

Assignment Report
RP/1981-1983/4/3.5/01
Promotion of cultural
policies

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PAPUA NEW GUINEA

CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

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Acknowledgements

From the moment that I was met at Port Moresby Airport by Mr. Cain Ketoma and taken to Dr. John Kolia's office at the Institute of PNG Studies, and throughout the entire period of my mission, I was treated with great kindness and was helped by everyone as far as was possible to achieve its aims. As the work progressed, it became increasingly clear to me that almost everything that I might or could think or say, had already been thought or said by someone else! Although it is always reassuring when several people come up with the same ideas, I hope that those who are interested in the findings of my mission will not feel that it is entirely repetitive and that they will discover that something new and useful has emerged from a brief and general survey by a single person with a particular point of view, which I will state at the beginning of Section C. I was somewhat taken aback when I discovered, in the third and very busy week of the mission, that a most efficient and enlightening report on the past work and future policy of the National Cultural Council had been produced by a Working Party chaired by Mr. Moi Avei (Avei 1980). On the other hand, there is some value in the facts that my own investigation was not prejudiced or biased by knowledge of this report, and that I arrived independently at many similar conclusions.

I was most grateful to all those whom I have listed in Annex II, to clerical assistants at NCC and IPNGS who were helpful in many ways, and especially to Mr. Simon Betson who advised and guided me, and to Professor Andrew Strathern who promoted my visit in the first place. Above all I am grateful to the many people who exchanged greetings or thoughts with me in all kinds of places and situations, and so made my brief visit to Papua New Guinea as happy and fulfilling as it was instructive. I only hope that this report will bring to my hosts some useful observations and ideas that will serve as at least partial exchange for the pleasure they have brought me

ABSTRACT

A four-week mission was undertaken in Papua New Guinea to evaluate the work of the National Cultural Council and the Provincial Cultural Centres and the relationships between them, and to advise on the development of cultural centres with special regard to their structures, functions and programmes, as well as to their co-ordination.

After ten days had been spent in Port Moresby studying the national institutions, the National Theatre and Arts School, the National Museum and the Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies, 3 provincial cultural centres were visited in the Highlands, as well as one in Madang, 2 in the Islands, and the Raun Raun Theatre etc. in Goroka.

The provincial cultural centres had developed differently according to the interests of different organizers and the patterns of the local cultures. All had small museums but one was also an art school, another included the Public Library, and another promoted a drama group. In the course of the study, the role of the arts in formal education emerged as a crucial factor, because the work of cultural centres could be negated by the diminishing attention to the expressive arts in schools.

A comparison and synthesis of the centres suggested that they should move in the direction of catering for all sections of the community and combining traditional (e.g. dances) with modern (e.g. Public Library), so that different classes of people should not become estranged from each other.

The National Cultural Council's role should be primarily one of liaison in relation to the provincial centres, organising in-service training, especially for curatorial roles, seminars and workshops, and circulating information about the centres. Decentralization and autonomy of the provincial institutions should be coupled with greater coordination between the national institutions, which could be brought closer together and so function as a national cultural centre, providing leadership to the provincial centres by force of example rather than decree. Training and performance in drama, and work in the visual and graphic arts are well developed, but music and dance lag far behind. Interesting developments are taking place in the making of films. Some cultural centres have been quite successful in relating their work to tourism, and the National Cultural Council is urged to consider ways in which progress in the expressive arts can be stimulated through attracting tourists to cultural centres.

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A. INTRODUCTION

1. The mission described in the present report was carried out from 5 September to 1 October 1983 at the request of the Papua and New Guinea Government, and was funded by Unesco under its Regular Programme for 1981-1983.

2. The terms of reference of the mission were the following:

" to advise the Ministry of Education as to the evaluation and the development of existing cultural centres with special regard to their structures, functions and programmes, as well as to their co-ordination. For this purpose, the Consultant shall visit the National Cultural Council and the provincial cultural centres and study their activities and the relationship of the latter with the National Cultural Council. On this basis, he shall formulate proposals as to the best use of the resources of each province in the framework of a coherent national plan for developing the structures and the activities of cultural centres in Papua New Guinea."

Planning of the investigation

3. On the advice of Professor Andrew Strathern, Director of the Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies, and with the help of Mr. Simon Betson of the National Cultural Council, the first week was spent visiting and becoming familiar with the work of the national-level cultural institutions based in Port Moresby: the National Theatre and Arts School, the Institute of PNG Studies, the National Museum and Art Gallery and the National Cultural Council.

4. Since it would have been physically impossible to visit all provincial cultural centres in the time available, a representative sample was selected on the criteria of variety of environment and cultural emphasis, accessibility, and special interest to the National Cultural Council. Thus we selected for visits between 15 and 19 September, Mt. Hagen, Wabag, Mendi, Ialibu, Kainantu and Goroka; for visits between 21 and 23 September, Arawa, Kimbe and Rabaul; for the weekend of 24/26 September, the Trobriand Islands; and for 28 September, Madang.

5. We decided reluctantly that it would not be possible to visit centres in the Manus and Sepik Provinces, New Ireland, Morobe and Northern Provinces. It was particularly unfortunate that a visit to Balimo could not have been fitted in, as it would have been interesting to find out more on the spot about the collapse of the Gogodala Cultural Centre.

B. FINDINGS AND EVALUATION

Execution of the mission

6. A chronological history of movements and visits is given in Annex I, and a list of persons met and consulted is given in Annex II.

7. During the first week of work, as a result of looking around Port Moresby and reading locally produced reports and reference books, it became clear that useful observations on the development of cultural centres could not be made without knowing more about patterns of and prospects for economic and general educational development. Meetings were therefore held with the Director of the University's Educational Research Unit and with officials at the Department of Education, as well as the British Deputy High Commissioner about the prospects of study grants for arts amateurs and researchers. The consultant read at the University Library some of the many excellent publications and occasional papers

which have been produced by Research Units, departments, and individual researchers. Unfortunately, it was not possible to find anywhere a complete set of the publications of the Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies.

Order of presentation of findings

8. Since there is considerable information available on the major national institutions, no descriptions of their functions and premises will be necessary. Information about Provincial Cultural Centres is not always available, and what is available is not always up-to-date; and so short descriptions of the institution will be given in each case. A discussion of the work of the National Cultural Council will be given at the end of the section.

9. I will mention only briefly some of the difficulties that I encountered. The tourist map which is currently on sale is inaccurate and out-of-date, but fortunately the 1983 Government Road Maps, available at the Mapping Centre, Waigani, are more helpful. On the other hand, they become very difficult to read in parts of the country, especially the Highlands, where there are no signposts at turnings and rarely any indication of the names of villages and other landmarks! Fortunately, I was often helped by the people who appeared and asked for lifts when I stopped to take photographs of the countryside. Even so, I was not able to carry out all my plans, because roads often turned out to be much longer and more difficult than I had been led to imagine. I was unable to visit Ialibu, for example, because I only discovered that I had passed the turning off the main road when it was too late to go back. I was fortunate in meeting most of the people whom I planned to see, as in most cases in the Highlands and Islands I arrived unannounced or at an unexpected time, because some messages sent from NCC headquarters arrived late or not at all, and in planning my schedule I was not aware that some cultural officers had suggested specific dates. For instance, the Curator of the North Solomons Cultural Centre was expecting me to come on Independence Day, when it had been decided that I should be in Mt. Hagen. I am sorry if uncertainty or lack of information about my schedule caused people inconvenience, and I am grateful to all concerned for receiving me and answering my questions so courteously.

The National Theatre Company

10. I interviewed separately the Director and Messrs. William Takaku and Rodney Kove. I saw students at work in the Dance Studio and I attended the Company's open-air performance of Dream on Monkey Mountain at the University of Papua New Guinea. The Director, Mr. Arthur Jawodimbari, explained why he favoured a theatre company apart from a university department of drama, although he himself had been a drama lecturer in the original Centre for Creative Arts and attached to the Literature Department of the University. He wanted people to have the freedom to try things out, rather than abide by set curricula. Improvements in technique could be better achieved by sending members abroad and bringing in foreign teachers for short periods of no more than three months. There was a real danger that a school or department of drama, with curricula and formal examinations, would stifle the development of an indigenous theatre, because they would become heavily dependent on criteria and systems of assessment set up in Europe and North America, and on expatriate practitioners of those systems. He agreed that there was a need for the transmission of skills, and had proposed to the Department of Education that short, in-service courses should be run in Teachers' Colleges by National Theatre members, and that theatre companies should go round the schools. The National Theatre had tried putting over government programmes in the rural areas through the medium of community drama, but it had taken up too much time and diverted attention from the more general artistic aims of the Company.

11. Mr. William Takaku described how the National Theatre Company went on tour in the provinces, stopping over for two or three nights in a village, performing and holding workshops, learning dances and legends from old men and women, and receiving from the villagers food and hospitality. In their performances of traditional dances and in their productions based on traditional themes, the Company was inhibited by the fact that they did not know how to make good costumes. This was something that could and should be learnt in the villages. Mr. Takaku felt that although the Company tours and goes round schools, its audiences are too often people 'who have money and can drive around at night'. He has accordingly drawn up an interesting plan, for a National Theatre Troupe which would be used to generate Provincial Cultural Awareness Project Groups. The idea is for the Troupe to live in tents in a rural area for two months, work up a performance with local people, based on local folklore, music, dance etc., and then take it round the district for the next month, before moving to another province. The present national institutions, National and Raun Raun Travelling Theatres would be merged and become 'part of their respective provinces' awareness group'. The personnel of the National Theatre Troupe would not be static, but would be regularly replaced by people from different provinces, so that there would be a complete turnover every three years. The idea is ingenious and merits serious attention. It is an extension and formalization of what Raun Raun Travelling Theatre has been doing, insofar as Raun Raun has gone into the country and generated the formation of new groups, such as Raun Isi Theatre in Wewak, but not with the same methods as proposed by Mr. Takaku.

12. Mr. Rodney Kove has studied dance abroad in Bali, for 6 months in 1977, and most recently for 8 months in Sydney. He has found these experiences valuable both for the immediate problems of developing choreography for the National Theatre and for his long-term aim of bringing together different styles and creating a new, national technique, as well as performing the styles of different parts of the country. This would be derived from the traditional dances of Papua New Guinea, but it is also necessary to take account of the fact that dancers' bodies are different from actors' bodies. Thus, although he does not advocate a separation of art forms, which would be foreign both to traditional practice and to the modern trend in Europe and North America towards 'total theatre', he sees the need for a dance troupe to work on its own and to recognize dance in terms of certain techniques of the body. The process by which the company learns traditional dances is the mirror image of William Takaku's proposal. As a result of contacts through members of the National Theatre, experts are brought from the Provinces to Port Moresby for about two months to teach the company their dances. Provincial Cultural Centres have not been involved in this process.

