

reinforced their earlier connection by affinal and maternal links. As the Inonda area is short of sago, which grows in abundance on Sauhaha land, these relationships enable the Inonda people to continue to make sago in Sauhaha land.

After two years at Sauhaha, the refugees moved to Sambogo where they settled with the Tandai'undi sub-clan. They cleared garden sites and planted sago, coconut, breadfruit and other trees from which they still collect fruit. The Inonda people still retain their rights to their abandoned gardens at Sambogo on those areas where their forefathers cleared the virgin forest. On the other hand they recognise the residual rights of the Tandai'undi to the garden land, and the exclusive rights of the Tandai'undi to hunt in the bush and fish in the river. Some rights in the area are retained by each party but neither gardens there at present.

About twenty years ago, after they had acquired the Inonda land, a man of the neighbouring village of Urio who had no sons of his own (nor any brothers with sons) gave a large block of land which lies adjacent to Inonda, to his sister's sons who were members of the smaller of the two sub-clans of Inonda. About two years ago the Mosou people migrated from the mountains and established their village on this land with the approval of the Inonda sub-clans. This is another case of land rights being shared by several clans and sub-clans.

The overlapping claims of various clans and sub-clans cause uncertainty as to the particular rights of each and tends to inhibit the production of cash crops. For example, during our stay in Inonda one man who had a job as foreman in a nearby construction camp was required to dismiss a gang which included some Tandai'undi men, due to completion of a particular phase of the work. The Tandai'undi men then came to Inonda village and reminded the foreman that Inonda was "their" land and that if he wanted to remain on it, he had better get them their jobs back. This foreman has no cash crops and claims that the reason is that he is afraid of trouble with the Tandai'undi.

Those Inonda people who have cash crops in production have planted them on the far side of the Girua river on land which was occupied until about forty years ago by the Endehi'undi clan. The Endehi'undi were defeated in war shortly after European contact and the few survivors scattered to various villages where they took up permanent residence. This land was apparently abandoned and not used again until 1952 after the Mt. Lamington eruption when several Inonda men planted coffee in the area. They claimed that as the Endehi'undi had never cleared much of the virgin bush and had been defeated in war two generations previously and had not occupied this land since, their rights had lapsed.

Of course there is no traditional precedent to apply to rights to cash crops, but after the coffee had been planted for

nearly a year, some of the Endehi'undi went to the Administration and claimed that the land was theirs, and that as the coffee had been planted on their land without their permission, it was also theirs. An officer of the Department of Native Affairs brought the parties together and it was ultimately agreed that the coffee planters could continue to occupy the land provided that they paid the Endehi'undi for the land. The Endehi'undi were given about £16 in cash, pigs, traditional valuables and taro. The precise rights transferred by this exchange are not clear, and the participants still have differing views as to their respective rights, for the Department of Native Affairs has no power to determine land disputes and the arrangement is accordingly not legally binding. The rights of the planters have now been reinforced by registration of the land with the council.

[Give outline of Higaturu Council land registration scheme].

So much for relations with outsiders. There are also tenure problems with regard to cash crops within the village. Neither of the two adult members of the smaller sub-clan of Inonda has planted cash crops. One of them had prepared ground for planting cocoa on the site of his former food garden, but his right to do so was questioned by the dominant sub-clan and he abandoned the attempt. His status is low and the continued residence of his sub-clan in the village is dependent on their passive compliance with the wishes of the leaders of the dominant sub-clan. (After our survey was completed he in fact left and has gone to live in his mother's village).

There is one man who resides in the village by virtue of the fact that two of his daughters are married to Inonda men. Although he has been invited to plant coffee in this area, he considers the risk of future dispute too great to do so. He is therefore planning to return to his village of origin to plant cash crops and has already begun clearing operations there.

The past history of the Inonda lands and the current problems encountered with cash crop planting there indicate that there are serious tenure problems at the sub-clan level. It appears that the definition of sub-clan or village boundaries and the rationalization of land rights in such a way that only one sub-clan has rights in any one area would be conducive to higher production of cash crops and to less dispute. The Native Lands Commission has the power to define boundaries and right-holding groups but in fact there is one Native Lands Commissioner for the whole of the Northern District (with a population of 51,000) and he is required to do his own surveying, collection of genealogies and clerical work without assistance. The system of investigation followed by the Commission is very detailed, and accordingly in the period of three years since the Commissioner was posted to the district only about five disputes have been settled. Already 34 other cases are awaiting deliberation and many other disputants would take their cases to the Commission if an early decision was possible. Owing to the lack of staff it will probably be many years before they can be heard. The scale of the problem appears to

be so vast that it is probably beyond the capacity of the Lands Commission to cope with for many years to come, unless the bulk of the work and of the responsibility is delegated to local councils or other local bodies.

In the meantime the area is left without adequate machinery for the settlement of disputes. Indigenous groups, whether councillors, clan heads or other elders have no legal right to determine disputes, and although they are frequently able to exert social pressure to have their decisions enforced, they cannot apply any legal sanctions. It seems that such decisions are frequently effective within the lineage or sub-clan because the leaders are in intimate contact with the disputants and can apply effective social sanctions. This is much less so with respect to disputes between sub-clans or villages.

The definition of boundaries and owning sub-clans would increase social stability and security of tenure, but in the course of time, due to population increase in some clans and decrease in others, it would become increasingly unrelated to clan needs. It is therefore necessary that any action to define boundaries and ownership should be associated with facilities for the transfer of rights between clans, or between individual members of different clans.

Perhaps the most important land tenure custom in the pre-contact era was warfare, and when warfare is abolished it is essential that alternative facilities for land transfer be provided. In many colonial territories where warfare previously tended to bring land areas into line with population numbers, colonial governments have abolished warfare but have not provided adequate alternative means of transfer, and this invariably leads to maldistribution of land.

The example of Inonda indicates that the traditional land tenure system there tends to hinder the spread of cash cropping. The scheme for registering cash crop lands, which was introduced by the Higaturu Local Government Council has provided better security of tenure for those lands. However, the Higaturu scheme is not as yet supported by legislation and its future is uncertain.

I will not go into the details of cash cropping in Inonda, but as you can imagine, it is undertaken only on a very small scale.

