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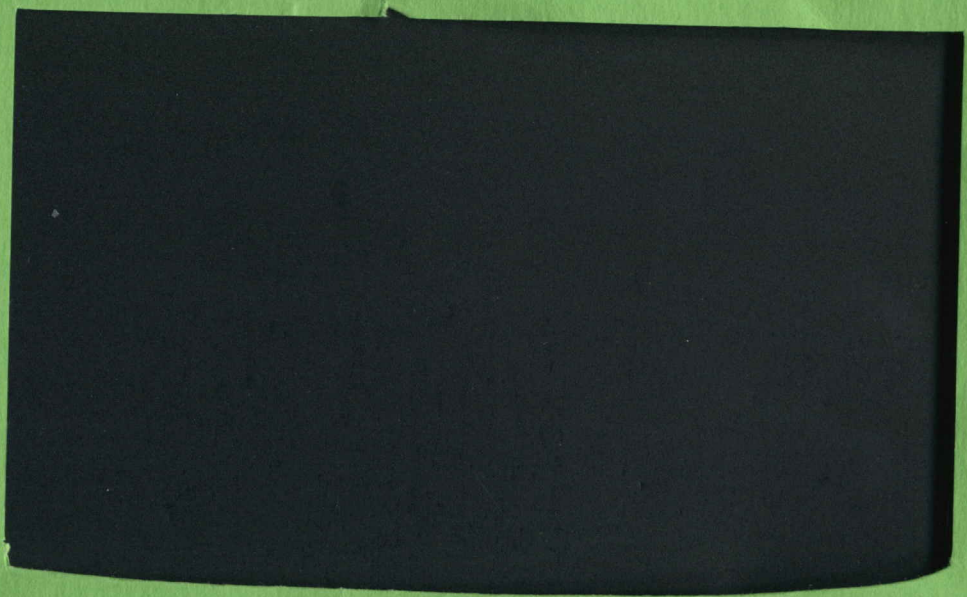
Development Studies Centre

WORKING PAPER NO.1

MOTIVATIONAL FACTORS AFFECTING BOUGAINVILLE
VILLAGERS' MONEY EARNING ACTIVITY

T.K. MOULIK

The Australian National University
Research School of Pacific Studies



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Dr. P. Lewis

Note

This paper, in its present rough and preliminary state, has been issued by the Development Studies Centre in order to make available to research workers and others the early results of Dr Moulik's programme in Bougainville. What is reported in this paper is no more than the first skimmings from his field work there. It was written down hastily when it became apparent that the need to take up his new appointment to a chair in the Indian Institute of Management, Vastrapur, Ahmedabad would cut short his stay in Bougainville and prevent him from completing the analysis and writing up of his full results until much later than had been planned. Whilst arrangements have been made for him to take time off from his new responsibilities to complete the work it will clearly not now be available for some considerable time.

Under these circumstances the preliminary data reported here will be of interest to many, partly as an indication of the type of information that may be expected from the full report when it is published, and partly for the new insights already suggested in the data reported, despite their limited coverage.

E.K. Fisk

Motivational Factors Affecting Bougainville Villagers'
Money Earning Activity

This paper is based on my study of motivational factors affecting the response of indigenous Bougainville villagers to the exchange sector of the economy, with special emphasis on their adaptation to wage-earning opportunities. The study was conducted in the villages of the two sub-districts of Bougainville, Kieta and Buin. The enormous direct and indirect impact of the Bougainville copper mine on the Kieta villagers as compared with the other parts of the district at the present stage of development makes the comparison of the two subdistricts important for future planning and guidance.

The study had been planned originally for a two-year period, starting in November 1973. However, due to a sudden change in my program I had to complete my field work much earlier than I had intended. Consequently I had to limit my collecting of data in some ways, keeping the basic framework intact.

In this report I have made an attempt to include as much information as possible with a minimum of interpretation, leaving the responsibility for the interpretation to the reader. The data are presented in their most simply analysed form only to indicate the trends of the findings. Much analysis remains to be done to reveal interesting trends.

Over the period November 1973 to July 1974, I collected so much information that it was almost impossible to include even half of it in this report. I hope to complete a fuller analysis, in a proper form, by the end of 1975.

Before presenting the data, let me say a few words about their collection. The study includes two distinct groups of respondents: students (standard 5 and 6; form 1-4; and technical college or vocational school students) and adult male villagers.

The students were included in the study in order to tap responses from one of the most important potential sources of labour in the wage-economy. A minimum of explanation about the questions was used in collecting data from the students in a straightforward question-answer form. On the other hand the adult male villagers' responses were obtained only after a process of lengthy discussion. In the latter case, the questionnaire simply provided guidelines or reference points. It must be noted that in the following pages most of the data are presented in a straightforward classified form in order to facilitate comparisons. Obviously much vital information has been lost or masked in the way data are presented, but hopefully the situation will be rectified in the final report.

Economic differentiation

Nothing is so conspicuous as the economic disparity between Kieta and Buin subdistricts. Much of the difference stems from the influence of the giant Bougainville copper mine and its concomitant 'spill-over' effects.

Table 1

Groups of respondents covered in the study

Groups	No. of respondents
A. Students from:	
Kieta subdistrict*	277
Buin subdistrict**	319
B. Adult male villagers from:***	
Kieta subdistrict	225
Buin subdistrict	228

* This group comprises students from Tupukas Primary School, Arawa; Tunuru Primary School, Tunuru Mission Station; Arawa High School, Arawa; and Arawa Technical College, Arawa.

** This group comprises students from Buin Primary School, Buin; Buin High School, Buin; and Arawa Technical College, Arawa.

*** Each adult male villager heads a household in a village. In Kieta sub-district 7 villages of three census divisions (South Nasioi, North Nasioi and Guava) were covered, comprising about 74 per cent of the total households. In Buin subdistrict, 10 villages of 3 census divisions (Lugakai, Paubake and Siwai) were covered comprising about 57 per cent of the total village households.

Table 2

Census of cash crops for sample households

Items	Subdistricts	
	Kieta	Buin
No. of sample grower households	225	228
No. of average labour units per household*	4.2	5.4
No. of bearing cocoa trees per household	127	637
No. of bearing cocoa trees per labour unit	30	118
No. of non-bearing cocoa trees per household	52	134
No. of non-bearing cocoa trees per labour unit	12	25
No. of bearing coconut trees per household	315	210
No. of bearing coconut trees per labour unit	75	39
No. of non-bearing coconut trees per household	81	69
No. of non-bearing coconut trees per labour unit	19	13
No. of bearing coffee trees per household	16	nil
No. of bearing coffee trees per labour unit	4	-

* The labour unit per household was calculated by assigning 1.0 coefficient to each adult member and 0.5 coefficient to each child below 15 years.