13. The Director and Messrs. Takaku and Kove all stressed quite independently the urgent need for arts seminars and workshops, in which people from different parts of the country and working in different art forms, could share ideas and so grow creatively. Mr. Peter Trist, Director of the NBC Training Centre at Rabaul and previously a producer of radio drama, reaffirmed in another interview the growing need for people experienced in dramatic techniques and presentation. NBC needs such people not so much for radio drama, which he considers should not be a separate category, but more generally for dramatization in programmes.

The National Arts School

14. Founded as a Centre for Creative Arts, this fine school became in effect a tertiary institution for training in the visual and graphic arts and music after its dance and drama sections hived off when the National Theatre Company became independent in 1977.

15. After inspecting facilities for training in visual arts and music at Goroka Teachers' College, the consultant considers that the role of the school as a national centre for training in arts and music is crucial, and is not being reduplicated anywhere else in the country. The original aim of the Centre for Creative Arts, as a place where 'unschooled' artists could practise in freedom and without academic constraints, can now be fulfilled through the development of artistic practice in provincial cultural centres. But the functions of the music department of the Arts School, with its space, equipment, and able teachers, cannot be taken over in the provinces. Above all it fulfills a need for the younger generation who are particularly interested in keyboard instruments and electric guitars etc., and provides the technical know-how for composers who want to develop a new style of Papua New Guinea music that is a blend of the best of the old and the new. It is perhaps unfortunate that the few students who have so far taken the music course have not proved to the authorities that music has any output and that it has an essential role to play in education, especially when the country is being flooded by cassettes of foreign music of variable quality. It may have been a mistake to concentrate on the one field of rock music, and so give the impression that the department produces only rock and concerts; and in the past it clearly suffered from some unsuccessful staff appointments: but this does not justify the closing down of music at the Arts School, especially if Ms, Sandra Perreira's proposed new course could be launched. There will be great scope for the employment of properly trained local musicians in the 1990s, as the recent successes of Cobra Promotions' popular music enterprises show. Musicians and composers will be increasingly needed for advertising, entertainment (eg. in hotels), for the NBC and for the PNG cassette industry, and in teaching. If there are no trained people to do it, this often lucrative work will be monopolized by expatriates.

16. The non-musical work of the National Arts School requires little comment, since its practical training functions do not seem to be threatened and it is obviously fulfilling its various aims very well. The students' work in progress that I saw was most impressive, and I saw many examples around Port Moresby of the commissions that the School has carried out. At present, sculptors from the Sepik Provinces are in residence, working on carvings for the new Parliament Building. A particularly fruitful aspect of the School's organization is the continuous encounter between 'traditional' artists and craftsmen and young students who have had formal education at school and have often come from urban areas. It is to be hoped that this kind of encounter may temper the tendency of some students to adopt the dated Western practice of thinking that 'the' artist is a special kind of person and creativity a rare gift, and that artistic skill and imagination can develop without discipline. I shall discuss briefly in Section C this serious misunderstanding of true artistic freedom, which I encountered on a number of occasions. It impinges on the problem of the Expressive Arts in education. For until the Expressive Arts are taken seriously and understood as ways of doing and knowing (cf. Hirst 1974) that can be assessed as well as enjoyed, the outlook for cultural development in Papua New Guinea is bleak. For example, since independence there seems to have been a decline rather than an effluorescence of creative writing, and I suggest that this may be because sufficiently engaging new commitments have not yet been found to replace the exciting emotional and intellectual goal of achieving political independence.

Raun Raun Travelling Theatre

17. I interviewed Messrs. Saio Avefa and Greg Murphy independently, visited the Theatre's fine headquarters in Goroka, and attended productions by the New Zealand dance company, Limbs, and by the Madang Theatre Group, Mabarasa. The success story of this remarkable venture does not need to be repeated, as it has been

written up and well publicised. Without having seen examples of their Popular Theatre Campaign, such as the Nutrition, Coffee, Family Planning and Water Plays, it is hard to assess to what extent this aspect of Raun Raun's work resembles theatre in the community projects such as those of Mr. Mapopa Mtonga in Zambia, or of Mr. Ross Kidd in Botswana and elsewhere. Mr. Murphy, the Director of Raun Raun states explicitly that 'the theatre experiment in Botswana called Laedza Batanani' was 'more directly educational and didactic than that of Raun Raun Theatre' (Murphy 1982:33), whose aim seems to be not so much to use theatre as a tool for communicating government policy or reinforcing, say, health education, as promoting "the development of village theatre". In this respect Raun Raun's tours and village plays have clearly been successful. Not only have they stimulated the growth of provincial companies in Wewak (Raun Isi), Madang (Mabarasa), Lae (Dua dua), and Bougainville (Theatre Toro), but when in Kimbe (and elsewhere) I heard that Raun Raun's tours had encouraged people in villages to organize their own little theatre groups.

18. It should be mentioned that Raun Raun started their tours and village plays before the National Theatre, and that I detected a slightly defensive rivalry between the two groups. For example, Mr. William Takaku's proposal (para. 12 of this report) struck some people as being a direct imitation of Raun Raun, although it is in fact rather different. Raun Raun has a different style and serves a different constituency, because of both the geographical position of its base and its emphasis on village theatre. On the other hand it has also been criticised for charging too much for entrance to performances in Goroka and for having a very limited repertoire. There is always a danger that 'urban' theatre, performed in a building, caters for an elite; but Raun Raun's main work is in the country, where performances are free and, judging from reports I received in country areas, were greatly appreciated.

19. The defence of the second criticism is that in a year, four months are spent touring villages and towns; two months are given over to breaks, to compensate for weekends and nights of work; and in the remaining six months two new plays are created and produced. Between 1980 and 1983, because of work on building the theatre complex in Goroka and performances for the South Pacific Arts Festival, the 6th Asian Arts Festival, etc., the Raun Raun repertoire has been rather dominated by the "folk opera" Sail the Midnight Sun, which was originally produced in 1980. In future, as other theatre groups emerge in Papua New Guinea, Raun Raun will not be needed so often to represent the country abroad. Besides, I think it can be reasonably argued that a piece like Sail the Midnight Sun needs to be repeated regularly and almost ritualistically, like the Ramayana or Kabuki stories, because it is a modern myth. Myths teach and provide a blueprint for life and a focus for identity. The function of theatre in Papua New Guinea is not rep. As Mr. Neil Curnow said, 'with the loss of our legends, so erodes our respect for each other'. If audiences want to see Sail the Midnight Sun again and again, perhaps it is because they are hungry for myth, and this piece has achieved that stature because its symbols can be variously interpreted as a universal human story about love, as a national epic, and as a local art form - for examples of its prototype, the Trobriand Kesawaga, are found all over Papua New Guinea.

20. The present organizers of Raun Raun do not wish to be involved in schools and formal education, nor are they in favour of a National School of Drama. They are concerned with the setting up of provincial theatres, and so providing new outlets for creative work in what was clearly a widespread form of artistic expression in the past, and one which is still alive in many of the more remote parts of the country.

Skul Bilong Wokim Piksa - Goroka

21. Closely associated with the Raun Raun Travelling Theatre and the Raun Isi Travelling Theatre, Wevak, is the training centre for movie - and video- making, Skul Bilong Wokim Piksa, which has been directed by Mr. Paul Frame. Funded and sponsored through the National Cultural Council, this unit has also received financial support and technical assistance from France, and has an agreement to co-operate with the Veran Institute until 1987.

Two technicians from France will come for three months annually to Goroka to assist in editing the films made by the students, and similarly two trainees from Goroka will spend three months in France. The unit is excellently equipped, and it has in particular received from France five complete field recording kits of super 8 cameras, together with all accessories. The Skul Bilong Wokim Piksa was originally designed to go along with the Travelling Theatre Companies, as part of the process of setting up provincial theatres. But it has assumed greater significance as a centre for training people in the use of audio-visual equipment and, above all, in the making of films that reflect the values and realities of Papua New Guinea society.

22. I was privileged to see what for me was the most moving artistic experience of my whole visit, the preliminary version of a 30-minute colour movie, made with a super 8 sound camera by Dominic Sengi, a student of the school. Called Lemarawa (the widow), it was an account of the life of a widowed woman in Boiken, West Sepik. Following the techniques of cinema verite, it sought to express the feelings of the widow as she went about her daily tasks in a way that could make sense to the maker and hopefully to others in Papua New Guinea. But the film did more than this by the juxtaposition of numerous events filmed over the course of a month, by long takes of walking and working, by silences and unexpected shots of environment, the film conveyed to me, without preliminary information or spoken commentary, without the benefit of a familiar language, and without supportive incidental music, all the poignancy of widowhood in Boiken in 1983, and the blending of traditional customs and values with the material facts of modern life: motor cars, a pocket calculator for working out the payment for the widow's coffee, modern houses and bottles, playing cards, and the sounds of a transistor radio.

The National Museum and Art Gallery

23. I visited the National Museum and had an opportunity to study the excellent displays and dioramas and the magnificent collection of carvings, masks and musical instruments, mostly from the East Sepik and Gulf Provinces. On my second visit I had a most interesting and helpful conversation with the Director, Mr. Geoffrey Mosuwadoga. He explained that the fieldwork of the Museum is independent of the collecting activities of the provincial cultural centres.

Researchers who come to Papua New Guinea are not obliged to collect for the Museum unless they are specifically affiliated to it. The largest collections are of anthropological specimens (nearly 25,000 items) and of natural history (over 18,000 items); the prehistory and the aviation, maritime and war branches both have over 5,000 items, marine biology has over 2,000 and there are over 1,000 works of contemporary Papua New Guinean art, which are in storage because of shortage of display space. There is also an acute shortage of storage space, which will have to be rectified if the Museum is to fulfil its vital function of the conservation of the nation's cultural treasures and the evidence of its long history. It is particularly unfortunate that the increasingly high cost of electricity has forced the Director to open the Museum on only two days a week. He is considering the possibility of the Museum having its own generator. A good account of the needs of the National Museum is given on pp. 135-148 of Avei 1980.

24. The National Museum is fortunate and probably unique in the world in having as its Director a man who was first an artist. It is not, therefore, altogether surprising that the Museum has been so beautifully designed and laid out. It is unfortunate that imaginative plans for the future are thwarted by problems other than the usual shortage of funds. For example, plans to have an open air museum or cultural village, similar to the Folk Museums in Scandinavia and Northern Ireland, come up against the difficulties of conserving houses representative of different provinces in the harsh climate, and the constant threat of vandalism.