One of the main reasons for our research is to compare the extent of cash cropping per man under the Higaturu scheme with that under other systems of tenure in the Orokaiva area. We have not yet worked out precise details but it is apparent from what we have done so far that output is much higher on the Yega project, where a large area was cleared by the village as a whole and then subdivided into 40 separate blocks, one of which was allocated by ballot to each family.

These blocks are registered informally with the Department of Agriculture. Output is higher again on the Sangara scheme where a number of Papuan ex-servicemen hold individual leases of 20 acre blocks. These ex-servicemen, however, are assisted by small government loans which help pay for food and housing and thus these settlers do not have to spend much time on food gardening or on gathering materials for housing. Output per man seems at present to be highest on the large European plantations, but these of course, are financed by very large loans - up to £25,000 each. While it is apparent that the schemes which use a lot of capital have the highest output per man, they cost a tremendous amount of money and it would obviously be impossible to finance such schemes for the whole country. The main development then, must come from schemes which use little or no capital, and we hope that our research will give some indication of which tenure systems appear to be most conducive to higher output in a situation where capital expenditure must be kept to a minimum.

To end on a note of caution: the acceptance or success of any land tenure system is not dependent on its productive potential alone. The range of tenure systems which will be permitted by law, and the degree to which each is supported or restricted by administrative action, will be determined by political as well as by economic considerations. Research cannot prove that a hypothetical tenure system will be more or less productive in any given situation, or even that a system which is effective in one context within the country will

be equally effective in another. We just cannot control all the relevant factors. All we can do is to try to show, as clearly as we can, the advantages or disadvantages which are associated with particular systems, in particular contexts, and to say, by reference to these examples and to the researches of colleagues elsewhere in this country and in other countries of a similar nature, what systems appear to satisfy most completely those criteria which are considered to be most important. The criteria can only be chosen arbitrarily, but our aim will be to use criteria of maximum productivity within the existing and currently proposed constitutional framework, and assuming the continuation of the present limitations on finance available for land development.





## PNC TENURE STUDY

### Objective

To ~~determine the features~~ examine land tenure systems & policies in PNG. to determine ~~what~~ what feasible pattern of l.t. can be adopted which will result in maximum productivity consistent with human rights.

### 1. Survey of indigenous systems:

From published & unpublished data, research material & Land Commission records.

### 2. Survey of post-contact changes in the tenure systems.

(a) ~~Common~~ official policies.

(b) legislation

(c) ~~mission land~~ commercial plantations & trade

(d) unknown.

### 3. Reconnaissance Survey.

4. Determine research programme, with objective



17th February, 1964.

The Secretary,  
Department of the Administrator,  
KOMEDOBU.

Dear Mr. Fenbury,

Land Tenure Research

Further to my letter of 28th January in which we welcomed your proposal to approach an international body to assist the Administration to devise land tenure policy, details of the work so far undertaken in this field by the Australian National University and other institutions are listed below to assist you to determine the precise nature of assistance which might be sought.

The Research Unit's programme, drafted in 1962, was originally intended to take three years from June 1962. It was to include detailed field studies of over twenty sample tenure situations, documentary and field studies of land legislation and land administration including studies of the operation of the Lands Commission, and finally analysis in the light of data from New Guinea and overseas. The present state of Australian National University research in this field (including that by the Research Unit) is as follows:

1. The results to date of Brown and Brookfield's continuing study of land tenure in the Chimbu sub-district have been published as the book "Struggle for Land".
2. The results of R. Salisbury's work among the Siane and the Tolai have been published in several places.
3. The European ex-servicemen's resettlement scheme at Popondetta was surveyed by D.R. Howlett and is now in the course of publication in a New Guinea Research Unit Bulletin. (Definitive study cannot be undertaken until about 1968 when the plantations will be in full production).
4. The first sample within the Higaturu Council Land Registration scheme, taken at Inonda where population-land ratio is low, was completed by R.G. Crocombe and G.R. Hogbin and results have been published as N.G.R.U. Bulletin No. 2.
5. The second sample within Higaturu Council Land Registration scheme, taken at Sivepe where population-land ratio is high,

was completed by M. Rimoldi in 1963 and results are now being published as a N.G.R.U. Bulletin.

6. A study of the spontaneous resettlement at Yega was undertaken by R. Dekeyne of University of Sydney with N.G.R.U. subsidy. Research is completed and is now being written up for publication in the N.G.R.U. Bulletin later this year.
7. Communal cash cropping among the Orokaiva was studied by R.G. Crocombe and publication as N.G.R.U. Bulletin No. 4 is expected within a month or two.
8. Research into Orokaiva cash cropping under traditional tenure arrangements has been undertaken by M. Rimoldi, his results are now being prepared for publication in the N.G.R.U. Bulletin about mid-1964.
9. Emerging rural entrepreneurs among the Orokaiva have been studied by R.G. Crocombe. This is now being written up for publication in the N.G.R.U. Bulletin mid-1964.
10. A study of the Papuan ex-servicemen's resettlement scheme at Popondetta has been undertaken by R.J. Cheetham of D.A.S.F. and his first publication, "The Development of Indigenous Agriculture, Land Settlement, and Rural Credit Facilities in Papua/New Guinea" appeared in the March 1963 Agricultural Journal. Two further publications are expected during 1964 and 1965.
11. Tests of basic intelligence of the Papuan people studied in the research listed in items 3 to 10 above were undertaken by G.R. Kearney of University of Queensland with New Guinea Research Unit finance. The results are now being written up for publication in a N.G.R.U. Bulletin.
12. A study by R.G. Crocombe and G.R. Hogbin of the Erap Mechanical Farming Project in the Morobe District has been published as N.G.R.U. Bulletin No. 1.
13. A study by G.R. Hogbin of the A.N.U. Department of Economics of three indigenous rubber projects at Karema is now being published as a N.G.R.U. Bulletin.
14. The M'Buke Co-operative Copra Plantation in the Mamas District was studied by R.G. Crocombe late last year and the results are now being prepared for publication in the N.G.R.U. Bulletin.
15. A series of field studies of agricultural productivity in Boana, Chimbu, Mount Hagen, Karkar and other areas is being undertaken by W.F. Streetmans and R. Shand of the Economics Department.
16. A study of a spontaneous resettlement and cash cropping among

the Kuni people at Bakoindu is being undertaken as part of a wider anthropological study by O. van Rijswijk of the Anthropology Department. The research is not expected to be completed until 1965.

