

**The Establishment of the Territory of Papua and
New Guinea Corrective Institution Branch**

and

**The Australian Colonial Detainee Rehabilitation
Policies on the Indigenous Inmates in the Territory
of Papua and New Guinea Jails**

from

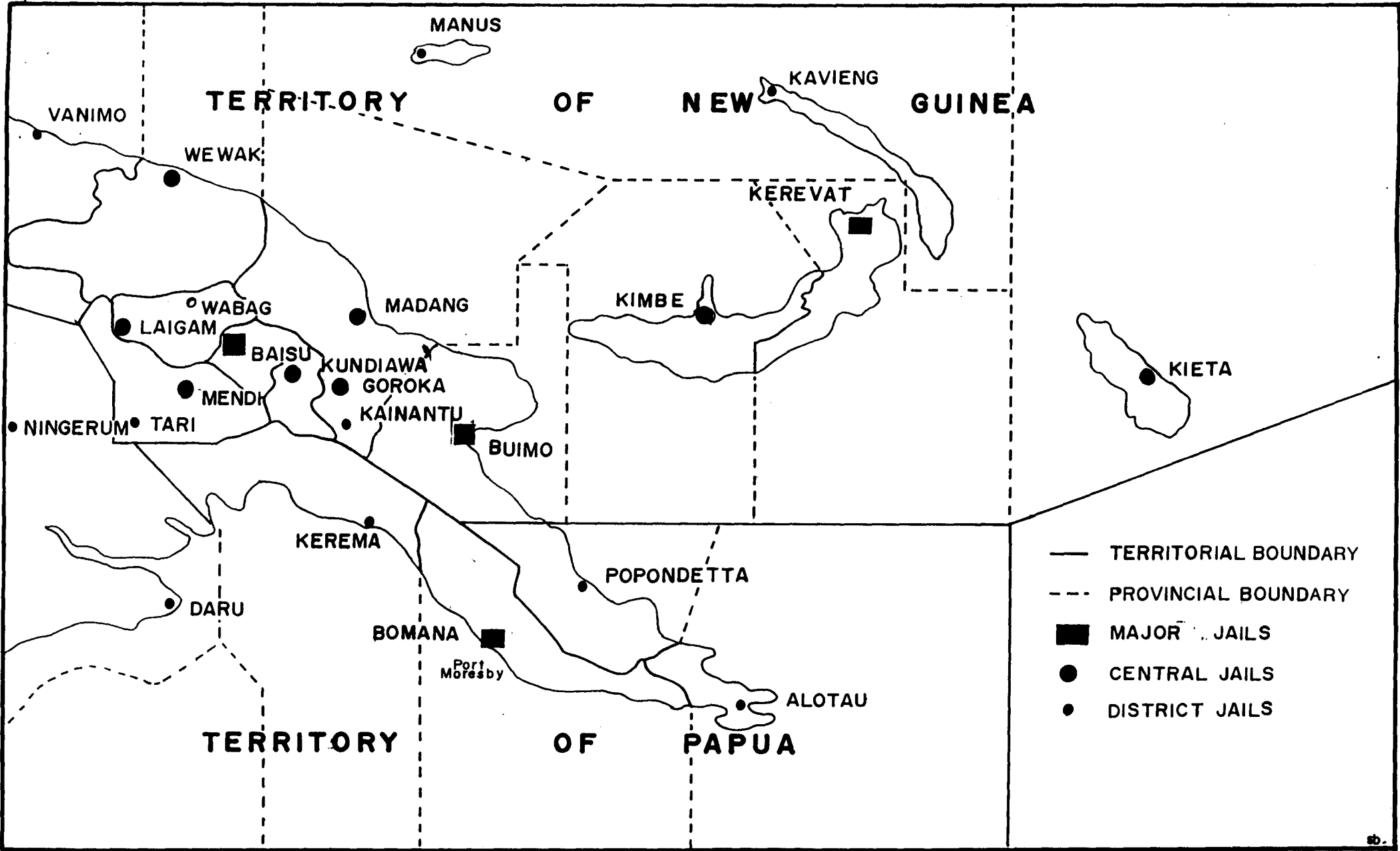
1950 to 1975

Richard Charles Sikani BA(Hons) UPNG

**Australian Institute of Criminology
Canberra**

1992

Map A - Territory of Papua and New Guinea - Location of Major, Central and District Corrective Institutions



Contents

Map A	Territory of Papua and New Guinea - Location of Major, Central and District Corrective Institutions	iii
Acknowledgements		ix
1	Focus: The Background Information on the Corrective Institution Branch which had been Introduced into the Territory of Papua and New Guinea in the 1950s	1
	Significance of the Research	3
	Methodology	3
	Focuses on Chapters	4
	Conclusion	6
2	Early Prison Innovations	7
	Introduction	7
	Development of Early Corrective Institutions	7
	Early Development of Rehabilitation Concepts	9
	Aims of Establishing Corrective Institutions	10
	Enacted Establishment of a Corrective Institution and Its Policies	11
	Category of Inmates Selected for Rehabilitation Purposes	12
	Papuans' and New Guineans' Views about Corrective Institutions	13
	Conclusion	14
3	Research Design	17
	Introduction	17
	Objectives	17
	Archival and Library Search	17
	Consultation of Correctional Service Files	18
	Case Study	18
	Interview Schedule Method	19
	Institutional Rehabilitation Policies	19
	Conclusion	20

4	Presentation of the Results of the Field Work Case Studies	21
	Introduction	21
	Identification of Rehabilitation Projects	21
	Institutional Rehabilitation of Inmates	22
	Rehabilitation Policies	22
	Retired Warders' Responses	23
	Serving Warders' Responses	25
	Released Detainees' Responses	27
	Serving Detainees' Responses	29
	Conclusion	31
5	Discussion of the Results	33
	Introduction	33
	Development of the Corrective Institution Branch	33
	Colonial Policies and the Establishment of Corrective Institutions	35
	Detainee Rehabilitation Policies and Projects	37
	Staff Policy and Training	40
	Views of Retired and Serving Warders on Colonial Rehabilitation Policies	41
	Views of Released and Serving Detainees on Rehabilitation and Punishment	43
	Training and Developments for Rehabilitation in Corrective Institutions	44
	Conclusion on Detainee Rehabilitation	50
	Summary	51
6	Punishment and Rehabilitation in Prelietate Societies	53
	Introduction	53
	Crime and Social Structure	53
	Unofficial Laws of Preliterate Societies	54
	Enforcement of Sanctions	56
	Social Control in Preliterate Societies	57
	Conclusion	58

7	Conclusions and Suggestions	61
	Aim	61
	Summary and Conclusion	62
	Suggestions and Recommendations	64
	Revitalisation of Industrial and Agricultural Industries	66

Bibliography	69
---------------------	-----------

Appendices

A	Interview Schedule for Retired Warders	75
B	Interview Schedule for Serving Warders	77
C	Interview Schedule for Released Detainees	79
D	Interview Schedule for Serving Detainees	81
E	Press Statement - Prison Reform in Papua and New Guinea	83
F	Territory of Papua and New Guinea - Tables giving the Corrective Institutions Daily Averages for Papua and New Guinea	87

List of Tables

1	Retired Warders by Age	23
2	Retired Warders by Years of Service	24
3	Serving Warders by Age	25
4	Serving Warders by Years of Service	26
5	Released Detainees by Age	27
6	Released Detainees by Term of Imprisonment	28
7	Serving Detainees by Age	29
8	Serving Detainees by Term of Imprisonment	30

Acknowledgements

This monograph was written as part of my BA Honours Degree program commencing in the 1989 academic year. I owe my gratitude to a number of individuals and groups who have helped me in my research and the documentation of this monograph.

First, I wish to thank Dr Wari Iamo, a member of the Department of Anthropology and Sociology, who encouraged me to move in the right direction at the early stages of the research. Upon Dr Wari Iamo's secondment to the Papua New Guinea Institute of Applied Social and Economic Research (IASER), I was very fortunate to have Dr Bruce Yeates as my new supervisor. For being my supervisor in his busy schedule I owe him many thanks and I am grateful for his kindness and assistance during all the stages of my write-up.

I also extend my gratitude to the following people who have kindly assisted me during my field work: at Baisu Gaol, Mount Hagen, special thanks to Mr and Mrs Kanawi, Sergeant Tony Yohui, Corporal Simon Maip and many others. At Buimo Gaol, Lae, Jimmy Weri and Sergeant Dominic Kanog. At Kerevat Gaol, Rabaul, Joe Sigimet, Rex Wafi, David Kanigra, Corporal Francis Saigomi, Warder Leo Walele and Chief Silas Yamankuan and at Bomana Gaol, Port Moresby, special thanks to Chief Napoleon Kuta, Corporal Tikio Piska and Warder Ben Biri. To you all I owe each one of you many thanks with never ending memories.

I also owe many thanks to Dr Otto Netikel for spending his valuable time on my grammatical errors during the original writing up of this monograph. My gratitude also goes to Mrs Angela Mandi Filer for her useful advice and comments which guided me in the right direction to carry out research work for this monograph. I am also very grateful to the staff of the Papua New Guinea National Archives, the National Library and the Michael Somare Library of the University of Papua New Guinea.

Many many thanks are due to my sponsor, the Department of Personnel Management - especially the Chief Training Officer, Takon Jones - for assisting me over the years by providing continued sponsorship. Without the sponsorship and support I would not have come this far and I owe Mrs Jones and her training officers an immense debt.

Furthermore, my sincere thanks to Francis Gesa, the Deputy Commissioner, Operations and Martin Balthasar, the Assistant Commissioner, Education and Training of Correctional Service Headquarters, who authorised my field work case study funds and allowances. To both of them I owe great respect.

My gratitude also goes to Rita Roffunduo of Correctional Service Headquarters and Idau Hitolo of the Department of Anthropology and

Sociology for devoting their valuable time and efforts in typing this manuscript. To both of them I am very very grateful.

I am also grateful to the Acting Director Wari Iamo for organising my affiliation to the Papua New Guinea National Research Institute from the Department of Corrective Institution Services to work on this monograph for publication. My gratitude goes to Dr Jim Robins for the preliminary editorial work on this manuscript. Many thanks go to John Walker and Lavinia Hill of the Australian Institute of Criminology, Canberra, for the final editorial work which has made possible the publication of this monograph. The final manuscript has been computer typeset by Lavinia Hill at the Australian Institute of Criminology, Canberra.

Finally, but not least, I am grateful to those whose names I have not mentioned, but whose help has been equally valuable. To all of you I owe you so much.

