In traditional wedding ceremonies, the groom's relatives contribute valuables including food, money and other gifts and pay the bride price to the relatives in exchange for the bride. Among the Siane people both sides of the marriage parties make payments but more is given from the husband's clan and the balance is given off as payment for the offspring. The young wife is expected to meet the husband's needs, bear children, and maintain good relations with husband's relatives. In other villages sisters are exchanged in marriages. The valuables exchanged include cowrie shells, artefacts, plumes, and animals like pigs (Salisbury, 1956, p.641-642). However, bride price payments in the contemporary society includes money, garden, and frozen food stuff, pigs and other manufactured household items, and even cars. Weddings sometimes have both modern and traditional styles of marriage, a church wedding followed by bride-price payments (Layton, 2000).

Eastern Highlands Province is very diverse linguistically, with more than 20 separate language groups excluding the numerous dialects. Some of the largest language groups in the province are Gahuku, Benabena, Kamano, Fore, Frigano, Lunumbe and Agarabi. The cultural behaviour among the people is determined by differences in languages and the geographical location. Thus differences can be recognised between the ceremonies conducted for burials, bride prices, courtships and dances. Despite this, many similarities can be found in some cultural behaviour between different language groups (Layton, 2000).

The Eastern Highland's population makes up approximately 8.3 percent of PNG's total population. This province is ranked the fourth highest populated area in PNG after Southern Highlands, Morobe and Western Highlands Provinces. Its population has increased by 31 percent since the 1990 Census figure (Akogere Estates Ltd, 2004). The high population rise seemed to come from numerous childbirths, improved health services, and the constant influx of people from outside settling on the periphery of the urban areas. Thus the province is expected to reach a population of half a million within the next few years and a great need will arise to cater for the needs of a young population. The next part of this writing discusses the commercial sector.

4.7.3 Commercial Sector

In the early 1950s, many expatriates particularly Australians, rushed into the highlands because the soil was discovered to be very fertile, and grew coffee on large plantations. Not to be outdone, several local Highlanders established their own coffee plantations by the early 1960s and also ventured into trucking and trade store businesses. The trucks were used for transporting passengers and taking coffee to the coast and for hauling manufactured goods up for the many small rural trade stores that began to appear, selling tinned fish and meat, rice, cooking utensils, and gardening tools (Finney, 1987, p.7).

In late 1960s and 1970s there was rapid establishment of wholesalers, retailers, sawmills, builders, hotels, and all the other service industries. In the 1970s prior to independence many expatriate owned plantations were bought by the government and

transferred to the landowners (Mitio, 1981 p. 182). By the 1980s, business in the Eastern Highlands generally expanded, influenced by the Mount Victor alluvial Gold Mining in Kainantu District and the expansion of Collins & Leahy Ltd that created employment through its diversified profitable investments projects. Unfortunately, in the last two years of the 1980s a massive drop in the price of coffee affected many businesses that depended totally on coffee. Several companies in the province were closed down through loss of income from coffee including a commercial bank (Layton, 2000). Those large companies that moved their head offices to Lae and Brisbane respectively are Collins and Leahy Limited (Ltd) and Pacific Helicopters Ltd. Other companies like Talair Ltd, British American Tobacco, and Paragon Earthmoving Ltd closed their doors and left the province (Kila, 2002, The National, February 26).

The declining economic condition of the country also added trouble to the already stagnant economy of this province. The poor road network and the lack of other basic infrastructure within the province made the situation worse. Nevertheless, Eastern Highlands Province still leads coffee production in PNG for exports annually. Apart from major coffee farmers, almost all village families own small coffee plots that supply the market. About 70 percent of the country's coffee exports are produced by these small growers (Coffee Industry Corporation, 2007) and Eastern Highlands Province produces about 31 percent of PNG's total coffee. Eastern Highlands is also the home to the Coffee Industry Board (CIB) which sets laws and guidelines for all plantations, factories, and exporters, to ensure the final export product is of world standard. There are also several larger Goroka-based coffee exporters and processors like the Arabica Ltd, New Guinea Highlands Coffee Exports Ltd, Goroka Coffee Roasters, PNG Coffee Exports Ltd, and the Nama Coffee Exports Ltd (Coffee Industry Corporation, 2007).

The revenue from coffee fluctuates according to the world market coffee prices. The constant low prices for coffee have prompted many families to supplement their revenue by participating in small agricultural and livestock businesses. Recently new crops like vanilla, wheat and rice were introduced. The vanilla crop is grown and exported abroad, while wheat and rice are grown for own consumption and for selling at the local or national markets. Other fresh vegetables are also cultivated for the

markets. The most common live stocks raised in the province are pigs, rabbits, goats, sheep, cattle, and poultry (Akogere Estates, 2004). The commercial activities in the province have not been progressing well with business houses exiting the province and there are no jobs created for the youth. Coffee, the main cash crop that most families depended upon, has seen constant fluctuation in prices and there is no guarantee that prices will improve. Hence, it was appropriate that families have turned to other income generating activities like agriculture and animal husbandry where young people will be occupied. This thus leads to changes affecting youth.

4.7.4 Social and Cultural Changes Affecting Youth

Eastern Highlands Province has a patrilineal society where people live together in clusters of houses close to male kin. Customary land rights are held by males who have absolute ownership and retain control over land use and transfer. Certain rights to land, such as hunting, are often collective rights, and particular areas are reserved for communal purposes. Individuals and their families have the right to use pieces of land for farming and building homes. These rights can be transferred to descendants by patrilineal inheritance. Boundaries to customary land are generally natural features and knowledge of them is passed on orally from one generation to another (Canadian University Services Overseas, 2007).

In a traditional home the male (husband) is the head or the decision maker, his wife and children often have little or sometimes no say on what happens in the family. The head of the household decides on his family's daily business. However, these and other cultural norms and values have gradually changed for the people of the Eastern Highlands Province.

While working as a social worker, prior to my study, I witnessed many family problems whereby almost everyday lots of partners or children fronted up at the Welfare Office for counselling services. In most cases, the husbands were marrying new wives and leaving their first wives to look after their children alone. Similarly, many women are leaving for other men. Unfortunately, the children are the poor victims, often traumatised and left with no proper parental care and support provided for them. They are either taken in by other relatives who sometimes abuse them, or

are left to fend for themselves on the streets begging for food or money or scavenging rubbish drums for bottle collection. Other young people steal or participate in illicit activities to rid boredom or meet their urgent basic needs.

HELP Resources Incorporation (2005), a non-governmental organisation which conducted research in eight provinces of PNG, including the Eastern Highlands Province, reported that children who end up living away from their natural parents are informally adopted, resented, abused, and exploited and many parents, guardians and caregivers are ignorant of the rights of children in their care and their parental responsibilities. Many communities' leaders, police, church and welfare leaders are too sensitive to the cultural sensibilities, potential family and community shame and embarrassment, to act to rescue abused, exploited and suffering children.

This study by HELP Resources Incorporation highlighted further that many children are forced out or go out of their homes themselves to look for means and ways to survive or to support their families. The rapidly changing nature of social and cultural change in PNG is outstripping law reform and community education and overwhelming the limited and largely reactive government law enforcement agencies and conventional welfare services. An urgent need exists for strategic, long term programs to support attitude and behaviour change programs at all levels of society (HELP Resources Incorporation, 2005).

For the people of the Eastern Highlands Province, traditional culture and lifestyle was never the same after they made first contact with the Europeans in the late 1920s and the early 1930s. Their visitors were the colonial administrators, traders, planters, missionaries, and other outsiders. Most local people were influenced by the introduced Western cultures and Christianity. This modernisation has led to developments such as the introduction of schools that taught literacy and numeracy skills, but that also attempted to 'modernise' people in ways that suggested their traditional beliefs and practices were 'primitive.' Christianity has also contributed to changes that have affected the lives of many people. Churches often sent lay workers who converted people to become Christians, but to be accepted as a follower one had to forgo his or her perceived 'bad' traditional cultural behaviours. For instance some

churches do not allow their church members to take alcohol, eat certain food, or participate in traditional customs.

Most of the Eastern Highlands school leavers cannot pursue further studies due to limited spaces available at tertiary institutions. Due to the stagnant economy young people are unemployed because some large companies closed their doors and left. The number of young people leaving schools, homes, and migrating to towns, are growing each year but frustrations occur when they realise that job opportunities are not there for them (Canadian University Services Overseas, 2007). The enormous efforts by school systems to nurture and mould young people into responsible citizens have been inadequate and ineffective due to a rapidly growing population. Education has failed in its aim to educate the majority to participate meaningfully in development activities in their communities (Department of Education, 1991, p.167). Many young people have nowhere to go after their school is over.

As with any other transitional society, moving from traditional times to suddenly competing in the 21st century free trade market, the Eastern Highlands Province has witnessed its fair share of law and order problems. Most problems stem from the fact that the majority of the youth are not engaged in gainful employment or some other productive activity. It is evident that the plights of young people in Eastern Highlands or in PNG as a whole have not been addressed adequately through: a lack of interest from the state to implement youth policies and programs (National Youth Service, 1996, p.15); schools' failure to nurture and educate youths to work in their communities (Ahai & Faraclas, 1993, p.82 & 83; Department of Education, 1991, p. 167); cultural practices not being maintained; a lack of coordination, cooperation and support between public and private youth-oriented organisations; and the unnecessary expectations placed upon the young people by their parents and relatives (Kick, 1999, p.42).

4.8 Summary

PNG is a unique country endowed with profound differences in geographical settings, flora and fauna, people, history, tradition, religion, politics, literature, economy, art, culture and the types of food grown. PNG requires considerable effort to hasten

development from the government and private organisations and the people themselves. Unfortunately, after 33 long years of independence, basic services have yet to reach the bulk of the rural population.

As has been discussed, changes brought in by the Europeans, especially Christianity and the education system, have had a great influence on the way people behave and do things. The traditional cultural norms and values have been undermined and sometimes replaced by the adoption of Western values and Christian principles. In the Eastern Highlands Province business activities flourished in the 1960s but have declined since the late 1980s and many businesses closed down (Finney, 1987 p.7; Layton, 2000). About 94 percent of Eastern Highlanders still live in rural settings and depend solely on subsistence farming for survival, while local people's income is derived mainly from coffee, livestock, and vegetable farming (Akogere Estates, 2007).

A large number of young people seem to be out on the streets in Eastern highlands Province because of reasons such as: not completing school; unemployment; child abuse; poverty; lack of basic services; migration; marital break up in the family; and parental demands. The efforts by many government agencies like child welfare, youth office, health, and education to assist the young people is outnumbered by the fast growing population (National Youth Service, 1996 p.15; Department of Education, 1991, p.167). Therefore, a need exists to find alternative approaches and strategies to help PNG youth to become well-rounded adults. Evidence provided in chapters 2 and 3 showed that positive youth development approaches promote young people's interests, unique talents, and future potentials, through both academic and out of school programs (Damon, 2004, p.13 & 14). The main task is to investigate how the traditional cultural youth practices, discussed in chapters 2 and 3, can be revitalized and integrated into the emerging strength-based positive youth development approaches in a PNG context. This brings us to the next chapter on the design and methods for this research study.

Chapter 5: Design and Methods of Research

5.1 Introduction

This chapter explains the research methodology engaged in this thesis and discusses the reasons for its use. This particular methodology was designed and implemented to answer queries raised in the research process, including the literature review, field work, and the analysis of the field work carried out. This chapter explains the research approach, field research, and research methods engaged in the research. In this qualitative research, three methods of inquiry were used to collate data from the research participants. Ethical issues are also discussed as the research was conducted only with human participants who were over the age of 18.

In this study, the main concern is to investigate whether the traditional youth upbringing methods in Goroka or elsewhere in PNG can become a link to the emerging positive youth development approaches from Western cultures. As discussed in chapters 2 and 3, Westernisation, Christianity, and the education system, have had a great influence on the lives of young people in Goroka. However, it seems as though these introduced ideas have failed to provide the basic skill training for the majority of young people to become productive adults in their respective communities. The number of children leaving homes and schools to go out to the streets seems to be increasing each year. Therefore, alternative means to deal with these young people have to be found. The research has thus been designed within this context to examine whether adapting traditional youth upbringing methods would help ease issues affecting youth. The question is - how can these cultural approaches for raising young people be a link for positive youth development?

The majority of the participants in this study are employees of the Division of Community Development, an organisation of the Eastern Highlands Provincial Government in PNG that deals with social development issues affecting people at different levels in the society including: women; men; youth; children; elderly; and people living with disabilities and HIV/AIDS. Most of the social workers interviewed have enormous knowledge, skills and experience in working with young people over

many years. Also some of the participants for this study include community leaders, youth leaders, parents of teenagers, and street youth representatives. As a former employee of the organisation, my own experience and background influenced the collection and analysis of information, but that has not deterred me from formulating new ideas and theories in this case study.

Prior to the fieldwork, I reviewed and analysed existing literature to broaden the scope of my understanding of the topic and study area. This supported the planning of my fieldwork including the type of research methods to use. The case study research was conducted in Goroka, the capital town of the Eastern Highlands Province, for duration of four weeks between July 22, 2007 and August 18, 2007. Qualitative research methods were applied to gather information from different stakeholders with regards to the research aims.