17. The effects of the introduction of cattle in an area of shifting agriculture are now being studied by G. Jackson in the Wain sub-district near Lae. A report is expected towards the end of 1965.
18. A detailed study of work organization and values in a number of rural areas of Papua-New Guinea is now being undertaken by P. Krinke and E. Waddell of the Research Unit. Their project is a long-term one and will take two to three years, but results will be available progressively from the end of 1964.
19. A study of the effects on agricultural productivity of distance from markets, extension services and trading outlets is being undertaken on the Goroka area by G.R. Hogbin. The research will be completed later this year.
20. The history of early lands policy (to 1907) has been written by P. Quinlivan of the Department of Law and has now been submitted for publication.

In addition to the above research by or in association with the Australian National University which is either completed or now in progress, the following is contemplated:

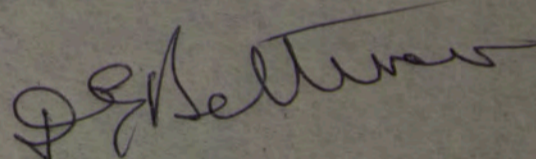
21. Consideration is being given to the employment of C.S. Luckham, who has had many years of experience in planning and administering land reform in Africa and Malaya, and who was for some years in charge of these matters in Malaya, to study the past and present land legislation and lands administration in Papua-New Guinea.
- 22 - 25. It is proposed that Mr. Rimoldi will spend the next two years studying agricultural productivity among the Tolai under a variety of tenure situations - traditional tenure, resettlement on government leases, lands registered by the Lands Commission, lands worked by indigenous groups, and possibly other samples.

It was earlier intended that on completion of the Research Unit's studies, R.G. Crocombe would firstly undertake a study of the Lands Commission and the administration of the present legislation; (on the same lines as studies previously done by him in the Cook Islands, Tonga and Samoa), secondly he proposed to undertake a comparative analysis of land tenure and productivity in Papua-New Guinea drawing on the studies done by the Research Unit, and others both within the Australian National University and those associated

with other institutions (e.g. Oliver's and Ogen's work in Bougainville, sponsored by Harvard University, the Vaydas' and Rappaports' work in Simbai sponsored by Columbia University, and a number of others); and finally it was intended that he would compare lands policies in this country with those of other developing countries and to this end a considerable amount of time has been spent collecting data on and keeping in touch with developments in selected colonial and ex-colonial areas. As he will be spending from May 1964 to May 1965 lecturing in the U.S.A., and as he has been approached to undertake to prepare a report on land tenure in the South Pacific from June 1965 to December 1965 for the South Pacific Commission, he could not begin such a study until 1966 and it would probably take two years to complete. It is understandable that this is too far in the future to be of much use to the Administration today, and some of this work may therefore be undertaken by Mr. Luckham. If the Administration were able to obtain the services of appropriate personnel from international institutions, they would have the benefit of the research data so far published and that now in the course of publication. In addition Dr. Crocombe is prepared to give such researchers access to his unpublished data on land tenure in Papua-New Guinea and in other territories.

Should you wish to discuss any aspect of this matter further, I am at your disposal.

Yours sincerely,



(D.G. Bettison)

c.c. Sir John Crawford.

Dr. R.G. Crocombe



R.G. Crocombe

Land Tenure Research Programme

D.G. Bettison

20th March, 1963

A draft programme of research into land tenure and related questions was submitted on 1st June 1962. This programme has been followed and the main research tasks should be completed as planned during 1964. However, owing to changes in our own staffing, availability of additional funds from the Reserve Bank, the research being undertaken by Mr. Fisk and Dr. Shand, and our own experience over the past twelve months, it is now appropriate to make some modifications to the programme.

At the time the programme was drafted it was assumed that two research assistants would be allotted to this programme. Shortage of funds has meant that only one assistant has been available in fact, and it appears that funds will not permit the appointment of another. It has nevertheless been possible to keep pace with the programme by making ad hoc arrangements with researchers from other institutions (as listed in the appendix). Similar arrangements will need to be made in future if we are to complete the programme on time.

The grant from the Reserve Bank has come at a very opportune time, but it should be made clear that the funds and staff provided will be used for additional research, and will not be used on the programme already outlined, even though the programmes are complimentary.

It was arranged at our meeting in Canberra in December 1962 that Mr. Fisk would undertake research on the Vudal and Warangoi schemes (on the Gazelle Peninsula) and the Unit would do the remainder of the research on tenure systems and productivity among the Tolai. Samples to be studied by the Unit may include traditionally held land (there appear to be at least two significant variations and it will probably be necessary to have samples of each), land determined and registered by the Lands Commission, the Ramalmal Trading Co. plantation, native reserves (squatters), and Tolais resettled at Cape Hoskins. Mr. Fisk may also undertake research on the Ambenob scheme in Madang.

Our own experience over the past twelve months has forced us to revise at least three of our earlier assumptions. The first was that one researcher could, in about two months, collect all the necessary data relating to a sample group of about fifty people, to show the relationship between the land tenure system and work patterns on the one hand, and productivity on the other. In practice we have found that many factors have to be considered and that the collection of the necessary data takes about four months for one researcher. The most time-consuming single item is surveying and mapping, for no valid



conclusions can be drawn unless we know the precise areas available to, and used for various purposes by, the individuals and groups within the sample. In future we hope to reduce mapping time by aerial photography, but we have not yet tried the technique in practice.

The second assumption we have had to revise is that of the time necessary for write-up. We had assumed two months in the field and one month writing up. In practice we find that if the data collected is to be properly analysed, nearly as much time must be spent in write-up as in field-work. There is no point in our collecting data unless it is properly digested and made available in written form.