Richard Charles Sikani

Chapter One

Focus: The Background Information on the Corrective Institution Branch which had been Introduced into the Territory of Papua and New Guinea in the 1950s

This monograph focuses on the concept of the establishment of a corrective institution branch for the reformation and rehabilitation of indigenous inmates who were sentenced to imprisonment in the corrective institutions in the Territory of Papua and New Guinea. The prison system was introduced by the colonial imperial powers to establish their own administrative autonomy on the indigenous people.

The corrective institution branch is an innovation introduced into the Territory by the colonisers to establish their superior imperial powers and to safeguard their colonial autonomy in the social, political and economic interests in the colony. The main part of this work focuses on the colonial rehabilitation or reformation systems in this state controlled institution, where punishment and rehabilitation were enforced on the indigenous inmates in the Territory's corrective institutions. The research and interviews carried out in the four major central corrective institutions, reveals the views of the warders and detainees as the recipients of the concepts, and whether they have benefited from the rehabilitation policies that were implemented by the Australian colonial prison officers in the Territory of Papua and New Guinea from 1950 to 1975.

The concept of 'prisons' to many people:

The word prison means different things to different people. To the law abiding it is the place where criminals end up, to the criminals it may be a vague hazard or an unavoidable indignity oft experienced. To the social inadequate it may be a shelter, to some isolated individuals it may be the only place where they can find semblance of companionship. To the prison officers it is a place of work, to the administrators it is a unit that costs so much to run, needs so many staff and holds x number of inmates, to the politicians it may be a headache: Some who should be inside get out. Or some who should be outside mistakenly locked up. To a few it can actually mean hope To many it may be a place where they are at home, important, able to wield

influence or to exercise power. To others it is the end of the line, degradation, the place where they finally count for nothing (Klare 1973, p. 3).

The concept of a corrective institution branch and the underlying reasons why such a foreign-born institution was introduced by the colonial administration into the Territory of Papua and New Guinea. There are many reasons for the imposition of a corrective institution by the colonial powers, on the Territory. Shirley (1982, p. 29) explained that many Third World countries have been decolonised from colonial imperial power exploitation. Papua New Guinea once was colonised by the various colonial powers but became an independent sovereign nation on 16 September 1975.

The colonial Territory of Papua and New Guinea was an integral part of the metropolitan State and bequeathed all its institutions, including the corrective institution branch. In the Territory, the administrative relationship was formal and was dominated by the metropolitan apparatus (MacPherson 1982, p. 44). The establishment of a corrective institution branch as the formal administrative apparatus was aimed at maintaining the dependency relationship between the Territory of Papua and New Guinea and the imperial status. As explained by Shirley (1982, p. 29), the relationship enabled the metropolitan State to influence the policies which had direct bearing on the social, political and economic status of the indigenous people. One may presume that the role of the colonial administration was primarily to ensure that the economic interests of the metropolitan power in the two Territories was protected (MacPherson 1982, p. 42).

The Territory of Papua and the Australian administered United Nation's Trust Territory of New Guinea were administered as an integrated unit (Biles 1976, p. 1). These territories were no exception to other colonies, because most colonised countries relied heavily on imprisonment. This was to 'teach' the indigenous people to adapt to the colonial way of life by upholding their introduced laws in the state-controlled institution. This occurred in all colonised countries as well as the Territory of Papua and New Guinea which inherited the prison system from the Australian colonial administration.

When the Territory of Papua and New Guinea attained self-government in 1973 and subsequently independence in 1975, the corrective institution system still reflected the colonial legacy. The long-term inmates were housed in larger central prisons under the control of the corrective institution branch, while short-termers (including minor offenders) were the responsibility of the patrol officers (*Kiaps*), who also had control over the district and subsidiary (rural lock-ups) institutions in the Territory.

Significance of the Research

The reason for carrying out this research was to identify whether or not the colonial detainee rehabilitation policies have benefited those detainees serving long-term sentences in the corrective institutions. The prison system in the Territory was administered under two different Prison Ordinances until 1957 when the Territory of Papua and New Guinea Legislative Council passed the Corrective Institution Ordinance of 1957 (No. 67 of 1957) to replace all other prison ordinances that were in force. When the new Corrective Institution Ordinance was passed, the Australian colonial administration immediately took the step to establish corrective institutions throughout the Territory. The colonial administration had established agricultural and industrial projects in these institutions to rehabilitate indigenous detainees who had violated the introduced laws by serving their terms of imprisonment in the corrective institutions.

Methodology

This monograph is an archival, library, correctional service closed files, research, field work case study of the corrective institution branch from 1950 to 1975. The objective of this monograph is to establish the effectiveness of the Australian colonial detainee rehabilitation policies, and the associated activities in the establishment of agricultural and industrial projects in the major central, central and district corrective institutions to rehabilitate indigenous inmates. The theme is: 'The establishment of a corrective institution branch and the Australian colonial detainee rehabilitation policies on the indigenous inmates in the Territory of Papua and New Guinea from 1950 to 1975'.

The methodology adopted to carry out the research for this monograph includes research in archives, libraries, case studies and interviews. The author has conducted archival research at the Papua New Guinea National Archives, the National Library, the Michael Somare Library at the University of Papua New Guinea and the closed files of Correctional Services Headquarters, from July to November 1989. The archival and library research were purported to discover the chronological events of the corrective institution branch in the Territory of Papua and New Guinea between 1950 to 1975.

The research was also intended to analyse the various memoranda, correspondences, and the Corrective Institution Branch policy documents in the creation of the corrective institution branch. The corrective institution initially came under the umbrella of the Department of Civil Affairs but later was administered by the Department of Law from 1961 onwards. When the Territory of Papua and New Guinea attained self-government in 1973 and

with its transition through to independence from Australia in 1975, the first Papuan and New Guinean National officer, Wilfred Timon Bai, was appointed as the acting Controller (Commissioner) of the Branch in the Territory. In 1975, after independence, the corrective institution branch subsequently started to deviate from the Department of Law (Justice) by working its way through to be granted departmental status, and was known as the Department of Corrective Institution Service. After a transitional period of ten years, it was granted full departmental status in 1985 by the National Government and became a department of its own which is now known as the Department of Correctional Services.

Focuses on Chapters

Chapter One introduces the whole monograph and discusses the introduction of the concept of a corrective institution into the Territory of Papua and New Guinea. It focuses on the significance of the research carried out and the number of methods used by the author to establish and develop the theme of the monograph. The results are analysed in Chapters Four and Five and have direct bearing on the social, political and economic activities of the indigenous people during the Australian colonial administration period and thereafter.

Chapter Two is a review of the relevant literature on the general historical background activities relating to the detainee reformation or rehabilitation. These same prison concepts are the ones that have been introduced into the Territory of Papua and New Guinea. The punishments used in these early days, for example, corporal punishment, whipping and blood sanctions, have changed with the establishment of more positive institutions such as borstals, youth training centres, and detention and correctional centres for detainee rehabilitation or reformation.

The review also looks at the types of penitentiary reforms that have taken place in Europe, America, Asia, Australia and many other Western societies. Because many of the world-wide reformation concepts were introduced in Western Societies, the Australian colonial administration under the Menzies Government used the same reformation concept calls for urgent changes in the Territory's prison system. The relevant literature reviewed is related to the hypothesis discussed in Chapter Three.

Chapter Three discusses the methods which were employed to carry out the studies to establish the aims and objectives of this monograph. The methods employed to carry out the research were archival, library, correctional service closed files and the field work case studies at Baisu, Buimo, Kerevat and Bomana, major central corrective institutions. The archival, library, and closed files which were researched, and the interviews conducted, were to investigate the number of problems or activities in

agricultural and industrial detainees' rehabilitation projects that were carried out by the Australian colonial administration to administer the corrective institution branch in the Territory's prison system.

Chapter Four focuses on the results of the research and the field work case studies. The author only presents the findings of research, based on the hypotheses outlined in Chapter Three. The main points discussed are the establishment of detainee rehabilitation projects in agriculture and industrial industries - for example, mechanical, carpentry, forestry, plumbing, painting, gardening and animal husbandry. The chapter also outlines the establishment of the corrective institution branch, its policies and how these policies of detainee rehabilitation were implemented to benefit the recipients in the new organisation in the Territory of Papua and New Guinea.

Chapter Five, analyses the results and examines the issues discussed as the main part of this monograph to assess the potential of the establishment of the corrective institution branch. The Australian colonial administration introduced detainee rehabilitation policies in agricultural and industrial trades that have brought about changes in the Territory's prison system. The chapter also analyses the views of retired and serving warders, and released and serving detainees' personal experiences and views on the rehabilitation policies. In order to elicit the benefits of the colonial rehabilitation policies, an interview schedule method was employed to obtain their views about the Australian colonial rehabilitation activities on the indigenous detainees. In particular, data were collected on how it has benefited the long-term inmates who were serving terms of imprisonment during the Australian colonial administration in the corrective institutions in Papua and New Guinea.

Chapter Six is the illustration semblance clustering the number of simple communities acts of various forms of traditional punishment and rehabilitation that were enforced by the preliterate inhabitants in Melanesian society as well as in the world, before the Europeans came into contact with these preliterate societies. In Papua New Guinea they have nearly seven hundred languages in the confederacies which signify the diverse cultural or traditional customs and norms that these societies were regulating and enforced to control various social behaviours in their traditional demarcated communities. These preliterate societies had exercised miscellaneous unique forms of sanctions to regulate their acts of violence within these preliterate societies to enforced rehabilitation. In all preliterate societies such institutions as courts, house arrest, police, prisons or corrective institutions, war captivity and so on were unheard of before European contact. This chapter simply elicits comparatively some of the miscellaneous forms of punishment and rehabilitation, that were policed in these preliterate societies by the inhabitants before the contact. This notion obviously applies to the Papua New Guinea simple Melanesian communities and also to other similar

preliterate societies around the world before the Europeans came into contact with these preliterate societies.

The final chapter summarises the main issues discussed in this monograph and presents the rationale for the establishment of the agricultural and industrial projects that were introduced for the rehabilitation of the long-term detainees by the Australian colonial prison officers.

Finally, some raw areas of further research are proposed to assist the planners of prison reforms to find better ways, through research and planning, to solve some of the problems currently encountered by the prison administrators of corrective institutions in Papua New Guinea, one of the young countries in the World to be developing its own system.

Conclusion

The monograph focuses on the introduction of corrective institutions into the Territory of Papua and New Guinea. These innovative institutions were established by the colonial imperial empire to serve their own social, political, and economic interests in the state-controlled institution in the colonies. The Australian colonial administration introduced the foreign-born institution to punish those indigenous people who violated the introduced laws. It was also used to teach the indigenous inmates the foreign concepts of agricultural and industrial projects which were introduced by the colonial prison officers in the major central, central and district institutions. These rehabilitation projects and trades were taught to the long-term inmates but not those serving short-term sentences in the subsidiary institutions. The personal experiences and views expressed by the detainees and warders indicate how the projects have benefited them as the recipients while under the Australian colonial administration from 1950 to 1975.