5.2 Background of the Researcher

My research interest arose from the following: my views in terms of believing in traditional youth upbringing methods; previous experience as a social worker working closely with young people in Goroka; and the development theories studied in Development Studies post-graduate papers at Massey University in 2006. Also from my own personal experience as a youth who grew up in a rural village, gone through school, and succeeded in working in town. These factors urged me to undertake this study which I hope may contribute to knowledge regarding youth development.

While working with young men and women in Goroka it was evident to me that they were having innumerable problems that included: poverty; homelessness; joblessness; malnutrition; prostitution; drug dealing and abuse; dropping out from school; and involvement in other illicit activities, particularly stealing to make ends meet. These problems were prevalent mostly among the school-leavers and young people living in urban squatter settlements. The availability of job opportunities for young people is non-existent and they have had to struggle to find their next meal. In addition, the frequent fluctuations of the price of basic goods and services cause more misery to the living conditions of young people. Therefore, the efforts by the government, schools,

churches, and other youth-oriented organisations to cater for the immense needs of the youth are inadequate, and often hindered by the ever increasing youth population.

As a graduate student in Development Studies I also realised that there are a variety of problems that minority groups encounter in most developing countries and PNG is no exception. These marginalised groups which include women, young people, elderly people, people with disabilities, people living with HIV/AIDS, and poor people, have to be presented the same basic rights as all citizens of a country. They have to be given identity, dignity, and respect, and allowed to participate in any development plans and programs that will affect them.

As a researcher I hoped to see things from the participants' perspective, and have empathy to understand their feelings, thoughts, and motives behind words and actions, as supported by Taylor and Bogdan (1998, p.14). In order to conduct good fieldwork, I tried to be tolerant of other people's views and bear in mind that the values and views of those people may differ from my own and may make me frustrated and even angered. Likewise, as pointed out by Scheyvens and Nowak (2003, p.102), the locals may consider that my views, actions, and behaviours, as a researcher might be equally perplexing. While, Walcott (1995, p.87) expressed that those who have qualities such as empathy, sympathy, courtesy, and patience do well in fieldwork, Scheyvens and Nowak (2003, p.103) encouraged researchers to be determined to see through the research objectives.

Another important point noted by Maiava (2002, p.100) is that trust should be created between the researcher and the research participants in order to make the participants feel secure and comfortable with the research process. Research is based on relationships of trust and loyalty between participants, research sponsors, supervisors, universities, and professional organisations and societies. Often these trust relationships are jeopardized by conflicts of interest in the case of students doing home-based research (Scheyvens, et al, 2003, p.147).

As much as possible, I made an effort to maintain trust relations between different research participants and identified possible conflict of interests to best avoided them. In this case study, I developed trust with participants because most of the participants

(social workers) knew me as a work colleague before taking up studies in New Zealand. For new participants, the purpose of my visit was revealed to them through the different leaders in the community. For instance, prior to meeting the village elders or parents' of teenagers for interviews I made contact with the village leaders who in turn informed them about my background. The other advantage I had was that being a local person it was possible for me to establish a relationship of trust with the research participants with more ease than for an outsider. I worked to ensure that these advantages did not taint my research and avoided potential bias.

5.3 Research Strategy

For this research, a case study was selected as an appropriate research strategy to examine key research questions and issues. Often a research strategy is determined by the aim and the type of questions asked (Yin, 2003, p.5); and also depends on the amount of control one has over the behavioural events manifested in the phenomenon to be studied, whether it be contemporary or historical (Yin, 2003, p.7-9). I chose this case study approach because my research query has a 'how' question. As described by Yin (1989, p.17), case studies are appropriate when the research question to be answered consists of how and/or why. A case study, therefore, often seeks an explanation much like an experiment. However, often the reason to study a particular case is to find out why a certain situation prevails or how an organisation or group has succeeded (Baker, 1994, p.300). Yin (2003) provided a much more extensive definition of a case study:

> An empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident (Yin, 2003, p.13).

Yin argues here that case study research is a comprehensive research strategy that relies on a multiplicity of sources of data where the data needs to corroborate one another in a triangulation manner. Case studies can include many different types of data: quantitative, qualitative, and historical data can be used to analyse a case study. It is therefore a methodological approach where a combination of sources and types of

data can be used to describe, analyse, and evaluate interactions within a particular context (Yin, 2003, p.13).

The above definition denotes the importance of contextual thinking in studying social phenomena, and it also expresses the difficulty of separating phenomenon and context as they are both intertwined. Despite the difficulty it brings, a case study recognises context as a vital part of the research whilst an experiment separates the context from the enquiry. A simpler definition is given by the Colorado State University's Campus Writing Center (2007) as:

> The collection and presentation of detailed information about a particular phenomenon, participant or small group, frequently including the accounts of participants themselves. A form of qualitative descriptive research, the case study looks intensely at an individual or small participant pool, drawing conclusions only about that participant or group and only in that specific context. Researchers do not focus on the discovery of a universal, generalised truth, nor do they typically look for cause-effect relationships; instead, emphasis is placed on exploration and description (http://writing.colostate.edu/guides/research/casestudy/pop2a.cfm, 12/01/08).

The above stated definitions depict that a case study is a research strategy which focuses on a single phenomenon, individual or group, especially when the phenomenon and the context are not evident, thus case studies are carried out to draw conclusions or theory to explain why or how certain things happen the way they happened. That means a case study often tries to establish meaning to people's actions or to events. As stated earlier in this writing by Schram (2003, p.107), a case study explores bounded systems, something often identified within time and circumstances. In other words, a border line is to be drawn specifically on the matter of interest to the research.

Yet, it is questionable whether conclusions can be made in a case study on the basis of a single case. Writers, like Yin (2003, p.10 & 11) and Hamel, et al. (1993, p.35) suggest that one case study is not enough to draw conclusions or create a theory; rather more than one case study is preferable because comparisons put the first study

into perspective. Another author, Stake (2000) highlighted three distinctive types of case studies that researchers can use. The first type, intrinsic case studies, is where the researcher undertakes the study of a case in order to better understand the case, not a representation of other cases. Instrumental case studies, the second type, is where the case studied is to give insight or to redraw generalisations, and may or may not be typical of other cases. Then, collective case studies, is the third type wherein the researcher studies a number of cases to investigate a phenomenon, population or general condition. Thus, the collective case study is an extension of instrumental studies and can give a better understanding of a still larger collection of cases (Stake, 2000, p.437).

I reiterate that this case study anticipates investigating how traditional cultural ways can become a link for youth development in Goroka town and elsewhere in PNG. The units of this analysis, and hence the focus of this research, were the youth development workers, the youth group leaders and village elders, parents of teenagers, and street youth. Most of the participants, especially the government workers, selected and interviewed in this research have abundant knowledge, skills, and experience in working with youth. These people deal with youth issues and problems in the community every day and were of great importance to this research.

5.4 Research Approach

A qualitative research approach was engaged for this case study and listed below are some definitions of qualitative research given by different writers. Overton and Van Diermen (2003, p.37-38) note that qualitative research is characterized by critics as subjective, not representative and prescribed in text. Authors Morgan and Smircich (1980) defined qualitative research as:

> An approach rather than a particular set of techniques, and its appropriateness derives from the nature of the social phenomena to be explored (Morgan & Smircich, 1980, p.491).

Meanwhile, Taylor and Bogdan (1988, p.9) described qualitative research as a craft with guidelines to follow but with no fixed rules which allows for flexibility. These

writers identify a belief among qualitative researchers that there is something important to be learned from the people, groups and their settings in a holistic manner. This adds equity and weight to the theory and practice of broad social development. Taylor and Bogdan (1988, p.136-138) additionally indicated that qualitative research is inductive, which means that as the study continues, ideas are built on from data gathered. Hence, qualitative researchers are often referred to as being concerned with the meanings people attach to their daily life activities.

Similarly, writers like Bryman and Burgess (1999) identify three commitments that characterize qualitative research. Firstly, it seeks to understand the world by interacting, empathising, and interpreting, various actions and perceptions of its actors. Thus, qualitative approaches often explore the meanings of the world according to the actors. This approach observes the nature and the cause of why people behave the way they do, and examines the countless personal impacts with impersonal social structures. Secondly, qualitative research tends to collect data in natural settings, rather than artificial and constructed contexts (for example in laboratories). Thirdly, it tends to create theory rather than test it. Qualitative methods, thus, work inductively, building up theory from observations, rather than deductively, testing theories by trying to refute their propositions (Bryman & Burgess, 1999, as quoted by Brockington & Sullivan, in Scheyvens and Storey, 2003, p.57).

The different qualitative techniques used to collate data include: participant observation (same as in quantitative research); writing of ethnography; semi-structured interviews; oral histories; and group discussions (Brockington & Sullivan, 2003, p.57). These qualitative methods are categorised into three kinds of data collection: in-depth or open-ended interviews; direct observation; and written documents (Patton, 1990, p. 10). In my case study, a qualitative approach was chosen as most relevant for the research topic and the key research questions. The three methods used are semi-structured interviews, focus-group interviews, and open-ended interviews, as will be explained further in section 5.5. It was possible for me to arrange all interviews via letters, emails, and telephone calls through the government officials in Goroka town.

For this study, the main focus of data collection was on what is occurring to people or individuals in a particular place (setting) and how they are affected by the setting (Patton, 1990, p.166 & 167). Schram (2003, p.107), explained that a case study explores bounded systems, something often identified within time and circumstances. In other words, a border line is to be drawn specifically on the matters of interest to the research.

To begin my research I had the following research questions:

. What types of youth upbringing methods were used in the traditional cultural society around Goroka, PNG, in the past?

. What sort of youth development approaches and strategies are used by existing youth-oriented organisations for youth development work?

. To what extent are the current youth-oriented organisations assisting youth development and is it possible to take on board the traditional approaches and work in partnership with the communities?

. What has recent positive youth development approaches in the West contributed to community-based approaches and strategies for youth development in a PNG context?

The above research questions also amplified the knowledge and experiences, as stated earlier, that I have from working as a social worker in Goroka for four years. For the research purpose I returned to this same organisation with an open mind to listen to and talk with former colleagues. That is, to hear their abundant experiences with regard to the implementation of youth development policy and programs, handling of youth development issues, and to explore the current youth activities. I also felt it was important to gather views from other people, such as youth or village leaders who are currently involved in youth work, parents of teenagers, and youth who are recipients of youth services provided. This would facilitate understanding and comprehension of the realities of youth services available to young people, and enhance the ability to suggest alternative ways to cater for the increasing youth population.

5.5 Research Methods

Leading up to my field work, I contacted the Manager for the Division for Community Development office in Goroka, and sought permission to interview some of the social workers attached to the organisation. He granted permission and was instrumental in organising his officers to meet me for the research interviews. In addition, he allocated an office space for interview sessions and allowed the use of the office vehicle to visit some of the research participants in their villages.

I used three data collecting methods in my fieldwork: semi-structured interviews; focus group interviews; and open-ended interviews with participants. Generally, during the interviews a great deal of detailed information was derived from these participants who participated enthusiastically. For the focus group interviews some of the participants I had arranged to meet with sent in other people to represent them, and these people also provided worthwhile information. I have cross-checked the validity of their information by asking the other individuals and group participants the same question.

The total number of participants selected for the case study research is 25 (refer to Table 1 below) which include: 8 social workers, 5 youth leaders, 4 village leaders/elders, 3 parents of teenagers, and 5 young people. All of the research participants were informed at the start of each interview session that their participation was voluntary and they were not obliged to participate. If they participated they were not obliged to answer all of the questions, but not one of them refrained to answer a question. Only the public servants were asked to sign the consent forms while the majority of the participants gave oral consent, after having the research and their rights explained, prior to the interview sessions.

Gender equity was considered and almost half of the total 25 participants were females. I was also aware of the local culture with regard to females, so most of the young females and single mother interviews were done in the presence of someone else, that is, either a family member or a close relative. Moreover, the identities of the participants are not disclosed but only letters of the alphabet (codes) are used to

represent individual participants. These representations will be used in the results and data analysis chapter.

Table 5.1: Research Participants

No. of Participants	Alphabetical codes	Gender (M=male, F=female)	Status
8	**A,B,G & H**	**M**	**Social workers**
	C,D,E & F	**F**	
5	**I,J & K**	**M**	**Youth leaders**
	L & M	**F**	
4	**N & P**	**M**	**Village leaders/elders**
	O & Q	**F**	
3	**R & S**	**M**	**Parents of Teenagers**
	T	**F**	
5	**W,X & Y**	**M**	**Youth**
	U & V	**F**	
Total= 25			

5.5.1 Semi-structured Interviews

I chose semi-structured interviews to elicit the experiences regarding traditional culture and youth development issues from my research participants. I chose this interview technique because, according to Case (1990), it provides a fairly open framework that allows participants to speak in their own words, is more focused, conversational, and is a two-way communication. This technique can be used both to give and receive information. It is important when examining personal perspectives and experiences. Hence, the semi-structured interview approach allowed me to ask the same questions to participants, but also prompted me to explore issues raised by the participants further.