The third assumption was that all my time would be free for research. In fact I find that the unavoidable drains on time are numerous - visitors from our own and other universities, from the South Pacific Commission and similar institutions, pass through frequently. Likewise we receive frequent requests for information from researchers and others overseas. We must also maintain contact with officials and others who have information or opinions which are relevant to our work. The co-ordination of field work takes time - we have had seven field workers in addition to myself associated with the land tenure programme over the past twelve months (Dr. Howlett, Mr. Hogbin, Mr. Rimoldi, Mr. Dekeyne, Mr. Cheetham, Mr. Ferraris and Mr. Kearney). We have no complaint about the time spent in these activities, for the contacts with visiting researchers and others are very stimulating, and the people who have been associated with the field research have invariably been of both conscientious and pleasant to deal with. Nevertheless, these activities do put pressure on the available time.

(R.G. Crocombe)

Summary of Land Tenure Research  
Undertaken & Proposed

(brought up to Nov. 1963)

<u>A. Items listed in</u> <u>programme of 1.6.62</u>	Research workers	Period	
1. Reconnaissance survey throughout F.P.N.G. taking notes of relevant legislation, reports, publications.	Crocombe	March-May 1962	Completed.
2. Popondetta comparative research:			
✓ (a) European plantation economy.	Howlett	April-Aug. 1962	Field work completed Aug. '62. Dr. Howlett then went to Sydney University. Report in hand <del>expected April '63.</del>
✓ (b) Inonda (Council scheme, low population - land ratio).	Crocombe & Hogbin	June-Aug 1962 Jan.-May 1963	Field work completed Aug. '62. <del>Transferred to Inga project shortly after write-up commenced. Write-up completed March '63. To be published as NGU Bulletin No. 2.</del>
✓ (c) Sivepe (Council scheme, high population - land ratio).	Rimoldi & Ferraris	Dec. 1962 - May 1963	Field work completed end February. Write-up should be completed <sup>now</sup> early May '63. <del>proceeding.</del>
✓ (d) Yega spontaneous resettlement.	Dakeyne	Nov. 1962 - Feb. 1963	Field work completed mid February. <del>report</del> <sup>Draft report submitted</sup> presented. Final write-up due Dec. '63.
✓ (e) Ongoho communal coffee project.	Crocombe	April-June 1963	Field work completed June. Write-up completed. Pilot survey undertaken February. Field work to commence during April. <del>publication proceeding</del>
✓ (f) Aiga farming under traditional tenure.	Rimoldi	July-Dec May-July 1963	Pilot survey to be undertaken in April. Field work nearly completed.

✓ (g) Papuan "government" settlers (with leases, loans etc.)	Cheetham	1961-4	Continuing part-time research. <del>Two</del> <sup>First</sup> preliminary papers <del>written</del> . One seminar given Aug. '62, another to be given April '63. Field work and write-up to be completed <del>late</del> 1964.
✓ 3. Erap Mechanical Farming Project (Naramonki, Lae).	Crocombe & Hogbin	Sept.-Dec. 1962	Field work completed October 1962, write-up completed December. Report now being published in NCHU Bulletin No. 1.
✓ 4. Madang comparative research (a) Ambenob council settlement scheme. (b) Ambenob people with traditional tenure.	?	?	Research in this area is now considered to be of lower priority than formerly supposed. It may not be undertaken as it is similar to some of the Pepondetta research. In this event two additional samples may be added in the Tolai area to replace the two omitted here.
✓ 5. Rabaul (Tolai) comparative research.			
(a) Vudal council resettlement scheme.	Fisk-Hogbin	<del>late 1963</del> 1964	The Unit will not now undertake this sample.
(b) Warangoi government resettlement scheme.	Fisk-Hogbin	<del>late 1963</del> 1964	" " " " " " " "
(c) Tolai cash cropping on traditional land. (There appear to be two variations and a sample may be taken from each)	Rimoldi	<del>Aug. Nov. 1963</del> 1964	) It is considered that a much deeper ) comparative study can be made if the ) same researcher handles all samples. ) He will thus be engaged for a sufficient ) period to enable him to learn the ) language, history and circumstances of ) the people concerned and should there- ) fore be able to collect data and make ) analyses which shallower study would ) not permit. Mr. Rimoldi will begin ) learning the Tolai language in <del>mid</del> late
(d) Tolai cash cropping on land determined and registered by Lands Commission.	"		

(e) Cash cropping by Samalal Trading Co.- a Tolai plantation.	Rimoldi	1964	) 1963 and has already begun background ) reading on the area. It is not yet ) clear exactly how many studies should ) be made.
(f) Cash cropping on Tolai reserves (squatters)	"	1964 - 5	)
(g) Cash cropping by Tolais resettled at Cape Hoskins area.	"	1964 - 5	)
✓ 6. Manus Island - M'buke Island co-operative plantation.	Crocombe	Sept-Nov 1963	It was originally intended to make compara- tive studies on Manus until it was found ( <del>is</del> ) that each sample which interested us belonged to a separate language and culture group and was located on a different island. M'buke is <sup>one of several</sup> <del>the only known</del> example of a true co-operative farming enterprises in the Territory, <sup>and</sup> there are proposals for purchase of <del>many takeovers of</del> <sup>other</sup> European plantations by indigenous co-operatives. Fieldwork completed, publication due early 1964
7. Contact with other institutions and comparative problems.	Crocombe	—	Apart from general contact from published sources, particular attention is being paid to <sup>Pacific Island territories</sup> <del>Polynesian, Micronesian</del> Islands, Philippine Islands and Malaya and Kenya.