Finally, the research could have been carried out nationally and abroad to interview both Papua New Guineans and Australians who had worked in the Corrective Institution Branch from 1950 to 1975. Financial constraints and limited time made it impossible to carry out a detailed study to that depth.

Chapter Two

Early Prison Innovations

Introduction

Corrective institution systems were introduced into the Territory of Papua and New Guinea by the colonial administration (Strathern 1976, pp. 68-69). There is not much written about the corrective institutions in this country. This chapter surveys some of the relevant literature which is related to the corrective institution reforms and detainee rehabilitation schemes that have evolved mainly in Europe, America and Australia, before being introduced into the Territory of Papua and New Guinea.

This chapter does not aim to survey the total historical development of corrective institutions in the world, as such development started as far back as the thirteenth century. The relevant literature surveyed deals with the hypotheses in Chapter Three and relates to the modern corrective institution system, where corrective institutions are used as places of punishment, places of segregation and places of reform or rehabilitation of detainees. There is also a brief summary on the literature review of the modern corrective institutions system that led to the introduction of the concepts which were imported into the Territory of Papua and New Guinea by the colonial administration (Lawrence 1970, pp. 40-50).

Development of Early Corrective Institutions

The beginning of corrective institutions as a system of reform or rehabilitation does not stem from Papua New Guinea's Melanesian society. A study carried out by Pospisil (1979 p. 133) on the Kapauku's stated that: 'institutions such as gaols, house arrest, war captivity, serfdom and slavery were unheard before contact'. Strathern (1976 p. 68) also states that the corrective institution or colonial laws are an introduced colonial legacy, an institution to punish offenders for crimes and torts in a colonial introduced society.

Corrective institutions in Western society started in the thirteenth century when they were administered by the local barons, municipalities and the churches, and were used coercively to encompass places of punishment such as in whipping, leg ironing, corporal punishment, banishing, blood sanctions and so on (Tomasic & Dobinson 1979, p. 6). During the early days, the use of blood sanctions was the most common method of dealing with criminal offenders - for example, the loss of a hand or an ear for stealing, or death by mutilation for more serious offences. Amean (1983, pp. 23-24) and

Feil (1976, p. 447) pointed out that, in the Highlands, when the first colonial prisons were established at Wabag and Birip, similar methods of blood sanctions were seen as punitive in nature and were enforced on the indigenous inmates during the early Australian colonial administration.

Imprisonment in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was seen as a punitive institution in Ancient Rome, Egypt, China, India, Assyria, Babylon and was firmly established in Europe by the Renaissance (Morris 1974, p. 4). It was also widely applied to the mass of petty offenders, vagrants, alcoholics, mentally ill patients, inadequate nuisances and sturdy beggars in most societies. This method of punishment was continued well into the nineteenth century and one important reformatory development which took place in Belgium, was Bible reading by inmates instead of enforcing brutality and corporal punishments for the inmates detained in these prisons.

Tomasic and Dobinson (1979, p. 7) stated that in 1775, a prison was built to house vagrants and able-bodied beggars who were then put to productive use or may prevent inmates from becoming dangerous criminals. During the twentieth century the same views were held by some reformers to establish borstals, and institutions such as youth training, detention and correctional centres (Barry 1969, p. 55).

Imprisonment in the Territory of Papua and New Guinea, as well as for the rest of the world, is the end product of the Western criminal justice system. Corrective institutions are not social service institutions providing residential accommodation and they can neither control the volume nor the intake rate of the prisoners. He further stated that prison administrators can never put up a sign, 'No Room at Inn' (Cooper 1974, p. 26). The corrective institutions in America were introduced by the Pennsylvania Quakers in the last decade of the eighteenth century with the intention to 'cure' the criminals (Mackenzie 1980, p. 8).

In 1876, the New-gate Prison came into service as the State Penitentiary of New York. It was modelled on the Walnut Street Gaol but took its name from an earlier English institution. Corrective institutions grew and flourished throughout America and later throughout the world, and were like a pervasive American export (Morris 1974, p. 5). The Pennsylvania Quakers must be praised or blamed for the invention (or reinvention) of the corrective institutions concept (Melossi & Pavarini 1981, p. 104).

In the Territory of Papua and New Guinea, the corrective institution was introduced by the Australian colonial administrators to strengthen and safeguard their own interests in the colonies (Larson 1968, pp. 1-16).

The colonial administrators were concerned with the establishment of their own superior power and fostered the idea of a centralised state. In 1975, after independence the administrative management of corrective institutions was taken over and controlled by the national government which

sought to develop Papua New Guinea's prison service in line with the rest of the world (Strathern 1976, pp. 68-69; Townsend 1933, pp. 424-34).

Early Development of Rehabilitation Concepts

In the early development of corrective institutions in England, America and other Western countries, most of the prisons were inefficiently administered by the respective organisations. King and Morgan (1980, pp. 1-2), stated that, in England, the corrective institutions in the eighteenth century were extremely poorly run and were filled with various diseases and the inmates were detained in notorious prison ships and hulks. In 1821, the first national penitentiary was established at Millbank and became the nucleus of a prison system (Cross 1971, p. 8).

Hall (1987, p. 23) observed that the work accomplished by Western society consisted of three related parts:

- relief of physical suffering of prisoners;
- reform of the criminal code in reducing the number of capital crimes; and
- introducing imprisonment as a typical method of punishment in place of corporal punishment, by the development of a system of prison discipline.

Humanitarian reformers initially focused on curing the destructive aspects of partial incarceration, rather than using prison for rehabilitation.

However, sociologists such as Cross (1971, p. 8) strongly believed that prison reform would only be successful if it was brought under rehabilitation, or more humane treatment of offenders.

The principal instrument of English social policy involved whipping, banishing and corporal punishment. These punishments continued until the middle of the nineteenth century when a change in prison reform and rehabilitation occurred. Melossi and Pavarini (1981, p. 4) noted that, at the request of certain clerics who were alarmed at the amount of begging in London, the King consented to the use of Bridewell Palace as a place where vagrants, idlers, thieves and petty criminals would be housed.

Other sociologists such as Blizsek (1977, p. 25) shared similar views about prison rehabilitation and stated that the aim of the institution which was to be governed by an iron hand was threefold:

- to discourage vagrancy and idleness outside its wall;
- to reform the inmates by compulsory labour and discipline; and
- at least to ensure its own self-sufficiency by means of labour in the institution.

Along the same line of reform, Barry (1959, p. 181) pointed out that it was no accident that Alexander Maconochie in 1842 as the superintendent of the Norfolk Island penal settlement, invented the mark system for convict discipline. Cross (1971, p. 9) also pointed out that, in England, a vast number of changes taking place in prison conditions were affected by rules and standing orders. The period of separate confinement which accompanied a sentence of penal servitude began to be reduced, prison diet underwent some improvement and beneficial changes were made with regard to visits and letters to and from prisoners. There were also improvements in the training and education of prisoners (Cross 1971, pp. 9-10).

Aims of Establishing Corrective Institutions

The corrective institution concept was introduced into the Territory of Papua and New Guinea mainly to safeguard the Australian Administration's own interests in the colonies (Strathern 1976, p. 92). The Australian Annual Report had pointed out the same motives as well (Australia, Parliament 1950, p. 150). In regard to corrective institutions, many Papuans and New Guineans experienced what prison life was when they were captured by the Japanese forces during the Second World War (1942-1945) and became prisoners of war (Tokilala 1974, pp. 2-11). The Tolais also experienced dehumanisation when they were captured and taken away by the Japanese forces, who treated them aggressively or executed them.

The question of a separate corrective institution branch for the Territory of Papua and New Guinea was the subject of investigation by the Australian Colonial Administration as far back as the 1950s (PNGNA, Box No. 9002, Series No. 822, File No. 1-1-1, Cleland 1956). The Public Service Commissioner started the move to establish the corrective institution branch under a government secretary (PNGNA, Box No. 9002, Series No. 822, File No. 1-1-1, Somers 1955). The Head of the Corrective Institution Branch was to control and manage all corrective institutions in the Territory (Australia, Parliament 1955, p. 83). When the Honourable Paul Hasluck (1976, p. 84) was appointed as Minister for Territories, he instructed the Administrator of the Territory of Papua and New Guinea to immediately take the step to establish a new prison branch (PNGNA, Box No. 9002, Series No. 822, File No. 1-1-1, Hasluck 1957). The Minister said that, the first duty of the controller of the new prison branch was to reorganise the prison system in the Territory.

The custody of prisoners was to be regarded not only as a measure of restraint or punishment but also as an opportunity for using reformatory and educational training as another form of control. The new Corrective Institution Branch was established in line with the United Nation's minimum

rules on the treatment of inmates or offenders (United Nations 1957, p. 83). The new branch would follow what other modern prisons considered as the prime vision-rehabilitation. As Barry (1959, p. 181) pointed out, the mark system was used to bring about the reformatory concept at Norfolk Island Penal Settlement by the gaol administrators. Allen (1974, pp. 5-6) also stated that, among the most important duties of those involved with problems of crime and correction was their heartfelt commitment to the rehabilitation ideal to prevent citizens from becoming criminals and to help them reform and become useful members in their societies.

Enacted Establishment of a Corrective Institution and Its Policies

In the Territory of New Guinea, prisons were established under the provisions of Prison Ordinance 1923-1938 (Australia, Parliament 1950, p. 150); and in the Territory of Papua, they were established under the Prison Ordinance of 1919-1930 (Australia, Parliament 1956, p. 152). With the amalgamation of the two Territories, the laws of prisons were combined with the gazettal on 12 December 1957 of the new Corrective Institution Ordinance 1957 (No. 67 of 1957) (PNGNA, Box 9002, Series No. 822, File No. 1-1-1, Cleland 1956). Initially the branch operated under the Department of Civil Affairs and then was transferred to the Department of Law (Justice) on 30 June 1961 (PNGNA, Box 9002, Series No. 822, File No. 1-1-1, Cleland 1955). However, it was not until 1971 that the Corrective Institution Branch was recognised and its name was changed to 'Corrective Institution Service' (Sutton 1975, pp. 1-9).

As soon as the Corrective Institution Ordinance 1957 (No. 67 of 1957) was passed, the Minister, the Honourable Paul Hasluck, immediately drew up seven policy guidelines for the Secretary of the Department of Civil Affairs, regarding the custody of indigenous inmates in the Territory's gaols (PNGNA, Box No. 9002, Series No. 822, File No. 1-1-1, Hasluck 1955; also see the press release Appendix E).