25. The Director emphasized that, after research and collection of artifacts, the second most important need for the Museum was the training of local staff in museology. Although the curators and trainee staff are local graduates, they do not receive at the University of Papua New Guinea sufficient courses in cultural anthropology, and museology and material culture are not taught at all. The emphasis is on social work and prehistory. The Director specified the Museum's other priorities, in order of preference, as relations with Pacific countries; the restitution of artifacts; and the open air museum discussed above. The National Museum is the most developed Museum in the South Pacific, and it has already been responsible for the training of the Director of the Vanuatu Museum who stayed in Port Moresby for 18 months. Pacific Islanders want to form a Pacific Islands Museums Association, but when its inauguration was put on the agenda of the Dunedin Conference in January 1983, only two Pacific Islanders were invited (the Director and a representative from the Solomon Islands). Consequently, they are unwilling to form an association on behalf of uninvited colleagues.

The J.K. McCarthy Museum - Goroka

26. The J.K. McCarthy Museum was founded in 1966 with the assistance of International Rotary. It is a branch museum of the National Museum. Its major concern is with the cultures of the Highlands provinces. It has a locally recruited Board of Management. I visited it twice, and on the second occasion interviewed the Director, Mr. Ivan Mbagintao, who was appointed in 1978 and was trained at the Peabody Museum, Washington D.C., USA. One of the high points of the Museum is the Leahy wing, opened on 20th August 1979, where there is a unique and growing collection of photographs and artifacts related to the history of outside contact with an administration of the Highlands provinces. There are several galleries of exhibits, which are very well arranged and documented, and there is a lecture room and space for the exhibitions which, like the National Museum, the J.K. McCarthy Museum sponsors and/or houses from time to time.

27. The Museum does not have any particular relationship with provincial governments, but for example, the Southern Highlands Cultural Officer came to inquire how to set up a catalogue system. The Director does some collecting and sends artifacts down to the National Museum, as well as keeping things in his own museum. He would like more time for collection, but since it is not a study museum he must concentrate more on conservation and display. However, there is not enough space to fulfil even that aim for example, an additional gallery is urgently needed to display the different dance costumes and styles of body decoration of the Highlands provinces, which would be mounted and painted on 'dummy' figures. Also, a craft village has been mooted, and there would be plenty of space for it in the open area round the present museum. The problem of vandalism seems unlikely to inhibit that development. Before Mr. Mbagintao was appointed, the Museum was broken into many times; since he instituted security measures, there has been no trouble. Besides, the thieves were not interested in removing items of highlands material culture, but in the safe in the Director's office and the 'T' shirts on sale in the foyer. A craft village therefore has good prospects of being left alone by thieves and vandals.

The Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies

28. The aims and work of the Institute are so well known that they need not even be summarized here. Besides the account given in Avei 1980, there is a 53 page booklet which describes the work and many achievements of the Institute from 1974 - 80 (IPNGS 1980). I was based in the Institute as much as in the NCC, and so I had several opportunities of talking to its staff and seeing its work in progress. I was very kindly treated and generously given the use of its facilities, including a Datsun car for most of my time in Port Moresby. This enabled me to get around and see many people and places in a short time which, without the car, would have been impossible. My only minor setback was that I was unable to get hold of copies of three discussion papers, Nos. 13, 35 and 20, at the Institute, the University Library, or the NCC office. They were 'The artist in Society' and 'Cultural policy in Papua New Guinea: some failures and inconsistencies', by Ulli Beier, and 'Proposal for a cultural policy', by Bernard Narokobi. Since the first author has left the country and the second was abroad, I hope they will excuse me if I may inadvertently 'borrow' any of their ideas without acknowledgement.

29. The Institute of PNG Studies has a key role in the nation's Social and Economic development and in the maintenance of its rich cultural diversity within a framework of national identity, and it is fulfilling most of its tasks admirably. A great deal of important research has been carried out by its staff, by seconded and affiliated staff, and by individual researchers whom it has sponsored. It has an impressive list of publications of literature, folklore, bibliographies, occasional papers, journals, translations, annotated musical recordings and films. I draw attention to only three shortcomings which the Institute itself has cited (IPNGS 1980 : 5 and 19) and which still seem to apply. Studies of dance styles need to be carried out, and especially of the Highlands dances which were aptly described to me as 'moving sculpture', and will therefore need to be analyzed with special insight. Not enough work has been done on cultural, as distinct from social and economic, change, on modern transformations and selections of 'traditional' symbols and values and the influence of these on people's commitment and decision-making, especially in urban environments and in modern institutions such as schools and government offices.

30. Finally, comparative studies need to be made by Papua New Guineans not simply with other people's material but 'from the inside' through participant observation. That is, people must study not only their own local culture but also the culture of at least one other, preferably 'very different' group, in order both to see their own society in perspective and to discover what the two societies have in common. As a result of my anthropological reading on societies in Papua New Guinea, and now more than ever as a result of my brief visits to the Highlands and Islands and experience of different musics, dances and art styles, I am more than ever convinced that it will be possible to show that, culturally, many different societies have in fact devised transformations of quite a small number of basic models. If this kind of analysis can be achieved, it will be easier to work towards a national culture that combines but does not suppress the distinctiveness of many, apparently different regional cultures. The Prime Minister of Papua New Guinea drew attention to the value of this approach and task when he wrote:

'One of our greatest and most urgent tasks in Papua New Guinea today is to forge a new national unity out of the multiplicity of cultures. In such a situation it is a distinct advantage to have been exposed to two cultures in one's childhood'. (Somare 1975) : 1)

Western Highlands Cultural Gallery - Mt. Hagen

31. At the opening of the splendid Western Highlands Cultural Gallery, Mt. Hagen on Wednesday, 14 September 1983, Mr. Pius Wingti, the Deputy Prime Minister, also mentioned the problems of cultural diversity and national unity to which I have just referred in paragraph 30, but he pointed out the positive advantage that Papua New Guinea has in having no numerically dominant culture, as do some African states. The classical area for cultural diversity is that of the Highland Provinces, and Mt. Hagen is fortuitously placed in the very centre of this diversity and close to the site of some of the earliest food production not only in Papua New Guinea but also in the world (Golson 1980). The cultural gallery is therefore very well placed to serve not only as a museum and outlet for the sale of village crafts, but also as a base and reference centre for research in the province and the Highlands in general.

32. Miss Roey Berger has been co-ordinator of the Western Highlands Cultural Gallery since 1 June 1983, and she has with her a staff of three: an assistant a Receptionist and a security guard. There is also a stone-carver working at the gallery, which is open from 10.00-16.00hrs, and closed from 12.00-13.00 hrs, five days a week, and open on Saturday mornings. It will not be open on Sundays, partly because members of staff want to go to church and partly because it is not considered safe to open on a Sunday. That is, there are few people around in the street, should the gallery be forcibly entered and the person on duty need help. The problem of opening galleries and cultural centres was raised wherever I went, because I heard people complain that they were free from work only at weekends, when the centres were closed. This seems to be a problem that needs careful consideration, as weekends could be important times for visiting and activities at cultural centres, which could then be closed on Mondays. However, the question of the security risk, which was frequently raised, is not so easy to resolve.

Enga Cultural Centre, Wabag - Enga Province

33. The Centre is beautifully situated in a shady hollow just off the main road. Lawn, flowers and bushes are well cared for and a stream winds through the grounds, in which there are two buildings: a spacious and solidly constructed building in which students practice sand-painting and coppercraft, and a wooden building in traditional style which was completed by voluntary aid from Australian Rotarians and comprises a museum and office. The Museum contains a fine collection of artifacts both from Sepik and Highlands Provinces, especially Enga, many of which were donated by Dr. Paul Brennan, who appears to have played a major role in founding the centre. The art students are guided, but not formally taught, by the Director, Akii Tumu, and his assistant, Watu Lopo. The traditional art of the area is self-decoration, and so the media of copper and of different coloured local sands on a flat surface are new. The results are impressive, and I was intrigued by Tumu's description of these talented students as 'Community school drop outs'! Technically, they are students who can't or don't wish to continue their schooling, but the ones that I met were far from being awkward or wayward youths. Certainly, if they had ever been prone to decline, the practice of art had done much to uplift them. The Centre has had two exhibitions at Lae, in the University of Technology; and during the more recent, in August 1983, they sold half their work in three days for over K2000. As in all other sales, the students keep half of their proceeds, and the other half goes towards the maintenance of the school. The Centre has no research programme, and its basic functions are those of art school and museum, which is visited by schools women's groups, and so on. The Director wants to extend the size and scope of the art school, expand the Museum collection, especially of Enga material, and set up a craft shop in which local people can work. He does not

plan to build up a Library, since there is good town library.

34. There is room for Director's projects, and at present a considerable amount of space in the art building is not used. It is not, however, big enough for theatre performances. It is unfortunate that the Enga development programme, funded by the World Bank, rejected Mr. Tumu's suggestion that cultural development should be included, on the grounds that they were concerned only with projects that brought in revenue. This short-sighted judgement can be faulted on at least two counts: first, cultural development brings in invisible earnings and contributes generally to economic well-being; and second, it should be clear from the progress of the Cultural Centre that the sale of art does bring in revenue as well as employment. The worthy, but uninspired book on Enga Development (1982) explains some of the limitations of the World Bank programme: for example, in Dr. Paul Brennan's chapter on 'Enga Communication' (Carrad, Lea and Talyaga 1982: ch.11, p.198 ff) there is no discussion of the developmental significance of non-verbal communication, which was and is of profound significance in traditional Enga communities.

35. The Enga Cultural Centre has had contacts with other centres and with those planning a centre. For example, a group from Tari and the leader of a group from Oksapmin came to see what they were doing, and they have contacts with Mendi. Mr. Tumu would like to exchange some duplicate Enga artifacts in order to build up a sample collection from other parts of Papua New Guinea.

Southern Highlands Cultural Centre and Museum - Mendi

36. When I arrived in Mendi on 17 September 1983, Mr. Robert Paia, the Provincial Cultural Officer and Director of the Centre and Museum, was busy acting as Master of Ceremonies for a massive singsing and football match which he had organized as the second day of Mendi's Independence celebrations. He was appointed in 1980, and one of his first moves was to form a Provincial Cultural Council, of which he is executive head and which includes representatives of the ten major ethnic groups in the province. The first task has been to collect and safeguard artifacts, and then to re-animate many traditional cultural activities. The missionaries were very strongly opposed to this plan, but Mr. Paia seems to have been successful in winning their assent, if not always their enthusiasm. A number of cultural centres have been started up in villages, as at Kumbeme, which I passed on the road to Mendi, and the students in Community Schools now wear traditional dress on Fridays. Mr. Paia reported on the misfortune which has befallen the museum at Ialibu. They received a substantial grant from UNESCO, but work on the building has come to a standstill because the design was too expensive and they have run out of money. Mr. Pawas Kumbema, who has been in charge of the project, is currently trying to raise the remainder of the money required for the Museum.