It should be noted that the cocoa boom is a very recent phenomenon in Bougainville. For the Buin subdistrict cocoa is the only successful cash crop introduced so far. While the weather, soil and terrain are good for crops of cocoa, coconut crops are a dismal failure in the Buin plains, probably due to some deficiencies in the soil. In many villages of the Buin subdistrict at the time of the study about 6 to 10 per cent of the

Table 3

Sales of cocoa and copra at the Kieta port of inspection*
(in tons)

Cocoa	Co-operatives		Planters		Traders		Individuals		Total	
	Kieta	Buin	Kieta	Buin	Kieta	Buin	Kieta	Buin	Kieta	Buin
25 June 1970 to 31 July 1971	565.88 (.028)	837.25 (.032)	389.31 (.019)	13.88 (-)	67.63 (.003)	25.81 (.001)	2.44 (-)	8.06 (-)	1,025.26 (.051)	885.00 (.034)
August 1971 to June 1972	526.75 (.026)	1,017.69 (.039)	585.88 (.029)	50.81 (.001)	54.00 (.002)	93.31 (.003)	6.06 (-)	8.06 (-)	1,172.69 (.058)	1,169.87 (.045)
July 1972 to June 1973	501.25 (.025)	702.44 (.027)	804.94 (.040)	21.56 (-)	68.25 (.003)	194.38 (.007)	12.75 (-)	4.94 (-)	1,387.19 (.069)	923.32 (.036)
July 1973 to 15 November 1973	225.88 (.011)	590.19 (.023)	299.50 (.014)	27.50 (.001)	37.38 (.001)	350.38 (.013)	4.06 (-)	5.75 (-)	566.82 (.028)	973.82 (.038)

Copra	Co-operatives		Planters		Traders		Individuals		Total	
	Kieta	Buin	Kieta	Buin	Kieta	Buin	Kieta	Buin	Kieta	Buin
June 1970 to July 1971	134.50 (.006)	47.79 (.001)	1,014.79 (.050)	Nil (-)	221.00 (.011)	39.79 (.001)	178.57 (.008)	50.64 (.001)	1,548.86 (.077)	138.22 (.005)
July 1971 to June 1972	30.00 (.001)	81.50 (.003)	1,621.21 (.081)	Nil (-)	219.07 (.010)	85.07 (.003)	326.79 (.016)	54.36 (.002)	2,197.07 (.109)	220.93 (.008)
July 1972 to June 1973	5.29 (-)	80.00 (.003)	1,669.14 (.083)	Nil (-)	173.86 (.008)	101.50 (.004)	632.86 (.032)	130.71 (.005)	2,481.15 (.124)	312.21 (.012)
July 1973 to 31 March 1974	84.36 (.004)	42.21 (.002)	880.00 (.044)	Nil (-)	82.21 (.004)	89.21 (.003)	963.86 (.048)	72.57 (.003)	2,010.43 (.101)	203.99 (.008)

* Figures in parentheses are the amounts per capita on the basis of 1971 population figures.

Source of the data: Produce Inspector's Cash Register, Kieta Port, Bougainville, Papua New Guinea.

cocoa plantings were new. One of the main reasons for such great interest in cocoa crops is, of course, the very favourable price on the world market.

Accordingly, production of cash crops differs between the two sub-districts. The amount of cash crops sold at the Kieta wharf for the period 1970-74 is shown in Table 3.

A few important points have to be emphasised regarding Table 3. The amount of cash crops sold at the Kieta port of inspection includes almost all the indigenous growers' production excluding the amounts shown under the heading for Planters. This has increased since 1972-73 when the trans-island road linking Buin with Kieta was completed. With the development of this vital road linkage and the associated increase in the villagers' ownership of PMV-trucks there has been a four-to five-fold increase in the number of trips made by the Buin villagers to Kieta. Accordingly amounts of cash crops sold in a single transaction at the Kieta port by the Buin growers decreased with the increase in number of transactions, that is, trips made to Kieta. On the other hand, in recent years there has been a substantial increase in the amounts of cash crops sold by the traders and individual indigenous growers, while the amounts sold by the co-operatives has decreased.

The recent boom in the world market price for copra and cocoa coupled with the opportunities for wage earning in the copper mine and its subsidiary industries have boosted considerably the average income of the Bougainville villagers in the areas under the present investigation. Kieta villagers have benefited more than Buin villagers. Besides compensations and royalties paid by Bougainville Copper Ltd (BCL), Kieta villagers have easy access to a number of organised weekly markets for local foods and vegetables catering for the urban population and the BCL labour force. Buin villagers lack such opportunities. Table 4 is based on a 5-month survey of the sample households in Kieta and Buin villages. It must be noted that the incomes from compensations and royalties paid by the BCL to two of the Kieta villages under study have been excluded in calculating the monthly incomes in Table 4.

Table 4

Monthly cash income of village households
(in \$)

Items	Kieta	Buin
No. of households surveyed	225	228
Average no. of consumption units per household*	4.2	5.4
Total income from cash crops	4045.12	5514.50
Total income from sale of foods and vegetables	602.00	24.00
Total income from other miscellaneous sources	106.26	69.00
Total income from wages and remittances	1650.80	1020.00
Total income	6404.18	6627.50
Income per household	28.46	29.06
Income per consumption unit	6.77	5.38

* A consumption unit is calculated in the same way as a labour unit.

Table 5

Development Bank loans advanced (24 August 1970
to 25 March 1975) to indigenous people, Bougainville
(in \$)

Year	Agricultural development	Purpose of the loan				Total
		Livestock	Transport	Trade store	Other commercial businesses	
<u>Kieta subdistrict</u>						
1970	2,303	Nil	9,406	1,128	Nil	12,837
1971	1,589	2,200	26,637	500	1,130	32,056
1972	16,500	2,870	105,907	4,800	340,561	470,368
1973	1,400	Nil	13,807	5,300	80,600	101,195
1974	700	4,060	7,346	1,677	5,540	19,323
Total	22,492	9,130	163,103	13,405	427,919	636,049
<u>Buin subdistrict</u>						
1970	160	830	4,286	Nil	Nil	5,276
1971	3,913	17,010	19,426	3,700	610	44,659
1972	1,480	1,720	28,346	1,800	31,040	64,386
1973	Nil	200	14,916	9,000	Nil	24,116
1974	Nil	Nil	7,361	Nil	250	7,611
Total	5,553	19,760	74,335	14,500	31,900	146,048

Source: Development Bank, Arawa, Bougainville, Papua New Guinea

Being near the copper mine also helped the Kieta villagers to receive greater attention and advice from several institutions such as BCL's Business Advisory Department and the Development Bank. Over the years, more than four times as much money was lent by the Development Bank to the indigenous people of the Kieta area as was lent to the Buin area. Not only was the amount of the loans advanced bigger, but also there were more loanees in Kieta than in Buin. Up until 25 March 1974 there were 119 loanees in Kieta compared with 83 in Buin. There are also some striking differences in the purposes for which loans are advanced between Kieta and Buin areas (Table 5).

Motivational factors affecting students

The importance of young Bougainvillean students in the analysis of motivational factors needs no emphasis. These sensitive young people are at present passing through a period of psychological pressure. On the one hand are the disparate influences of modern industrial ways of life and on the other the deep-rooted, traditional subsistence-oriented rural ways. In what ways do the two forces affect the attitudes and the motivational patterns of these young students? In the following pages data on some of their important motivations and attitudes will be presented, together with the view that these attitudes and motivations have a direct or indirect relationship with their willingness to participate successfully in the exchange sector of the economy.