For the semi-structured interviews ten participants were interviewed including social workers, youth or village leaders who are involved with youth, and some parents of teenagers. The participants were selected on the basis of their roles in the organisation, gender balance, and whether they have worked or are currently working in various capacities to empower young people to become reliable and trustworthy citizens. The interview questions (see Appendix 3, p.124) were directed at deriving personal experiences from people, that is, to find out how and why they are involved in working with young people. Then the questions explored the types of youth activities implemented in the past, and present and future plans regarding youth development. The questions also sought to gather information about cultural transition practices affecting young people. The information collected from the previous interview participants was cross-checked with data gathered from later participants in order to validate details. The privacy of the participants as well as mine as a researcher was important so most of the interviews were conducted in the office allocated to me. All the interviews were recorded on tapes for me to transcribe later for the research thesis.

5.5.2 Focus Group Interviews

A focus group interview is a planned, relaxed, naturalistic dialogue among a small group of people on a specific topic. I used focus group interview because it has a couple of advantages over one-on-one interviews. Firstly, information can be obtained more quickly because only one interview must be scheduled for a group, rather than one for each person. More importantly, the group setting allows individuals to use the ideas of others as cues to more fully elicit their own views. Thus, a group interview is essentially a qualitative data gathering technique that finds the interviewer directing the interaction and inquiry in a very structured or unstructured manner, depending on the interview's purpose (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994, p.365).

The main reason for conducting a focus group interview was to get people to discuss the cultural changes that have occurred from traditional lifestyles to contemporary society, and to identify issues facing the young people. Another ten different participants took part in the focus group interview, and I guided them with research questions through their discussions. Again, the participants included social workers, youth leaders, village elders, parents of teenagers and youth from the community.

The focus group was set up for the participants to discuss the national youth policy and particularly the implementation of its planned programs, its successes and failures, and to suggest possible ways to assist youth to become resourceful adults.

The focus group explored the question of why, if youth services are available, are increasing numbers of young people leaving school, roaming the streets, bored, poor, and getting involved in illicit activities to make ends meet. The focus group considered whether there are viable alternative methods that will ensure that all young people are trained properly and equipped to meet their own needs when they depart from home or caregiver institution. That is to find out, if current modern approaches have failed or are inadequate to meet the needs of most young people in the community.

The focus group interview was conducted with 8 participants who include: 3 social workers, 2 youth leaders, 2 villagers/elders and 1 parent of teenager, within an office space allocated to me by the Manager for Division for Community Development, so the privacy of the participants and the researcher was considered. The venue was suitable for both male and female participants. Some young people were reluctant to talk at first, but as the interview progressed they contributed to the discussion with more confidence. All of the interviews and discussion were recorded on tapes for me to transcribe later for the research thesis.

5.5.3 Open-ended Interviews

Open-ended interviewing was the main method used to interview the youth participants. I used open-ended interviews because they encourage participants to give a full and meaningful answer using their own knowledge and/or feelings and it also tend to be more objective and less leading. The youth were interviewed while they were vending on the street, as usual, to make ends meet. They were mostly selling betel nuts and cigarettes, polishing shoes, and involved in illicit activities for cash. The five participants interviewed were over the age of 18; they were informed the interview was voluntary and their involvement was not obligatory. Most of the participants related their experiences, problems, issues, interests, desires and future plans for their lives with ease simply because I was a local person. I did not use the

tape recorder in these interviews, as that could have made the research participants uneasy or suspicious, and that could deter the quality and depth of relevant information. I made notes right after each interview rather than during the sessions.

5.5.4 Research Ethics

Ensuing sound research ethics was of great importance because my study was dealing with young people's development issues. My two supervisors, Dr. Maria Borovnik and Associate Professor Regina Scheyvens, assisted to ensure that my fieldwork was ethical. They drew my attention to the implications of not following the Massey University's 'Code of Ethical Conduct for Research, Teaching and Evaluations involving Human Participants' (2005). My low risk ethics application to undertake fieldwork (see Appendix 4, p.126) was approved by the Massey Ethics Committee (see Appendix 5, p.132) and that enabled me to do research in Goroka with the research participants including young people between the ages of 18 to 25.

I took great care that the research participants were made aware of their rights. Before the interview sessions, my brief background was introduced, followed by signing of consent forms by public servants while the others gave oral consent (see Appendix 2, p.123). They were briefed about their rights to refrain from participation or from answering any one of the interview questions (see Appendix 1, p.117). Before the actual interview I asked the participants if they were comfortable about the interview venue and allowed for flexibility. I was considerate of the participants and the organisations they represented. Being a local person I was aware of cultural and gender issues, and I acted accordingly when approaching different people for research purposes. For instance, I had to interview a young woman in the presence of her parents or relative, or a wife in the company of her husband. Measures were taken to make sure that any potential harm to the research participants, I as the researcher, and the University, was minimised. All data collected in the field research was kept in very secure place and a research report will be sent back to the organisations involved in my study.

As suggested by Scheyvens, et al. (2003, p.155), research findings can inform other people and organisations and could lead to changes in future. Many of the participants

asked whether this study would improve current situations in the family circle or the community as a whole. They were informed that it may not change the situation at present but may help decision-makers to make informed decisions regarding the issue being researched. Many participants hoped for some immediate changes to happen rather than waiting for them to happen later, but, the benefits of this study are uncertain and only time can tell what benefits will accrue.

5.6 Reflections on the Fieldwork Process

In this study, I originally intended to do case studies of two organisations but after some deliberation, and in consideration of the fact that the fieldwork was to be completed in four weeks, only one case study was chosen. Consequently, I increased the number of participants for interviews to 25. I took this option in order to interview a greater range of participants in depth. I scheduled the participants for interviews for at least an hour, for both the individual and the group interviews.

The groups of people focused on in this research were: social workers involved in youth development work; youth and village leaders; parents of young people; and street youth living in the Goroka community. I had to collect valuable data from these people in a short period of time. These research participants were chosen with certain characteristics and put into categories that hopefully would contribute to achieving the aims of the research. The participants were selected on the notion that they have greater knowledge, experience, and interest in dealing with young people's issues and problems. Different groups of participants have either participated in semi-structured interviews, focus-group interviews or open interviews.

In the fieldwork, the literature reviewed, the ideas created and the themes that evolved in the research are confirmed, illustrated, or refuted. The data collected from the fieldwork broadened the scope of my perception of these preconceived concepts, themes and theories. My research questions were developed while reviewing existing theories related to my research topic prior to the field study. The questions were reconsidered and altered several times to ensure that they were relevant and would solicit appropriate answers. However, options were kept wide for the development of new concepts, themes and theories throughout the whole research process.

The fieldwork in Goroka from July 22 to August 18, 2007 was disrupted by the national elections conducted throughout the nation at that time. As I arrived in Goroka, the polling period in the Eastern Highlands Province had just ended and the counting of votes was in progress, and many of the participants I had arranged for the interviews were unavailable. Many people, particularly the government workers from the Division for Community Development, were either busy supporting their election candidates or were involved in the counting process and were unable to attend the pre-arranged interviews.

However, I was able to interview some of these participants almost a week after the counting of the votes and the subsequent declaration of newly elected National Parliamentarians. Thus, I was prompted to make new appointments for interviews with many of these participants and other stakeholders in order to finish the fieldwork on time. Being flexible and keeping an open mind to adapt to circumstances was significant to the success of this study.

5.7 Summary

A qualitative research approach was used to collect data in this case study for the research purpose. The data collection methods used were: semi-structured interviews, focus group interviews, and open-ended interviews. Altogether twenty-five participants took part and their valuable opinions and comments were recorded to be analysed later, and to find answers to the key research questions. As this was a qualitative study I sought to see things from the participants' perspective and understand the participants' feelings, thoughts, and motives behind their words and actions (Bogdan & Taylor, 2001, p.14).

While qualitative research can be criticised for not allowing the information gathered to be generalised from the sample to a wider population, it does provide a comprehensive picture of the subject area and paves the way for further research (Punch, 2005, p.148). The data from this fieldwork should either suggest some culturally friendly alternative youth development approaches towards solving current prevalent youth problems, or trigger more research in this area.

The great interest to undertake this study came from my strong views about the traditional youth upbringing methods, from working with problematic youth, and the postgraduate Development Studies courses taken at Massey University. The leading questions I used in the three data collecting methods had been framed to solicit answers for the research questions. Hence, the data collected from the fieldwork through the three different interview methods are analysed in the next chapter.

Chapter 6: Fieldwork Data Analysis

6.1 Introduction

As explained in chapter 5, a qualitative research approach was used to conduct interviews with 25 participants in Goroka in July and August, 2006. The focus of this research was about how traditional culture can be used as a link for positive youth development in PNG. This chapter presents the fieldwork data collected, including the opinions and comments of different people interviewed, such as: government officials and social workers; youth group leaders; village elders/leaders; parents of teenagers; and young people themselves. The data collated is used together with information gathered from secondary sources. In this section, the participants' quotes taken in 'tok pisin' (talk pidgin) are translated into English.

Data analysis identified particular issues that will be discussed below: the impacts of the PNG's National Youth Policy; conflicts between traditional and modern cultures, poverty and hardship; scarcity of employment opportunities, and lack of community support.

6.2 National Youth Policy

All the participants were initially asked prior to their interview sessions (either individually or in a group) if they knew anything about the PNG government's National Youth Policy and its general impacts on their youth development programs, and on the lives of the young people in their respective communities. The motive for this question was to understand whether or not the participants understood the relevant youth policy, plans, and programs that were available to assist young people in their transitions from childhood to adulthood; and also to investigate the extent to which this policy had paved the way for favourable youth development in the country. The responses gathered from the participants may suggest some hints towards answering the main research question: How can traditional culture be a link for positive youth development (in PNG)?

With regard to this initial question, Mr. A, a social worker, working for the government for almost 28 years, confirmed that a National Youth Policy has been in place since 1996. He explained that in the early 1980s the PNG government recognised and categorised the youth as a special group with needs, and emphasized that if not addressed, this group might cause social distress. The first program to cater for the youth needs was the National Youth Employment Strategy that came in 1983 from the National Executive Council (NEC) approved Youth Policy. The second youth program implemented was called National Youth Movement Program; and has been followed by a third, called National Youth Service (See National Youth Service, 1996, p.15). He indicated that these programs ceased due to lack of government's financial support and since then no new nationwide programs had been implemented. At the Provincial level, he states that his office's main objective is "to assist and empower marginalised, disadvantaged people to be able to improve their living conditions." He went on to explain that:

> In the urban areas, we have squatter settlements, and in the rural areas we find that not many people have access to government services, so we organise groups, to look at ways and means to improve their own living conditions in their areas. Our focus is helping to empower people who are marginalised mainly youth and women, as our office do not have the capacity to fund their projects.

Mrs F, an experienced social worker, expressed that youth problems will still linger because the state is not tackling these problems as it used to before, referring to the three youth programs mentioned above. She confirmed that when those programs were operating, most provinces were organised and had established Provincial Youth Councils that networked with all District Youth Councils, Ward Youth Councils, and their registered youth groups at the village level. The state supported various projects that these youth groups initiated that were often approved by the Provincial Youth Council. She emphasised that the programs' intention, to address youth needs, was excellent, but there were also incidences of gross misuse of funds, and many projects failed due to youth group leaders' lack of financial management skills. She reiterated further that:

> Many of these youth groups were not genuine groups but were referred to as 'mushroom groups' because these groups were formed only knowing that they will get funding. After receiving the money from the Provincial Youth Council, many of the youth group leaders misused the funds, and those genuine youth groups that used funds for their planned projects failed due to lack of management skills. Thus, if the state were to revitalise nationwide youth programs, it had to learn from these previous experiences and come up with appropriate youth development approaches where a lot of young people will benefit.

Nevertheless, most other social workers interviewed also indicated their awareness of the National Youth Policy, but responded that the policy had little impact on their youth development plans, programs, and strategies. The policy guidelines have not been implemented fully and their annual development programs receive little or no funding. Virtually nothing seemed to be getting done at the provincial and district levels. Ms. D, a social worker, commented that:

> When the Provincial budget is passed each year, the Community Development division is the least funded one and gets a huge cut, so officers cannot work on their youth development plans.

Meanwhile, all of the youth leaders interviewed stated that they had absolutely no idea of the youth policy as they have been working tirelessly on their own. They declared that they were creating their own methods of working with young people in their communities, because many of their youth seemed to be involved in a lot of problems. Mr. K and Ms. M, who are both youth leaders, summed up that they have sympathy for their youth, and that is the main reason why they do not wait for the government to implement its youth policy and plans. They both emphasised that they have come up with their own short term plans for engaging young people in various interesting activities that occupied them and helped them to spend their time wisely. Their efforts helped reduce the chances of young people causing problems.

On the other hand, the village leaders and elders interviewed also expressed similar sentiments that the youth policy is non-existent. They feel they have been trying their

best to cater for the needs of their young people in the midst of the changing world. They said that traditional ways of youth upbringing had been gradually dying out and many of the villagers depend on the local schools and churches to teach their children to live a happy life. Unfortunately, older participants grieved that Western systems of life have spoilt their children instead of leading them to good lives. Mrs. O, an older woman emphasised that:

> Our children are the future of the society but it is becoming hard to control the kids of today; in my young days, we would get up fast and do things as we were told, at once. I do not understand why our youth are too lazy to work, even to do simple jobs like dishwashing or sweeping the floor.