B. Additional research topics.

<p>✓ 1. Intelligence tests among persons covered by the Popondetta comparative research (A.2 above).</p>	<p>Kearney</p>	<p>Feb.-April 1963</p>	<p>Field work <del>now in progress.</del> <i>completed. Report due Dec. 1963</i></p>
<p>✓ 2. Detailed study of time patterns among persons covered by the Popondetta comparative research (A.2 above).</p>	<p><i>Krinks + Waddell</i> Research assistant to be appointed</p>	<p><i>Oct. 1963 - Aug. 1964</i></p>	<p>Six months field research. Much of the writing-up could be undertaken in the field.</p>
<p>✓ 3. Study of two Orokaiva entrepreneurs with "large-scale" plantings.</p>	<p>Crocombe # <del>Pineall</del></p>	<p>?</p>	<p>Some of the data already collected. Completion will be dependent on ability to fit this with other work.</p>
<p>✓ 4. Kimi spontaneous resettlement</p>	<p><i>van Ryswick</i></p>	<p><del>1963</del> 1963 - 4</p>	<p>This was noted in the paper of 1.6.62 as meriting study, but was not listed on the programme. <del>More recent information suggests that it merits being included in the programme. It is a small, compact group and appears ideal for a M.A. thesis topic or as field experience for a young lecturer. Tentative enquiries are being made to see whether some suitable person may be interested.</del> <i>→ Being undertaken as a Ph.D. thesis topic</i></p>

<p>5. The effects of introducing cattle and cash crops in an area of shifting agriculture (Boana, Lee).</p>	<p>Jackson</p>	<p><del>late 1963</del> Jan-June 1964</p>	<p>The 1.6.62 paper noted that the effects of introduction of cattle on the Eastern Highlands and Morobe districts would merit study. Boana was visited by Crocombe, Hogbin and Rimoldi in October 1962 and appeared to be the ideal location for such a study. <del>At present it is not clear whether it will be possible to undertake this study, but if time and staff permit, it appears to merit priority.</del></p>
<p>6. The administration of native reserves.</p>	<p>Crocombe</p>	<p>1965</p>	<p>A documentary study would be included if a monograph were to be prepared on land tenure in the Territory.</p>
<p>6. The operation of the Native Lands Commission and the Land Titles Commission.</p>	<p>Crocombe</p>	<p>1965</p>	<p>- ditto -</p>
<p>7. The history of land policy since 1914 <i>(A history of <del>the</del> land policy from 1884 to 1914 has been submitted for publication by Mr. P. J. Quenlivan)</i></p>	<p>Crocombe</p>	<p>1965</p>	<p>- ditto - It would be necessary to collect some of the documentary material from Territory sources during 1963-4. 1914 has been submitted for NGRU</p>
<p>8. <del>Conclusion</del> 8. <i>Relationship between Crocombe land tenure + work organization on the one hand + productivity on the other - PNG.</i></p>	<p>Crocombe</p>	<p>1965-6</p>	<p>- ditto -</p>

New Guinea Research Unit  
Port Moresby  
~~20.3.1963~~  
30.11.1963



# Schedule of Field Work

Arrived 7<sup>th</sup> March 1962

late March - mid April - Reconnaissance survey Highlands, Madang, Manus, Rabaul, Lae, Popondetta.

May - 4 day visit to Hula village

June - Pilot visit to Popondetta 1 week.

June - Aug Field work at Suva  
(Break in Morosby 1 week).

~~18<sup>th</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup>~~ Sept - 20<sup>th</sup> Oct. Erap project (na Gwoka). Doana

8<sup>th</sup> - 23<sup>rd</sup> December Canberra for planning 1963 programme

22<sup>nd</sup> Jan '63 - 29<sup>th</sup> Sivepe

29<sup>th</sup> Jan - 4<sup>th</sup> Feb Bepero

5<sup>th</sup> Feb - 9<sup>th</sup> v. ~~Asigi~~ Asigi, <sup>(Ongohs)</sup> exploratory.

20/3 - 24/3 Kunu

~~17/4~~ 17/4 - 14/6 Ongohs + community blocks; also started on individual entrepreneurs.

12/15 July Private trip Gwoka base

28 Aug 5 Sept - Popondetta aerial photos + entrepreneurs.

~~21 Sept~~ 6<sup>th</sup> October Manus.

5<sup>th</sup> - 13<sup>th</sup> Nov British

~~10<sup>th</sup>~~ 10<sup>th</sup> Nov Solomon Islands

Adelaide lectures (University summer school)

Canberra





## NEW GUINEA RESEARCH UNIT - LAND TENURE RESEARCH

A number of different forms of land tenure and work organization have been and are being tried in an endeavour to increase the productivity of the Territory of Papua and New Guinea. In pre-war days the two major lines of development were in large-scale European plantations, and native planting under traditional systems of land tenure and work organization. During the last fifteen years, however, a variety of experiments have been initiated. These include highly capitalized, government financed resettlement schemes (as among Europeans and Indigenes at Popondetta), land development schemes operated by or with the cooperation of local government councils (as at Higaturu, Ambenob and Vudal), the cooperative holding and working of land (as at Manus), informal and extra-legal systems of "recording" individual title to native land for cash cropping (such as operate in several districts), leases of land from government to communal groups (as in Morobe and Manus), instances where changes in customary tenure are instituted by the indigenous people (as among some Tolai), and large areas where cash cropping is proceeding on land held under customary tenure following traditional patterns of work organization.

The Unit proposes to make detailed studies of sample areas which illustrate each of these systems to see whether the data indicate which of them is

- (a) most conducive to maximum productivity per acre, per man and per unit of capital,
- (b) which is best suited to the introduction of new techniques of production,
- (c) which is best adapted to the emerging patterns of social and work organization, and,
- (d) which factors influence indigenous people in determining the acceptability or otherwise of the various schemes or the decisions to modify their existing patterns of land tenure and work organization on their own land.

Evidence from comparable areas overseas will also be examined.

It is tentatively proposed that research should proceed along the following lines.

1. To compile and briefly summarise legislation, reports, articles and other data relating to land tenure and land development in the Territory. This, with the reconnaissance trip to visit areas of potential research interest, will probably take until June 1962.

2. To undertake research in conjunction with the Department of Pacific Economics on the six major tenure forms operating in the Popondetta area. i.e. the European ex-servicemen's scheme, the Higaturu Council scheme, the Yega project and traditional tenure forms, both those based on individual plots and those based on communal plots.

3. To examine the nature of land tenure and work organization on the Naramonke mechanical farming experiment and to determine the relationship between lands in the three "home" village lands and those under mechanical cropping.

4. To study and compare cash cropping in the Madang area as between council and non-council schemes in Ambemob and/or Karkar.

5. To study and compare cash cropping in the New Britain district as between the Vudal and Warangoi schemes, and Tolai cropping on traditionally held land.

6. To study and compare cash cropping on Manus as between cooperative, communal and individual holdings.

7. To maintain contact with overseas institutions which are examining comparable tenure problems in other parts of the world.