Image of occupational status. Given the fact that these young students may soon be employed in certain occupations available to them, it is interesting to know how they view these occupations. Which are the most respected? The students were given a list of twenty-six commonly available types of occupation and were asked to rank them in a five-point scale of respectability (very highly respected by the people; highly respected by the people;

ordinary or average in respect; low in respect; very low in respect). The results are shown in Table 6. There is a striking similarity between the responses of Kieta and Buin students. The first five most respected occupations perceived by the Kieta students are doctor, priest, primary school teacher, political leader and nurse, as compared to Buin students' doctor, political leader, priest, agricultural officer and soldier. On the other hand, the five least respected occupations ranked by the Kieta students in order of hierarchy are: plantation labour, cook/houseboy, driver, painter and store assistant; while the Buin students ranked plantation labour, cook/houseboy, painter, store assistant and village gardener or driver as the lowest. Two important observations can be made from these rankings. While the traditional occupations of gardening and cash cropping are not held in a high esteem, industrial work, particularly work in the copper mine, is neither highly esteemed nor held in very low respect.

Motivational factors and career plans. The students were asked to indicate in a list of ten characteristics the ones which would be most important to them in choosing a future career. These ten characteristics were ranked in importance by each of the students according to their individual feelings. Again there is a striking similarity in the responses of Kieta and Buin students. The most important three characteristics of the future career chosen by both the student groups were: helpful to others; making a lot of money; and increase in knowledge and getting new ideas. Similarly the least important three characteristics for both the student groups were: same kind of job in which have experience already; no pressure to finish the job in a fixed time; and nobody to boss (Table 7).

Achievement motivation. A psychological test (Thematic Apperception Test or TAT) was administered under neutral conditions individually to the students. This TAT consists of seven pictures depicting in a vague manner some contemporary life situations of Papua New Guinea. The students were asked to write down imaginative stories about each picture. Following McClelland,¹ these imaginative stories were scored for need for achievement or nAch. The possible range of scores obtainable by a student was -7 to +77.

The students were classified according to the levels of achievement motivation. Respondents who scored up to +3.00 were categorised as having 'low achievement' motivation, those who scored between +3.01 and +9.00 were in the 'medium achievement' motivation group and those scoring above +9.00 were in the 'high achievement' group.

Table 8 shows that the Buin students were low in achievement motivation as compared to Kieta students.

Level of aspiration. A semi-structural projective technique was used to assess the students' levels of aspiration. The technique used was a story about a fictitious villager, representative of the average Bougainville villager of the area under study. In the story only general information about the fictitious man was provided. The respondent was asked to indicate after reading the story what would happen in the next five years to the fictitious person in relation to the nine most important action-goals. Standard scores for each category of response were worked out following

¹McClelland, D.C. 1961. The Achieving Society, Van Nostrand, Princeton.

Table 6

Status ranking of occupations by the students
(in percentage of students)

Occupations	Very highly respected		Highly respected		Ordinary or average		Low in respect		Very low in respect		Rank Score	
	Kieta	Buin	Kieta	Buin	Kieta	Buin	Kieta	Buin	Kieta	Buin	Kieta	Buin
	(1)		(2)		(3)		(4)		(5)			
1. Doctor	69	77	29	17	1	4	0	2	1	0	1.4	1.3
2. Agricultural officer	14	16	42	51	38	28	3	4	3	1	2.4	2.2
3. Political leader	34	51	30	31	26	13	6	4	4	1	2.2	1.7
4. Patrol officer	13	13	30	34	39	31	13	13	5	8	2.7	2.4
5. BCL worker	18	15	25	16	30	32	17	26	10	11	2.8	3.0
6. Other factory worker	8	9	23	14	35	37	26	31	8	10	3.0	3.2
7. Local government councillor	13	7	37	29	27	39	15	19	8	6	2.7	2.9
8. Army soldier	29	35	24	24	26	24	12	8	9	8	2.5	2.3
9. Priest	50	39	34	28	8	22	3	6	5	6	1.8	2.1
10. Primary school teacher	33	22	42	36	15	33	5	6	5	3	2.1	2.3
11. Police	22	26	30	35	31	24	9	9	8	6	2.5	2.3
12. Nurse	30	31	38	29	17	24	9	9	7	7	2.2	2.3
13. Radio announcer	19	11	35	30	29	37	15	17	3	6	2.5	2.8
14. Clerk/typist	19	15	33	26	27	37	17	17	5	5	2.4	2.7
15. Mechanic	35	21	26	25	18	36	13	15	8	4	2.3	2.6
16. Office worker	20	13	36	29	27	33	10	19	7	6	2.5	2.8
17. Aid post orderly	22	15	35	20	27	35	9	23	7	7	2.4	2.9
18. Trade store owner	15	5	17	13	36	39	27	26	5	17	2.9	3.4
19. Carpenter	15	11	29	11	32	40	15	22	9	15	2.7	3.2
20. Cash crop farmer	18	16	20	16	35	34	15	20	12	14	3.0	3.0
21. Painter	7	2	14	8	37	25	24	29	19	36	3.3	3.9
22. Store assistant	8	3	29	12	31	29	21	29	11	30	3.0	3.8
23. Driver	7	6	14	8	33	29	20	25	26	32	3.5	3.7
24. Village gardener	23	11	17	7	19	20	18	25	23	37	3.0	3.7
25. Cook/houseboy	5	2	7	7	19	16	19	18	51	58	4.0	4.2
26. Plantation labour	7	3	3	4	13	10	13	19	64	65	4.3	4.5

Table 7

Ratings of motivational factors for future career plans*
(in percentage)

Motivational characteristics	1		2		3		4		5		6		7		8		9		10		Mean rank score	
	K	B	K	B	K	B	K	B	K	B	K	B	K	B	K	B	K	B	K	B	K	B
1. Making a lot of money	20	15	33	18	22	15	5	126	7	4	6	1	5	1	6	5	6	3	10		3.2	4.5
2. Helpful to others	50	47	26	28	11	7	5	6	3	3	1	5	1	2	1	0	2	2	0	0	2.1	2.3
3. Chance to do something new	2	2	13	6	14	12	12	22	10	15	14	10	10	10	10	9	10	8	5	6	5.4	5.5
4. Nobody to boss	2	4	2	4	11	10	10	5	7	11	13	10	6	13	6	9	8	15	35	19	7.1	6.7
5. Increase knowledge and give more ideas	20	20	13	23	21	21	13	13	11	7	8	5	3	2	1	2	7	5	3	2	3.6	3.4
6. Can influence others	1	2	6	8	3	14	17	13	17	19	14	13	17	11	10	10	10	4	5	6	6.0	5.4
7. No pressure to finish the job in a fixed time	1	1	2	1	3	2	7	7	10	10	10	14	19	14	17	18	18	16	13	17	7.1	7.3
8. Completely new kind of job	2	2	2	4	6	5	13	7	15	13	15	14	15	17	15	19	11	13	6	6	6.3	6.5
9. Same kind of job in which have already experience or already have been doing	1	1	1	2	3	5	6	7	7	5	15	14	21	15	20	14	16	18	19	19	7.2	7.3
10. Work with people, not machine	1	6	2	6	6	9	12	8	14	10	6	9	7	11	19	13	13	13	20	15	6.9	6.3

* K means Kieta students and B means Buin students.