The administration then advertised the position of controller of the Corrective Institution Branch and selected Malcolm English, who was appointed on 8 February 1956 and took up the position in January 1957 (PNGNA, Box No. 9002, Series No. 822, File No. 1-1-1, Cleland 1956). Many colonial prison officers were recruited and some indigenous policemen were transferred to the new branch. Some indigenous warders were recruited as well to commence training with the police recruits at Kila Kila Police Training Depot and later were transferred to the Bomana Central Corrective Institution in 1963 (Townsend 1933, p. 422; Strathern 1975, pp. 1-30; and Australia, Parliament 1966, p. 152).

In the Territory of Papua, corrective institutions were established at Daru, Kerema, Mendi, Popondetta, Samarai and Bomana. The major central

gaol and subsidiary institutions were established at suitable locations in various districts (Australia, Parliament 1961, p. 80; also *see* Appendix F). In the Territory of New Guinea, corrective institutions were established at Lae, Goroka, Mount Hagen, Kundiawa, Wabag, Kainantu, Madang, Wewak, Vaimo, Manus, Kavieng, Rabaul, Kimbe and Kieta, and subsidiary institutions were also established at suitable points in various districts (Australia, Parliament 1956, p. 151; also *see* Appendix F). There were fifty-four corrective institutions in the Territory of Papua and New Guinea altogether.

In addition to these fifty-four institutions, there were subsidiary rural lock-ups which were manned by the patrol officers (*Kiaps*) to detain those detainees who were serving less than twelve months imprisonment terms (PNGNA, Box No. 9002, Series No. 822, File No. 1-1-1, Rackemann 1955).

Malcolm English, in correspondence to the Commissioner of the Public Service, outlined the categories of corrective institutions in the Territory (PNGNA, Box No. 9002, Series No. 822, File No. 1-1-1, English undated; also *see* Appendix F).

The policy of the colonial administration was to establish major central corrective institutions in suitable locations throughout the Territory and all prisoners sentenced to more than twelve months were to be engaged in useful education and trade training (PNGNA, Box No. 9002, Series No. 822, File No. 1-1-1, Rackemann 1955). The Minister's seven policies called on the controller of the Corrective Institution Branch to urgently bring about comprehensive prison reform (PNGNA, Box No. 9002, Series No. 822, File No. 1-1-1, Hasluck 1955). The policies directed the controller to establish central corrective institutions at Bomana, Rabaul, Lae and Minz, and district prisons to be built at the remaining district headquarters at Wewak, Madang, Kavieng, Lorengau, Sohano, Popondetta, Samarai, Kikori, Daru, Goroka, Wabag and Mendi (Australia, Parliament 1954, p. 82).

In the 1966 Annual Report to the United Nations from the Australian colonial administration of the Territory of Papua and New Guinea, it was stated that corrective institutions had been developed and the establishment of various agricultural and industrial projects in Papua and New Guinea was smoothly taking place (Australia, Parliament 1964, p. 100; and Australia, Parliament 1966, pp. 151-52). The colonial prison officers had instructed both indigenous warders and inmates to fully engage in the agricultural and industrial rehabilitation projects, especially at the central and district corrective institutions (Australia, Parliament 1965, p. 154).

Category of Inmates Selected for Rehabilitation Purposes

Under the policy of the Corrective Institution Branch, all detainees admitted to an institution were classified and placed into various categories under the

rehabilitation programs (Australia, Parliament 1966, p. 153). Detainees were classified under four categories: first class were remandees, second class were defaulters, third class were first offenders and fourth class were recidivists. Rehabilitation was entertained on third and fourth class detainees who were sentenced to prison terms of twelve months or more. To implement the rehabilitation policies, the controller progressively closed down minor institutions, short-term inmates remained in the district gaols and long-term inmates were transferred to the central institutions for rehabilitation purposes (PNGNA, Box No. 9002, Series No. 822, File No. 1-1-1, English undated). Prisoners were transferred to the central institutions where better facilities for proper guidance and care could be maintained in rehabilitating them (*South Pacific Post*, Port Moresby, 4 September 1968). To fulfil the new policies, the colonial prison officers began to establish detainee rehabilitation projects in the central and district corrective institutions throughout the Territory.

The projects established by the colonial administrators included livestock (cattle and pigs), poultry (ducks and chickens), forestry, mechanical, electrical, plumbing, brick making and bricklaying, welding, painting and carpentry/joinery (Sutton 1975, pp. 1-5). This was also stated in the Australian colonial government's 1961 Annual Report to the United Nations in reference to the rehabilitation projects established in the central institutions by the Australian colonial administrators (Australia, Parliament 1962, p. 110; Australia, Parliament 1961, p. 117).

Papuans' and New Guineans' Views about Corrective Institutions

When the Australian colonial administration established corrective institutions, many Papuans and New Guineans experienced the various sanctions applied for the imprisonment of wrong-doers according to the colonial-introduced laws (Strathern 1976, p. 69). Pospisil (1979, pp. 133-40) noted that Kapauku Melanesians viewed corrective institutions as a 'man's world' and which were not for women. Priestly and McQuire's (1985, pp. 69-70) study has shown that many people have the same views about prisons. In the highlands of Papua and New Guinea, where tribal fights take place continuously, prisons were/are considered as a man's world. Strathern's study about gaol concept found that many people believe that corrective institution is a holiday camp, by describing it as '*haus kaikai; ples malolo na kamap fat; ples bilong wok moni; haus man; haus skul na Gavman ino nap katim nek bilong mi*' (Strathern 1975, p. 5).

In the 1960s and 1970s many Papuans and New Guineans shared the same views about corrective institutions. They wanted to see that offenders should be punished and not rehabilitated, as to do so would mean that society was becoming too soft and lenient towards criminals, thus encouraging them

to continue being offenders in the society. This view may still be entertained even today (Strathern 1975, p. 16).

Throughout the Territory there were punishment systems in traditional societies, but there was no system to enforce them. Culprits were not put in prison to deprive them of their freedom in the traditional societies which is discussed in Chapter 6 of this book. In the rural areas of the Territory, colonial punishment was very tough, while in urban central and district institutions, skills and trades were taught to prisoners to enable them to lead a better life in their traditional societies, upon release from prison.

Not only was this policy of detainee rehabilitation more lenient on these indigenous ex-inmates but it made them enjoy life in gaol. The colonial administration conformed to the standard minimum rules for the treatment of prisoners as adapted by the first United Nations Congress on the prevention of crime and treatment of offenders (*South Pacific Post*, Port Moresby, 31 March 1967). Before the colonial period, criminal offences committed according to native customs were punishable by the chief or village headman (Austen 1945, p. 5). The traditional forms of punishment were more severe and punitive than those imposed in the corrective institutions. However, some of the interviewees who were in the gaol for long periods said that they had been rehabilitated by learning new industrial and agricultural skills and trades. This knowledge had changed their old ways and they were now living a new life since being released from the corrective institutions. An article in *The New Guinea Times Courier*, Lae, reported that councillors were calling for tougher prisons and were arguing that very hard labour should be inflicted on the detainees in corrective institutions as 'they are not holiday camps' (*The New Guinea Times Courier*, Lae, 8 April 1967).

Conclusion

The review of some relevant literature reveals that the concept of prison as an institution is colonially orientated. The system has evolved from the thirteenth century in England and is practised all over Europe, Asia, America and Australia. During those early days, prisons were infested with various diseases, and were punitive in nature. Blood sanctions and death sentences were imposed for the more serious crimes committed by individuals - even for petty offences such as stealing a loaf of bread and so on. The Pennsylvania Quakers were the first people to establish corrective institutions and enforce correctional reforms in detainee rehabilitation in America before it spread throughout the world. At the turn of the eighteenth century, a great emphasis was placed on prison reforms and the rehabilitation of detainees.

The prison concept was imported into the Territory of Papua and New Guinea by the Australian colonial authorities. The Territory of Papua and the Territory of New Guinea were policed under two separate prison ordinances until 1957 when the new Corrective Institution Ordinance 1957 (No. 67 of 1957) was enacted by the Legislative Council, amalgamating the two Territories under one prison ordinance. The Minister for Territories took the leading role in the Territory of Papua and New Guinea to bring about urgent prison reforms and the rehabilitation of persons who were imprisoned in the corrective institutions. The Minister's seven policy guidelines directed the controller of the Corrective Institution Branch to establish central and district institutions in all the provinces and districts of the Territory. Then the colonial prison officers started up agricultural and industrial projects for the rehabilitation of indigenous inmates. Finally, but not the least, imprisonment in the Territory of Papua and New Guinea is the end product of the colonial criminal justice system.

The prison concept was imported into the Territory by the colonial administration to spread its regional power and to safeguard its own economic interest in the colonies.

Chapter Three

Research Design

Introduction

A number of methods have been employed to conduct the research work for this monograph (Guthrie 1987, pp. 58, 76, 83 and 90). The author has carried out archival and library research, consulted selective Correctional Services files and completed case studies at Bomana, Baisu, Buimo and Kerevat on the industrial and agricultural projects. Since the 1960s, these industries were established by the colonial administration for rehabilitation purposes for the indigenous inmates serving terms of imprisonment in the four major central corrective institutions in the Territory of Papua and New Guinea. During the case study of the four major central corrective institutions, an interview schedule method was used to collect data from retired and serving warders and released and serving detainees who have served in the corrective institution branch during the colonial administration years from 1950 to 1975.

Objectives

The author set out to investigate a number of related problems in this research. These were to:

1. identify rehabilitation projects in the four major central corrective institutions that were built during the colonial era;
2. identify various rehabilitation policies formulated by the Australian colonial administration;
3. ascertain retired and serving warders views on the Australian colonial rehabilitation activities in the country's corrective institutions;
4. elicit released and serving detainee's views on punishment and rehabilitation;
5. gauge participation of inmates in the rehabilitation projects; and
6. gauge various categories of inmates selected for rehabilitation purposes in these institutional rehabilitation projects.

Archival and Library Research

The methodology adopted to carry out the research for the monograph includes research in archives, libraries, case studies and interviews. The author has conducted archival research at the Papua New Guinea National Archives, the National Library, the Michael Somare Library of the University

of Papua New Guinea, and at Correctional Services Headquarters, from July to November 1989. The archival and library research was purported to discover the chronological events of correctional service in the Territory of Papua and New Guinea from 1950 to 1975. The research was also intended to record the various memoranda, correspondence, and the Corrective Institution Branch policy documents in the creation of the Corrective Institution Branch. The Corrective Institution Branch, initially came under the Department of Civil Affairs but later was administered by the Department of Law from 1961 onwards. Then in 1975 it moved slowly away to become a department of its own and in 1985 it was granted the status and its now known as the Department of Correctional Services.

Consultation of Correctional Service Files

The research into the Correctional Services files was to survey the number of colonial administration personnel and the National officers or warders who were employed by the Corrective Institution Branch during the colonial administration period from 1950 to 1975. It was also meant to survey the number of corrective institutions that were manned by the colonial prison officers in the Territory of Papua and New Guinea.