Six other fields which appear to merit study are:

- (i) The administration of Native Reserves.
- (ii) The operation of the Native Lands Commission and the Land Titles Commission.
- (iii) The effect of mechanical cultivation on the tenure system.
- (iv) The effects of the introduction of cattle on the tenure system in the Eastern Highlands and Morobe districts.
- (v) Problems of land tenure in urban areas.
- (vi) To study the spontaneous resettlement of the Kuni people, near Tapini.

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## NEW GUINEA RESEARCH UNIT

### Draft Proposals of 1961-66 Programme

Australia is committed by the United Nations Charter to the "political, economic, social and educational advancement" of the inhabitants of Papua and New Guinea. Deliberate planning of this 'advancement' at all levels is essential. Whether undertaken by public agencies, private enterprise, Europeans, Papuans or a mixture of these, certain basic knowledge of the people and their country is indispensable. The term 'advancement' implies knowledge of where one has come from and where one is going and carries the supposition that action has been and will be sensible. But being 'sensible' means not only the application of rational methods to given ends but also taking into account human fears, values and all those social phenomena which provide mankind with an interest in itself and a destiny as its future.

The New Guinea Research Unit's part is envisaged as gaining knowledge essential to the implementation of 'advancement'. This knowledge, apart from other considerations, is to be of a character to assist not only the application of present intentions, but also to aid in the formulation of policy derived from soundly based judgements and the critical appraisal of policy based on faulty preconceptions.

To achieve maximum effectiveness, knowledge must be gained of certain crucial aspects of the processes of change and growth. For convenience of presentation and administrative control the crucial aspects may be classified into projects. A project should be viewed as containing the phenomena on which the emphasis of study is to be placed at any given time. A research team engaged on a project will also be expected to record the evidence it comes up against on matters peripheral to its own but which is the project of another team. Thus the team engaged on Project A can expect a wider coverage of evidence through the systematic note taking on peripheral topics of Colleagues on Project B and vice versa. At approximately three monthly intervals it is hoped to bring members of teams together at some centre in the Highlands to exchange this evidence formally through seminars. The Highlands are preferred to safeguard the health of low-land workers by frequent breaks in a temperate climate.

The reasons for this arrangement of emphasis of study are (a) to systematise the exchange of peripheral evidence gained as a matter of course by field workers and thereby enhance the chances of it being published or used to good effect; (b) to give the knowledge gained intensively in one local area a wider but accurate interpretation so that decisions by Administrative Officers may be made on more territorially representative and certain grounds; (c) to encourage a larger perspective for the detailed field of any one research worker; and (d) to facilitate the movement of personnel specialising in a given topic from one team to another by providing the specialist with preliminary data to work on straight away.

The suggestion presupposes that teams will be organised in different geographical areas. The first team will be set up in Port Moresby for intensive work there. It should have as its region of interest the Papua Gulf country, the Milne Bay Peninsular and Popondetta. Two teams, to work jointly, may be necessary to cover the Highlands (including the Papuan Highlands), Morobe District, Madang and the Sepik. There is reason to believe this area is best viewed as an integral unit. The teams may best be centred administratively in Goroka as this is becoming an important transport junction. A further team is envisaged to cover New Britain, New Ireland, Bougainville and the Admiralty Islands (Manus), with its administrative centre of operations in Rabaul. Though this framework of geographical areas may appear rather artificial, it will have its use in the allocation of equipment, administrative facilities, and the

focusing of research data, books and other regionally affected material. It is hoped that personnel will move from one team to another depending upon the best locality to obtain the evidence.

The projects currently believed to be crucial in the processes of change and growth may be briefly described as follows:

Project (1) Re-Settlement: The distribution of people and those natural resources useful to a more advanced technology are currently largely at variance. Though some technical processes may be taken to centres of population, it is frequently advisable to encourage the movement and re-settlement of population. This is already occurring on a considerable scale. Port Moresby is suspected to contain 14,000 natives born in other parts of the Territory. Administrative officers have already had to take steps to return a number of 'undesirable' persons to their villages of origin. 'Undesirable' in this context means those for whom suitable facilities are not provided in Port Moresby. The settlement of selected Europeans, Chinese and Natives in the Worrongoi near Rabaul and on the volcanic soil near Popondetta (Mt Lamington) are only two of several attempts at rural re-settlement. Re-settlement is a subject for both urban and rural investigation. Further, the term should not be limited to schemes presupposing settlement on entirely new economic principles from those the occupants were formally engaged in, i.e. on a wage economy or individual ownership of a block of surveyed land. It should include the movement of groups - communities or related kinsmen - to new agricultural land to pursue agricultural activities based on subsistence and cash cropping but with traditional principles of land tenure and settlement on the land. Examples are the populating of the Bomai Plateau by Chimbu people of the Eastern Highlands or the settlement of people after volcanic disturbance, e.g. Manam Island.

The policy questions for which some relevant answers should emerge from the research on this project include, inter alia: the growth of which towns is likely to contribute most to rural development through absorbing redundant population or through stimulating demand for agricultural produce? Should agricultural resettlement be organised on the basis of individual ownership, co-operative enterprise and common ownership, private enterprise with employee or share owning labour, tribal and traditional ownership etc.? Should rural cash cropping development be the principal agent to retard urban migration? Should urban housing be provided largely on the basis of single or married accommodation and with permanent or temporary material? Should urban immigration be controlled by a pass and permit system? Should urban immigration be regulated and if so, by what means?

Academically considered this project offers knowledge on the growth of towns; the social organisation, and changes in it, of urban, peri-urban and rural persons affected by serious economic disturbance; the critical point at which selected persons decide to move from one social system to another; the ties of persons with the social system recently vacated and recently entered; the effect of particular facilities made available or declined in the receiving area; the intentions and suppositions of administering officers and governmental committees on the provision of funds and facilities for indigenous, poor and dependent persons, etc. Relevant academic theories involved in these studies include those on rural-urban migration; town growth; reduction of kinship ties on urbanisation and the individual acquisition and use of property; the relevance and function of town planning; the role and nature of authority in urban administration; private, corporate, traditional or co-operative organisation in economic activity etc.