Table 8

Levels of achievement motivation, by groups of students

Groups	Low nAch	Medium nAch	High nAch	Mean nAch score
	%	%	%	
Kieta students (N=277)	44 (-2.44)	23 (+6.24)	33 (+16.98)	+5.94
Buin students (N=319)	65 (-2.79)	16 (+5.94)	19 (+17.90)	+2.49

Note: Figures in parentheses are the average nAch scores for the corresponding groups.

Garrett¹ (1947:164-72). The students' responses in each action-goal were scored in terms of the standard scores. The standard scores obtained by a respondent in each action-goal were then averaged to arrive at the ultimate score to denote a level of aspiration. The maximum and minimum scores obtainable with this technique were 62.89 and 28.89 respectively.

The students were classified into low, medium and high levels of aspiration. Those scoring up to 50.00 were categorised as low, those scoring 50.01-56.00 as medium and those scoring above 56.00 were in the high level of aspiration.

Table 9

Levels of aspiration, by groups of students

Groups	Low Aspiration	Medium aspiration	High aspiration	Mean aspiration score
	%	%	%	
Kieta students (N=277)	32 (46.89)	46 (53.48)	22 (57.60)	52.27
Buin students (N=319)	34 (38.72)	56 (52.96)	10 (58.02)	48.61

Note: Figures in parentheses are the average aspiration scores for the respective groups.

Table 9 clearly shows that the Kieta students have a higher level of aspiration than their counterparts in Buin. This is revealed more meaningfully in Table 10 where the students' responses are shown for each of the nine action-goals.

It may be observed that the Buin students are particularly low in their levels of expectation in the action-goals of land development, cash crop

¹Garrett, H.E., 1947:164-172. Statistics in Psychology and Education. New York, Longmans, Green.

Table 10

Percentage distribution of the students at different levels
of aspiration in different action-goals

1. <u>Children's education</u>							
	No further advancement		Primary	Vocational	High school	University	
Kieta students (N=277)	9		9	13	35	43	
Buin students (N=319)	0		5	6	46	43	

2. <u>Land development (acres)</u>							
	0.1-1.0		1.1-2.0	2.1-3.0	3.1-4.0	4.1-5.0	Over 5.0
Kieta students	4	3	2	3	3	29	56
Buin students	1	3	6	9	6	20	55

3. <u>Cash cropping (yearly new plantings)</u>					
	0	1-30	31-50	51-100	Over 100
Kieta students	2	6	4	36	52
Buin students	2	2	6	35	55

4. <u>Cash income (\$) (increase in income per year)</u>							
	0	1-100	101-200	201-300	301-400	401-500	Over 500
Kieta students	11	25	14	5	3	5	37
Buin students	12	20	8	6	6	14	34

5. <u>Housing</u>				
	No improvement		Improved with iron roofing	European style house with permanent materials
Kieta students	20		13	67
Buin students	11		19	70

6. <u>Cash crop production (increase in bags)</u>					
	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10 or more
Kieta students	5	2	5	11	77
Buin students	0	2	14	31	53

7. <u>Capital investment (no. of projects)</u>						
	0	1	2	3	4	5 or more
Kieta students	6	35	23	24	8	4
Buin students	0	49	23	17	7	4

8. <u>Furniture (no. of items)</u>						
	0	1	2	3	4	5 or more
Kieta students	3	24	22	39	7	5
Buin students	0	30	25	31	10	4

9. <u>Other material possessions (no. of items)</u>						
	0	1	2	3	4	5 or more
Kieta students	4	29	13	19	24	11
Buin students	3	30	18	26	18	6

production, capital investment, furniture and other material possessions. However, in the action-goal areas of housing and education the Buin students seem to have a higher level of aspiration than their counterparts in Kieta, while in respect of cash cropping and cash income both the groups seem to have about the same levels of expectation.

Social distance from non-Bougainvilleans. To participate fully in the exchange sector of the economy, the Bougainvillean students have to interact and deal with non-Bougainvilleans. This is especially true for the wage-employment sector. For example, out of the total indigenous workforce in BCL only about 40 per cent are Bougainvilleans. Unless one chooses to be deliberately isolated in a remote and inaccessible area, there is no escape from some level of contact with people from other parts of Papua New Guinea or even from the world at large. In fact, at this present stage of development, it is almost impossible to remain shielded from some sort of racial interaction. Given the fact that racial and tribal interactions are inevitable it is important to know how the Bougainvillean students think about living and interacting with non-Bougainvilleans. The more one feels strongly prejudiced against a certain group of people the harder it is to interact successfully with that group, and this in turn is likely to impede participation in the exchange sector of the economy.

With this hypothesis in mind, a social-distance scale was administered to the groups of students in relation to four broad groups of non-Bougainvillean people with whom the students were most likely to interact some time or other.

It is obvious from Table 11 that the Bougainvillean students are comparatively more prejudiced against Highlanders (representing mainly Chimbus, Eastern Highlanders and Hageners) than the other three non-Bougainvillean groups. Both the student groups seemed to feel closer socially towards Papuans and New Guineans than Highlanders and Europeans. However, the Kieta students tended to accept all four groups better than the Buin students. In other words, Buin students felt more distant socially from the non-Bougainvillean groups than their counterparts in Kieta. A large majority of students from both Kieta and Buin seemed to express a reluctant acceptance of Europeans instead of a committed prejudice.

Sense of identity. Related to the feelings of social distance is the question of the feelings of Bougainvillean identity as distinct from other groups of people. Are there any distinct feelings of Bougainvillean identity? How deeply do the students feel about their Bougainvilleanness? Do they think that they are distinct from the non-Bougainvilleans and in what respects? An attempt was made to tap the responses of the students on these questions of identity by asking them to write short essays on the following topics:

1. If you went to Port Moresby and met a European or a 'white man' who had never before seen a Bougainvillean and he asked you about the Bougainvilleans, how would you describe them? Include how the Bougainvilleans look, how they live and how they behave, etc.
2. If you went to Port Moresby and met a non-Bougainvillean Papua New Guinean who had never before seen a Bougainvillean and asked you about the Bougainvilleans, how would you describe them? Include how the Bougainvilleans look, how they live and how they behave, etc.

3. If you met a friend in your village who had never before seen a European or a 'white man', how would you describe him? Include how the Europeans look, how they behave and how they live, etc.

On the basis of a very preliminary analysis of these essays some interesting trends in relation to the identity of Bougainvilleanness are observable and are presented in Table 12.