Even the three parents of teenagers interviewed expressed dissatisfaction, saying that if there was a youth policy in place, they have not seen any benefits from it. They said that they urgently needed that policy to help parents to guide their teenagers who are already causing a lot of problems in the community. They complained that most of their teenagers, including those of their neighbours, who are school leavers, seemed to be participating in illicit activities and they needed someone to come to their rescue, to find solutions to the youth issues. Mrs. T, a mother of three teenagers, expressed remorse that two of her teenaged boys have been involved in criminal activities in town and had been imprisoned several times. She stated:

> When my children were at school age, I had full control and told them what to do. After failing their schoolwork, they came home and when I said something to them they told me to shut up, they even threatened to kill me. How can my very own kids say that to me? Only their father talks to them now but many times, they don't listen at all.

In addition, all of the young people interviewed had no idea of the youth policy and questioned what it can do for them, if there was one. These youth participants pointed out that nobody seemed to care about their needs and wants; even their parents have rejected them because they have not done well in school. They declared that they have had no direction to go in, and are forced to do best in whatever they can to find their next meal. Mr. Y, a young man, boasted plainly that:

> I stand on my two feet to feed myself. I do not hesitate to steal from other people in order to sustain my live. I do just that without considering the likely consequences and if I am not imprisoned I count myself as lucky for the day.

Another interviewee, Ms. V, a young woman revealed that she had survived on the streets for two years since her family rejected her for failing to pass her secondary school exams. She was confident that she was now able to look after herself through sales of betel nuts and cigarettes at the market. She spoke sternly that:

> Some of us (street youth) have learnt to survive the hardships, we do not need a youth policy or help from anyone else, but if new ways to help youth are developed, that may be good for many youth. For any changes to occur, the government or any organisations wanting to help young people, should consult the youth themselves, first, because they know their own problems and also know how to overcome them.

The above participants' comments implied that the state had reduced or ceased major youth development programs at the national level and thus the Provincial office responsible for youth development appeared to have been handicapped. Despite this, the Community Development office utilises its staff and the limited resources available to try to empower marginalised people with skills and knowledge to be creative, innovative, and use initiative to improve their own lives. Most interview participants confirmed that the youth policy has not been implemented and thus, youth development programs had been affected. However, this has not deterred the participants from creating temporary youth development approaches to reduce the increasing number of youth problems in the community. Despite the fact that many young people seemed to be lazy and troublesome, there are some that had struggled and found ways to survive.

6.3 Traditional and Modern Cultures

According to Hooper (2000, p.3) culture plays a significant role in the lives of the Pacific people and the people do not tend to be less traditional and more modern, but

be both at the same time. Participants were asked to describe what they think is the difference between traditional and modern cultures. All the participants gave different views regarding what they understood about culture. Mr. N, a village elder (a former councillor) defines culture as:

> Something that is part and parcel of the community, the way people talk and do things together, it includes different forms of traditional dancing, art and crafts, literature, beliefs, or the ways of identifying themselves as one people.

N's views are in line with some views from the published literature, for example, 'culture encompasses more or less the whole of human life' (Parekh, 2000, p.143); or a collective society and its conduct of life (Bodley, 1999, p.9). Another participant Mrs. Q, a village women leader, explained that the traditional culture and its way of life have been changing completely. To illustrate her point, she stated that:

> The past traditional culture did not allow women to wear men's clothes or work in men's occupations, like being a mechanic, but now woman can wear men's long pants and take up jobs categorised as only for men.

Mrs. Q's statement coincide with the views of writers Hall (1999, p.4) and Watson (1997, p.8) that culture is not static but does evolve and change from one place to another and from one generation to another.

Moreover, Ms. C, a social worker, suggested that there is more confusion over which of the traditional cultural behaviours to keep and which ones to ignore and vice versa for modern cultural behaviours. She articulated the importance of the changing nature of families and said that:

> Usually, in traditional societies everyone cared for any child, even though the child was not their own, it became everyone's business to make sure that this young child grows up well. But now there is a change to a nuclear family structure where the support for children, for instance, through shared or communal childcare is dwindling. As such child upbringing is regarded as a sole responsibility of parents in each family.

Ms. C's claims are supported by Catalano, et al. (2004, p.98) that a number of social factors have changed the family structure, life in the community and the expectations for young people.

Meanwhile, another social worker, Mr. G, insisted that Western lifestyles and Christianity have contributed to the disintegration of most of the traditional norms, beliefs, and values. He added that the people have wholeheartedly adopted the modern ways of living, with the hope of acquiring wealth and success in life. The modern way of life deems itself as very superior and categorised cultural practices as inferior, primitive, lacking, and not good for development (McMurray, 2006, p.5). However, Mr. G lamented that:

> Many young people were fooled by the Western lifestyles with its promise of high-quality lives and prosperity but in reality many of them were often dismayed.

However, Mr. P, a village leader, noted that when he was young, there were no modern technologies like television, videos, and computers and stated that he was appalled by the recent advanced modern technological gadgets like cell phones, digital cameras and global internet communications. He admitted that he has little or no expertise to operate these sophisticated items and sympathised for the younger generation. He grieved that:

> I am getting old now and do not know how to use these modern technologies but what will become of the young people out there on the streets, who do not have access to these modern items. I hope they (young people) won't be like me and I wonder who will teach them, if they have already left school.

This remark reflects the kind of rapidly changing world we are now living in, where young people seemed lost and could not cope well in society.

On the other hand, Ms. L, a young female youth leader, reveals that cultural changes contribute to uncertainties about roles and responsibilities, and part of that is brought

about by the media. She pointed out that the media always promote Western values as ideal and Western entertainments like movies brainwash young people's minds. Ms. L described that:

> Young people wanted to be movie superstars like Rambo, Bruce Lee, Jackie Chan and other heroic figures; and eventually, when they are under the influence of drugs, in their confused state of mind they sometimes harass and threaten other people. No wonder why a lot of young people get involved in illicit behaviours and some do it, just for the thrill of it.

In addition, Mr. R, a parent of a teenager recalled in this context that many young people have become too lazy. He specified that traditional behaviours and activities, such as, gardening, hunting, marriage and funeral ceremonies, language and many household chores, seemed to be ignored by the local young men and women. He confirmed that in his own words:

> A lot of young people like to watch movies, sit on street corners and talk about unimportant things, share their drugs, and go home in the evening expecting food to be on the table for them. Sad to say, but many of these young people, even those with their own unwanted kids, depend solely on their poor ageing parents who continued to provide for the needs of these teenagers.

These remarks depict young people's idleness and need, and that participants feel something must be done, to keep them busy with worthwhile activities. Furthermore, Mr. I, a youth leader, explained undeniably that many young people have found it difficult to afford the glamorous Western lifestyles because it costs money for everything, nothing is free, and so some people have reverted to simple traditional ways of living. Another correspondent, Mrs O, a village women's leader described that:

> For numerous PNG families it seemed that they can not keep up to the demands of modern life. Even fortunate families with modern homes, use their houses for sleeping only and do cooking over open fire in their huts, simply to avoid the increasing gas and electricity bills.

This infers that many families and communities have also been struggling to cope with the impacts of the changing lifestyles. They cannot continue to maintain the costs of modern lifestyles unless someone in the family is employed or involved in income generating activities.

Most of the young interview participants agreed that they are aware of the changes occurring between the traditional and modern cultures. They acknowledged that those changes in lifestyles and the new ideas introduced through formal education, multi-media, Christian institutions and the government systems have affected them. They revealed that they were more confused because at home they were told to keep traditional values and norms; at school they were required to read and write and excel in schoolwork; and at church they were expected to adhere to Christian principles. Therefore, Mr. Y, one of the youth interviewed complained that:

> We have so many different groups and organisations coming up and trying to bombard us with new ideas at one time, some of them bring genuine service that are beneficial to the youth, some bring lip-service to us, and for others they only come to use the young people for their own gains. At the end of the day, look at the poor youth, like myself, struggling to live on, to see the next day, if it ever comes.

According to Mr. A, a social worker, a lot of changes have occurred regarding family, communities and the PNG society as a whole since PNG got its independence in 1975. Many of the traditional ways of living have diminished, some have been modified, and others have been eliminated forever. To illustrate the changes that have taken place he referred to his own village and described that:

> In my village, after the independence of this nation (PNG), the family homes were built only of timber and grass but today a lot of families live in Western-type homes; children are sent off to schools while other family members work hard to pay for their school fees; regular use of Pidgin English (Tok-Pisin) with the traditional dialect diminishing; the barter system of sharing goods ceased in most places and most products are sold for cash only; and conflicts arise among the local people and those converted to Christianity over the

> refusal to participate in traditional dancing, feasting, marriage and burial ceremonies.

Christian attitudes, according to Gibbs (2000) also have had some drastic effects on cultural changes because Christians consider aspects of traditional culture as sinful and primitive, and have stopped few cultures regarded as oppressive, for example, the practice of cannibalism and tribal warfare (Tuzin, 2001, p.121).

The views expressed above indicate that young people have been experiencing problems instigated by the conflicts taking place between traditional and modern cultures. Youth have encountered various problems because of the changing nature of family types; dwindling of traditional communal childcare approaches; new ideas learnt from schools; the influence of Christianity and modern lifestyles; rapid development of modern technologies like computers, digital and internet communications; the media's unfair portrayal of modern culture as superior over traditional culture; and the lack of support from both the community and the state. Many of the traditional cultural ways of life had changed and many people have adapted to modern lifestyles. But due to the high costs of maintaining modern ways some families have reverted to keeping what is good from both traditional and modern cultures for their own benefits.

6.4 Poverty and Hardship

After the discussion of the national youth policy and the conflicts between the traditional and modern cultures, the respondents were asked about some of the prevalent youth issues in their communities. The majority of the participants indicated that poverty and hardship is a major problem among the youth population. When queried about the situation of poverty, Mrs F, a women's leader, noted that in the traditional society poverty was never an issue. She proclaimed that:

> All the families easily obtained their basic needs of food, clothing, and shelter from the environment. For example, they made and used tools from animal bones, stones, trees and plants; they got fish from the rivers and the sea; they hunted animals for meat from the nearby bushes; they harvest food crops from

> their gardens; and they clothed themselves with animal fur and plant barks. For those who produced one type of goods but lacked another type of goods, the barter system was used. That is, one group exchanged its excess goods with another group for products they wanted.

Mr. B, one of the social workers interviewed, mentioned that although many people can survive in traditional society without money, they need money to participate in the modern society. He stressed that:

> People in traditional villages can live on food from the garden, but when they want to go into town, they will need money to pay for transport or pay for their children's school fees. As such, they can not isolate themselves from the modern society.

In most villages except the remotest ones people depend on money for basic modern items like rice, salt, tinned fish, matches, cooking and eating utensils, kerosene, petrol, diesel, and to pay school fees for children. Therefore, those without cash are most likely to be disadvantaged and can not access basic services like health and schools, and their rights to choose are restricted (The State of the Pacific Youth 2005, 2005, p.20).

Meanwhile, Ms. L, a youth leader, revealed that many of the young people in her community are very poor and can not afford to buy basic necessities like soap, clothes, tooth paste, food and cigarettes. Ms. L commented that:

> When the parents or relatives could not provide for these young people's basic items, they sometimes requested other people's help, but that is not always possible. In desperate situations, the youth search for alternative ways to satisfy these needs and desires. Although many of them know it is wrong to steal, they have no choice, but to intimidate and harass people, break into people's homes and shops, and get what they wanted. Other young people participate in many illicit acts like pick pockets, prostitution, and drug abuse and trafficking to make ends meet.

Another parent of a teenager, Mr. S, claimed that many poor young people envy the children of the privileged families, who seem to enjoy modern luxurious lifestyles. The unfortunate youth often feel left out and feel that they are useless to their communities. Thus, they become vulnerable to abuse by people with cash and material goods, such as sexual or physical abuse, harassment at workplace, and eventually that may lead to self-destruction like suicide or psychological problems.

Mr. C, a social worker asserted that:

> It is often very difficult to deter young people from causing problems unless there are relevant youth development activities that could divert their attentions. Many children left school because of non payment of school fees, marital problems among the parents, punishment by teachers, or left to find jobs to support their families. On the other hand, what some churches, schools, non governmental organisations (NGOs) and communities are doing to cater for the needs of the increasing number of people is inadequate.

The point these two respondents have raised is that many young people are poverty stricken and struggle to acquire basic goods and services. Therefore, to assist these youngsters to overcome poverty, jobs must be created and viable socio-economic projects have to be developed. Otherwise poverty may continue to drive the youth into high-risk activities.

Similarly, all of the young people interviewed expressed that poverty is rife among them and they are becoming poor because they can not afford the basic goods and services. They predict that life is getting harder and harder because they do not know what to do, as uncertainties loom each day. Three of the respondents said that they needed money to survive in their communities, because everything costs money and nothing is free. They were bitter with the fact that there are no job opportunities available in town and asked who would step in to help them to get out of the doldrums. The remedy for the problem of youth unemployment, according to UNDP (1999, p.83) lies with economic growth which stimulates local jobs and enterprises.

Mr. U, a youth, while discussing the issue of youth self-reliance stated that:

> Many parents, teachers, youth workers, and the government tell us to be productive and more self-reliant. But, it is impossible for us (youth). They have to provide us the skills training and knowledge to look after ourselves through small-scale socio-economic projects.