The memoranda, correspondence and records held by the archives and libraries were to be used to identify the early developmental policies of the corrective institution branch in the administration of these institutions. The types of policies which were formulated and adopted by the colonial administration for implementation in the corrective institution branches which were established throughout the Territory have been investigated.

Case Study

The case study field work research was conducted by the author in the four major central corrective institutions in the country from 25 August to 11 September 1989, during the mid-term break of second semester 1989. The purpose of this field work was to trace the aims and objectives of establishing the major central corrective institutions in the Territory during the colonial era (*see Map A*).

During the field work, the author appraised the industrial workshops and the agricultural rehabilitation projects and their productivity over the period since they were started by the Australian colonial administration in the four major central corrective institutions in the Territory.

The field work was also to assess the productivity of these rehabilitation industries and projects in the four major central institutions, from self-government in 1973 to Independence in 1975. It was meant also to determine whether the established rehabilitation projects and industries had

ceased operations or were still continuing to carry on for the purposes that they were established originally. The case studies were to find out also about other industrial or agricultural projects that the colonial administrators had established in these corrective institutions during their time of administration.

Interview Schedule Method

(a) Warders

During the field work research twenty serving and retired warders in Port Moresby, Mount Hagen, Lae and Rabaul were interviewed (*see* Appendixes A and B). The interviews were arranged through the regional gaol commanders of the four major central corrective institutions in the country.

There was particular interest in using an interview schedule method to obtain data from those warders who transferred from the Papua and New Guinea native constabulary to the Corrective Institution Branch in the 1950s and 1960s. By interviewing the twenty randomly selected retired and serving warders, the author was able to collect their personal views on the colonial rehabilitation policies, and the establishment of agricultural and industrial projects in the corrective institutions, for rehabilitation purposes. It was also to record the tasks that they had performed during their years of service under the colonial administration. They were primarily responsible for imparting to their fellow indigenous inmates the introduced rehabilitation projects such as carpentry, bricklaying, mechanical work and so on.

(b) Detainees

The same research method was applied when interviewing twenty released and serving sentences inmates (*see* Appendixes C and D). The aim was to collect their experiences and personal views on the colonial administration policies that were adopted to administer these corrective institutions in the Territory before the country gained Independence in 1975.

Institutional Rehabilitation Policies

One very important aspect of the Corrective Institution Branch to be studied was the institutional rehabilitation policies of the colonial administration introduced into the Territory of Papua and New Guinea for the Corrective

Institution Branch. The rehabilitation of indigenous inmates was realised when a selective number of agricultural and industrial projects were vested and considered viable in each of the corrective institutions in the Territory.

The field work research case studies into these institutions were to examine which rehabilitation projects were suitable for each institution's environment, to permit project planning by the colonial administrators in these institutions.

Conclusion

The methodology employed by the author to collect relevant information was used at the Papua New Guinea National Archives, the National Library, the Michael Somare Library of the University of Papua New Guinea, at Correctional Services Headquarters (closed files) and in case study field research at the four major central corrective institutions in the country. The research carried out by the author was to:

- establish the nature of the related problems;
- identify rehabilitation projects in the four major central corrective institutions that were built during the colonial era;
- identify rehabilitation policies formulated by the Australian colonial administration;
- ascertain retired and serving warders' views on the colonial rehabilitation activities in the country's corrective institutions;
- elicit released and serving detainees' views on punishment and rehabilitation;
- gauge participation of inmates in the rehabilitation projects; and
- gauge various categories of inmates selected for rehabilitation projects.

The case study research also was used to find out which agricultural and industrial projects the detainees participated in and further to collect personal views of the warders and detainees who have served under the Australian colonial administration between 1950 and Independence in 1975.

Chapter Four

Presentation of the Results of the Field Work Case Studies

Introduction

This chapter builds on Chapter Three and sets down information on the results of the field work which was carried out at Baisu, Buimo, Kerevat and Bomana major central corrective institutions. It deals with these hypotheses in the study:

- the rehabilitation projects and policies;
- the personal views of retired and serving warders; and
- the personal views of released and serving detainees.

Before the field work case studies were conducted, forty people were randomly selected for interviewing - twenty retired and serving warders and twenty released and serving detainees. In addition to these primary data, the author also observed the closed files of detainees' rehabilitation at all the major central corrective institutions, except those at Kerevat which had been destroyed by fire. The agricultural and industrial projects for the detainees' rehabilitation were recorded concurrently with the forty subjects' views on the colonial rehabilitation policies and punishments.

Identification of Rehabilitation Projects

The agricultural and industrial projects identified in the four major central corrective institutions evolved when these institutions were started by the colonial administration in the 1950s and 1960s.

The viable detainees' rehabilitation projects for Baisu Gaol were livestock (cattle and pigs), poultry (chickens and ducks), farming, gardening, mechanical, cabinet making, brickmaking, plumbing, electrical, tea growing, forestry, bricklaying, carpentry/joinery, welding and painting. Coffee and sheep were introduced in 1973 by the Department of Primary Industry (Baisu Corrective Institution, File No. 4-5-3/6, Murray 1969).

The projects at Buimo Gaol were livestock (pigs and cattle), farming, gardening, mechanical, welding, cabinet making, school furniture making, painting, brickmaking, electrical, boat building, basketweaving, carving, carpentry/joinery, signwriting and painting (Buimo Corrective Institution, File No. 5-2-15, Wagambio 1974).

The colonial administration found that the viable projects for Kerevat Gaol were livestock (cattle and pigs), poultry (ducks and chickens), farming, gardening, cabinet making, furniture making, brickmaking, welding, plumbing, electrical, bricklaying, mechanical and forestry.

At Bomana Gaol, the agricultural and industrial projects were livestock (cattle and pigs), farming, gardening, poultry (ducks and chickens), mechanical, panelbeating, cabinet making, furniture making, painting, signwriting, brickmaking, sawmilling, welding, electrical, homecrafts, sewing, bricklaying, basket weaving and carving (Papua New Guinea Office of Information 1979, pp. 2-13). The agricultural projects were intended for those detainees who would return to their villages to continue on the new methods and systems of farming, while the industrial projects and trades were intended for those inmates who wanted to find wage employment in towns or on government and mission stations in the Territory.

Institutional Rehabilitation of Inmates

The controller of the Corrective Institution Branch was directed by the Minister for the Territory of Papua and New Guinea, to ensure that all detainees undergoing prison sentences were to be trained as soon as admitted into the corrective institutions (PNGNA, Box No. 9002, Series No. 822, File No. 1-1-1, Hasluck 1957).

The agricultural and industrial projects directed by the Minister for the Territories were established in each central and district corrective institution for the purpose of institutional detainee rehabilitation. The Minister's rehabilitation directives are discussed in detail in Chapter Five.

Rehabilitation Policies

The question of a separate corrective institution service was the subject of investigation as far back as 1950 by the Australian colonial administration. The seven policies laid down by the Australian colonial administration were:

1. legal requirements in arrest and trial of indigenous inmates;
2. custody and release strictly to the Crown;
3. a new corrective institution ordinance to be passed to bring about comprehensive reform;
4. custody of prisoners was to be regarded as a measure of restraint or punishment as well as an opportunity for learning colonial skills and forms of educational rehabilitation;
5. all persons sentenced to more than twelve months imprisonment were to be engaged in useful full-time work by the prisoners embracing training which was useful to them;

6. every detainee was to undergo a medical examination before and upon discharge from prison; and
7. upon discharge, steps be taken to return the discharged detainees to their villages, otherwise place them in an occupation (PNGNA, Box No. 9002, Series No. 822, File No. CA 37/4/19, Wilson 1955).

Detailed discussions on the Australian colonial administration and policies for detainees rehabilitation activities are presented in Chapter Five, and also cover the agricultural and industrial projects that were established and enforced by the colonial prison officers in the four major central corrective institutions in the Territory.

Retired Warders' Responses

Table 1 shows the age range and numbers of the retired warders who were interviewed. The biggest group of interviewees was the one whose ages fell between 51-55 (with seven). The next biggest group was the one whose ages fell between 56-60 (with three), while the rest of the age ranges all constituted one each.

Table 1: Retired Warders by Age

Age	No. of Retired Warders
35-40	1
41-45	1
46-50	1
51-55	7
56-60	3
61-65	1
66-70	-
71-75	1
Total	15

The interview schedule method was employed to collect information from the retired warders who had served in the Corrective Institution Branch and whose ages ranged from 35 to 75. The questions used in the interview to obtain their personal views and experiences are set out in Appendix A. The

informants' responses show that three (20 per cent) of them joined the Papua and New Guinea Native Constabulary in the late 1940s and 1950s but then transferred to the Corrective Institution Branch. Thirteen (80 per cent) joined the Correction Institution Branch in the 1960s. Nearly 90 per cent of the retired warders have served in an average of six corrective institutions during the colonial administration, including the four that were visited during the field research.

While they were undergoing their initial recruit training, they were taught the corrective institution ordinance. In particular, they were taught the duties of a warder, custody of detainees, discipline and other relevant knowledge (Territory of Papua and New Guinea 1957). Regarding knowledge of work, only 20 per cent have some skills in agriculture while 80 per cent have none. Consequently, almost all warders were going through the same training as the inmates for a few years. Of the responses received on the detainee rehabilitation policies, 100 per cent agreed with the rehabilitation policies of the colonial administration which have greatly benefited most of the long-term detainees especially upon discharge or release from prison.

Table 2: Retired Warders by Years of Service

Years of Service	No. of Retired Warders
10-20	5
21-30	7
31-40	3
41-45	-
Total	15

Table 2 indicates that the three retired warders who transferred from the Police Force served between 31-40 years in the Corrective Institution Branch, seven enlisted by Corrective Institution Branch served between 21-30 years of service and five have served between 10-20 years of service.

Of the responses gathered from the twenty informants, 75 per cent of those who were enlisted by the Corrective Institution Branch were leaders in their own right in their village communities and 25 per cent were working at government stations. All were able to speak *Tok Pisin* or English, and were recruited by the patrol officers (Townsend 1933, p. 424).

All the informants experienced the same training for six months with the Corrective Institution Branch and served in an average of six institutions

under the colonial administration. The retired warders reported that the rehabilitation policies of the colonial administration were very educational. The colonial prison officers trained and prepared the inmates to return to the community with some knowledge to carry on the trades that they learnt while serving a term of imprisonment. The informants reported that the agricultural and industrial rehabilitation projects were beneficial to both the detainees and the warders. The overall administration of the colonial prison officers was very hard but they wanted to see the warders and detainees understand the colonial policies and adapt to the new changes that were taking place in the Territory. Three informants who transferred from the Police Force said that they knew how to treat the inmates and did not need any training as did the newly recruited ones into the Corrective Institution Branch (Kituai 1986, pp. 21-25).