Although the analysis was cursory, the data in Table 12 show that the Bougainvillean students have, in many respects, a very distinctive self-identity with respect to other Papua New Guineans and 'white men', irrespective of their subdistrict. Of the two, however, Buin students seem to be more specific about Bougainvilleans' distinct characteristics than their

Table 11

Social distance from the non-Bougainvilleans*

Items	Per cent of students endorsing item when it refers to:							
	Papuan		New Guineans		Highlanders		Europeans	
	K	B	K	B	K	B	K	B
1. I do not mind marrying one	41	28	24	24	28	10	27	18
2. I would not want to marry one, but I would be willing to have one as a guest for a 'kaikai' at my house	20	26	34	23	13	8	18	25
3. I do not like one to be a guest for a 'kaikai' at my house but I do not mind talking to one when I meet him/her in the street or in the market	12	20	16	25	21	15	19	15
4. I prefer to have nothing at all to do with one	11	7	13	18	12	25	9	12
5. I wish someone would kill all of them	2	2	3	3	19	30	5	7
6. I do not know much about them so I cannot tell anything about them	14	17	10	7	7	12	22	23
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

* K means Kieta students (n=277) and B means Buin students (n=319); Europeans are 'white skin-colour' people in general.

Table 12

Imageries of Bougainvilleanness

Imageries	Per cent of students endorsing items of imageries when describing:					
	Bougainvilleans to Papua New Guinean		Bougainvilleans to European		Europeans to Bougainvillean	
	Kieta	Buin	Kieta	Buin	Kieta	Buin
1. Distinct and completely different from the group to whom described (a generalised view)	18	14	10	4	18	30
2. Distinct skin-colour from the group to whom described	56	73	86	87	65	87
3. Distinct other physical characteristics (e.g. hair) from the group to whom described	40	37	51	51	53	51
4. More peaceful people than the groups to whom described	44	58	55	62	16	9
5. Distinct living conditions and customs from the group to whom described	52	61	63	66	71	64
6. Different language from the group to whom described	1	3	2	3	4	9
7. Distinct food habits and food growing techniques from the group to whom described	10	25	7	30	7	25
8. A generalised similarity with the group to whom described	19	26	3	2	6	4
9. Distinct geographical characteristics of Bougainville from the home countries of the group to whom described	20	14	20	17	4	3
10. Distinct behavioural characteristics from the group to whom described	50	30	43	39	46	38

counterparts in Kieta. The most important distinct characteristics identified by the students were: skin-colour and other physical characteristics, peacefulness and other behavioural characteristics (e.g. friendliness, smartness, humaneness, kindness, etc), and the living conditions and social customs (e.g. housing, village leadership, marriage customs, etc). The most striking feature of the essays is the similarity of emphasis, whether describing their characteristics to a European or a Papua New Guinean, or even describing a European to a Bougainvillean. This consistent emphasis on the similar items of distinctive self-image about Bougainvilleans indicates how strong the feeling of Bougainvilleanness is. Comparatively, Buin students seem to have a stronger feeling of distinct Bougainvillean identity than the Kieta students.

Motivational factors affecting villagers. The data about adult male villagers representing the village households are important in two main respects: firstly, they show the level of preparedness of active decision-makers for successfully participating in the exchange sector of the economy, and, secondly, they indicate the nature of the home-environments and parental attitudes which are the most dominant elements of influence in shaping the motivational patterns of the young. It will be seen in the following pages that in many respects the adult male villagers show a characteristically similar trend in motivation and attitude to that of the students, thus implying the influence of the adults on the young.

Achievement motivations. The results of the TAT-tests show that the Kieta villagers are more achievement-oriented than their counterparts in Buin. There is a clear indication in the results shown in Table 13 that the achievement-orientations of the student-groups are almost identical with the levels of achievement motivations of the adult male villagers.

Table 13

Levels of achievement motivation, by groups of villagers*

Groups	Low nAch	Medium nAch	High nAch	Mean nAch scores
	%	%	%	
Kieta villagers (N=175)	38 (+0.86)	32 (+5.72)	30 (+17.57)	+4.41
Buin villagers (N=223)	71 (-1.16)	12 (+4.32)	17 (+13.49)	+2.00

* Low level represents nAch score up to +3.00, medium level is +3.01 to +9.00 and the high level is +9.01 and over.

Note: The figure in parentheses are the average nAch score for the corresponding groups.

Levels of aspiration. We find a comparable trend to the nAch tests in the results of the aspiration test. However, unlike the student-group a relatively large number of Buin villagers have either low or high levels of aspiration. But this does not show up in the mean levels of aspiration for the two groups of villagers under study. In fact, the difference between the mean scores of the Kieta and Buin villagers is almost the same as the difference in the mean scores of the Kieta and Buin students. There is one striking aspect of the levels of aspiration of the villager groups: the Kieta villagers are

almost equally divided between the low, medium and high levels of aspiration, while a large majority of the Buin villagers are in the low aspiration category followed by the high level (exactly half of those in the low aspiration level) and a very small number in the medium level of aspiration (Table 14).

Table 14

Levels of aspiration by groups of villagers*

Groups	Low	Medium	High	Mean aspiration score
	%	%	%	
Kieta villagers (N=175)	32 (46.50)	36 (53.34)	32 (57.96)	52.64
Buin villagers (N=223)	58 (42.85)	13 (53.41)	29 (59.10)	48.92

* Low level of aspiration represents aspiration score up to 50.00, medium level is between 50.01 and 56.00 and the high level is 56.01 and above.

Note: Figures in parentheses are the mean aspiration scores for the corresponding groups of villagers.

Let us now look into the villagers' responses in each of the nine action-goals of the aspiration test in order to gain a better understanding (Tables 15,16). It should be noted that in most cases the purpose of saving is either for children's education, welfare or their future security, indicating a great concern for their children's future. There is no appreciable difference in the patterns of responses between the Kieta and the Buin villagers. However, Buin villagers seem to be slightly more interested in the improvement of their housing (housing conditions in the Kieta villages are already considerably improved since the BCL operation which is probably the reason for their smaller interest in the improvement of housing compared with the Buin villagers), and investment in land development and agriculture (particularly hiring labour for work in the cocoa plantation) than their counterparts in the Kieta villages. On the other hand, Kieta villagers seem to have a more specific interest in their children's education than the Buin villagers.

Preparedness for change. A number of hypotheses relating to the relationships between the softening of traditional ties and the preparedness for change were tested. Are those villagers who are most aware of living in times of change more prepared to alter their way of life, that is, to enter new occupations and to move to new locations? It is suggested that those villagers who are relatively less rigid about their traditional ties are more likely to adapt to the modern exchange sector of the economy, especially the wage-employment sector.

It should be mentioned here that in order to get a wider coverage the size of the sample of respondents was increased. This was done by interviewing separately more than one adult member of the household wherever possible. Although this gave a wider coverage of the village population, the number of households covered in the original sample remained the same. The same increased sample size was used in the investigations reported in the following pages.