37. Mr. Paia hopes that two new positions will be created: for Tari in the Western part of the province, and for the Ialibu and Pangia districts. The cultural centre at Tari, for which funds have been requested, will be in memory of the late Prime Minister of the Southern Highlands, Mr. Andrew Andaija, who was killed in a plane crash in 1980, and it will be called the Dlamene centre. A handicraft shop has been set up in Mendi and basket-making will be revived, amongst other things. An open-air folk museum, or cultural village, is to be created near the town boundary of Mendi, and another has already been started at Ialibu. The Mendi Museum has not yet been officially opened. It is sited in a former dwelling house in the grounds of the high school. Already a large and varied collection has been laid out and documented, and attractive display notices are being made. Mr. Paia has many excellent and imaginative plans for the future, including one for instituting a formal teaching programme in schools in which members of the community would be involved in passing on their

knowledge to the students. He has established contacts with other cultural centres and sent groups to Mt. Hagen, Western Highlands, Goroka, Port Moresby and Chimbu, as well as receiving groups from Western Highlands and Chimbu. He has already made magnificent progress, especially when it is considered that he has no technical assistant and no vehicle for collecting artifacts and doing research.

The West New Britain Culture Centre at Kimbe

38. This centre combines a small museum and Conference Room with the Provincial Public Library and Reading Room. It therefore contains both obsidian artifacts from the distant past and modern books, newspapers, journals, and reference books that are of particular interest and value to the young people of the province. At the initiative of the Provincial Cultural Officer, Mr. Andrew Marenage, there is an Art and Craft Workshop and Shop, where a graduate from the National Arts School, Mr. Joseph Yama, works and to whom two young men are currently apprenticed. He is not charged any rent, but pays the centre 20% of his earnings. The Assistant Cultural Officer, Mr. John Normu, is curator of the Museum and Research Officer, he goes out into the communities to collect artifacts and to accompany researchers, who are expected to submit reports. The Librarian, Mrs. Francisca Lalakai, has had the appropriate training and experience for her task, and she asks for books from the Provincial Superintendent of Education in Kimbe, who orders them through the National Library, if there are sufficient funds. The Manager of the Centre, Mr. John Namuno, is responsible for maintenance of the building and equipment such as their vehicle, 16mm cine projector and generator, and their outboard motors and boats for visiting outlying villages. He has also become interested in collecting recordings of songs and legends and he gives a weekly broadcast at Kimbe radio station. Copies of the recordings used are kept by the NBC.

39. This is a most attractive centre, located some 150 yards from the sea in a house and outhouses that were once the residence of a manager of a coconut plantation, and whose wooden walls still show the marks of bullet - holes from World War II. It is well run by an enthusiastic and able team, and the Province is fortunate in having a Cultural Officer with wide experience and some good ideas. Communication with all parts of the Province is difficult, because mountainous jungle runs down the centre of the island and roads connect only parts of the coastline. Nevertheless, the Cultural Officer has organized a variety of functions, such as talks, dances, singsings and sports, especially on Independence and Provincial Days, and the showing of 'cultural' films to villages and interested groups. The premises are open from 09:00 to 16:00 from Monday to Friday. The Library used to be open on Saturdays and Sundays but they found that nobody used it. A cultural village is planned in the space between the buildings and the sea, together with an amphitheatre designed especially for the use of young people who have been inspired by the visits of Raun Raun Travelling Theatre.

40. Members of staff urgently need in-service training in some of the technique of collection, documentation and display of artifacts, in recording techniques, and in Museum security. The lack of funds for books is acute, and the Library really needs a special annual budget. The Cultural Officer suggested that short exchanges with staff of the National Museum and Goroka, for example, could be useful; and he had looked forward to a workshop of Provincial Cultural Officers which has not yet materialized. He would appreciate more information from the contact with the National Cultural Council, as he finds himself in a difficult position when questioned by the Provincial Council about National policies and plans. He was also disappointed that when the Raun Raun Travelling Theatre made their second successful visit to Kimbe they did not even inform him of their plans or contact him on arrival. On their first visit, he had made arrangements and opened paths for them, in accordance with the

government policy of liaison between national and provincial cultural bodies, as well as through common courtesy.

North Solomons Cultural Centre - Kieta

41. This is an exceptionally elegant building with air conditioning, sited next to a beautiful bay. When I arrived there on Friday 23 September, it had been raining hard and incessantly for almost 24 hours. Mr. John Meri, the cleaner, was busy clearing the floors of the mud which had flooded in during the night. There were also signs of a few leaks in the roof. There are an excellent Museum handbook and some other publications available and the visitors' book shows that at least 7475 people had come since 28 January, 1980. 1981 was the peak year, with 2956 visitors, since when there has been a falling off to 1684 visitors in 1982 and 1209 up to 23 September of 1983. The Curator, Mr. John Mokuma, was appointed in 1977; he had been seconded from teaching to the National Museum and had received training from September 1972 to March 1975. He had a further period as a school inspector before coming to Kieta, because he had had no promotion at the National Museum. The staff of the Centre includes a typist, Ms. Saraim Patil, who is on leave, and an Education Officer, Mr. Eliuda Temoana, who was out during the morning. He is responsible for showing people around the Museum, especially the many parties of school children who come, and for showing cultural films. Mr. Temoana is also a talented artist who, amongst other things, designed the iron work design which is mounted at the entrance of the Museum.

42. The Museum is no longer open on Saturday mornings, which perhaps accounts for the fall in the number of visitors. The closing was precipitated by difficulties with the vehicle needed for transporting staff. In spite of the excellence of the collection, there are still many artifacts that they do not have, and people come in and tell them what is missing! Mr. Mokuma goes out on patrol to collect more artifacts and information, but he has not been successful in getting a Research Officer. On the other hand, Mr. Niles and staff of IPNGS have used the Centre as a base for recording music, and further research is planned. He would appreciate advance information about visiting researchers, such as an anthropologist who received permission in Port Moresby to work on the Mortlock Islands. A pottery workshop was started in 1978 but has been closed since students walked out after a new, expatriate manager at Provincial Headquarters changed the system. Unfortunately, I was not able to interview him, but I understand that the Provincial Department of Commerce had paid students (Grade 6 and 8 leavers) an allowance of K30 a fortnight and 50% commission on any sales over K80 per month. The new Manager cancelled the allowance and offered a commission only, which, on the face of it, might be good business but is neither good job-creation, education, or cultural development.

43. Messrs. Mokuma and Temoana have organized an annual festival and singsing for Independence Day celebrations. They used to judge the many groups who came, but since they found this too difficult they now pay an 'appreciation price' of K50 to every group that performed; of which twenty were from North Solomons and thirteen from the rest of Papua New Guinea, but living and/or working on the island. There were also three provincial drama groups at the show on 16 September 1983 and a Drama Festival in 1981. These are a spin-off from the successful visits of the National and Raun Raun Travelling Theatres, which helped to increase an already growing interest in drama in several villages. Mr. Mokuma regrets that it will not be possible to invite them again, as the air fares and expenses were high and the income from their short visits was too low. The Centre plans to create a Travelling Theatre company in the province, for both entertainment and educational purposes, but it will need at least one additional staff member to help organise it. Apart from shortage of staff, the most urgent need of the Centre is for workshops with other cultural officers.

Mr. Mokuma regretted that a workshop planned by the NCC had not materialized: his own Provincial Council had approved the expense of sending representatives. The North Solomons Handcraft Centre in Arawa now operates independently of the Cultural Centre.

Kiriwina - Trobriand Islands

44. I decided to go to the Trobriand Islands for a number of reasons, although Mr. Betson warned me that they had had very little information about a cultural centre. First, the Trobriand Islanders are well-known for their art and carvings; second, when one considers that their population of 17,000 is less than 0.57 per cent of the population of Papua New Guinea, they have produced a remarkable number of distinguished people, who hold important positions in the country; third the very absence of a viable cultural centre in such a place might throw light on similar problems that might be encountered in other provinces; fourth, the problem of small islands in the Milne Bay Province poses special problems of communication and cultural development; fifth, the Trobriand Islanders have been world famous for sixty years, and I wanted to see if their cultural fame might have had any effects on their social and economic development. Finally, I thought that Kiriwina might be a suitably peaceful place in which to write up the bulk of my report, though I realized that there would be temptations to do other things and that my investigation of the cultural situation might take some time, especially as it was impossible to hire a car to get around the island. All except the last of my reasons were justified by the outcome of my visit.

45. I was surprised to find that there seemed to be very few signs of change since the time of Malinowski's fieldwork in 1916, and this was confirmed by the German Medical anthropologists to whom I spoke briefly, Drs Rupert and Ulrike Pöschel, by my discussions with the District Officer about some aspects of clanship and the chieftainship, and by many informal discussions with villagers for whom To'uluwas, Mitakata, Bagido'u and Namwana Guyau are still remembered names, and by whom I was shown Mwali and Soulava with the same respect and satisfaction that Malinowski described. The architecture has changed little, apart from the development of Losuia as a small 'station' and the addition of school buildings in Omarakana, modern concrete graves at Kavataria and a few similar items in some other villages, the coastal and deep sea canoes are carved and as widely used as Malinowski described, and the coral gardens were being cleared and planted just as they were shown in his photographs.

46. The lack of cultural change is directly related to the phenomenal success of educated Trobriand Islanders on the mainland: at present there is no real future or career in the Trobriand Islands for an enterprising young person, because there has been no social and economic development. It is a tragic comment on the colonial era that world fame has brought the Trobrianders nothing but an evident decline in their health and nutrition, especially in the inland villages, and eventually a chance to make it by getting out of Kiriwina. I talked to many of the beautiful and very intelligent children and young people whom I met wherever I went, and again and again I heard the same story: left school at Grade 3, Grade 5, Grade 7 and even Grade 8, and now working as a gardener or a fisherman. Now there is nothing wrong with that and with the maintenance of a traditional subsistence life style, if young people can find fulfilment. But it was clear that many of them felt unfulfilled and demoralized, and had lost the astonishing brightness and quick wits of their younger neighbours and relatives. Even those who were making beautiful carvings and grass skirts appeared to be frustrated by the lack of outlets for their work.

47. The District Officer, Mr. Aiden Nolimola, is very conscious of these problems, and during 2½ years since his arrival has been pursuing a number of solutions. His main task has been directly related to problems which also account for the lack of available cultural centres. When he arrived in Losuia, there had been political disturbances during the course of which the mechanisms of provincial government had been abolished. His task has been to draw up a constitution for local community government and to set it in motion. He has had to incorporate the interests of the traditional rulers of the Islands, the Trobriand chiefs, who are custodians of the rites and festivals which link the people to their past, present and future and are an important factor in the maintenance of Trobriand Cultural identity; with the interests of those who have rejected many aspects of traditional culture and who have been more involved in the activities of the two political parties, TK and KW (Toneini Kamokwita and Kabisawali). Membership of these parties appears to be divided on lines that were familiar to me, coming from Northern Ireland; United Church/ Roman Catholic, coastal/inland, fishermen/gardeners, and so on. The new Trobriand government will have an upper house of 12, the Council of chiefs headed by the Paramount Chief of Omarakana and a lower house of 38 elected and 4 nominated members.