Serving Warders' Responses

Table 3 indicates that among the serving warders one was in the 51-55 age range, three were in the age range 41-45, and one was in the 35-40 age range.

Table 3: Serving Warders by Age

Age	No of Serving Warders
35-40	1
41-45	3
46-50	-
51-55	1
Total	5

The interview schedule method was applied in the interview of retired warders (*see* Appendix B). The informants responded that 20 per cent enlisted in the early 1960s and 80 per cent enlisted in the late 1960s in the Corrective Institution Branch and received their initial six months recruit training at Bomana on the corrective institution ordinance, duties, discipline and custody of detainees (Australia, Parliament 1961, p. 117). Out of the serving warders, 80 per cent have served in rural lock-ups with the patrol officers and 20 per cent have served in the central and district corrective institutions. In the rural lockups the informants, had supervised inmates for building roads, airstrips, bridges and cleaning the station. For detainees in

the central and district corrective institutions, rehabilitation was carried out by the colonial prison officers. The informants' views on the colonial rehabilitation policies for the indigenous inmates were highly favoured, particularly the training facilities provided in the central and district corrective institutions for both warders and inmates. However, it was not educational for the inmates serving shorter terms of imprisonment in the rural lockups under the administration of the patrol officers. The respondents stated that, for detainees' rehabilitation in the central and district corrective institutions, agricultural and industrial projects were established for inmates and warders to participate in learning these trades from the colonial prison officers.

Table 4: Serving Warders by Years of Service

Years of Service	No. of Serving Warders
10 - 20	-
21 - 30	5
31 - 40	-
Total	5

Table 4 shows that five warders continuously served in the Corrective Institution Branch for 21-30 years.

The informants stated that, during the colonial administration, the industrial and agricultural projects were established for the rehabilitation of detainees, especially those serving longer terms of imprisonment in all corrective institutions in the Territory of Papua and New Guinea. New methods of gardening and farming systems were introduced and given first priority for the detainees because it was thought that 99 per cent of them would return to their villages after serving their prison terms. Apart from gardening, the inmates were also engaged in agricultural projects such as livestock (cattle and pigs), poultry (ducks and chickens) and industrial projects such as mechanical engineering, bricklaying, welding, electrical, brickmaking, carpentry/joinery and so on. The informants stated that the colonial detainee rehabilitation policies were orientated towards rural villages and were designed to integrate the inmates upon release from prison to return to their respective communities or villages. The serving warders informed the author that these agricultural rehabilitation projects were beneficial to those inmates returning to their hamlets and industrial projects

were useful to those detainees seeking paid employment in towns with the trade that they acquired from the corrective institution during their term of imprisonment (Australia, Parliament 1966, p. 153).

Released Detainees' Responses

Table 5: Released Detainees by Age

Age	No. of Released Detainees
20-25	-
26-30	-
31-35	1
36-40	-
41-45	2
46-50	2
Total	5

Table 5 indicates that, among the released detainees interviewed, two were aged between 46-50 years, another two were in the 41-46 age range and only one was in the 31-35 age range.

The interview schedule method employed in other interviews was again used to collect information from the five released inmates (*see* Appendix C). The five informants stated that they were sentenced by the Crown Court in the 1960s for terms of imprisonment ranging from six years to life. They were transferred around and served time in an average of three institutions where they were engaged in rehabilitation activities on various projects. The five released inmates had been engaged in bricklaying, mechanical work, carpentry/joinery, welding and cattle breeding/farming. These rehabilitation projects were seen as beneficial to them and they carried on the tasks after release from prison.

The five informants were engaged as a foreman - carpentry/joinery, a foreman - bricklaying, a welder, a motor mechanic, and a cattle farmer when the author carried out the interview in the four provinces visited for the field research work. The informants stated that they agreed with the colonial detainees' rehabilitation policies because the colonial prison officers had planned ahead what the long-term detainees would do after being released from prison. Therefore, they taught them industrial and agricultural trades for village economy or town paid employment. The five respondents stated

that after serving five years of their prison terms they wondered what they would do after they were released from prison. As detainees, the informants found that the colonial prison administration was negatively against them and that the rehabilitation projects were established to encourage them to learn new ideas and, on their return to the community, become productive citizens (Australia, Parliament 1956, p. 83).

Table 6: Released Detainees by Term of Imprisonment

Years of Imprisonment	No. of Released Detainees
1 - 5	-
6 - 10	2
11 - 15	1
16 - 20	-
Life or Q.P.	2
Total	5

Table 6 indicates that two inmates who were released on licence served life sentences, another two served between 6-10 years and one served between 11-15 years.

The response aired by the released detainees was that the colonial administration was very tough but at the same time they were helpful and provided very good educational programmes for both warders and detainees. The informants supported the types of rehabilitation policies and the projects that they were engaged in during their term of imprisonment. They stated that it was very beneficial to them for their livelihood in society upon their release. The colonial policies were pinned down on agricultural and industrial projects for both warders and detainees when the first industries were established in the corrective institutions in the Territory. The informants stated that, apart from the colonial policies embarked on, educational projects, health and hygiene were also taught in the institutions they served under the colonial administration (PNGNA, Box No. 9002, Series No. 822, File No. 1-1-1, Rackemann 1955). The views of the released detainees were favourable to the colonial rehabilitation policies because all of them have been engaged in agricultural or industrial projects such as farming, livestock, poultry, bricklaying, mechanical work, electrical, carpentry/joinery, welding and so on, which has benefited their lives in the community today.

Serving Detainees' Responses

Table 7 shows that, of the subjects interviewed, one detainee is over 46 years of age, three ranged from 41-45 years of age, five ranged from 36-40, another five ranged from 31-35, only one ranged from 21-25 and none ranged from 26-30 years of age.

Table 7: Serving Detainees by Age

Age	No. of Serving Detainees
20-25	1
26-30	-
31-35	5
36-40	5
41-45	3
46+	1
Total	15

The same method employed in other interviews was used on the inmates serving terms of imprisonment in the four major central corrective institutions (*see* Appendix D). The informants stated that ten of them were convicted for life in the 1960s for wilful murder and five of them were convicted for life in the early 1970s. During their life sentences, they have served in an average of three corrective institutions in the Territory and were engaged in rehabilitative agricultural and industrial projects. Twelve of the informants stated that the beneficial rehabilitation projects they were engaged in involved pigs, poultry, mechanical work, welding, electrical, panelbeating and so on (Papua New Guinea, Corrective Institution 1985, pp. 7-8).

The respondents highly praised the colonial administration for the various agricultural and industrial projects that the colonial prison officers established for their training in these institutions. They also said from their experience that these rehabilitation projects started to deteriorate in 1973 and eventually ceased in 1975 when Papua New Guinea gained its independence. That was because the colonial prison officers left the country with all their trade skills and knowledge. When asked what they would do after release from prison, ten informants stated that they have learnt all the

trades in the agricultural and industrial wings, but being old now, they will not be able to continue on the trades if they are released from prison in the near future. Of the other five informants two stated that they will become mechanics, one a panelbeater and the other two will start piggery projects in their villages. The informants' views on detainee rehabilitation projects during the colonial administration were that it was efficient and that the administration policies were fair but very hard, more so for the detainees than the warders serving in the corrective institutions at that time.

Table 8: Serving Detainees by Term of Imprisonment

Years of Imprisonment	No. of Serving Detainees
1- 5	-
6-10	-
11-15	-
16-20	-
Life or Q.P.	15
Total	15

Table 8 shows that all fifteen inmates interviewed were serving life sentences or Queen's Pleasure imprisonment in the four major central corrective institutions in the country.

The fifteen informants all stated that they were heavily involved in the rehabilitation projects and obeyed the rules of the prisons. They are still employed on the institutional rehabilitation agricultural and industrial projects which carried on from the colonial administration. The informants stated that, during the colonial period, the inmates' rehabilitation agricultural and industrial projects were available in the central and district corrective institutions where the colonial prison officers taught both warders and detainees. The respondents stated that the detainees serving sentences from one year to life were given more attention by the colonial administration. They taught these inmates agricultural skills and industrial trades so that they could live better lives upon release back into the community. For their future living in the community, these detainees were paid eighty cents a month if they served two year sentences or more to help them settle after they were released from gaol.

Conclusion

This chapter has identified the detainees' rehabilitation policies and projects of the colonial administration in the Corrective Institution Branch, especially in the four major central corrective institutions in the Territory of Papua and New Guinea. Their views and personal experiences regarding the benefits of the colonial rehabilitation programmes performed and enforced by the retired and serving warders, and released and serving detainees were identified.

The eight tables of data illustrate the numeration of the subjects interviewed in the random survey, by using the interview schedule methods set out in Appendixes A-D. The tables show retired and serving warders by age and by years of service, released and serving detainees by age and by years of imprisonment, and released and serving detainees by age and by years of imprisonment. In summary the colonial rehabilitation policies in agricultural skills and industrial trades established in the central and district institutions had two objectives. Agricultural projects were for detainees who will return to their villages to improve their own consumption and sell any surplus to the wage-earners in towns. In industrial projects, the detainees were taught these trades to find wage-employment in towns or to enable them to teach these trades to others in their villages to make their lives in the villages easier. The colonial agricultural and industrial projects required finance to implement these skills. As a result of financial problems, not many Papuans and New Guineans were able to continue on the trades learnt in the gaols. A detailed discussion of the colonial administration policies and the detainee rehabilitation agricultural and industrial projects, and views of retired and serving detainees are presented in the following chapter.

Chapter Five

Discussion of the Results

Introduction

In Chapter Four, the following activities were discussed: establishment of the corrective institution branch, the colonial policies for the rehabilitation of indigenous detainees and the establishment of rehabilitation projects in the central and district corrective institutions in the Territory of Papua and New Guinea. To assess the suitability and productivity of the colonial policies of the corrective institution, the author has used interview schedule research methods to obtain the views of those respondents who have lived and worked with the colonial prison officers. The views of retired and serving warders, and released and serving detainees about the colonial policies of detainee rehabilitation concepts are examined in detail in this chapter. A brief summary at the end of the chapter concludes the discussion.

Development of the Corrective Institution Branch

In the Territory of Papua and New Guinea the Corrective Institution Branch was established under the Corrective Institution Ordinance of 1957 (No. 67 of 1957). The Ordinance passed by the Legislative Council and gazetted on 12 December 1957 was to legalise the administration of the corrective institution branch in the Territory. Soon after the Corrective Institution Ordinance was passed, steps were taken to create the Corrective Institution Branch in the appropriate Department of the District Administration. The branch was under the controller (commissioner) of the corrective institution branch, whose duty was to administer all the functions of prisons with his own corps of gaol guards, warders, instructors and other officers in the districts, as distinct from the Royal Papua and New Guinea Native Constabulary.