Table 15

Percentage distribution of the villagers according to levels of aspiration in different action-goals

1. <u>Children's education</u>							
	No further advancement	Primary	Vocational	High school	University		
Kieta villagers (N=175)	0	13	17	27	43		
Buin villagers (N=223)	0	23	16	27	34		
2. <u>Land development (acres)</u>							
	0	0.1-1.0	1.1-2.0	2.1-3.0	3.1-4.0	4.1-5.0	Over 5
Kieta villagers	0	0	0	6	35	24	35
Buin villagers	0	0	11	28	20	7	34
3. <u>Cash cropping (yearly new plantings)</u>							
	0	1-30	31-50	51-100	Over 100		
Kieta villagers	0	0	0	37	63		
Buin villagers	0	2	28	27	43		
4. <u>Cash income (\$) (income increase per year)</u>							
	0	1-100	101-200	201-300	301-400	401-500	Over 500
Kieta villagers	2	11	19	11	27	14	16
Buin villagers	0	38	12	9	7	16	18
5. <u>Housing</u>							
	No improvement	Iron roofing	European style with permanent materials				
Kieta villagers	32	1	67				
Buin villagers	39	13	48				
6. <u>Cash crop production (increase in bags)</u>							
	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10 or more		
Kieta villagers	2	0	9	30	59		
Buin villagers	2	9	23	23	43		
7. <u>Capital investment (no. of projects)</u>							
	0	1	2	3	4	5 or more	
Kieta villagers	2	57	32	6	0	3	
Buin villagers	13	66	16	2	0	3	
8. <u>Furniture (no. of items)</u>							
	0	1	2	3	4	5 or more	
Kieta villagers	1	8	19	32	19	21	
Buin villagers	3	66	0	2	0	29	
9. <u>Other material possessions (no. of items)</u>							
	0	1	2	3	4	5 or more	
Kieta villagers	5	8	11	42	17	17	
Buin villagers	2	66	0	0	0	32	

Table 16

Types of investment and expenditure with \$500 and \$50 by groups of villagers

Types of investment and expenditure	With \$500		With \$50	
	Kieta (N=225) %	Buin (N=228) %	Kieta (N=225) %	Buin (N=228) %
Housing (iron-roofing, house with permanent materials, furniture, etc.)	11	20	3	0
Invest in land development and agriculture (labour hire, bush clearing, fencing, cash crop planting, harvesting, copra drier, cocoa fermentary, etc.)	5	18	3	13
Investment in livestock (piggery, poultry, cattle, etc.)	0	4	0	3
Implements and equipment (garden tools, sewing machine, shotgun, water tank, fishing gear, etc.)	0	2	2	3
Savings (in bank or at home)	30	23	29	33
Commerce and industry (truck, outboard motors, trade store, shares, etc.)	26	25	3	3
Children's education	10	4	13	2
Family obligations (ceremonial feasts, brideprice, obligatory exchanges, etc.)	4	0	9	0
Consumer goods and gifts (push-bike, radio, foods, clothes, stimulants, passenger car for personal use, motor bike, watch, travel to town for fun, etc.)	8	2	31	43
Other (tax, contributions to church, etc.)	6	2	7	0
Total per cent	100	100	100	100

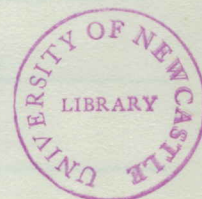


Table 17

Responses to the questions relating to preparedness to change,
by groups of villagers

A. Change of outlook(a) Satisfaction with the status quo

Question: Are people generally satisfied with their present conditions of life or do they want some change?

	Satisfied	Want change
	%	%
Kieta villagers (N=320)	34	66
Buin villagers (N=417)	42	58

(b) Evaluation of the future

Question: How well off will the people around here be after 10-15 years?

	Better	Worse	Same as now
	%	%	%
Kieta villagers	76	15	9
Buin villagers	61	35	4

(c) Feelings of national identity

Question: Would you like to see Bougainville as an independent country or would you prefer it to be united with another country?

	Independent	PNG	United with: BSIP	Others (America, Japan)
	%	%	%	%
Kieta villagers	71	15	10	4
Buin villagers	49	20	28	3

B. Preparedness for mobility(a) Local mobility

i. Question: Are you prepared to move to a place with better agriculture in the same district?

	Prepared to move	Not prepared to move
	%	%
Kieta villagers	17	83
Buin villagers	36	64

ii. Question: If you had enough money, would you prefer to live where you live now or in a town in Bougainville?

	Where now living	Town or city
	%	%
Kieta villagers	95	5
Buin villagers	57	43

(b) Occupational mobility

ia. Question: Are you interested in working in a factory or industry?

	Interested	Not interested
	%	%
Kieta villagers	78	22
Buin villagers	64	36

ib. Question: Those interested in working in a factory, would you give up cash cropping and gardening in the home village if you had to for a whole year?

	Leave cash cropping in home village	Would not leave cash cropping and gardening in home village
	%	%
Kieta villagers	48	52
Buin villagers	57	43

Table 17 continued...

ii. Question: Would you be glad if your children become farmers like you in future and what would be children's annual cash income from farming?

	Glad	Not glad	Average expected annual cash income from farming
	%	%	%
Kieta villagers	93	7	1192
Buin villagers	84	16	3641

iii. Question: Would you like your children to work in a factory or mine if they got more money than the amount they would earn by being farmers, and how much more should be their cash income from working in a factory or mine?

	Like work in factory or mine	Do not like work in factory or mine	Average expected increase in annual cash income from working in factory or mine over the income from farming
	%	%	%
Kieta villagers	81	19	1412
Buin villagers	81	19	542

C. Assessment of the past

Question: What has changed for the better of the people around here in the past ten years?

Changes for the better	Kieta villagers (N=320)	Buin villagers (N=417)
	%	%
Political (district government, PNG self-government, coming independence, indigenisation of public service, etc.)	38	5
Transport and road facilities	27	37
Education facilities	23	27
Industry/mining	7	0
Increase in cash income (sale of cash crops, sale of vegetables and wages, etc.)	12	22
Sea and air port facilities	5	0
Better tools and equipment	5	1
Communication facilities (radio, newspaper, postal and travel, etc.)	12	0
More knowledge about others and about outside world	3	0
Development of towns and cities	7	0
Improved housing	4	2
Increase in wage employment	6	1
Increase in indigenous ownership of trade stores	0	2
More religious education	4	4
General economic and business development	12	7
Changes in social life (sorcery not widely practised, authority of old leaders decreased, etc.)	16	10
No changes	10	22

A cursory review of the results in Table 17 reveals that the Kieta villagers, in general, are more aware of the changes occurring around them than their counterparts in the Buin villages. This means that more Kieta than Buin villagers are probably prepared to alter their traditional ways of life in order to adapt to the demands of the exchange economy. However, in certain respects Kieta villagers seem to be more rigid or conservative in their attitudes towards change than the Buin villagers. For example, contrary to expectations a very low percentage of the Kieta villagers are willing to move to new locations either to live in a town or to live in a place with better agriculture as compared to the high percentage of the Buin villagers willing to move. Similarly, among those interested in industrial work more Buin villagers than Kietans are ready to leave gardening and cash cropping in the home village completely for a whole year, if they have to. But this apparent anomaly in the trend of the Kieta villagers' attitudes may be explained by considering their special situation. They are so ideally located near the centre of all industrial and developmental activities that locational mobility is unnecessary and even disadvantageous. Neither is it necessary for those interested in the industrial work to leave gardening and cash cropping completely in the home village, for they can, and do, always maintain such activities during weekend visits to their own villages. The situation is completely different for the Buin villagers. Obviously the 'bright lights' of the towns (meaning Arawa and Panguna, the copper mine towns) have a special attraction for the Buin villagers because they are further away and something unfamiliar and unknown. Again, until recently, before the introduction of cocoa and the cocoa boom, Buin was not an attractive place in relation to agricultural development and cash income, besides being isolated owing to lack of road facilities. All these factors probably make the Buin villagers more willing to move to new locations with better agricultural opportunities. For those Buin villagers interested in industrial work, it is apparent to them that, even if they want to, they cannot maintain their gardening and cash cropping in their home village as regularly as their fellow workers from the Kieta villages.