48. Whether or not the TK Cultural Centre, which the NCC had listed, was active, it seems to have been associated with a political party based in Losuia and not necessarily representative of the Trobriand Islands as a whole. The NCC is not in the business of supporting the activities of specific political parties, and so until the community government has established its own cultural officer and/or centre. The District Officer urged that communications should be directed to the Council of Chiefs. It seems that the Cultural Centre founded by Mr. John Kasaipwalova at Ulueta in 1974 is no longer functioning, and so there is an urgent need for a Trobriand centre to be re-established. There are also plans to set up a shop through which craftsmen could market their goods. Expressive Arts are not taught at Kiriwina High School, but the students have what is known as KULA DAY once a term. They perform songs and dances from different parts of the islands.

49. In spite of the lack of opportunities for young people within the Islands, I suggest that the achievements of many who have left could have been greatly assisted by the continuity and integrity of their cultural tradition. Thus, in the crucially formative years of early childhood many of today's successful Trobriand Islanders would have experienced the intellectual and imaginative stimulus which comes from exposure to rituals, myths and legends, and the security of belonging to a known, finite society. Unfortunately, when I met some of these men and women, I had not yet been to Kiriwina and did not realize the cultural significance of their life-histories. I know that in my own life a willingness to adventure and take risks was helped along by a sense of security that was enhanced by the experience of childhood in an English Cathedral Close, with its cycle of rituals, its aesthetic stimuli, and its quite easily controlled social world. I would be interested to know more about the feelings and experiences of those who left Kiriwina and are now 'walking tall' in Papua New Guinea. I suspect that their stories might teach us something important about the role of aesthetic experience in the formation of personality, and the appropriate ages at which to venture forth on a new intellectual kula.

50. The success of individual Trobriand Islanders does not remove the need to consider development projects that might improve the life chances of a greater number of people without undermining the positive features of their cultural tradition. An expansion of tourism could enhance the artistic life of the community and open greater possibilities for productive work by artists and craftsmen. By increasing the market for crafts and the arts, tourism in the island of Bali, for instance, has proved a stimulus for creativity in music, dance, sculpture, painting, and

weaving, and a livelihood for hundreds of Balinese families. Kiriwina could support two or three well-sited hotels without 'spoiling' the island and its good people. Although hospitality at the Kiriwina Lodge is adequate, accommodation is excessively expensive in view of the poor conditions, unreliable plumbing and unattractive sitting far from a beach. Mrs. Rook's guest house near Kaibola is superior and far cheaper. The sea cruises of the islands which are run by Melanesian Tourist Services of Madang ought to be extended, if possible, since they are excellently run and present the culture of the Trobriand Islands in the right sort of way. It is most unfortunate that they run at a loss because Mr. Peter Barter refuses to cater for the sensation-hunter and sybaritic tourist. The NCC might consider subsidising some of these sea tours, since they have great potential for the future and are an important contribution to cultural promotion. I was surprised to find that the traditional surpluses of yams seem not to have been exported and converted into other forms of wealth. And as I looked at the delicate hands and fine carving of many Kiriwinans, I wondered why nobody had thought of setting up a few factories for producing electronic components and other pieces of high technology.

Sogeri National High School

51. Sogeri National High School is, in a sense, a cultural centre of Central Province, though obviously it is not described as such. Attached to its distinguished Expressive Arts department is a Museum and a small village of houses modelled on the styles of different provinces, which students have built, maintain, and use for different social functions. Ms Marjorie Walker is Head of Expressive Arts and has been responsible for setting up the Museum, with the voluntary help of staff and students. Though it is primarily a teaching museum, and students use it as a basis for the many research essays that they write on 'cultural' topics, it is open to the public on Sunday afternoons and many people come to see it. It is air-conditioned and has an excellent representative collection of artefacts, including some fine masks and carvings. Although the museum has more objects displayed than its space would normally warrant, it does not give the impression of being overcrowded, even for a teaching museum. Objects are well presented and documented and one could spend many rewarding hours studying its contents.
52. Within the museum building is a room containing a marvellous, carefully stored collection of dozens of dance costumes and scores of drums which are used by the students for performances of traditional dancing, especially their annual singsing at Konedobu Cultural Centre, Port Moresby. Sogeri generously lends costumes to University students for various functions, because the University does not yet possess its own collection! (Much to my surprise, I found that the University does not even have a Music Department, let alone a Department of Performing Arts, as do several universities in Africa which are no less concerned to train economists, doctors, engineers and civil servants but appreciate the crucial role of the arts in education. Perhaps the University of Technology at Lae will follow the example of the University of Surrey, which is also a technological University, and see the relevance of having Departments of Dance and Music to creative work in the sciences!) Although music is currently taught at Sogeri, they had been without a teacher for six years. I found, throughout my travels in Papua New Guinea, that Expressive Arts generally means visual arts and drama, with the music and dance components being covered only by performances of traditional dances. Formal training in general musical skills, even in choral singing, seems to be rare. And training in dance is almost non-existent. The outlook for the future is not good, and the difficulties are compounded by the fact that advertisements for expressive arts teachers rarely specify whether a music or dance teacher is needed.

Madang Museum and Cultural Centre

53. Before visiting the centre, Mr. Austin Edo took me to meet Mr. Peter Colton, who is General Manager of Madang Development Corporation, and Mr. Peter Barter, who is owner and Managing Director of Melanesian Tourist Services whose work I mentioned in paragraph 50. Mr. Colton was involved in setting up the Museum, which was opened in 1981 before Mr. Edo was seconded to be Provincial Culture and Tourism Coordinator. From the beginning, the Museum has been linked with the tourism which attracts many visitors to Madang, and one aim has been that it should provide a source of income for craftsmen and artists, whose products the tourists buy, as well as a centre for the conservation of local artefacts and historical documents. There are plans to build a craft village round the Museum, where people could come and make and sell pots, baskets etc. There is already a sizeable building in traditional Sepik style outside Mr. Barter's Madang Resort Hotel, where people can sell their works with dignity, and the entrance hall of the Museum is full of objects for sale, on which the Museum charges a 20% commission. Mr. Colton emphasized that the possibility of earning money is an important incentive to young people to make artefacts and to rehearse dances. Mr. Edo's experience of Tourist promotion makes him an exceptionally suitable head of this very successful centre. He would like the NCC to appreciate more how tourism can contribute to the production of art and craftwork when things are properly organized, and how the presence of good art encourages tourists: culture and tourism feed each other.
54. Madang has a long history of contact with foreigners since the arrival of the Russian anthropologist, Makhluco Maclai a hundred years ago. The Museum must seriously consider the problem of storage, since there are many old documents which need to be cared for, including a collection which the Roman Catholic Church has promised to present when facilities are available. Unfortunately, the Public Library has been moved from the Centre to the High School. But the Museum is open every day and Mr. Edo's assistant, Mr. Kambau Lamang, takes an extra day off during the week because he comes in on Sundays. The Museum is very well laid out, though in some cases the artefacts could be better labelled. Cassette recordings of traditional music were being played in the entrance hall, which created a very pleasant atmosphere and was, incidentally, the only example of Museum music that I heard throughout my visits to the provinces.
55. Mr. Kambau Lambang is responsible for the Mabarasa Theatre Group, which rehearses in a large room over the Director's office. It had not yet returned from Goroka, where it has been performing at the Raun Raun Theatre Festival. The members of the Mabarasa Group are school leavers who have been involved since early in 1982 as a result of the enterprise of Mr. Peter Watlakas, who is promoting non-formal education in the district. After a year's probation to prove their worth, the Provincial Government agreed to subsidize the Group with money for transport, costumes etc. They live in their homes and are subsidized when on tour. Mr. Edo, by the conditions of his job, is involved in planning and liaison for tourism in the Madang district, and is particularly concerned, amongst other things, with plans to upgrade Madang as an international airport, which would enable it to be gateway to the Sepik district and the Highlands.

This is separate from his work for the Centre, which consists of organizing cultural exchanges of singing groups and various activities on Provincial and Independence Days, supervising the Centre and acting as executive officer for the Trustees of the Centre and the Board of Management of the Tourism Bureau.

56. None of the officers has had training in Museum work, and so some in-service courses, or at least workshops, would be appreciated. The Curator of the Museum is Mr. Tabah Silau, who has recently been appointed as a cultural officer. He spent two years at the National Arts School before setting out to make a living as a painter. He has the skills to make good displays, but he will need to learn about collection, documentation and preservation of artefacts. There are also a secretary, caretaker and driver, as well as two vehicles. No requests have yet been made to the NCC for financial assistance, but Mr. Edo plans to ask for support for a number of projects: an amphitheatre, a library, and a shop for the sale of artefacts.

The National Cultural Council

57. I interviewed the Acting Director and the Director, who was on leave, and I had several discussions with Mr. Simon Betson, the Project Officer. I attended part of a regular meeting of the Council and met members informally at lunch. While I was much impressed with the achievements of the Council since its formation, and with the activities of its members, I am not entirely satisfied that it is yet working at full steam. I hesitate to make judgements, because I have had so little time to study its operation and I have not had the opportunity to speak to its members since I returned from my visits to the provinces. But I hope that members will pardon my ignorance and treat my comments in the spirit in which they are made -- not as criticisms but as suggestions that are intended to be helpful.

58. There was a feeling in some provincial cultural centres that the NCC was out of touch with what they were doing and that they would benefit from more and better communication. I have no doubt that the fault, if indeed there is one, is as much with the cultural officers as with the NCC, and that they probably communicate with the Council only when they want something, such as a grant or a subsidy. It is essential that provincial cultural centres be autonomous, but it would seem reasonable for them to submit a regular report to NCC which could be circulated to other cultural officers. In fact, the NCC Secretariat might seriously consider compiling a regular information sheet or newsletter of provincial cultural activities, through which officers, curators, researchers etc. could share and comment on each other's problems. The most general complaint was an expression of disappointment that a planned meeting/workshop for cultural officers had not materialized. Sharp contrasts in the layout and documentation of provincial museums are witness to the fact that some provincial officers and/or their assistants need in-service training. A workshop for provincial cultural officers could be an annual event, and I suggest that the NCC should organize it, though not necessarily in Port Moresby. Ideally, it should be hosted each year by the cultural centre of a different province.