It is intended to open field research by work in the Port Moresby area. The choice of this area rests on the fact that it is the administrative centre of the Territory and thus likely to introduce the personnel to the Administration headquarters staff, its thinking and services; the Administration is anxious that Port Moresby is studied with a view to planning its future; and Port Moresby offers an excellent variety of phenomena in an area comparatively well supplied with public services. In May, 1961, I prepared a Land Use map of Port Moresby and made pilot field enquiries in four native villages in the peri-urban area to ascertain the social composition of current land 'owners' and foreign natives

in them. It is now clear that Port Moresby's lay-out as a town is seriously influenced by rights to land held by natives and the current legislation and procedure for its acquisition and payment of compensation. If present trends continue a town of say 25,000 inhabitants will have shortly to consider the provision of transport for workers resident eight miles distant from their employment and a heavy cost in the provision of public services. Further, the settlement of foreign natives in peri-urban villages is continuing apace and is a serious threat to the land rights of those villagers and to their continued political authority. Increases in population from persons currently resident in the area - not to mention further immigration - are likely to assume immense proportions from about 1970 onwards. Foreign natives appear to come largely from three areas - the Gulf country (Keremas), coastal settlements immediately to the north of Port Moresby and coastal settlement in the Rigo sub-District, 50 miles to the South East of Port Moresby.

To commence, it is intended to employ two Research Officers and from four to six native assistants centred in Port Moresby. The division of work will involve one officer examining the town and its growth historically, the relevant legislation affecting urban settlement, the financial implications of existing services and of alternative courses of action, the ecological distribution of selected phenomena, the assumptions of administration and town planning in respect of the area, and further phenomena which characterise the town as a particular urban concentration. The second officer is expected to examine the origin and distribution in the urban area of foreign natives, the mode of their settlement in the variety of circumstances they are found to experience, their income and expenditure patterns, their relationship with local born natives, the Administration, with their village of origin and with themselves in the urban area. In brief, his emphasis will be on the people, their problems and characteristics. Together these two officers should be in a position to see the work of the other in the perspective of his own.

The development of this project can take the form of comparative analysis of other towns in the Territories; the comparison of selected aspects of settlement in Port Moresby with those in certain agricultural propositions e.g. the pattern of disintegration of traditional kinship relations under conditions of individual ownership in contrast to an urban wage economy; the comparison of income and expenditure on urban and rural re-settlement schemes, etc.

#### Project (2) The Ownership and Use of Property.

By 'property' is meant the rights of individuals or selectively organised groups over material objects, including land. The Territory currently contains an extreme range of viewpoints on property. On the one hand entrenched European planters - some with company financial backing - take a strongly individualistic, highly exclusive, utilitarian capital accumulative exploitive view on property. On the other, distribution of property in terms of the needs of kinsmen, group 'ownership' of land, subsistence tendencies etc. are but some features of indigenous views on property. The adoption of either of these extremes as national policy, particularly if correlated with race, risks a future of conflict on the one hand or very sterile and tardy 'advancement' on the other. Thus, successful development of the Territories must include the formulation of an approach to property that is acceptable to the majority yet contains characteristics conducive to economic growth. Unless government is to be allowed to persist in its currently exaggerated role of controller of the distribution of property among the races and within all sections of the community - land may not be bought or sold except through the administration, for example - efforts must be directed at seeking new but widely acceptable institutions for the control of property. Just what form such institutions should take and what steps are necessary to achieve their popular acceptance - is one object of research in this project.

There appear to be three principal topics on which work should be done:-

- (a) Indigenous people have in their possession considerable capital assets - mainly in land. The Administration pays considerable sums annually to natives for land purchases. These sums appear to be made little use of in terms of

productive enterprises. Large sums are dissipated on distribution to kinsmen and others with very tenuous claims to it. Money is generally spent on consumer goods. Yet the Drs Epstein in Rabaul have shown the existence of serious and considerable attempts at the accumulation and use of capital items by indigenous groups and individuals. It appears that the value of capital is appreciated, but the conditions for its successful use are little understood or unable to be applied. The social forces which surround the accumulation and use of capital in contemporary indigenous societies must be a subject of extended study. The same examination might be continued in many contemporary European owned plantations, with particular reference to those of Missions, where large areas of land are held under freehold or leasehold but not used for intensive economic production.

(b) Certain experimental work has been undertaken with new forms of economic organisation. The Tolai Cocoa Project and the extensive co-operative - producer, consumer and marketing - movement are examples. There are also many small scale indigenous entrepreneurs especially in building and civil engineering. These and similar attempts deserve study from both an economic and sociological point of view. They can act as intensive case studies to provide clues and even verification for hypotheses formulated through more general techniques. Such studies should reveal many of the factors associated with the conditions of success or failure.

(c) The 1960 Urban Wages Agreement was the outcome of rather unique, if not peculiar, procedures in management - labour relations. Its outcome, however, may have far reaching consequence. For example, it removed the obligation of employers of certain types of labour to accommodate their employees. It appears to have effectively thrown onto the Administration the onus of accepting responsibility for housing a large proportion of the urban population, i.e. those in no financial position to construct their own. The implication in terms of capital requirements may be immense. It is doubtful if the Administration was itself aware, or is even currently aware, of this consequence.

Perhaps of more importance still is the now established procedure for the determination of a minimum wage rate. Though this procedure is made effective by granting only advisory power to a Board and requiring promulgation by the Administrator, it consists essentially of direct negotiation by management and labour through the agency of a legally constituted Native Employment Board. Though the details of these arrangements are as yet unclear to me, it is obvious that such procedure presupposes the existence of organised management and organised labour. That these do in fact exist in any long term effective form is still very uncertain. The procedure must act as a powerful incentive to their formation. The effect of such developments on the wage rates of the future, on the view and aspirations of indigenous workers and their organisation, on the ability of the country to afford increases in minimum wage, etc. may be serious. By instituting this procedure the Administration runs the risk of having removed the determination of minimum wage rates from the realm of its own direct influence. To have done this so early in the process of economic development may yet be regretted.

It also appears incongruous that so important an institution as wage determination machinery should be set up so largely outside of the Administration at a time when so many others are intimately and exclusively bound to direct official decision.