Two of the respondents revealed that in this context, many of the young people are now taking drugs as an excuse to relieve themselves from problems or to cause problems. They are often frustrated that no one seems to care about them. Taking drugs, especially marijuana, is for temporary relief but the real problems linger.

Mr. A, an experienced social worker regretted that there are currently no youth development programs coming through his Provincial office via the National Youth Commission office in Port Moresby. When asked about working in partnership with other organisations, he stated that:

> Government funding is very limited and we (Provincial office) do not have fund available, so we work closely in partnerships with donors, NGOs, community based organisations, and faith-based organisations, and share knowledge and skills to improve the lives of young men and women. We (stakeholders) only support youth groups' capacity building and empower young people to improve their own lives using the skills taught. That is, to get these youth away from the past 'hand out' mentality, where they only want to receive free goods and services without working hard for it.

He emphasised further that the above mentioned youth oriented stakeholders only play advisory roles and support young people's own initiated programs and projects rather than devising programs for them.

The views from the correspondents reflected that poverty is a major problem affecting many young people today. In the traditional society poverty was never heard of but with the introduction of trade and use of money the Western society people felt themselves to be poor. Young people living away from home cannot afford basic items like food, clothing and shelter, and basic services of education and health

because they do not have money. This prompts young people to participate in illicit activities to meet their needs and desires, while being aware of the consequences of their actions. Unless their respective communities and the state create income generating activities for young people they may still be troubled by poverty. A collaborative effort from all youth-oriented organisations is required to reduce poverty in various communities.

6.5 Unemployment Issues

Most of the research participants, when queried about young people's employment availability, articulated that there were virtually no employment opportunities for most of the young people in Goroka or PNG as a whole. They emphasised that most young people who leave school could not find paid jobs because the government departments, business houses, and private organisations can not employ them. One reason, as described by McMurray (2001, p.8 & 9) was that Pacific education system founded by the missionaries and colonial powers emphasised more on literacy and numeracy as preparation for white-collar jobs rather than blue-collar jobs. Many parents were angered when their children do not find jobs, as their investment is wasted (Kick, 1999, p.42).

Mr. T, a youth leader, who completed school up to year 12 level, complained that:

> I have been searching for jobs for almost 6 years and never found one. The offices I have approached have familiar notices on the manager's door 'SORI NOGAT WOK' (sorry no work) and that automatically puts me off. I only ask for jobs in places where there are no placards but some of the bosses ask me if I had some work experiences, I do not have that and so, I have given up for good.

Mr. T related that, when he found out that there was nothing for him, he actively participated in church activities and eventually became a youth group leader.

On a similar note, Ms U, a youth said that she left secondary school after year ten because she did not get enough points to continue to year 11 and 12. She stated that:

> Having seen myself as a dropout, I did not go looking for jobs because a lot of school leavers like me were already living in the village. I felt I was not any better than them, so I stayed in the village for almost 3 years helping my parents in their gardens. I got bored at home, left for town and since then, I have been living with my big brother, a policeman. Every school day I take his three children to and from school, and for doing that he often gives me some money.

Miss U expressed further that the money her brother gives her is not enough, but she reckoned it is better than nothing, because all the shops in town she asked for jobs, had no jobs for her.

Mrs D, a senior social worker, when asked about job availability for the young people, complained that the education system is not doing enough for them. What the schools tend to do is to educate the school children to obtain white-collar jobs rather than to be blue-collar workers. She said that:

> Many parents pay a lot of money for school fees and encourage their children to do well in school, so as the teachers, hoping that these children at the end of their education may find employment in offices somewhere. But many parents are disappointed when the opposite occurs; they blame their children and even the teachers for the failures of their children to find jobs. In some extreme cases, parents have chased their children away from home and told them not to come home until they have secured a job.

All of the three parents of teenagers interviewed expressed that more youth are leaving the education system and ending up in the villages. They affirmed that there are a growing number of school leavers who seem to have nothing much to do because the schools have not taught them basic life skills, which also makes these poor young people feel alienated from their own society. All of the respondents indicated that many unemployed youth have created a lot of problems in the communities. Mrs. T, a parent of two teenagers described that:

> The young people, including my own children, tend to dislike the traditional ways of life in the village. When asked to do menial jobs around the homes or gardens, they do not want to work, they seemed to laze about. Oh, but when it comes to sporting activities they are the first to be seen on the playground. I can not understand why they have more energy to play sports vigorously rather than doing household chores that would help improve their lives.

In addition, Mr. R, a parent of teenagers, added that:

> With nothing much to do, a lot of youth in Goroka can be seen crowding at the 'Kakaruk' (chicken) market or 'World Trade Centre', as renamed after 9/11 plane crashes of World Trade Centre in New York. At this popular meeting place, a lot of youth participate in all kinds of business activities, whether it is legal or illegal, which happens daily. Some of these activities include: sales of chicken; sales of manufactured store goods; trading and chewing of betel nuts; sales of alcohol and its consumption; sales of drug and abuse, particularly marijuana; playing darts for cash, cigarettes, beer and other items; playing joker card games for cash; sales of lottery tickets for cash; sales of unhygienic cooked food; and pimping and prostitution. All these activities give an opportunity for other young people to become pick pockets and racketeers. Those people who are involved in these trades include young children from 8 years, teenagers, and adults from both sexes. Several people have been murdered at Kakaruk market from drunken brawls and tribal fights but that does not deter people from going there.

These comments from Mr. R depicted that although many of the young people are aware of the dangers attached to the venue, they still frequent it because of the opportunities available for them to find easy money. Some of the activities are considered legal while most of them are illegal such as drug abuse, prostitution, stealing, racketeering, and playing joker games for cash

However, all of the above remarks from parents of teenagers imply that many young people often do not want to work hard to improve their own lives, but only want to depend on easy and corrupt ways to find instant gratification. The activities

mentioned often have detrimental effects which the youth may not realise until it is too late, their lives are spoilt or they may die.

Another respondent, Mrs. Q, a village women's group leader, claimed that youth unemployment is a problem because a great number of school leavers from primary to secondary schools, and many graduates from tertiary institutions including universities, could not find employment. She claimed that 'wantokism' (nepotism) is rife in PNG, where close relatives or friends of those who are working in an organisation have the chance of being recruited for jobs in the public or the private sectors. For instance, Payani (1995, p.140) explained the term 'wantokism', as the recruitment and promotion of unqualified candidates on the basis of family connections, kinship ties, and tribal, provincial, and regional origins, at the expense of merited candidates.

Nevertheless, Mr. H, a social worker, pointed out another valid reason for youth unemployment. He alleged that the government has failed to conduct job needs analysis of its own departments and other development fields in the country that would require skilled manpower, so that students can get relevant training to fill those jobs. Many students blindly choose qualifications that do not have a job at the end of their education, which results in frustrations for the graduates who often turn to drugs and lawlessness as quick remedies to their desolation.

Mr. A, another experienced social worker, advised that there are no jobs for school leavers because the formal sector had not expanded sufficiently since independence. As such, the community have to assist young people to acquire basic skills to participate in the informal sector. He explained that the current Minister for Community, Dame Carol Kidu, had spearheaded the recognition and enhancement of the informal sector as a poverty reduction strategy particularly focusing on women and youth in the informal sector in PNG. The minister was instrumental in the passing of the Informal Sector Development and Control Act in January 2004 (Islands Business, 2007). Hence, Mr. A, and several other social workers, voiced that the door is open for young people to earn their own living through participating in the legally economic activities of the informal sector, and not like those activities at Kakaruk market described earlier by Mr. R. These government workers stressed that the onus

is with the parents and individual communities to utilise the opportunities available to train young people to actively participate in the informal sector while based at home.

The comments collated from respondents indicated that school leavers after leaving school have little or no opportunities for employment. The number of jobless school leavers seems to be increasing in the communities as the public service, business houses, and private organisations do not have jobs for unskilled people. The few jobs available appeared to have been given to friends through 'wantokism' (nepotism). The education system educates young people towards white-collar jobs rather than blue-collar jobs, and many young people dislike traditional lifestyles. Young people got involved in illicit activities to make ends meet because no one appears to care about them. The creation of Informal Sector Development and Control Act passed in 2004 had paved the way for involving the youth, but it needs support from the community and the state to be fully implemented.

6.6 Lack of Community support

A further theme that emerged in many of the interviews was the lack of wider community involvement in the upbringing of youth. Mr. J, a youth group leader for 5 years complained that the involvement of the community is lacking to support youth development work. He said that many people in the community do not work with the youth and teach them the necessary expertise they need to survive in the community after leaving school. Mr. J added that a lot of people think that when these school children fail to continue their education they are useless in the community. He reiterated further on the common knowledge that:

> In the traditional past, everybody felt it was their responsibility to cater for each child's needs in the community, and the youth have always had something to do. Whereas, in the modern era, the task of child rearing was left to the parents and when the parents failed to give proper training to their children, these young people are likely to cause problems. Something must be done to bring back the traditional ways, which cares for every child.

Similar sentiments were expressed by other respondents that a new approach had to be found which can address youth needs.

A female social worker, Ms. E, recommended that blending traditional and modern way of skills training will definitely improve their lives, and assist young people to settle well in their communities. For example, more vocational type training should be blended into the formal schooling. She anticipated that the change in the educational curriculum may have a double impact to students. She believed that the new system if devised may ensure that:

> Half the time at school should have to be spent in the classroom and the other half be spent out taking vocational lessons, that is, getting on-the-job-training for real life jobs outside the school or in the nearby community. But in the village, the typical traditional styles, where youth receive training in subsistence and life-skills from the older generation, have to be re-introduced.

Mr. W and Mr. X, two of the young people interviewed also supported the ideas of Ms. E. They reported that the academic subjects they learnt at primary to secondary school have all been forgotten and are now useless, and they regretted that they were not taught basic survival and technical skills that could have helped them back in the community. They had to learn these vital skills again from the community after leaving school which has caused some embarrassment to them.

The views raised here portrayed that young people need the support of their communities to grow into adulthood. The traditional cultural ways of caring for one another and helping neighbours in need have diminished. Young people who were in trouble sought help from neighbours but now the childcare is left in the hands of parents. Those school leavers who come home have no programs that can make them adjust well to village life. The communities referred to them as failures who cannot contribute to the society, but according to the school leavers themselves they could do better if they were taught some basic skills in school or at home.

6.7 Summary

This chapter presented the fieldwork data collected which represents the opinions and comments of different people interviewed, such as social workers, youth group leaders, village elders/leaders, parents' of teenagers, and young people. The main themes that emerged from the findings were the lack of application of the National Youth Policy, conflicts between traditional and modern cultures, poverty/hardships, scarcity of employment, and lack of community support.

With regard to the issue of culture, the interviewees confirmed that a lot of conflicts still exist between traditional and modern cultures, and many young people are confused over what to follow. Many people had changed their living styles from traditional to modern, but participants revealed that Western lifestyles required money to maintain them.

Poverty and hardship is rife among many young people because there are few income generating opportunities being created for them. The respondents suggested that empowering young people will encourage them to improve their own lives rather than participating in illicit acts to make ends meet. Being self-employed in the informal sector is an option for school leavers and, thus would minimise unemployment, as noted by some participants. The school leavers, their fee paying parents/guardians, and even teachers are devastated when students do not get employed at the completion of their studies

Finally, it was described that there are no community support systems in place for young people. It would be beneficial if the parents and community teach young people some basic skills to participate in the informal sector. Many respondents thought that the traditional styles of youth upbringing, where youth receive training in subsistence skills from older generation, have to be re-introduced. Other respondents commented that blending relevant traditional and modern way of skills training will definitely improve young people's lives and assist them to settle well in their communities. In the next chapter the main themes identified will be discussed linking references from the literature reviewed and checking whether the views of the respondents provided some answers to the research questions.

Chapter 7: Discussion

7.1 Introduction

In this chapter, key issues and influences on youth development in Goroka presented in chapter 6 will be discussed with supporting references from the literature that was discussed in chapter 2 and 3. This chapter will summarise significant results and discuss implications derived from the findings. The aims of the research are briefly reviewed below.

It was evident that there were several issues to be considered in this research. Hence, the perspectives of twenty five people with knowledge and experience were sought from individuals from the focus area of this study. Some of the respondents had a great wealth of experience. A notable attribute of the participants was their willingness to discuss youth work or reflect on their life experiences as a youth and to express views openly on the research issues. The knowledge and data obtained from this study was used to uncover some research issues and themes, and these were refined after the data collection phase.

According to the conceptual framework of youth development provided by Lerner (2005), in chapter 2, the writings of Hall in the 1900s sparked the first phase of scientific study of adolescence describing that period as stormy and stressful. The second phase of the scientific study of adolescence occurred in the 1960s, which triggered further research, increased the number of youth organisations, and publication of journals addressing youth issues. Meanwhile, the third phase of the scientific study of adolescence occurred around the 1990s focusing on: development systems as a frame for research and application, collaboration of researchers and practitioners, and interest in positive youth development ideas for improvement in the lives of young people (Lerner, 2005, p.6, 7 & 12). Although, there were limitations to each of the three phases, the knowledge generated has been useful for understanding youth development.