It was further suggested that the head of the Corrective Institution Branch was to operate in accordance with the recommendations of the Corrective Institutions Central Board. The Corrective Institution Branch was subject to control of the Administrator and had in his charge the care and control of all prison officers and inmates in the Territory. There was no corrective institution board in the development of the Corrective Institution Branch. The proposals for the new organisation were to be effective and operational no later than 31 May 1955, as directed by the Minister for External Territories, the Honourable Paul Hasluck, to start up corrective institutions in the Territory and to commence rehabilitation projects in line

with their colonial rehabilitation policies in agricultural and industrial projects in these institutions.

On 7 February 1956 the Minister for External Territories approved the public service recommendation for the creation of a position of 'Controller' of the Corrective Institution Branch for the Territory. The approval by the Minister's office was conveyed to the Territory's Commissioner of the Public Service on 8 February 1956. Upon the receipt of the Minister's notification the public service called for applications for the position within the Territory and in Australia.

This was to make immediate appointment to the position of Controller of the Corrective Institution Branch in the Territory of Papua and New Guinea. Malcolm English, who was the District Commissioner in Manus, was appointed to the position of Controller of the Corrective Institution Branch but was away in Australia on his recreational leave at that time. After his recreational leave, he took up the position in January 1957 to implement the colonial detainees rehabilitation policies in the administration of the branch.

The birth and development of the Corrective Institution Ordinance 1957 (No. 67 of 1957) passed by the Legislative Council was yet to be brought into operation pending the finalisation of the regulations in the management of the institutions (Australia, Parliament 1959, p. 105). The Corrective Institution Branch in the Territory resulted from extensive efforts put in by the colonial administrators to establish the concept of detainee rehabilitation in the Territory's gaols.

The Honourable Paul Hasluck, was appointed as the Minister for the Territory of Papua and New Guinea by the Menzies government in May 1951. In the Territory of Papua and New Guinea, Mr Cleland was appointed as the Administrator in 1952 when Mr Murray resigned from that position in the same year.

The Minister, after the end of June 1955, received a recommendation from the Administrator on the creation of the position of controller of prisons but the decision was deferred pending consultation with the Queensland Government on pay and conditions of the prison branch. Mr Rutherford, the Controller General of Prisons in Queensland, was assigned to carry out consultancy work for the formation of the Corrective Institution Branch in the Territory of Papua and New Guinea. When the consultancy report was completed Rutherford sent the report to the Administrator of the Territory and then the Administrator forwarded it to the Minister for the Territory in Canberra.

On 3 February 1956 after receiving Rutherford's report from the Administrator, the Minister announced the appointment of the controller of the Corrective Institution Branch (Hasluck 1976, p. 184). The Minister

stipulated that the first duty of the officer appointed to the position would be to reorganise the prison system in the Territory.

The custody of the indigenous inmates was to be regarded not only as a measure of restraint but as an opportunity for taking reformatory and educational action. The Minister had elaborated his ideas and recapitulated the directions he had given in March 1955, about care and training, and separate measures for the treatment of offenders in the Territory's prisons.

Colonial Policies and the Establishment of Corrective Institutions

As soon as the position of the controller of the Corrective Institution Branch was advertised by the Public Service Commissioner, the Minister for External Territories immediately wrote to the Administrator of the Territory of Papua and New Guinea outlining the seven policies under the title, 'Prisons in the Territory of Papua and New Guinea'.

The following policies in respect of the custody of detainees were laid down in order to effect urgent action and bring about comprehensive reform:

The legal requirement in respect of the arrest and trial of a native committal to prison, custody in prison and release are to be observed as strictly as in the case of another subject of the Crown. Immediately when the new prison ordinance is passed, steps are to be taken to create a new branch under a controller of the prisons with his own warders, and instructors separate from the constabulary in the Territories. Custody of prisoners is to be regarded not only as a measure of restraint but an opportunity for reformatory and educational measures. Central gaols are to be established in suitable locations and all long-term inmates sentenced to long terms are to be transferred to these central gaols to embrace trainings useful to them. Short-term detainees can be kept at district institutions and be available for administration labour but every opportunity has to be taken for training. Such training shall embrace such matters as hygiene and standard of living, speaking English, either English or pidgin as well as how to grow or make useful things. Without exception every inmate should undergo a medical check by the Department of Health before and after serving terms of imprisonment or undertake whatever immediate or preventive measures, and after discharge, steps should be taken by the Department of Native Affairs to ensure that the discharged prisoner

returns at once to his village or, if that is undesirable, that he is placed on occupation (PNGNA, Box No. 9002, Series No. 822, File No. 1-1-1, Hasluck 1955, and the Minister's Press Release - *see* Appendix E).

The Minister's policies for the management of the Corrective Institution Branch were in line with the first meeting of the Commonwealth Corrective Administrators in Hong Kong in the treatment of offenders. The policy notion states that: 'men and women go to prison as punishment and not for punishment' (Hong Kong Correctional Service 1985, p. 5).

Under the Minister's direction and the enacted corrective institution ordinance, the colonial administration was quickly making arrangements to acquire land from the State or indigenous people to build gaols in the Territory at suitable locations. Most of the corrective institutions were quickly built by the colonial administration in the 1960s, as compared with the rest of the world where corrective institutions had been built many years ago.

The colonial administrators did not incorporate such materials as brick walls or electronic devices and thus gaols were relatively inexpensive to construct. Barbed wire and double cyclone fencing was regarded as sufficient security to detain indigenous inmates in the early days of development of corrective institutions in this country.

In the Territory of Papua, corrective institutions were established at Bomana (as the major gaol), Kikori, Daru, Mendi, Popondetta and Samarai, as well as another thirty-two subsidiary rural lockups at suitable locations under the policing of the patrol officers. Concurrently, in the Territory of New Guinea the colonial administration established corrective institutions at Sohano, Goroka, Madang, Lorengau, Lae, Rabaul, Kavieng, Wewak and Mount Hagen as well as another sixty subsidiary institutions and rural lockups also managed by the patrol officers, with some trained warders (*see* Appendix F). The Corrective Institution Ordinance 1957 (No. 67 of 1957) provides for the administration of the corrective institutions and for the education and trade training of persons under detention in the Territory's prisons.

The Corrective Institution Branch under the umbrella of the Department of Civil Affairs was transferred to the Department of Law (Justice) effective as from 30 June 1961. The Controller of corrective institutions, who was under the Department of Law, was responsible for the management of all corrective institutions and all detainees were deemed to be in his custody in the Territory.

By 1966 there were seventy-six corrective institutions with a staff of eighty-one male and twenty-one female expatriate officers and fifty indigenous male warders. The institutions were divided up into three

categories - central, district and subsidiary rural lockups. In the Territory of Papua, the only central institution established was at Bomana, while in the Territory of New Guinea, central institutions were established at Lae, Rabaul, Wewak and Mount Hagen.

The district institutions for New Guinea were at Madang, Goroka, Kavieng, Lorengau and Sohamo, including sixty- seven subsidiary rural lockups. The District institutions for Papua were situated at Daru, Kerema, Mendi, Popondetta and Samarai, with several subsidiary institutions at suitable locations.

The functions of the Corrective Institution Branch for the established institutions were spelled out in the Corrective Institution Ordinance 1957 (No. 67 of 1957). These were: the receipt and safekeeping of persons convicted, and safe-keeping of persons convicted and sentenced for offences, and persons imprisoned under or by virtue of an order of a court or otherwise obtained by legal authority; and to ensure that the conditions of the sentences imposed by the courts involving committal to a corrective institution for definite or indefinite terms were carried into effect.

In the control and management of the corrective institutions, the administration had adopted the following standard as policies of detainee reforms, training, and educational and social advancement of the detainees. The impartial application on the standard of diet, clothing, conduct, accommodation, discipline and humanitarian treatment were adopted by the Australian colonial administration. The policies were strictly in observance of all legislations affecting the conduct in the institutions and the treatment of detainees under the Corrective Institution Ordinance of 1957 (No. 67 of 1957) (PNGNA, Box No. 9002, Series No. 822, File No. 1-1-1, Somers 1955).

Detainee Rehabilitation Policies and Projects

Sutton (1975, pp. 1-9) states that the purpose of the Corrective Institution Branch in the Territory can be extracted from its function of the Papua and New Guinea corrective institution branch's rehabilitation policies which were described as:

- (a) to receive and detain in custody, persons in accordance with the directions contained in warrants issued by any court or justice or other persons having jurisdiction in Papua and New Guinea to issue such warrant;
- (b) to give effect to a lawful sentence imposed by a court;
- (c) the established, general management, administration and interior economy of the institutions;
- (d) the maintenance of discipline, decency, order and peace within an institution and amongst detainees;

- (e) the training and education, within the limits of the individual detainees and the facilities detained by legal authority;
- (f) the recruitment, training, discipline, transfer, discharge and housing of warders;
- (g) the training and posting of officer cadets;
- (h) the development of agricultural, forestry, livestock and trade training and production projects within institutions; and
- (i) the transfer of detainees outside of the Territory of Papua and New Guinea.

The development of central corrective institutions saw them situated in rural surroundings with the provision for training in farming and forestry work and for outdoor recreation. The Baisu central corrective institution was established for the highlands areas. The institutional areas had good grounds for the establishment of such projects as, agriculture, forestry and animal husbandry in an area of 300 acres of swamp land. As Baisu Central Gaol developed, all trade training and forestry projects were increased in scope and volume. The colonial prison officers started to establish detainee rehabilitation projects such as mechanical workshops, painting and sign-writing, welding, brickmaking and carpentry/joinery in the industrial wing. In the agricultural wing, various projects were established, for example, livestock (cattle and pigs), poultry (chickens and ducks), garden-farming, coffee, tea plantations and forestry. These rehabilitation projects were established especially for the training of long-term detainees.

The Buimo central corrective institution was fully operational in both industrial and agricultural activities. Teak plantations have been considerably extended and the livestock and pasture improvement projects have been expanded. Industrial workshops and agricultural and other machineries for detainee rehabilitation were available. Similar rehabilitation projects were established in Baisu Gaol with the exception of tea, coffee and sheep farming. In Buimo Gaol, the inmates were also taught boat building and desk making. By engaging them in these trades, the inmates have benefited and become productive citizens.

The Kerevat central gaol was also fully operational with industrial and agricultural projects. Workshops and machinery were available for trade and agricultural training for the detainees. During the establishment of detainee rehabilitation projects, the livestock and certain agricultural projects were expanded. They were established for the same purpose as any other gaols.