That the Buin villagers are more eager to live in town is clearly evidenced by the levels of expected increase in cash income for their children from industrial work. Although the Buin villagers expect that their children could earn much higher cash income from farming in the villages, they would be happy to let their children join a factory or the mine away from home with a smaller increase in cash income over the farming income. In other words, the incentive for the Buin villagers in terms of an increase in cash income by letting the children join the industrial work force is much lower than that of the Kieta villagers.

Stabilisation in wage-employment. One of the oft-repeated complaints of employers in Papua New Guinea is that the indigenous labour force is always in flux, extremely choosy and never stabilised in the life patterns of a wage-employed person. What do the villagers of Buin and Kieta subdistricts think about this? What is their attitude to remaining in wage-employment as an occupation for life? Do they feel permanently committed to wage-employment? Now that the opportunities for wage-employment have increased considerably, especially with the opening of the copper mine and an increase in educational facilities, and with many of the village families having some member already wage-employed, the question of stabilisation is of crucial importance.

The adult male villagers were asked to indicate what they would like their children, or any other family member or themselves, to do in the future if they were wage-employed in BCL, or any other organisation in Bougainville

or in any other part of Papua New Guinea.

The villagers' attitudes towards remaining in wage-employment seem to confirm the popular notion of the instability of the indigenous labour force (Table 18). The attitudes of the adult villagers back home have obviously a great influence on those away from home working for wages. For the majority of those studied, wage-employment is not perceived as a permanent vocation away from the home village. At best it is only a temporary phase, the main purpose of which is to make sufficient money to fulfil certain predetermined goals. However, it appears that the Buin villagers are more inclined than those in Kieta to a permanent, stable wage-employment situation away from the home village. Such a comparison is dangerous for reasons stated above: that Kieta villagers, unlike their counterparts in Buin, enjoy the advantages of enlarged wage-employment opportunities without disturbing their contact with the home village in any important way.

Prejudice against non-Bougainvillean PNG migrants in Bougainville. For similar reasons to those given for the student groups, a measure of the prejudice of adult villagers from Kieta and Buin was obtained. The development of the copper mine has encouraged a large migrant population of non-Bougainvillean Papua New Guineans into Bougainville and the measure of prejudice used in this study refers to this migrant group.

Table 18

Attitudinal commitment of adult male villagers to wage-employment*

A. Attitude towards remaining in wage-employment

	Will return to village as soon as possible	Will return to village as soon as lot of money is saved
	%	%
Kieta villagers (N=320)	37	69
Buin villagers (N=417)	37	84

B. Temporary stabilisation

	Will return to village at some future date	Will stay, but will keep contact with the village always	Will return to home village on retirement
	%	%	%
Kieta villagers	82	79	79
Buin villagers	67	79	66

C. Permanent stabilisation

	Will always remain and live in the place of employment	Live and make the place of employment as if it is my home village
	%	%
Kieta villagers	3	1
Buin villagers	16	15

* Many of them gave more than one response, except in the category of permanent stabilisation.

Table 19

Prejudice against PNG-migrants amongst adult male villagers

Statements of prejudice	Per cent of respondents agreeing	
	Kieta villagers (N=320)	Buin villagers (N=417)
	%	%
1. The people coming from other parts of Papua New Guinea to work in Bougainville should live as a separate group pretty much among themselves	31	30
2. The migrant PNG workers in Bougainville should live as a separate group in an exclusively separate area	37	20
3. The migrant PNG workers in Bougainville should not live in the same area along with the Bougainvilleans as one of their own people	51	35
4. It is not right that the migrant PNG workers should move to live close to my neighbourhood	66	41
5. It is wrong that the migrant PNG workers should move to live close to my village	75	43

The data are more meaningfully categorised in Table 20.

Table 20

Respondents classified according to levels of prejudice*

Respondents	Not prejudiced	Low prejudiced	Highly prejudiced
	%	%	%
Kieta villagers (N=320)	0	70	30
Buin villagers (N=417)	44	29	27

* 'Not prejudiced' represents a total score of 0 out of 5; 'low prejudiced' is 1 to 3 and 'highly prejudiced' is 4 to 5.

There are five statements or items indicating some degree of prejudice towards the migrant Papua New Guineans. A response was sought for each of the five statements separately, whether they agreed with it or not. Agreement with the statements indicated prejudice and scored 1, while disagreement meant no prejudice and scored 0 (Table 19).

The villagers' responses reveal a striking difference between Kieta and the Buin villagers. The Buin villagers are far less prejudiced about living with non-Bougainvillean Papua New Guineans in Bougainville than the Kieta villagers. Two points should be made here. Firstly, when agreeing with the prejudicial statements, the villagers referred to the 'highlanders' specifically in many cases and the 'Tolais' and some other particular regional groups in some cases. Secondly, the intimate day-to-day contact and experience of the migrant groups that the Kieta villagers have is certainly missing in the case of the Buin villagers. Perhaps these factors have some effect on the villagers' attitudes towards the non-Bougainvillean Papua New Guinean migrants in Bougainville. Whatever might be the reasons for these prejudiced attitudes, they certainly affect the level of participation in the exchange sector of the economy, particularly in the wage-employment sector, and especially in BCL which has a large number of non-Bougainvillean Papua New Guineans in the workforce.

Intolerance. Tolerance or forbearance is probably one of those personality characteristics which often play an important role in the decision-making process, particularly in business decisions with respect to the modern exchange sector of the economy. Tolerance involves a person's ability to take risks and to consider the several alternatives open in any endeavour. With this in mind, a measure of tolerance was obtained individually from each of the sample villagers (Table 21).

Table 21

Measure of tolerance, by groups of villagers

Statements indicating intolerance	Per cent of respondents agreeing	
	Kieta villagers (N=320)	Buin villagers (N=417)
	%	%
1. If a man cannot decide whom he should vote for in the elections, he is a useless man	47	66
2. There are only two kinds of people in the government: those who are good and those who are bad	68	85
3. There are just two kinds of policemen: those who can handle people in riots and those who cannot handle people in riots	88	75
4. If there is a dispute over the ownership of a piece of land between several groups of people in the village, there is only one right owner group	80	92

The villagers were classified according to their level of intolerance. This was determined on the basis of the scores obtained in response to the statements of intolerance: 1 was scored when the subject agreed with the statement, and 0 when he disagreed. Thus a total score of 0 is classified as 'not intolerant or tolerant'; a total score between 1 and 2 is 'less intolerant' and a score of 3 to 4 is categorised as 'highly intolerant' (Table 22).