The literature review indicated that youth development occurs any time, in schools, at homes, and in the communities, and that it ideally involves working with young people in holistic, systematic, and strength-based approaches (Lane, 1996, p.14-18). The nuclear family network that supports the development of youth had been disintegrating due to a number of social forces (Catalano, et al. 2004, p.98). Many factors have weakened families and the community support that was available to young people (Eccles & Gootman, 2002, p. 2 & 3). Young people have been troubled by the rapid technological changes, especially electronic communication (Lloyd, 2005, p.32).

In the past children were regarded as problems to be solved (Roth, et al. 1988, p.435 & 436), but the search is on for strength-based positive youth approaches in the Western society (Catalano, et al. 2004, p.101,102 & 117). That is, to promote young people's interests, unique talents, future potentials (Damon, 2004, p.13 & 14), and bring back the kind of support that can exist in a nuclear family or in the community. Hence, this study was designed to investigate the traditional youth upbringing methods from the Goroka community and to examine whether the traditional approaches can become a link to the emerging positive youth development approaches from the West.

7.2 Changing Approaches to Youth Development in PNG

The adolescent period is a delicate time in which proper attention and care is required if young people are to develop into adult roles expected of them in their respective community. This crucial stage of development requires planned action and these actions need to focus on both solving problems of the young people, especially on what they lack, and on building young people's strengths (Holdsworth, et al. 2005, p.14).

In PNG, the National Youth Policy that was approved by National Executive Council (NEC) on January 17, 1997 had not fully implemented. Its aim was to support integrated human development through addressing the social needs of individuals, families and communities. The Youth Policy was anticipated to meaningfully involve young people in the physical, intellectual, social, spiritual, political, economic, and

cultural development of the country through their active participation in the affairs of families, and the activities of their communities (PNG National Youth Policy, 1996, p.2; Vainerere, 2006b).

With regard to the question on the type of youth development approaches and strategies used in PNG some older respondents recalled that youth development activities flourished in PNG, in the early 1980s. That was when the government through the National Youth Commission recognised and categorised youth as a special group with needs which may cause problems if not addressed. The major programs implemented to address those needs were the National Youth Employment Strategy in 1983; followed, soon after by the second youth development program called the National Youth Movement Program; and then followed by the third, called the National Youth Service (see, National Youth Service, 1996, p.15). These youth programs prompted the hierarchical establishment of the Provincial Youth Councils, District Youth Councils and Ward Youth Councils in each province. These programs ceased in the early 1990s due to lack of government's financial support. In addition, there were problems of gross miss-management of project funds by elected youth leaders and officials, and constant failures by youth leaders to manage projects due to having little or no management skills.

Today, no clear networking and coordination exists between the National Youth Commission and the Provincial Youth offices to implement the Youth Policy's aims and objectives at the provincial, district and ward levels. The Provincial and District Youth Officers lack the funds to undertake development programs as the Provincial Government's annual budget is often inadequate. The social workers cannot deliver services right to the people and groups in their villages rather than operating from their office in town. They only provide technical advice and support skills training through donor funded projects, for example, Adult Literacy (Asian Development Bank) and Silver Jubilee Sports Program (AusAID), to empower the marginalised and disadvantaged populations, mainly youth and women, to improve their own lives. Thus, the National Youth Policy was not serving the bulk of the youth as stipulated and was inefficient in terms of service delivery.

The parents, village leaders, and social workers acknowledged that they are finding it difficult to maintain order, among problem youth who are actively participating in illicit activities. As a result of the schools' failure to educate school leavers to return home at the end of their education, many of them alienated themselves from their own societies. On the other hand, the parents who pay for children's school fees often demand them to find a paid job to repay their money (Kick, 1999, p.42). The dilemma lingers on for youth as it is not that easy to find jobs for someone without proper job skills and relevant experience.

One recent initiative in PNG has however created an opportunity for the unemployed youth. This is called the 'Informal Sector and Control Act' passed by Parliament in 2004 in PNG, supported by the current Minister for Community Development, Right Honourable Carol Kidu as a poverty reduction strategy (Islands Business, 2007). This policy paved the way for young people, particularly school leavers, to participate actively in small-scale socio-economic activities while living at home. The onus is now on the parents and the respective communities to impart vital entrepreneurial skills and knowledge to their children and other young people to engage in the informal sector, through 'hands-on training'

To sum up, some Western societies including Australia, United Kingdom, and United States of America have been promoting strength-based approaches for youth development but the policy makers and practitioners in PNG, have yet to develop positive youth development approaches and strategies to direct youth in the communities. The National Youth Policy has not been implemented as expected and organised youth development programs seemed non-existent among the communities country-wide. Hence, PNG have to come up with youth development programs that can be sustained without financial support from the state because there was no guarantee for continuous state funding, as revealed by participants for the previous youth programs.

On a positive note, the National Youth Commission will launch the new look National Youth Policy in 2008; which will show the new direction for youth development (Hriehwazi, 2008, The National, March 26). Hopefully, this policy document will be an effective one that contains achievable aims and objectives with appropriate youth

development approaches and strategies for the future. The state should back this new policy with the necessary financial support to fully implement the aims and objectives; otherwise it will just be another policy that is wasted.

7.3 Rejuvenation of Cultural Methods

As discussed in earlier chapters, culture can be seen in a variety of ways, two of which are: as a collective society and its conduct of life (Bodley, 1999, p.9) and, as a matter of ideas and pattern of meanings in symbolic forms including actions, utterances and various meaningful objects that enable people to identify, communicate, and share their beliefs (Thompson, 1990, p.3). Thus culture encompasses more or less the whole of human life (Parekh, 2000, p.143).

Olutimayin (2002, p.2) suggested that culture should provide its members with subsistence, biological continuity, and motivate maintenance of their cultural systems. That means, it should provide for the creation of its members, and sustain harmonious relationships within its own members, and between its members and outsiders or those who do not belong to that particular culture. Also culture should express clearly how authority can be imposed and the kind of obedience expected from subordinates.

In terms of youth development, traditional cultural norms and values have always been passed on from parents to young people (Hall, 1994, p.4) either orally, through rites of passage or through observation and practice. The adult generation from each community have the prerogative to train young people to behave appropriately in their transition from childhood to adulthood. But due to rapid changes occurring between the traditional cultural ways and modern lifestyles, young people are confused with what cultures to accept and live with. Hence, Hall (1994, p.4) as well as Watson (1997, p.8) suggest that culture is not static but does evolve and change over time.

Most of the respondents shared that they had experienced clashes between traditional and modern cultures and identified the impacts of the changes happening on youth and other members of the community. They identified that Western lifestyles, Christianity, and schools have contributed to the disintegration of their traditional norms, beliefs, and values. It is evident that many young people are confused over

which part of the traditional or Western culture to follow, what behaviours to keep, and which ones to discard. For instance, pig husbandry is good for meat, brings wealth from income but a number of churches forbid the handling and consumption of pork.

As described in chapter 3, in most traditional cultures, a child was cared for by the parents and other members of the community. The communal support given to a child has dwindled and childcare is left only to the immediate members of the nuclear family (Catalano, et al. 2004, p.99). Marital problems including adultery and divorce have broken down many families, and teenage mothers are also finding it hard to raise their children single-handedly. As such, to help those young people in unpleasant situations Western nations have promoted positive youth development approaches and strategies (Damon, 2004, p.13 & 14). Another effect of the rapid changes is the rate at which modern technology is evolving, like the digital age and the internet world, impacting on the lives of many young people (Lloyd, 2005, p.32).

Many young people have undergone a transition from traditional to modern ways of living. However, some people want to return to the traditional ways of living, at least in part, as modern lifestyles can be stressful and require use of money all the time. A Tuvaluan Pastor believes that young people in the Pacific need to learn to manage the traditional and Western cultures, and keep what is best from each (The State of the Pacific Youth 2005, 2005, p.30). However in PNG, the schools have failed to educate young people to return and live in their communities (Ahai & Faraclas, 1993, p.82 & 83). A lot of social problems have been caused by many of these school leavers in the communities.

Therefore, the rejuvenation of traditional youth upbringing methods could be a suitable tool to instil discipline in young men and women. In chapter 3, the two examples provided about youth upbringing in Lufa, Eastern Highlands Province and traditional initiation of young men in Siar village, Madang Province both described how older community members can play an active role in shaping a new generation of skilled and competent adults. Something should be done to retain the important features of these traditional cultural youth upbringing methods that require the involvement of everyone in the community.

But not all traditional methods are acceptable, before any traditional youth upbringing methods can be revitalised the process have to be modified to ensure it is appropriate for young men and women. These young people could have to be challenged without inflicting pain on them, they could be taught skills, and have important knowledge passed on to them from the elders. Thus only what is good from the traditional youth upbringing practices will have to be rejuvenated.

To conclude, it was evident that cultural changes have occurred among the local people. Many different cultural practices assumed bad had been eliminated (Tuzin, 2001, p.48), some were modified but the cultural traits still linger (Knauft, 2002, p.20), such as, traditional dances, burial ceremonies, bride price exchange, and marriage feasts. For example, people living and working in town send money home to pay bride price to meet cultural obligations. They send cash or material goods as part of their contribution otherwise their relatives will have negative thoughts about them if they do not contribute. As Waiko (1993, p.246. Cited in Kulwaum, 2007) argues, in some cases many people are caught between traditional and modern society, and having difficulty coping with demands of both societies. Therefore, people in PNG still keep what is suitable for them from the traditional and also from the modern cultures.

7.4 Youth Destitution and Joblessness

The effect of poverty is so far reaching and complex that addressing it must be considered an integral part of any strategy to address youth issues. Undeniably, poverty is endemic among the young people in PNG including the focus area of study. In traditional society poverty was unheard of because the families were able to meet their basic needs of food, water, and shelter from their immediate environment (Fisk, 1978). Those people who had excess products exchanged with others for things they needed through the barter system. Unfortunately, this barter system has gradually diminished as most goods are now sold for hard cash. Those people who faced hardships were served by the community through the ‘wantok system’ (Payani, 1995, p.140) or the ‘social safety net’ (Murray, 2002, p.2). Thus many of the adult population saw that poverty was a new phenomenon that came with modernisation.

Although, people from the rural areas could live without money for quite awhile, but the pressures of modern society requires them to acquire money. For example, they need money to pay school fees for their children or to travel on a bus into town. Most households, including rural village homes, depend on basic modern items like rice, salt, cooking oil, and kerosene. Thus, a poor family who cannot meet those basic needs were deemed to be facing hardships and also that deters them from accessing basic services like schools, transport and health (McMurray, 2002, p.7). In the traditional cultural system someone often steps in to help them but in the modern society not much support would come their way. They have to find ways to help themselves, or seek help, or they get nowhere.

Poverty among the young people was evident on the streets of Goroka and in the neighbouring villages. Many poor parents could not afford to keep their children in school for long. When these children were allowed to remain at home, they become bored and searched for ways to earn quick money to meet their basic needs and wants. As such, the respondents indicated that many young people are out on the streets participating in illicit activities, just to make ends meet. In doing so young people have caused self-destruction to their own lives and in extreme cases even lose their lives. Refer to Mr. R's description of the Kakaruk Market in chapter 6, where young people were heavily involved in various illicit activities including without much thought for the consequences.

There seemed to be few job opportunities created for young people and that also compounded youth problems. In order to divert the problems, youth have to be equipped with the essential skills, given jobs, and encouraged to participate in viable socio-economic activities. If young people are empowered with life-skills and knowledge, they can become more self reliant and reduce the 'free hand out' mentality. That is, young people should not be encouraged to wait for free services from other people but have to work hard to help themselves survive the hardships. The results indicate that the school leavers' hard earned qualifications could not get them anywhere, as most jobs had been taken. The major employers, which include various government departments, non governmental organisations, large companies,

and other business houses, cannot recruit as they have not created jobs due to the low economic performance.

The countless efforts put in by different organisations, the state and civil society for youth development seemed inadequate against the growing population of young people. Many social workers have been handicapped by insufficient funds from the state, but they often collaborated with respective youth-oriented organisations and donor agencies to deliver youth services. Most youth development stakeholders empower marginalised youth and women's groups with skills and information, and support their capacity building. Consequently utilising their acquired expertise, the youth and women's groups implement their own initiated projects.

Finally, poverty was never a problem before, and can never be a problem if the conditions that allowed it to become a problem are managed properly. If people in the traditional societies have met their needs and wants from the environment, then young people have to be informed that a good option is to return to their respective communities and work on the land to meet their own needs. If this happens not one youth would be jobless and poverty would be reduced drastically among the youth.

7.5 Positive Youth Development in Goroka

Positive youth development has often been weighed against the absence of negative or undesirable behaviours. In the case of children, many adults' assumption is that young children were most likely to cause or be in trouble, and so young people were referred to as problems to be managed (Benson, 2003, p.25; Roth, et al. 1998, p.423-459). However, according to Benson, et al. (2006, p.1) the attitudes of people changed towards addressing youth issues as a result of the study of resilience. The practitioners realised that some youth have abilities to succeed and prosper despite many obstacles, challenges, and deficits, while many of their peers end up in disastrous situations. This prompted many people began to recognise that youth as resources to be developed rather than as problems to be solved (Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2003, p.197-223).