59. Clearly, the NCC was not intended to provide a blueprint for provincial cultural centres; and one of the most interesting things that I observed was the way in which each centre was evolving along its own lines, in accordance with the needs or cultural emphasis of the area and the particular strengths of the officer in charge. On the other hand in accordance with government policy (and, incidentally, UNESCO recommendations), another purpose of cultural development is to find common ground amidst diversity and to forge a national identity that is a synthesis of parts rather than a reinforcement of a few dominant cultures or artistic media. It seems to me that at present artistic development in Papua New Guinea is uneven in that things have been happening in painting, carving, sculpture, literature and drama, but little has been done in music and virtually nothing in dance. That is, in schools and at festivals both at home and abroad, performances of music and dance are invariably of the traditional. Perhaps Sana-Sana, with the music of Sanguma, will be an important breakthrough. But whatever the outcome, I suggest that the NCC could look out for gaps in cultural development and then pursue a campaign of filling them by giving preference to provincial requests that break new ground.

60. Side by side with a general policy of non-interference in provincial decision-making, it seems to me that the NCC could usefully pursue a more coordinated policy for the five national institutions, while at the same time allowing each one of them a certain amount of autonomy. I would go so far as to say that if the NCC does not corporately exert more influence over the development of the national institutions, it could find that each one of them slowly erodes as financial pressures become more acute. The proposed closure of the Arts' School's Music Department should be regarded not as a regrettable financial economy or a thoughtless decision by politicians and bureaucrats, but as a failure of the NCC to agree on policy and do what it was created to do: 'to advise the Government on cultural development' (Crawford 1977:31). By no stretch of the imagination can closure of the only viable music school/department in the country be called a 'cultural development'. If cuts are necessary and the government selects for the axe an institution that comes under the aegis of the NCC, it is surely the duty of the NCC to assess the proposed cut within the context of its overall policy and the general state of its institutions, and, if it cannot resist the cut altogether, suggest some other area where a cut could be made, so as to maintain a balance of the parts. If it does not do this, it has no grounds for resisting the next cut, and the next, and the next. A glance at the comparative budgets and staff-structures of the five national institutions (Avei 1980: 40, 41, 44, 45, 48, 49, 52, 53, 63, 64) suggests that, if necessary, cuts could be made in the establishment of some institutions more easily than others without serious damage to any institution and without upsetting the balance of work in all five. The closure of the Music Department, however, would be a damaging and unbalancing cut, and it should not be allowed to happen.

61. The 1980 Working Party emphasized that the NCC should be making fearless policy decisions that are in the interest of the country as a whole and not designed to satisfy sectional interests only (Avei 1980: 114 and 118). It also suggested that over a period of five years certain projects should be given priority. It decided not to look at institutions but at what it called, somewhat idiosyncratically, 'disciplines': performing arts, visual arts and crafts, national heritage, and communications. It proposed Advisory Committees for each area. The idea is quite good, though I would disagree with the classification and I cannot see the need for yet more Committees, together with the expense of time and money for meetings. Besides, the creation of separate committees for these new 'disciplines' would surely divide up the work of the NCC at a time when it needs to be more coordinated. I also wondered

why Visual Arts and Crafts was given priority (Avei 1980: 74), since they seem to be the best established and funded of all national cultural activities.

C. REFLECTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

62. In order to avoid possible misunderstanding in interpreting the conclusions and recommendations formulated on the basis of the main findings of the mission, it seems necessary to make clear our position with regard to some general concepts related to culture and cultural development, as described in the below.

The concept of culture

63. In fact, there is too often, even in some Unesco documents, an ambiguity as to the concept of culture, which arises from the interchangeable use of 'culture' to refer to a part of culture, such as performing arts, and to culture as distinctive ways of life which all people share to a greater or lesser extent by virtue of being human. This broader concept is more and more generally accepted as in the Mexico City Declaration on Cultural Policies where the World Conference on cultural policies agreed: "that in its widest sense, culture may now be said to be the whole complex of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features that characterize a society or social group. It includes not only the arts and letters, but also modes of life, the fundamental rights of the human being, value systems, traditions and beliefs" (Unesco 1982: page 41)

In agreement with the Declaration, it has to be clearly stated that, in our view, culture is not something which people receive, or not, but something which they go on inventing and re-making as long as they exercise their innate human cognitive and emotive capacities in the course of social interaction.

Cultural identity

64. This leads to a second basic concept related to the problem of identity. The necessity of the recognition of the equal dignity of all cultures and of the preservation of cultural identities, can in no way, imply that all components of all cultures are inherently or automatically good and to be maintained as such. Cultural identity should be considered, not as a static and unchangeable entirety of values, but as a result of a permanent process of evolution, enrichment and renewal of traditions and value systems, due to the inner creative forces of the community concerned, to the new challenges it has to face as well as to inter-cultural communications. This has a particular importance in planning cultural development in a multicultural society such as Papua New Guinea, trying to forge a national identity out of scores of smaller regional identities.

65. The notion of cultural property produces the contradiction that if all 'cultural property' (paintings, carvings etc.) is returned to the countries of origin, how do you exchange and share, except through travelling exhibitions, which are very expensive? There are some obvious cases where collections of artefacts or works of art ought to be returned to the country of origin.

66. The ideal would be for every country to be able to exhibit the best examples of every other country's 'cultural property', so that people can become interested in other cultures through excitement about the artistic production of individuals from those societies. The NCC Working Party has a case in arguing that some collections ought to be returned from Australia (Avei 1980: 143), but there ought to be good examples of Papua New Guinean art also in museum abroad, just as there ought to be works of art of other Cultures in the National Museum at Waigani.

Cultures and individuals art and artists

67. In the process of developing the cultural systems which people use to order their experience, the arts have played a crucial role. The exercise of artistic capabilities is one of the chief means by which human consciousness is roused, and by which human imagination and inventiveness can be stimulated and harnessed to solve the recurring problems of relationships and institutional organization which hinder all aspects of development in any society. Practice of the arts is not an optional luxury that can be afforded only when more 'basic' needs have been satisfied. The arts are not merely part of the cultural superstructure which reflect the patterns and values of social and economic life: they are expressions of the most fundamental and distinctively human of all human capabilities, the artistic process, or the exercise of artistic cognition, and the application of aesthetic energy. Other forms of cultural invention are derived from this generalised 'artistic' process.

68. The value of the arts in a society depends on how they are defined and used. Their power resides in the exercise of artistic cognition that they evoke in members of a community, and in the linking of artistic experiences, which can touch the emotions and engage the whole body, to other sets of ideas and social experiences. In Papua New Guinea, the most important arenas for the effective use of the arts are not Independence Day celebrations, Pacific Arts Festivals, and National and Provincial functions, but in everyday life, and especially in primary, secondary and tertiary education, as well as continuing education as our first concern must be for the promotion of the arts and the artist latent in every human being.

69. The NCC Working Party raised the issue of 'whether we are here to produce "art" or "artists". If the creative process is our priority, what do we do with the products, the artists?' (Avei 1980: 73). This dilemma presupposes a distinction between Art and Life which was not present in traditional Papua New Guinean societies and is essentially a product of feudal and capitalist formations.

70. There has to be a revolution in our thinking about the arts and artists, as also about cultures and individuals. The development of the senses and the education of the emotions are not simply desirable aims to be achieved through artistic practice. They are essential both for balanced behaviour and the effective use of the intellect (Blacking 1982: 38-43). Obviously the arts will always be on sale in the market-place and there may continue to be professionals. But the important developments of the future must be in the restoration of the masses' right to artistic experience and the cultivation of excellence, and in the integration of the arts themselves, and of the arts and life.

71. The evolutionary significance of the arts cannot be over-emphasized, but it has yet to be proved by applying artistic theory and praxis to the reconstruction of societies. Important as affective culture can be in helping people to transcend certain social formations, to develop their individual freedom and a sense of cultural identity, and to expand their consciousness, artistic praxis has the potential to do more than reflect social formations and integrate people's experiences of them: it can generate through feelings new ideas that could be applied in any field of social life. Aesthetic energy has been a powerful force in human biological evolution and cultural development: its potential for transforming the life of people in modern industrial and developing countries has yet to be fully explored.

Expressive arts as the core of human development

72. At the beginning of Section C I drew attention to recurring contradictions in the use of the concept of culture, and pointed out that the term is often used

in the more 'restricted' sense of what in Papua New Guinea's education system is called 'expressive arts'. Indeed most of the activities of the NCC and its five national institutions, and of the provincial cultural centres, are concerned with culture in this sense. Thus I might have taken the definition for granted and omitted the discussion of contradictions in the use of the word 'culture'. I did not do this, because I wanted to argue that many, if not all, of the contradictions can be resolved when we look at all culture, in the broadest sense of the word (cf. UNESCO 1982B:41, quoted in para. 63 above), as the material and non-material products of processes of social interaction and symbolic communication, and the use of 'artistic' cognition and aesthetic energy as the basis of these processes, the means by which people integrate and use different kinds of experience.

73. It is a scientific hypothesis about human development which is being increasingly borne out by studies of the anthropology of the performing arts, the affective and cognitive development of infants and children (and especially their nonverbal and pre-linguistic behaviour), and of the workings of the left and right hemispheres of the brain (cf. Blacking 1982:41-42). In the light of these studies, 'artistic' cognition appears not just as a mode of thought, a way of knowing: it is a fundamental extension of the body as human being.

Education in the expressive arts and cultural development

74. The work of the National Cultural Council and its associated bodies, and indeed the whole problem of cultural policies and cultural development in Papua New Guinea, cannot be considered apart from the role of the expressive arts in education. Cultural development is not simply about festivals and 'singsings' and traditional dances in community schools, it is about arts education. It is not just about the maintenance of free expression and creativity (cf. Brash in Frost and Walker 1983: 143) which are the natural inheritance of all healthy children, but about social and intellectual discipline and the 'subliminal' acquisition of values.

75. I suggest that there are two basic problems in Papua New Guinea's education system which risk to lead to major social problems and intellectual stagnation well before the end of the century. (One can be even more critical of similar trends in British education). The first is to treat expressive arts as a mini-subject: for example, it comes last in chapter 4 of the National Education Strategy (Rogers 1979: 24). The second is to use Expressive Arts primarily as a kind of recreational activity and/or a soft option.

76. The point is that education in the expressive arts must be treated with the same respect as a core subject if the purposes of the government's cultural policies are to be achieved, or else students will lose respect for the subject because there is no progress in the curriculum, as there is with the core subjects. Furthermore, they will come to think that they have learnt all they need to know about the arts by the time they reach the end of their primary education, because they will consider that they know about the arts of their own ethnic group, and that is sufficient. That is, they will come to see artistic expression as little more than a statement of group solidarity, and possibly a pleasant emotional experience and the educational, developmental functions of artistic practice will pass them by. There is no shortage of evidence that this is already happening, and I suggest that if the trend continues expressive arts will not even be effective as an 'enrichment' subject. Of 110 Provincial High Schools, 65 are not offering expressive arts at all, 42 are offering it as enrichment, 1 as enrichment and as a practical subject, and 2 as a practical subject. One of the difficulties has been that no proper system of assessment has been developed and that a number of teachers have resisted the idea, partly on the grounds that it can't be done (a view which has now been discredited

as a result of the revolution in arts teaching and assessment which has taken place in the United Kingdom in recent years), or that it goes against the principles of self-expression and freedom that should accompany artistic practice. The Education Department has been trying to improve the image of Expressive Arts, and is currently working out a system of assessment, and it will be included in the programmes of Extension Studies which are being developed by the University.