The above three topics may prove to be only a minor portion of the project. It may eventuate that issues of discipline, authority, integrity generally and integrity when in bureaucratic office, leadership and other phenomena of a political and decision making character prove to be as crucial in the ownership and use of property as those suggested above. Some of the theoretical works of Max Weber, Werner Sombart and Talcott Parsons suggest this may well be the case. Until the project is further explored the extent of its influence and of its further importance to 'advancement' cannot fairly be gauged.

### Project (3) Democratic Association:

One major characteristic of Western culture is the use made of associations in social organisation. Examples include political parties, trade and



professional unions, womens' clubs etc. They are characterised by a singleness of purpose and by a wide range in their influence as agents of social change. Their presence enables an individual to participate in a wide variety of interests. Their success is universally dependent upon members' participation and enthusiasm. They are the product of an advanced and complex culture. They are powerful instruments both of change and resistance to change. They are influential in mitigating the impact on individuals and groups of the consequences of rapid and radical change. They are rarely found in primitive societies; but their presence and active support of them are essential elements in the creation of an advanced society.

One of the reasons for the current lack of tension between the Administration and the indigenous people of Papua/New Guinea is the absence of associations. Tribal fragmentation, language and topographical barriers, a paternalistic administration and an emphasis on rural development are among the causative factors in this phenomenon. The 'advancement' of the Territory is dependent on the formation of associations, on the growth of the skill to run them and on the acceptance by people of them as an organisational instrument. Their success, and the success of the Administration in handling them and the tensions they will give rise to, will be the index in future years of good government and leadership. That officers of the Crown, if they are to succeed in their purpose, must deliberately foster the very organisational principle that will challenge them and the Administration in general, calls for no mean qualities of statesmanship. It is for these reasons that democratic association is elevated in emphasis to that of a project.

The skill to run successfully a major association, such as a political party or trade union, must largely be gained by experience. In this respect the football and dance clubs play an important role. From the research point of view the latter offer opportunities for study in depth in that the issues around which members differ or agree - thence those around which they organise - are trivial and hence public. They allow a study of problems inherent in this type of organisational principle as well as those peculiar to the indigenous people experimenting with this principle. Eventually findings from these minor studies must be applied to the larger and more important associations.

The present is particularly opportune to begin this study. Embryonic major associations exist, e.g. Kerema Welfare Association, Papua and New Guinea Workers' Association, etc. but they have as yet received little recognition. There is, however, a growing number of active womens' clubs, and recreational clubs which may be used at the present time for intensive case study. A mere record of events in the major organisations, coupled with a lively interest in them, would suffice until they show signs of assuming greater importance in public affairs.

The principal issues to be taken up include constitutions and internal organisational arrangement; the role of the leader and of his successor and forebear; the participation of members and the retention of interest; the problem of constitutional and democratic procedure; the effect of an association's action on the powers it is influencing and on the wider public it may sooner or later claim to represent. I envisage a social psychologist and a student of political science or social organisation to be well fitted for this project.

It is estimated to cost £5,000 for the first and second year and £8,000 in the third and fourth years. The project may need to be carried on in a minor way into the fifth year, or the time of major expenditure postponed to the end of the five years, if the expected activity of the major associations is delayed this long. A final year for writing up is estimated to cost £6,000. If the study is enlarged to include the problems associated with the development of associations in rural, tribal communities - and especially associations concerned with political activity or centring on existing institutions such as Local Government Councils - an annual expenditure of £8,000 per annum over the five years may be estimated for.

Project 4. Inter-cultural Communication:-

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Efforts directed at leading the people of the Territories to a new way of life are sincere and real. The Australian government and the Territory Administration consider this to be one of their direct responsibilities. Formal school and technical education are the principal means. But in the very act of governing primitive and advancing communities - quite apart from educating - the process of teaching on the one hand and learning from those taught on the other go hand in hand. In democratically constituted societies the civil servant, the teacher and others in a position to influence the populace usually have defined for them a passive non-participant role. Political parties, not civil servants, have an ear to the attitudes of the electorate. Yet under New Guinea conditions such officers are often formally committed as part of their duty to influence the indigenous people, assist them in their understanding of events and decisions and to report back to senior officers their findings and interpretations of the indigenous people's actions, attitudes and decisions. They have, in fact, an ambivalent role. The point was well exemplified in the 'responsible' attitude of Territory Officials when having to conduct the recent elections for indigenous members of the Legislative Council. They had on the one hand to educate the populace on the institution of popular election yet not influence that election itself.

In many instances the conflict of interests is in other spheres. An Agricultural Officer may be committed to the teaching of correct technical procedures for the growth of coffee. Yet he may know that coffee is over-supplied on world markets and the indigenous person's investment in coffee may well suffer the effects of falling prices. An Inspector of co-operative Societies has the task of teaching new methods of organisation for business activity. Yet the range of activities to which co-operative principles may be applied before crossing the interests of private enterprise or capital devolving from other and influential sources is clearly limited. The District Commissioner's relationship to his District Advisory Council and its members is another illustration of ambivalence in official capacity and role.

Further, the very act of 'educating' adult indigenous persons is extremely complex. A child is not only physiologically predisposed to learn, but he is also at a stage in life when he carries no responsibilities. Thus learning and actively associating himself with the most outlandish notions are relatively easy. The responsibilities that come with adulthood compromise this ease. Learning can be painful. Adult learning always takes place in a defined, particular social situation. For this reason there is no certainty that any particular method of teaching, e.g. mass communication, expert advice from officials, the advice of indigenous 'learned' peers etc., will prove effective if it is unrelated to the particular situation. (Emery F.E. and Oeser O.A. in "Information, Decision and Action", Melbourne University Press, 1958, have made this quite clear.)

Research on this project requires a two-fold approach. The civil servants whose duty it is to instruct and teach need to be the centre of one approach; the method of instruction and its consequences on the people instructed is the second. These approaches can be unified at the point of administrative decision as to the duties of particular officers and as to programmes of adult education and instruction after the present situation has been clarified. It is my considered opinion that this field of activity in the Territory is one of the least understood. It is also crucial to the purposes of the administering power and to the good government of the area.

Discussions with middle-range officials in three Departments - Co-operatives, Agriculture and Native Affairs - has satisfied me that many would not object to being the subjects of searching enquiry.

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