There are some positive moves towards youth development in Goroka that is worth mentioning. According to the government respondents, many youth and women's groups, and smaller community-based and faith-based organisations have seeked technical advice from their offices. Some of these groups' members were given the chance to acquire skills through donor supported projects. After their training most young people go back to their villages and try to transfer these vital skills and knowledge to their own people. But many have faced opposition from their own group leaders who felt threatened. Hence relevant support is lacking to utilise the recent acquired skills and is a total waste of time, effort, and money, on the part of the course facilitators. In some cases, funding is provided to the skilled recipients to kick-start their initiated projects and many groups have progressed well. That is, because the local community has taken ownership of their projects after the donor's funds have ceased. But for other groups, sustainability is a problem, because of the lack of community support to the projects when donors are gone. In such cases, proper identification and needs analysis is required to save the projects. The proverb says 'it takes a village to raise a child' (Sullivan, 2003, p.2), so in this instance, everyone in the community has to be informed and approval may have to be granted before starting up the projects.

Mr A, an experienced social worker informed that many youth and women's groups have registered their groups through his office to enable them to operate legally in the province. Some of these groups approached his office to get their groups mandated as requested by their local Members of Parliament (MP) in order to receive electoral funds. However, Mr. A and his colleagues confirmed that many of these groups were not genuine groups. These types of groups were referred to as 'mushroom groups' by a Mrs. F, in chapter 6. These groups were only after the money from their MP's district development funds, and soon after money is dispersed to them, their groups disintegrate quickly. These local MPs have good intentions to ensure many of their young people benefit from group activities but most of these young people never saw the money. It was alleged that only few people get the money pretending to receive on behalf of the group and run off with them. However, if these positive efforts are coordinated well between the local MP's office, the Community Development Office, churches, and larger NGOs, it may bring great benefits to the families, groups, communities, and the nation as a whole.

Some participants (village/youth leaders and parent of teenagers) mentioned that in the communities there some young people who behave and often keep the community's norms and values. These young people come up with good initiatives to bring about change in their own ways but not many adults are willing to listen to their ideas. These sometimes frustrate them to continue to live a good life. According to McLaren (2002) in order to achieve positive youth outcomes among young people, they have to be surrounded with positive influences; give them more strengths; provide resources and among others; provide them with challenging activities both in and out of school (McLaren, 2002, p.8-10). If more attention is given to young people's needs they may succeed in life and live peacefully in their communities. As indicated by youth participants earlier in chapter 6, they get involve in illicit acts just to meet their needs, even though they know the consequences of their actions.

According to Catalano, et al. (2004, p.99), the nuclear family network had been disintegrating, and the new positive approach was to bring back the family network support that had nurtured the development of children and the communal childcare support that usually provided for by the community. In PNG, as discussed in chapter 3, the traditional youth upbringing methods provided the social network that supports childcare; every adult played a part in the childcare development, until each young child passed through the initiation rites as a young adult. However these tradition methods had dwindled due to influences of Westernisation, Christianity, and schools. Similarities seemed to exist between the emerging Western strength based approach that seeks to support youth development and the tradition cultural youth upbringing methods in PNG.

7.6 Summary

The current method to promote youth development seemed to have failed so a new way has to be found to support youth growth. The research looked at the traditional methods of youth upbringing in Goroka to see if it can provide some links to the emerging positive youth development from the West. It was found that the National Youth Policy was not fully implemented as funds were not made available. The youth

programs in the 1980s have ceased to operate and up to now no major programs are implemented.

The conventional youth development approaches has not promoted youth development, as such traditional youth methods needs to be revitalised. However, not all cultural practices are acceptable, so care must be taken to ensure that young people are not hurt in the process. But they can be provided with very challenging activities and training to keep up the appropriate traditional norms and values. For these young people to succeed the parents, communities, and other youth organisations will have to support the youth to behave, use initiatives, and learn to appreciate the differences among the youth themselves, the community and to live together.

Poverty exists among the youth in PNG and young people seem to have nowhere to go. They have not been trained in the school to live and work in the community so many of them cannot fit in well. On the other hand, the people in the community regard these people as failures and do not help them to settle back in the village. They are unoccupied and jobless because many of them do not have the skills and experiences that employers required. Thus these poor youth get in to bad acts to solve their problems, which they cannot do so alone, everyone needs to support them. There are some indications for youth development activities in Goroka but often lacked networking and proper coordination among the various stakeholders. More youth will be assisted if there is clear policy with specific and achievable approaches and strategies. This leads to the final conclusion chapter.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

8.1 Introduction

This thesis has gathered data from various stakeholders to understand the problems facing youth and strategies for youth development in Goroka, PNG. The study investigated the traditional youth upbringing methods of the past, considered whether the contemporary youth development approaches had integrated community-based approaches, and identified the contribution that positive youth development approaches might be able play in PNG society. In doing so, the study assessed the perspectives of 25 different respondents. The interviews were designed to draw together information to answer the key research questions. These were:

. What types of youth upbringing methods were used in the traditional cultural societies around Goroka, PNG, in the past?

. What sort of youth development approaches and strategies are used by existing youth-oriented organisations for youth development work?

. To what extent are the current youth-oriented organisations assisting youth development and is it possible to take on board the traditional approaches and work in partnership with the communities?

. What have recent positive youth development approaches in the West contributed to community-based approaches and strategies for youth development in a PNG context?

This conclusion chapter reveals the strengths and limitations to this study, summarises findings of the research collected from the participants through interviews and from the secondary data, and identifies opportunities for further research.

8.2 Strengths and Limitations of this Study

In this case study a range of different views was sought from a variety of people who have been involved with youth and have knowledge of youth development issues in PNG. The respondents brought depth of experience which they revealed through the interviews and were willing to express their views frankly when queried. The use of a qualitative research approach has meant that the results are "grounded" and there is a "richness and detail to the data" (Descombe, 1998, p.220). The use of a range of research methods and multiple sources of information allowed triangulation of data and contributed to validity of research findings (Yin, 1994, p34).

However, the timing of my research fieldwork in Goroka of 4 weeks clashed with the National elections held in PNG at about the same time. Many of the participants, especially government workers which I intended to interview, participated in the tally rooms and counting votes. Thus I had to wait for them and also changed my interview plans to suit their schedules. While a few participants sent replacement interviewees they also had similar experience, working with young people. Thus, my research results were not overly affected by this change of plans.

8.3 Summary of Results

The data collected in the case study reflected the views and experiences of different correspondents working with young people in various capacities and young people themselves. The key themes that surfaced were: lack of implementation of the National Youth Policy, the clash of traditional and modern cultures, poverty and hardship facing youth, unemployment issues for youth, and lack of community support. It was evident from the results that the National Youth Policy was in place in 1996 but has not been implemented fully because the state has not supported its implementation for various reasons. There is also a lack of proper coordination between the relevant stakeholders at the national, provincial, and district levels, for the implementation of the youth policy.

The respondents confirmed that conflicts which exist between traditional and modern culture have affected many young people. This has confused young people over what

culture to follow because parents and the respective communities have failed to provide proper advice to them and have left the task of nurturing and educating in the hands of school teachers and church workers. A lot of school fee paying parents exert pressure on their children to do well in school and find a wage earning job, and repay their investment (Kick, 1999, p.42). But when they fail at school or cannot find work, parents often reject them. Hence, many school leavers are not accepted back into their communities (Department of Education, 1991, p.167). For the numerous school leavers who return home there are little or no youth development programs and activities to help them re-adjust back into their respective communities.

The results show that many young people are in poverty and cannot afford the basic goods and services to live on a daily basis. In the past the community has stepped in to assist those in need but now that this social network has diminished, so many youth living in town are left alone to fend for themselves. As such, the study indicates that some of these young people knowingly participate in illicit activities just to make ends meet. On the other hand, the rural young people can live without money but the influences of western lifestyles have affected their lives too. Those families who have adapted to modern living find it difficult to maintain the high cost of living and have opted to retain some traditional ways to minimise costs.

The results identified that unemployment is also a problem that has created detrimental impacts on the lives of young people. Many school leavers are expected to achieve good results in their academic subjects which could lead to white-collar jobs. But young people often can not find jobs in a competitive world in town due to lack skills or experience, and a lack of jobs overall. The increasing number of school dropouts each year is posing problems for each community. However, according to the results, the problem of unemployment may not be such a problem if young people received basic entrepreneurial skills and knowledge at their school or in the community so, they could participate in the informal sector. The current Minister for Community Development, Lady Carol Kidu has supported the passing of the Informal Sector Development and Control Act in January 2004 (Islands Business, 2007), which provides another opportunity for young people to be productive at home.

The study indicates a need to revitalise traditional youth upbringing methods in which young people can receive vital 'hands-on training' experience. As discussed in chapter 7, the emerging strength-based positive youth development approaches in the West promotes the talents, interests, and potentials of young people to develop into productive adults (Damon, 2004, p.13 & 14). According to Catalano, et al. (2004, p.99), the nuclear family network has been collapsing, and the new move was to bring back the supportive family network that provided for children's needs and also sought to revival of the communal childcare support. In PNG, the traditional youth upbringing methods supported childcare, and every adult played a role in the transition of young people from childhood to adulthood through the rites of passage (see chapter 3). However these traditional methods have dwindled due to influences of Westernisation, Christianity, and schools. But importantly, similarities seemed to exist between the emerging Western strength based approach that seeks to support youth development and the tradition cultural youth upbringing methods in PNG.

However, not all aspects of traditional youth upbringing methods in PNG should be adopted. Some caused severe physical pain, for example, forced nose bleeding in the Lufa culture (see chapter 3). So a good option for youth development is to take on board what is best from the traditional methods and blend that with what is good from the conventional youth development approaches. Thus utilizing the best youth rearing methods from the traditional culture and from the emerging youth development approaches would go a long way in improving the lives of young people in the communities of PNG.

8.4 Conclusion

This research explored the experiences of young people, youth leaders, villager elders, parents of teenagers, and government workers in Goroka, Papua New Guinea, to understand the youth development issues and addressing these approaches. The study also investigated the possibility of establishing a link between relevant traditional cultural youth upbringing methods and the positive youth development approaches emerging from the Western world.

The study revisited youth upbringing methods from the past traditional cultural societies; discovered the nature of the present youth development approaches undertaken; examined whether contemporary youth programs have integrated community-based approaches; and investigated the contribution of the recent positive youth development approaches and strategies. The research information collated from the respondents was analysed and several main themes were identifed in regard to youth development issues.

The results of the research indicated that the Youth Policy was never fully implemented. This has therefore not helped much with the numerous youth problems encountered, which includes confusion between traditional and modern cultures, poverty and hardship, lack of community support, and unemployment. Despite the enormous hard work put in by schools, churches, government departments, donors, and youth-oriented organisations to deal with youth issues, their efforts seemed inadequate to deal with the increasing youth population. The youth programs carried out by the above organisations seemed to provide short–term measures but have not addressed the root causes of these youth problems.

The strength-based positive youth development approach from the West promotes young people's capabilities to learn and thrive in the diverse settings in which they live (Damon, 2004, p.13 & 14). This approach meets young people's physical, personal and social needs, and supports the academic and non-academic programs both in and out of school (Pittman, et al., 2003, p.1 & 2). It aims to support social networks that will ensure that every adult helps vulnerable children because many nuclear families have broken down and are facing problems. In PNG traditional social network, childcare is usually provided by the immediate parents and their neighbours. But at puberty the whole community ensures that each child is adequately trained to adapt to adult roles through initiation ceremonies. These traditional youth rearing methods have diminished in PNG but if revitalised in appropriate ways, may provide a link to the recent positive youth development approaches emerging from the West.

I reiterate that not all tradition youth upbringing methods are acceptable (see Upbringing of Lufa Youth in chapter 3) so, it would be good if only the positive strategies are revitalised and blended with the contemporary youth development

methods. Social workers and others would need to work closely with communities to bring about this important change. In chapter 6, it was discovered that previous youth development approaches lacked community support, and this may have contributed to their failures. If positive changes are to eventuate among young people in the respective communities have to contribute, and their parents should also be consulted, otherwise it is going to be another wasted effort.

The call by McMurray (2002, p.1) to find a new approach for the development of human resources is a valid one, as young people have to be educated to live and work in their communities after leaving school rather than looking for jobs not there for them. The people in the communities should also impart life-skills and knowledge to their young people, even when they have failed to continue their education. This study indicates that the traditional cultural methods can be a link to positive youth development approaches and strategies because of their similarities in their holistic approaches to youth development.

8.5 Further Research

Similar studies of other traditional cultures in PNG and the broader Pacific about their past youth upbringing methods could be very useful. As this study has shown many cultural ways of doing things in Pacific communities have been abandoned in favour of modern life. The schools, churches, state, and other stakeholders' cumulative efforts to meet young people's needs are inadequate against the growing number of young people in the population. Thus, further research is required to find out possible ways to revitalise and merge those useful traditional youth upbringing methods with the recent positive youth development approaches in order to strengthen the effectiveness of existing youth development approaches and strategies.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Information Sheet

My name is Richard Korati Hamena, I am a postgraduate student, enrolled in a MPhil Programme at Development Studies, Massey. I am currently in Papua New Guinea (PNG) to undertake fieldwork in order to understand how traditional culture can be linked to positive youth development in PNG. The title of my thesis is: **How can traditional culture be a link for positive youth development? A case study in Goroka, Papua New Guinea.**

The main objective of this study is to investigate the types of youth development approaches that are being used in the contemporary society that supports young people in their transition from childhood into adulthood. Furthermore, to discover whether the traditional cultural youth upbringing approaches can contribute to modern youth development approaches and strategies in a positive manner.