Cultural Centres as spiritual powerhouses

77. Papua New Guinea is fortunate in that there are not yet any major social divisions between modernized and traditionally-oriented people, and between those who have had secondary or tertiary education and those who have had little or no education. But this state of affairs cannot last much longer, and the pattern of Port Moresby is already emerging in some of the country towns and villages that I visited, with growing class divisions between rich and poor and an increase in crime and vandalism. Equality of wealth and a fully operative welfare state cannot be achieved in the near future because of inevitably slow economic growth, the lack of jobs required for a population of over three million people, and the lack of effective communications in many parts of the country. Good health and equality of opportunity in education could be acquired quickly, as in Cuba and Nicaragua, and the effect on Papua New Guinea's economic development and spiritual well-being might be dramatic.

78. The National Cultural Council and the Provincial Cultural Centres have a major role to play in the education of the people and the transformation of Papua New Guinea's society and cultures. But they must take the lead and not be deterred by financial restrictions. The world economic recession can become irrelevant, as Tetang Punumping suggested in a powerful poem written at Goroka Teachers' College, but only if the power of human cooperation and aesthetic energy is harnessed. This costs little except compassion, effort, and commitment.

79. The wantok system has so far helped to hold the fabric of society together during the years of rapid economic and political change. But its effectiveness will not last unless it is supported by new cultural developments that can bridge the gaps between places, generations of people, life styles and ideologies. When high school and university students rehearse and perform traditional dances, there is a partial closing of a gap. But when their children are at school and university, will they be able or want to attend and monitor the rehearsals, as parents and elders do at present? Technical development in the expressive arts must be experienced and understood if the old is to be related to the new and to be an effective force in people's lives rather than a curiosity. Without education which reveals the links between Singsing, Sanguma, Shostakovitch, Samba and Shamisen as human expression, and between those artistic creations and the societies from which they emerged, traditional music and dances will become for young Papua New Guineans museum objects rather than sources of self-awareness and national pride, totemic emblems of ancient divisions rather than signs of the richness of human cultural invention and symbols of important values.

80. If they are to play a significant role in Papua New Guinea's overall development, Cultural Centres must be more than museums that preserve and recall the provincial heritage, shops that sell craft goods, and venues for entertainment. They must be places for continuing education about the present and future, as well as the past, and spiritual centres whose work ensures that members of the community can participate in the processes of achieving modernization without losing the richness of regional diversity.

The scope of cultural centres: a model for community development

81. My ideas about what Cultural Centres in Papua New Guinea could or should be have changed fundamentally since I began my mission. This has been a consequence of seeing different kinds of centre in a variety of provincial environments, and talking to cultural officers with different ideas about the functions and uses of a cultural centre. The ideas that I put forward in this section, therefore, are an attempt not to impose from the outside, but to synthesize the variety of solutions that I have found in the provinces, in the light of the nation's needs and future prospects. In outlining a model of the kind of cultural centre that could best serve the spiritual and intellectual needs of communities in a rapidly changing society, I envisage lively, convivial places that can be used with equal joy by men and women, young and old, university graduates and unschooled gardeners, visitors and local people, tourists and citizens of Papua New Guinea.

82. While I would urge the NCC to do all it can to encourage and support the expansion of existing cultural centres and the emergence of new ones, I suggest that they do not draw up a set of rules as to what a centre should or should not be. The point about a model is that it must be flexible and capable of retraction or infinite expansion. That is, the organizers of provincial centres may wish at first to develop their existing regional strengths in carving, craft-production, drama, or whatever. But if they can also have a vision of the 'ideal' cultural centre, they may be encouraged to try something new, such as music or dance classes or a choir, and this could lead them in all sorts of exciting new directions. The variety of provincial activities, from which the model has been synthesized, all grew up in particular circumstances under the guidance of individuals with different skills and passions. Each is good and useful in different ways, but none of them is entirely adequate.

83. Mendi and Sogeri have museums in the grounds of a high school, and Kimbe has its Public Library in the same building. Enga and Madang have, respectively, people working at painting and acting in and around their museums, and Kainantu has potters, printers, dressmakers, spinners and weavers. Mt Hagen, North Solomons and Madang have museums which are patronized by tourists as much as local citizens, and where, as at Kainantu, local work can be sold. The resources of each province vary, but all provinces (and many villages) have schools, public libraries, practising artists and craft workers, artefacts and institutions that are witnesses to their cultural heritage, and above all, people who possess human sensibilities and aesthetic energy. The task of a cultural centre is to harness and coordinate all these and other resources in such a way that none feels excluded from using them. Thus it is better to have a Public Library in a public place such as a Museum, as at Kimbe, rather than in a school -- unless, of course, the school itself becomes the hub of the cultural centre. There are many advantages in doing that, not the least of which is the use of classrooms at night and at weekends. The North Solomons Cultural Centre is sited in a most beautiful spot, but it is not near the homes of the mass of the local population. Can such a centre be developed in such a way that people could easily drop in at almost any time of the day, as at Madang or Mt. Hagen or Wabag? If planners of a cultural centre consider that it could expand to include at least all the facilities I have mentioned in paragraphs 82 and 83, certain sites, no matter how attractive, may have to be ruled out.

84. Ideally, a cultural centre should be a complex of buildings and open spaces, which would include a museum and public library; a shop and/or a 'cultural village' where craftsmen and women, could work; a place or places for practising music, dance and drama, and for painting and carving; some kind of restaurant or refreshment kiosk, and an arena or amphitheatre for public performances. Sooner or later, all cultural centres will have to consider opening at weekends, as they do at Madang.

and running regular evening classes, as well as sponsoring occasional lectures, films, and dramatic performances.

The human cost of cultural centres: a traditional investment

85. It may be argued that the kind of centre I propose will be far too expensive for the limited budget of any province, and beyond the scope of the NCC's budget. The response to this objection is given indirectly in the report of the NCC Working Party in a section on the National Museum and Arts Gallery:

'In Papua New Guinean societies we have spiritual houses which serve as a centre for the community's spirit. In a village where the spirit house is still built, the community is responsible for its maintenance' (Avei 1980: 135)

It was very good of the Australian Rotarians to build the museum at Wabag. But why were the people of Wabag not inspired to build their own 'spirit house'? It is the task of the cultural officer to mobilize the building talents of the local community and fire them with the enthusiasm to lay the foundations of their own centre. Some buildings and some parts of buildings may need trained workers, but the nucleus of any centre could be made by members of the community for the community. Moreover, the investment of time and effort in building the cultural centre will ensure that, as in the past, people are more likely to take an interest in its activities and help to maintain it.

DACTER: Six areas of concern in the organization of Papua New Guinea's cultural development

86. I have tried to find a suitable mnemonic with which to sum up some of my recommendations for cultural development in Papua New Guinea, but I have not had sufficient time to work out a good one or to provide a satisfactory alternative to the classification of 'disciplines' proposed by the Working Party. DACTER is a poor substitute for a mnemonic that might have some meaning, such as CREATED, which can also be made out of my categories; but at least it reflects the order of precedence that I feel is appropriate. I shall deal briefly with each area in turn before concluding this report. The mnemonic is as follows:

DECENTRALIZATION and DEVELOPMENT

AUTONOMY and ACTION

CONSOLIDATION and COMMUNICATION

TRAINING and TOURISM

EDUCATION and EXPRESSIVE ARTS

RESEARCH and RENAISSANCE

Decentralization and development

87. Decentralization and development from the grass roots upwards are essential for Papua New Guinea's cultural development, not only because Port Moresby is poorly placed and psychologically inappropriate as the hub of the nation's spiritual development, with its shattering contrasts of wealth and poverty, its hill cages and water slums and expatriate anomie, but also because culture is created from within the community. The NCC Working Party asked how the Council could 'provide national leadership while simultaneously providing for more provincial decentralization' (Avei 1980: 73). I suggest that its leadership can be felt through its functions as a liaison body in organizing in-service training for provincial cultural workers (see below), coordinating information about their activities and seeing that outlets for the sale of their artefacts and publications, such as Village Arts, really work well. Its leadership can be heard through its public statements of policy and its responses to public issues, any issue that can be shown to touch on cultural development. Its leadership can be observed too: the standard that the NCC sets in

the integration of its 5 national institutions (see Consolidation below) will provide leadership by example rather than by decree or control, and this will ultimately be better than any directives. Finally, it could set an example also by sponsoring community arts work in Port Moresby, where it is urgently needed. As provincial centres become more autonomous, so the NCC will find itself with more time to work on its national institutions and to come up with ideas that might be useful to provincial workers.

88. The NCC might also consider decentralizing one or two of its national institutions, so as to plant seeds in other urban centres. This has already happened in Goroka, with the Raun Raun Travelling Theatre, the J.K. McCarthy Museum, and the Skul bilong wokim piksa, which in my opinion should be kept in Goroka and not moved to Port Moresby. William Takaku is working on a scheme to decentralize the National Theatre, which might be worth developing. And a strong case can be made for establishing the major research branch of the Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies in Mt.Hagen, while retaining its publication and literary activities in Port Moresby.

Autonomy and action

89. The rationale for the autonomy of provincial centres has already been argued. Once the principle has been accepted, it makes it easier for provincial cultural officers to take action on their own initiative, and it might also encourage them to make more use of local help of a practical kind, rather than rely on and wait for grants (see para 85). Although the 5 national institutions should be closely linked to educational institutions, and the National Arts School already fulfils an educational function in the formal sense of awarding Diplomas, they will probably function better as autonomous bodies rather than, for example, being incorporated into the University.

90. On the other hand, I suggest that at the same time the institutions located in Port Moresby should be more closely linked than they are at present and so become an autonomous national cultural centre, in the same way as the provincial cultural centres (see, for example, para 84). I am also sceptical of the need for separate advisory committees (Avei 1980: 79) or Boards of Governors. This seems to me to be an unwieldy and wasteful system of governance which perpetuates old-fashioned divisions between the arts, or 'disciplines', at a time when they should be drawing closer together. Surely the National Cultural Council, perhaps slightly expanded in size and representation, is quite capable of policy-making for all the national institutions, without the unnecessary expense and trouble of setting up separate advisory committees. Besides, this would be the best way of developing and maintaining a coordinated policy which maintains a balance between the activities of the institutions (see para. 60). Moreover, if there is to be any increase in the number of advisors, should it not come from within the institutions, from the practising actors, artists and musicians etc., in accordance with the policy recommendations of UNESCO on the status of artists? (UNESCO 1980: passim).