Table 22

Respondents classified according to levels of intolerance

Respondents	Tolerant	Less tolerant	Highly intolerant
	%	%	%
Kieta villagers (N=320)	8	34	58
Buin villagers (N=417)	5	22	73

The tables clearly indicate that the Buin villagers tend to be more intolerant than the Kieta villagers. However, the relationship between intolerance and participation in the exchange sector of the economy has yet to be proved in the final analysis of the data.

Anomie and class consciousness. The contemporary onslaught of the exchange economy, and particularly the acceleration given it by the giant copper mine, has obviously had a great impact on the minds of the Bougainville villagers, especially in Kieta subdistrict. Anomie and class-consciousness are the two possible psycho-social results of this impact, having important implications for successful adaptation to the exchange sector of the economy. Because, while anomie or normlessness may easily lead to a hopeless, fatalistic resignation and apathy instead of willingness to participate and be successful in the process of change, class-consciousness in an apparently largely classless society may create extreme frustration among the masses, and lead to serious social upheaval resulting in regression rather than progress.

Table 23

Measure of anomie, by groups of villagers

Statements indicating anomie	Per cent of respondents agreeing	
	Kieta villagers (N=320)	Buin villagers (N=417)
	%	%
1. It is useless to talk to the government officers about the village problems because often they are not really interested in the village problems	60	31
2. Nowadays it is difficult to know what may happen tomorrow; it is therefore useless to plan for the future	24	15
3. In spite of what some people say, the average villager's life is getting worse, not better	59	19
4. Thinking about the hopeless future, people are really worried about their children	88	72
5. These days a villager does not really know whom he can trust and who is his friend	79	11

It is apparent that the Kieta villagers suffer greater degrees of anomie than the Buin villagers (Table 23). But how great is the greater degree of anomie (Table 24).

Table 24

Respondents classified according to levels of anomie*

Respondents	No anomie	Low anomie	High anomie
	%	%	%
Kieta villagers (N=320)	4	77	19
Buin villagers (N=417)	5	89	6

* Agreement to the statements indicating anomie was scored 1 and disagreement to the statement was scored 0. The levels of anomie were classified as follows on the basis of the scores obtained by the respondents: 0 = no anomie; 1-3 = low anomie; and 4-5 = high anomie.

Although more Kieta villagers show symptoms of high anomie, a large majority of the villagers from both Kieta and Buin subdistricts have a low degree of anomie. A slightly higher degree of anomie among the Kieta villagers is to be expected. What is striking as well as a redeeming factor is that a vast majority of the villagers show a low degree of anomie, especially in the Kieta villages, in the face of the tremendous disruptive impact of the huge copper mine complex. Perhaps this indicates resilience and an adaptive capacity in the traditional culture of the Bougainville villagers.

The growth of the exchange economy together with its concomitant developments, especially that of the copper mine, have created some conspicuous disparities between individuals, between villages and between regions. Obviously these disparities are mainly economic (related to exchange economy and purchasing power) which in turn lead to differences in the availability and method of exploitation of economic, social and political opportunities. It may be argued that there were these disparities in the traditional culture of the Bougainville villages. But their nature and degree were certainly not as conspicuous and vigorous as they seem to be now. There are distinct groups of successful businessmen and large cash croppers; there are elite educated groups; there are urban people and a large group of wage-employed people. How do these disparities and differences affect the villagers? Do they have any effect on their awareness of class distinctions? An attempt was made to obtain answers to these and related questions. Have they become very sceptical and militant? How strongly egalitarian do they feel?

Firstly, an attempt was made to find out whether the villagers had become class conscious to the extent that they could verbalise the class distinctions. Each respondent was asked for whom did he vote in the last general election and council election and why? Who is his favourite Member of the House of Assembly and why? Who are his best friends around the place and why? If class terms (e.g. rich and poor villagers and urban people, educated and illiterate people, etc.) were mentioned in any of the responses to these questions, then the respondent was taken to have verbalised the class distinctions.

Secondly, the respondents were asked: who gets the profits or the money from the Bougainville copper mine? If the respondents were sceptical enough to refer in their responses to rich people, big business, etc., then the respondents were treated as sceptical and class conscious in this regard.

Thirdly, the respondents were asked to project themselves into a situation where the villagers were about to take action against the government because it had planned to acquire some land for a road development or for establishing a factory, and to indicate whether or not they would join the group in a series of activities, including a violent demonstration and forcible eviction of the government officers from the area concerned. If a respondent said that he would take part in such activities then he was classified as militant and class conscious because he identified interests held in common with others and a willingness to participate in some collective militant activity to realise those interests.

Lastly, the respondents were asked whether they thought that the profits made by the Bougainville copper mine and by the rich businessmen around the place should be divided up so that all people could benefit equally and prosper. Agreement with such a notion was classed as egalitarianism, indicating class-consciousness (Table 25). Here we find a very interesting pattern of class-consciousness among the villagers from the Kieta and Buin subdistricts. Contrary to expectations, about one-quarter of the village-groups in both the subdistricts seem to have articulated class distinctions to the level of stereotyped class terms. Such a level of class verbalisation among the common villagers is a very disturbing development, given the fact that in their traditional culture such marked class distinctions were most probably absent. The villagers made about the same distinction between BCL employees and non-BCL employees as between rich and poor villagers, urban and rural people and the educated elite.

Table 25

Class-consciousness, by groups of respondents*

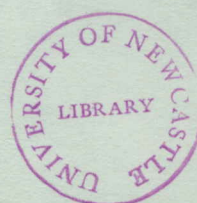
Categoris of class-consciousness	Kieta villagers (N=225)	Buin villagers (N=228)
	%	%
Class verbaliser	22	26
Sceptic	58	56
Militant	85	69
Egalitarian	86	57

* Only one adult male representing a household was interviewed on these questions.

Regarding distribution of the profits of the copper mine, more than half the villagers from both the subdistricts were sceptical and class conscious in the sense that they mentioned mostly the giant BCL or CRA and the rich Europeans ('who own the company') who get the profits. Some respondents also mentioned the Central PNG Government as the major receiver of profits. There is a deep sense of deprivation among these sceptical class conscious people about their rightful share of the profits made by the copper mine.

It was expected that the villagers would be militantly opposed to the acquisition of land even if for long-term benefit through development of road and industry. Land is a very sensitive issue for villagers, and the Kieta villagers at least did not have any very happy experiences during the initial stages of copper mine development. An overwhelming majority of the Kieta villagers indicated their militancy as expected. But the most striking thing to note is the fact that compared to Kieta villagers very few of the Buin villagers were militant, although they were in a majority in the sample. Perhaps the experience of the Kieta villagers regarding land acquisition by the copper mine is the reason for this distinct difference in attitude or consciousness between the two groups of villagers.

As in the case of militancy, the Buin villagers were certainly far less egalitarian in their notions about the distribution of copper mine profits or the profits of other businesses. Perhaps the Buin villagers were too pragmatic to think wistfully about the equal distribution of the BCL profits. On the other hand, the number of rich farmers and entrepreneurs in Buin is smaller than in Kieta, and this must make a difference to the villagers' attitudes.



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