I have invited you as a …….(participant) to participate in my study. I would appreciate it if you are interested and agree to participate in an informal interview. I would very much appreciate it if you can allow some members of your group to participate in an informal focus-group session concerned with the above questions.

The informal interview will take about one hour. I respect your privacy and will take care that your name and responses will be kept anonymous and confidential. If you like, pick a pseudonym for yourself right at the start of our interview.

If you decide to participate, you will have the right:

. to withdraw at anytime;
. to refuse to answer any particular question;
. to ask questions at any point;
. to provide information on the understanding that your name will not be used unless you give permission to the researcher; and

. to be given a summary of the research findings when the project is completed.
Data collected will be analysed and used for my MPhil thesis only. All data will be stored at a secure place and will be transcribed by myself. No participants will be identified without their consent. The thesis will be accessible through the Massey University library.

Thank you for your time. For your convenience contact details are provided below:

First surpervisor:

Dr Maria Borovnik
Email: m.borovnik@massey.ac.nz
Phone: +64-6-356 9099 ext 7249
Fax: + 64-6-350 5737
http://dev.massey.ac.nz

Second supervisor:

Dr. Regina Scheyvens
Email: r.a.scheyvens@massey.ac.nz
Phone: + 64-6-356 9099 ext. 2509
Fax: + 64-6-350 5737
http://dev.massey.ac.nz

Appendix 2: Consent Form for Interview Participants

How can traditional culture be a link for positive youth development? A case study in Goroka, Papua New Guinea

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM FOR INTERVIEWEE

This consent form will be held for a period of five (5) years.

I have read the information sheet for this research and the details of the study was explained plainly to me. I am satisfied that my questions regarding the study were answered. I understand that I may ask questions at any instant during the interview and am also aware that I have the right to withdraw from the study at any time. I understand too that I may decline to answer any questions forwarded to me during the interview.

Furthermore, I agree to provide information on the basis that it will only be used for the intended purpose of completing the research project. (Please circle the required agreement).

I agree/do not agree to the interview being audio taped
I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.
I agree/do not agree to reveal my name and/or current position for the purpose of this thesis.

Signature:		**Date:**	
Full Name: **Current Position:**			

Appendix 3: Guiding Questions for Fieldwork

For Top level Managers of Government and NGOs:

Can you please tell me about yourself?
How many staff do you work with?
What are the key focus areas of your organisation?
Do you work in partnership with other organisation(s)?
Does your organisation get any funding?
Who are the recipients of your service delivery mechanisms?
How does your organisation work with youths?
What is interesting about working with young people?
What are some barriers you face while working with young people?
Has your organisation adapted some ideas from the community to work with young people?
Have you got plans to improve the current methods of working with young people in the future?

For staff members of Government/NGOs:

How long have you been working for the Government/NGO?
What is your role in your organisation?
Tell me about the current programs or projects you have for the young people?
Do you work in partnerships with other people or organisation (s)?
Do you get some funding?
How did your plans work out while working with the young people? Give me an example.
What is so interesting about your work with young people?
Do you face difficulties while carrying out work with young people?
Has your organisation adapted some ideas from the community to work with young people?
Do you have plans to improve the current methods of working with young people in the future?

For Youth, Community and Church Leaders/ Focus-group:

Tell me about how you been involved with young people in your community?
What is great about your work?
What activities are young people involved in nowadays?
Tell me about programs available for young people in your community?
Are these programs empowering young people to make their own decisions?
What is the community doing to support young people in their problems and activities?
In your own opinion, what more can be done to support the young people develop well in the future?

For young people:

Young people will be asked these questions only if there is sufficient time using open interviews (optional). I will adjust the interest areas, for instance, sports, church, dance, and drinks.

27. Do you play any sports?
30. How are sports organised in your community?
31. How do young people organise teams to participate?
32. How often are the sports events played in a year?
33. Is playing sports good for young people? Why do you think so?
34. What are some ways that can help young people to develop positively?

Appendix 4: Ethics Application

Massey University

Te Kunenga ki Pürehuroa

NOTIFICATION OF LOW RISK RESEARCH/EVALUATION

INVOLVING HUMAN PARTICIPANTS

(All notifications are to be typed)

SECTION A:

1.	**Project Title**	How can Traditional Culture be a link to Positive Youth Development? A case study in Goroka, Papua New Guinea		
	Projected start date for data collection	12th July 2007	**Projected end date for data collection**	12th August 2007

2. **Applicant Details** *(Select the appropriate box and complete details)*

ACADEMIC STAFF NOTIFICATION

Full Name of Staff Applicant/s					
School/Department/Institute					
Region *(mark one only)*	**Albany**	☐	**Palmerston North**	☐	**Wellington** ☐
Telephone		**Email Address**			

STUDENT NOTIFICATION

Full Name of Student Applicant	Richard Korati Hamena		
Postal Address	16 Rakaia Place, Palmerston North		
Telephone	021 0233 1616	**Email Address**	rhamena_baskets@hotmail.com
Employer (if applicable)	Government of Papua New Guinea		
Full Name of Supervisor(s)	1. Dr. Maria Borovnik 2. Associate Professor Regina Scheyvens		

School/Department/Institute	School of People, Environment and Planning, DEVELOPMENT STUDIES
Region *(mark one only)*	**Albany** ☐ **Palmerston North** ☐ **Wellington** ☐
Telephone	1. Phone: +64-6-356 9099 ext 7249 2. Phone: + 64-6-350 5799 ext. 2509
Email Address	1. m.borovnik@massey.ac.nz 2. r.a.scheyvens@massey.ac.nz

GENERAL STAFF NOTIFICATION

Full Name of Applicant .....

Section .....

Region *(mark one only)* **Albany** ☐ Palmerston North ☐ **Wellington** ☐

Telephone ..... **Email Address** .....

Full Name of Line Manager .....

Section .....

Telephone ..... **Email Address** .....

3. Type of Project *(mark one only)*

Staff Research/Evaluation:	☐	**Student Research:**	☐	**If other, please specify:**
Academic Staff	☐	**Qualification**		
General Staff	☐	**Credits Value of Research**		

4. Describe the peer review process used in assessing the ethical issues present in this project.

This research was designed in consultation with my supervisors focusing on contemporary issues surrounding youth development theory and practice. According to the requirements of the Institute of Development Studies, I submitted a research proposal for approval, which highlighted the focus of my study and outlined the relevant methods for data collection that will be used. Prior to going for field work, I will also have to undergo an internal ethics peer review process.

---

5. Summary of Project

Please outline in no more than 200 words in lay language why you have chosen this project, what you intend to do and the methods you will use.

(Note: all the information provided in the notification is potentially available if a request is made under the Official Information Act. In the event that a request is made, the University, in the first instance, would endeavour to satisfy that request by providing this summary. Please ensure that the language used is comprehensible to all)

This research project is to investigate the youth development approaches that have been used in the Papua New Guinea (PNG) contemporary society that support young people in their transition from childhood into adulthood. Furthermore, to discover whether the traditional cultural youth upbringing approaches can contribute to modern youth development approaches and strategies in a positive manner. I want to investigate if these youth rearing methods used in the different traditional communities in PNG in the past have something to offer towards achieving positive youth development among the young people in a PNG context.

The main reason that prompted me to pursue this research is that, it seems as though youth problems have been increasing rapidly in PNG. Therefore, there is a need for public and private youth development organisations, respective local communities and the PNG society as a whole to consider adapting different youth development approaches, to assist young people develop into responsive and resourceful mature adults who will contribute positively to the development of the country. Perhaps, by revitalizing and incorporating the traditional youth upbringing methods into the contemporary youth development approaches.

I will undertake a case study of an institution that work with young people and find out its youth development approaches and strategies that have been engaged so far. This organisation is the Community Development Office of the Eastern Highlands Provincial Administration, a government institution based in Goroka. My research participants will consist mainly of officials and the employees of the Community Development Office, but may include some community leaders, church leaders, youth group leaders, social workers, and some young people between 18 to 25 years of age. I am gender conscious so my participants will include both males and females. The length of the research period is approximately four weeks. In this study, I anticipate engaging three methods of inquiry, which are semi-structured interviews and focus-group interviews along with open interviews for people from the community including young people. Through this process I will gather important information regarding youth development approaches, strategies, programmes and projects implemented in the past and the present times by this institution. I hope to find out if the current youth development approaches are working well in a PNG context, if not how that can be improved to meet the needs of young people more adequately.

Prior to conducting the case study, I will ask the Manager of the above institution to give me permission and reveal the names of workers who will become my participants. I will then ask these identified participants for their consent to be involved. At the actual interview sessions, I will provide information about the purpose of my field work to the participants and get them to sign consent forms if they agree. However, for the participants from the community including young people, I will explain the study purposes and get their consent for participation verbally. I will inform the latter participants that the information they provide will be kept confidential and that the information collected will only be used for my study purpose.

Please submit this Low Risk Notification (with the completed Screening Questionnaire) to:

The Ethics Administrator
Research Ethics Office
Old Main Building, PN221
Massey University, Private Bag 11 222, Palmerston North

SECTION B: DECLARATION (*Complete appropriate box)*

ACADEMIC STAFF RESEARCH

Declaration for Academic Staff Applicant

I have read the Code of Ethical Conduct for Research, Teaching and Evaluations involving Human Participants. I understand my obligations and the rights of the participants. I agree to undertake the research as set out in the Code of Ethical Conduct for Research, Teaching and Evaluations involving Human Participants. My Head of Department/School/Institute knows that I am undertaking this research. The information contained in this notification is to the very best of my knowledge accurate and not misleading.

Staff Applicant's Signature _____ Date : _____

STUDENT RESEARCH

Declaration for Student Applicant

I have read the Code of Ethical Conduct for Research, Teaching and Evaluations involving Human Participants and discussed the ethical analysis with my Supervisor. I understand my obligations and the rights of the participants. I agree to undertake the research as set out in the Code of Ethical Conduct for Research, Teaching and Evaluations involving Human Participants. The information contained in this notification is to the very best of my knowledge accurate and not misleading.

Student Applicant's Signature _____ Date : _____

Declaration for Supervisor

I have assisted the student in the ethical analysis of this project. As supervisor of this research I will ensure that the research is carried out according to the Code of Ethical Conduct for Research, Teaching and Evaluations involving Human Participants.

Supervisor's Signature _____ Date : _____

Print Name _____

GENERAL STAFF RESEARCH/EVALUATIONS

Declaration for General Staff Applicant

I have read the Code of Ethical Conduct for Research, Teaching and Evaluations involving Human Participants and discussed the ethical analysis with my Supervisor. I understand my obligations and the rights of the participants. I agree to undertake the research as set out in the Code of Ethical Conduct for Research, Teaching and Evaluations involving Human Participants. The information contained in this notification is to the very best of my knowledge accurate and not misleading.

General Staff Applicant's Signature ..... Date : .....

Declaration for Line Manager

I declare that to the best of my knowledge, this notification complies with the Code of Ethical Conduct for Research, Teaching and Evaluations involving Human Participants and that I have approved its content and agreed that it can be submitted.

Line Manager's Signature _____ Date : _____

Print Name _____

Appendix 5: Approval Letter from Ethics Committee

Massey University

OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT
TO THE VICE-CHANCELLOR
(Ethics & Equity)
Private Bag 11 222
Palmerston North
New Zealand
T 64 6 350 5573/350 5575
F 64 6 350 5622
humanethics@massey.ac.nz
animalethics@massey.ac.nz
gtc@massey.ac.nz
www.massey.ac.nz

11 July 2007

Richard Hamena
16 Rakaia Place
PALMERSTON NORTH

Dear Richard

Re: How Can Traditional Culture be a Link to Positive Youth Development? A Case Study in Goroka, Papua-New Guinea

Thank you for your Low Risk Notification which was received on 6 July 2007.

Your project has been recorded on the Low Risk Database which is reported in the Annual Report of the Massey University Human Ethics Committees.

Please notify me if situations subsequently occur which cause you to reconsider your initial ethical analysis that it is safe to proceed without approval by one of the University's Human Ethics Committees.

A reminder to include the following statement on all public documents:

> *"This project has been evaluated by peer review and judged to be low risk. Consequently, it has not been reviewed by one of the University's Human Ethics Committees. The researcher(s) named above are responsible for the ethical conduct of this research.*
>
> *If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research that you wish to raise with someone other than the researcher(s), please contact Professor Sylvia Rumball, Assistant to the Vice-Chancellor (Ethics & Equity), telephone 06 350 5249, e-mail humanethics@massey.ac.nz".*

Please note that if a sponsoring organisation, funding authority or a journal in which you wish to publish requires evidence of committee approval (with an approval number), you will have to provide a full application to one of the University's Human Ethics Committees. You should also note that such an approval can only be provided prior to the commencement of the research.

Yours sincerely

Sylvia Rumball

Sylvia V Rumball (Professor)
Chair, Human Ethics Chairs' Committee and
Assistant to the Vice-Chancellor (Ethics & Equity)

cc Dr Maria Borovnik
School of People, Environment and Planning
PN331

Assoc Prof Regina Scheyvens
School of People, Environment and Planning
PN331

Dr Henry Barnard, HoS
School of People, Environment and Planning
PN402

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