Consolidation and communication

91. It is not really necessary to repeat what has already been said about the need for the work of the national institutions to be drawn more closely together (para.60 and 90), and for the provincial cultural centres to incorporate several different, but related activities (e.g. para.84). Ideally, the national institutions (other than those sited in Goroka, and perhaps part of the Institute in Mt.Hagen), should all be sited close to the National Museum and to the seat of government, not only so that tourists might be encouraged to visit all together, but also so that

national cultural institutions and activities are visible in that part of the city where political decisions are taken, and members of the NCC can have easier access to politicians and bureaucrats. I can see absolutely no merit in moving the NCC offices, or any other cultural institution, down to Konedobu cultural centre, even though it may be very pleasant to have a seaview (cf. Avei 1980: 182).

92. The need for better communication has been quite fully discussed: between the NCC and the public, between the NCC and the provincial cultural centres, between the cultural centres themselves, and between the cultural centres and their respective communities. Good communication is essential if the policy of greater decentralization and autonomy is to work well, and financial stringency should not be allowed to damage the NCC's excellent publication programme.

Training and Tourism

93. The NCC should look upon the training of cultural officers, museum curators, and arts animateurs as one of its major services to the provinces, and should help to organize national workshops and seminars -- not always in Port Moresby, but on a rotating basis -- at least once every two years. Tourism should be regarded as a positive asset which nourishes cultural development. It only degrades when it is badly organized and plays to the lowest common denominator. In the United Kingdom, and in Ireland especially, tourism is a major source of income for artists and craftsmen, and it has stimulated rather than destroyed artistic production and excellence.

Education and Expressive Arts

94. The central task of cultural centres should be educational, and the main focus of their educational programmes should be the expressive arts. They should work closely with local schools, as well as with traditional artists and craftsmen, school leavers, workers and unemployed people, so that they provide the main social and cultural links between all sections of the community.

95. As mentioned earlier (para. 87) the NCC can set an example for the whole of the country in the way it strikes a balance between different activities in the 5 national institutions, and especially in its promotion of serious study of the expressive arts. Its most immediate task is to ensure that the music department at the Arts School is not closed down (cf. paras 15 and 16), for this would mean that in effect there is absolutely no proper training in music in the whole of Papua New Guinea, unless Goroka Teachers' College decides to take on this role. And even if Goroka does expand its music programme this is no excuse for the absence of music at the national Institution. The other serious omission which the NCC should consider urgently is the absence of proper dance training in Papua New Guinea. I will not repeat my argument that performances of traditional dances, in the context of modern education, do not constitute dance training, unless they are incorporated into some progressive scheme of movement exploration.

Research and Renaissance

96. Training in music and dance are related to research in these two art forms and also to the creation of new music and dances by Papua New Guinean composers and choreographers. Until Papua New Guineans receive more basic training in music and dance, most of the research will have to be done by expatriate ethnomusicologists and choreologists. And that could mean that it won't be begun until it is too late to record all the available music and dance heritage of the country. Fortunately, research into music is well organized by Don Niles at the Institute of Papua New

Guinea Studies, and some local scholars are being trained. But many more are urgently needed, and dance research has to start almost from scratch. A crash programme in the study, filming and notation of dances could be undertaken quite quickly, and it should not be too difficult to find people and funds. But for every scholar involved there ought to be at least one associated Papua New Guinean trainee.

97. I suggest that the Institute, which is responsible for research and has stressed the need for urgent anthropology, might consider being rather more demanding on all foreign researchers, and insist that they take with them into the field a local trainee researcher, whose field expenses would be covered under the category of 'interpreter' or 'guide'. Other aspects of research have already been discussed in the section on the Institute, with the exception of the excellent film programme and the relationship between this and the training of people in the making of feature films (see Harris 1983: passim), which promises to be an important development.

98. Finally, when the work of the national institutions is brought closer together by a policy of greater coordination and closer association, researcher and performing artist may be able to work more closely together in the creation of forms that are a development and synthesis of the traditional and at the same time reflect the renaissance of Papua New Guinea as a country united in its diversity.

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A N N E X I

A CHRONOLOGICAL HISTORY OF MOVEMENTS AND VISITS

- 5 September - Offices of the National Cultural Council.
Businesses, shops and dwellings in Boroko.
- 6 September - National Theatre
National Arts School, Port Moresby
- 7 September - Institute of PNG Studies
University of Papua New Guinea
Government Mapping Bureau
- 8 September - National Museum & Arts Gallery
British High Commission
Educational Research Unit, University
University Open Air Theatre for performance of
Dream of Monkey Mountain
- 9 September - National Cultural Council
Education Department, PSA Haus
- 10 September - Environs north of Port Moresby, Poreporena,
Baruni, Gerehu, Tatana Island. Koki Bay,
Motu Island, Tuaguba hill etc.
- 11 September - Study of documents and books.
Walk in Port Moresby. Churches, beach, Paga Hill etc.
- 12 September - National Arts School - Music Department.
National Theatre - choreographer.
National Cultural Council - Acting Director
Institute of PNG Studies
University Library
- 13 September - National Museum and Art Gallery
National Cultural Council - meeting
Cobra Productions Promotion Party
- 14 September - UNDP Headquarters
Mt Hagen Cultural Gallery
- 15 September - By road to Wabag, Enga Cultural Centre
- 16 September - Mt Hagen Technical College - Singing for Independence Day
- 17 September - By road to Mendi, attended singing and visited Cultural Centre.
Kumbeme Cultural Centre.
- 18 September - By road to Kundiawa, and Goroka
Attended Raun Raun Theatre Festival performance by Limbs, NZ dance
company

- 19 September - Goroka Teachers' College
Raun Raun Theatre in afternoon and evening
Skul Bilong Wokim Piksa
- 20 September - J. McCarthy Museum, Goroka, Director
Education Department - PSA Haus
- 21 September - National Cultural Council
Institute of PNG Studies
- 22 September - West New Britain Culture Centre, Kimbe
- 23 September - North Solomons Culture Centre, Kieta
- 24 September - Kiriwina, Trobriand Islands
Omarakana Village, Kaibola and Losuia
- 25 September - Olivilevi and Wawela
- 26 September - Losuia (District Officer). Kiriwina High School
Oyabia, Kavataria
- 27 September - Sogeri National High School
- 28 September - Madang Cultural Centre
- 29-30 September, 1 October Completion of technical report.

A N N E X II

LIST OF SOME PERSONS MET AND CONSULTED ABOUT
SPECIFIC MATTERS (many other people were met informally,
and cultural matters were discussed e.g. at an NCC luncheon,
during walks and travel and visits to institutions)

National Cultural Council

GEI ILAGI - Director (on leave)
ARTHUR JAWODIMBARI - Acting Director
MOMORU KINI - Acting Assistant Director
MONTY T GORE - Administrative Officer
SIMON BETSON - Projects Officer
JENNIFER TOM - Secretary to Director
RALEMA LOI - Typist

National Theatre Company

ARTHUR JAWODIMBARI - Director
WILLIAM TAKAKU - Associate Director
RODNEY KOVE - Choreographer

National Arts School

TOM CRAIG - Director
ARCHIE BRENNAN
SANDRA PERREIRA - Head of Music Dept.
STUART DAVIES
SIMON WILLOUGHBY
LISA LAWSON and MUSIC STUDENTS

National Museum and Arts Gallery

GEOFFREY MOSUWADOGA - Director

J.K. McCarthy Museum - Goroka

IVAN MBAGINTAO - Director

Raun Raun Travelling Theatre

GREG MURPHY - Director

SAIO AVEFA - Associate Director

Skul Bilong Wokim Piksa

PAUL FRAME - Director

DOMINIC SENGI - Student

Institute of PNG Studies

PROF ANDREW STRATHERN - Director

DR. JOHN KOLIA - Assistant Director

DON NILES - Ethnomusicologist

ILAITA GIGIMAT - Ethnomusicologist trainee

GENE HARRIS - Feature film Study Co-ordinator

CHRIS OWEN - Film Maker

The British High Commission

LESLIE BUCHANAN - Deputy High Commissioner

The University of Papua New Guinea

PROF JAMES GRIFFIN - Director of Extension Studies

DR. SHELDON WEEKS - Director - E.R.U.

The Department of Education

DON PALMER - Director of Measurement Services Unit

ANGUS ROSS - Measurement Services Unit

PETER BRIDGER - Measurement Services Unit

GODFREY YERUA - Measurement Services Unit
 MAVIS EATON - Measurement Services Unit
 ELLEN BANNISTER - Executive Officer

Enga Cultural Centre - Wabag, Enga Province

AKII TUMU - Director
 WATU LOPO - Assistant Director
 OKI WAKALI - Art Student

Western Highlands Cultural Gallery - Mt Hagen

ROEY BERGER - Co-ordinator
 GOMB MINEMBI - Assistant Co-ordinator

Southern Highlands Cultural Centre & Museum - Mendi

ROBERT PAIA - Provincial Cultural Officer and Director

Goroka Teachers' College, Eastern Highlands

MARK SOLAN - Principal
 GARRY HIGGINS - Head of Expressive Arts
 NEIL CURNOW - Head of Drama
 WENDY DOIKI - Dance and Art teacher

West New Britain Culture Centre - Kimbe

ANDREW MARENAGE - Provincial Cultural Officer
 JOHN NAMUNO - Culture Centre Manager
 JOHN NORMU - Assistant Cultural Officer
 FRANCISCA LALAKAI - Librarian

Also in Kimbe,

MRS. GRACE GEBAI - former NBC Religious broadcaster & UNDP worker currently AVIS Rent-A-Car officer

North Solomons Cultural Centre, Kieta

JOSEPH MOKUMA - Curator
JOHN MEVI - Cleaner

Kiriwina, Trobriand Islands

AIDEN MOLIMOLA - District Officer
JOHN EKARI B. HAIROE - Headmaster of Kiriwina High School
MRS. IETIBI TAGELANI - Housewife and nurse
DRS. RUPERT AND ULRIKE POESCHEL - Medical researchers
VIVIEN ROOK - Kainakwao Guest House (owner), Kaibola
VALENTINE DINDILO - Student at Kiriwina High School

Madang Museum and Cultural Centre

AUSTIN EDO - Provincial Culture and Tourism Coordinator
TABAH SILAU - Cultural Officer and Curator of Museum
PETER COLTON - General Manager of Madang Development Corporation
PETER BARTER - Owner and Managing Director of the Madang Resort
Hotel and Melanesian Tourist Services
MRS. PAULINE EDO - Dental therapist

Cobra Promotions Ltd.

CORINNE MATTHIESEN - Managing Director
SUE STEELE - Advertising

National Broadcasting Commission

PETER TRIST - Director of NBC Training Centre, Rabaul