The Bomana central institution is now situated along the Laloki River about nineteen kilometres from Port Moresby. The colonial prison officers had established industrial and agricultural projects, and animal husbandry was carried out on a large-scale. Trade training was provided in brickmaking,

bricklaying, welding, electrical, milling, carpentry and joinery, tinsmithing, mechanical workshop maintenance and the operation of heavy equipment.

The administration of the Corrective Institution Branch was vested with the controller, who had specially selected colonial prison staff to establish the rehabilitation industries. In particular, the rehabilitation of long-term inmates in education and instruction useful in technical trades and agricultural projects was established in all central and district gaols.

The emphasis in the new branch policy, was on the measures designed for the reformation and rehabilitation of prisoners. In keeping with this policy prisoners in the central institutions were detained and were usefully employed on constructive work of an instructional character. The corrective institution ordinance gave expression to the policy of educating persons under detention so that they would return to the community as rehabilitated citizens. As far as practicable, persons serving sentences of twelve months or more were contracted at central institutions, where facilities for training and instruction in agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, technical trades and useful occupations were provided. The district corrective institutions were given some modified form of training in manual arts, gardening, hygiene, standard of living and speaking English or pidgin. In addition, the indigenous detainees were engaged in a form of administrative labour. In rural lockups the inmates were merely used for the odd jobs required for station labour.

To give effective training and rehabilitation programmes to the long-term inmates, it was necessary to have a colonial prison officer as instructor, supplemented by the local warder as instructor at the district corrective institutions. In both cases, their efforts were supplemented by visits from the district representatives of appropriate departments such as health, education and agriculture (Sutton 1975, p. 5). During the colonial administration, special funds were provided to buy equipment and training materials, and close liaison was maintained with the allied government departments. These allied departments examined detainees who became proficient in various pursuits. The training records of all inmates were maintained, and upon discharge, a certificate was issued to those released.

In some selected institutions, adult education classes were arranged through the Department of Education for selected inmates, as part of their rehabilitation. The inmates who were selected were mostly serving sentences of twelve months or more and were considered likely to profit from adult education and would use the knowledge gained to benefit their own communities upon release.

Cross (1971, p. 68) stated that modern opinion holds that punishment should be corrective, both to the prisoner and the public. It must assist the recipient to rehabilitate himself or herself as a better citizen and at the same time indicate that crime does not pay. In the Territory of Papua and New Guinea, individuals had an agricultural economy on which one can survive

with comparatively little energy or technical ability. On discharge indigenous detainees usually return to their villages. Subsistence was provided for the journey by land, sea or air and transport was free if the discharged person elected to return to his or her village within a month of release.

Both the Corrective Institution Branch and the district administration were responsible in assisting the discharged persons to find employment. The Department of District Administration investigated problems that discharged persons may have, arranged continued medical treatment if this was necessary and provided after care and assistance in general.

Staffing Policy and Training

To fulfil the aims and objectives of the Corrective Institution Branch, one of the policies of the colonial administration was to staff all central and district institutions with trained personnel. Colonial prison officers were stationed at all major central institutions with warders also available for all central and district institutions.

The increasing number of subsidiary institutions were staffed by the warders thus relieving the Royal Papua and New Guinea Native Constabulary personnel of institutional duties.

Since the Corrective Institution Branch began in 1957, all officers and warders were given special training for a period of six months at Bomana central corrective institution in institutional management, care and custody of detainees, training in correction and rehabilitation. The officers selected for service in the Territory of New Guinea were given a further six months training by trained and experienced senior prison officers in the central corrective institutions in New Guinea. As far as practicable, warders also received a further six months training at central institutions. Officers and warders selected for service in Papua also completed nine months training at Bomana and subsequently officers and warders could serve in either part of the Territory, as required (Australia, Parliament 1962, p. 110). The policy was that all central and district institutions had to be staffed by the trained officers and warders of the Corrective Institution Branch. For the subsidiary institutions, where trained prison officers and warders were not available, members of the Department of Native Affairs were vested with the powers, duties and obligations of corrective institution officers.

Regarding the training of officers and warders, there is no record of officers or warders being sent away for more qualified technical and academic training in any recognised tertiary institution for specialisation. The initial training at Bomana gave officers and warders a uniform approach to the treatment, correction and rehabilitation of detainees under well established conditions in the institutions.

The extra months of training after the initial period, introduced the officers and warders to diverse skills in relation to agricultural methods, building and construction projects, languages and cultures for the Territory.

A correctional officer's training with the Corrective Institution Branch during the colonial period was the traditional method of on-the-job-training. New employees, who were usually recruited from the Police Force and District Commissioner's office learned their new role by doing it. Warders were regarded as being the most feared persons from amongst all the uniformed personnel at that time. Under such a system of training, the development of correctional staff was dependent upon a number of factors. Although they lacked formal education, they had to be of average intelligence so that they could pick up the do's and don'ts (Turton 1986, pp. 1-2).

This traditional training programme offered little help to the detainees because treatment programmes can only be given by specially trained personnel. The first indigenous officer cadet was Peter Debessa, the son of a sergeant major, to be trained as an officer by the colonial administration (*The New Guinea Times Courier*, Lae, 11 January 1968).

When the Territory was approaching self-government and because of budget constraints, the only training courses available on a regular basis were to do with recruiting and staff in-service. The training facilities were almost nonexistent and the standard of staff training that was available did not meet the requirements of the Corrective Institution Branch in spite of the efforts of the staff.

Views of Retired and Serving Warders on Colonial Rehabilitation Policies

To balance the views on the colonial policies in the administration of the Corrective Institution Branch, twenty persons were randomly selected to obtain their personal experiences and views from the four major central corrective institutions where the interviews were carried out.

Of the persons interviewed, 20 per cent were transferred from the Royal Papua and New Guinea Constabulary and 80 per cent were recruited directly by the branch. The view of the retired warders was that the rehabilitation policies of the colonial administration to teach the indigenous inmates was village orientated. The industrial trades taught by the colonial industrial officers were for both warders and detainees, to help them master the trades by actually doing it. The industrial trades were to teach long-termers, to help them gain employment in towns after release. In the agricultural sector, the respondents said that it was to enable both warders and detainees to carry on the skills in their respective villages when they terminated (or released) them from the prison community. Baleo Pokanis, a

retired sergeant major, told me that, 'the colonial detainee rehabilitation policies were very beneficial to the long-term detainees and one of the detainees actually came and built the house in which I am now living' (personal interview). Most of the respondents stated that the colonial administration was very hard on the detainees, but not so hard on the warders. The retired warders said that they learned new ways and skills from the colonial administration in technical skills and methods of farming by working along with the detainees.

According to the retired warders the colonial prison officers demonstrated the tasks themselves in front of both warders and detainees. The colonial prisoner officers carried out close demonstrations for all the industrial trades and agricultural projects. They stated that some specialists in industrial and agricultural projects also were arranged from departments such as education, agriculture, works and forestry, to teach the warders and detainees.

They stated that because the colonial administration was very tough and there was an abundance of materials for detainee rehabilitation, the machines in the industrial workshops were well maintained and functioning to teach the detainees the trades. Also, in the agricultural sector, equipment and machines were readily maintained to implement the detainee rehabilitation policies. They stated that the long-term detainees learned every trade in the various institutions in which they served during their terms of imprisonment. The serving warders stated that when Papua and New Guinea was approaching self-government in 1972-1973 many of the expert colonial prison officers left the country.

When asked about the colonial policies in detainee rehabilitation they agreed that the activities carried out in the institutions to rehabilitate the inmates, were beneficial. They stated that, they were sad to see, in 1975, that the detainees rehabilitation industries had started to deteriorate because there were no qualified indigenous officers or warders to continue on the trades and good work that had been done by the colonial prison officers in the gaols in the Territory. The respondents admitted that the colonial prison officers also failed to send indigenous officers or warders on courses in particular trades to carry on the introduced tasks and projects.

The retired and serving warders concluded by stating that the colonial rehabilitation policies were introduced into the Corrective Institution Branch to teach those indigenous persons who had broken the introduced law plus some new ideas in line with reformation. The respondents stated that the long-term detainees benefited greatly from the industrial and agricultural projects that the colonial administration established in the name of detainee rehabilitation. Out of the retired warders interviewed, 80 per cent are farmers and still carry on the trades that they learned during their years of service in the corrective institution, while 20 per cent are self-employed.

Views of Released and Serving Detainees on Rehabilitation and Punishment

During field work a number of released detainees who are now employed in the trades and skills they learned from the colonial rehabilitation policies formulated for the corrective institution branch, were interviewed.

Released detainees Tom, Marandas, Urapil, Thomas and Tohian stated that they were really satisfied with the colonial rehabilitation policies. Each of them has specialised in one of the trades such as mechanical work, carpentry/joinery, bricklaying, welding, or farming in which they are continuing. They learned from the colonial prison officers in the central and district institutions to which they were transferred and pursued the trades as part of their rehabilitation training.

They stated that being long-termers the policies embarked upon by the colonial administration was to their advantage. They were given close attention and supervision to learn these trades in the corrective institutions in which they served their sentences.

The released detainees stated that the colonial administration's hard line management made them scared and during the years they were under custody they worked humbly with the officers and warders. They stated that being long-termers with no hope of an early release made them cooperate with the prison authorities to master the trade skills.

Out of the released inmates 60 per cent stated that they did not have any formal education when they were sentenced to their terms from six years to life imprisonment. They learned to read and write through the adult education classes organised and conducted by the Education Department. They stated that the colonial prison officers planned ahead what the future of the detainees would be. Being detainees they had no choice but to follow the management of the institution to perform and learn the selected trades or skills.

All five released detainees stated that they were basically happy because they were issued with smokes or tobacco every two weeks and were paid eighty cents every month. After they were released from prison they were able to take some money with them to start up some worthwhile business activities in their villages.

The serving detainees stated that they were very happy with the colonial rehabilitation policies. They stated that during the colonial period, industrial projects were functioning very well for the detainees who were learning the trades. The materials and equipment were in good condition for the implementation of the colonial policies. As inmates they were fairly treated in pursuing the detainee rehabilitation projects established in the institutions to which they were moved. The serving detainees stated that they

were not happy when they were told in 1972 that their remission, tobacco, radio and newspapers rights would be taken away from them.

Released and serving detainees also stated that the industries for detainee rehabilitation began to fall apart when the Territory was approaching self-government in 1973 and eventual independence in 1975. By 1975 some industrial and agricultural projects came to a halt as there were no qualified persons to service the equipment.

They stated that they learned various trades during the colonial administration but they cannot implement them because they are now getting very old. One inmate stated that, being a prisoner since 1963, he had learned every trade but he was getting too old to put these skills into practice when he is released in the near future.

Finally all the twenty detainees who were interviewed stated that the colonial rehabilitation policies were very good. The colonial prison officers had planned ahead for the future of the detainees by training the inmates in specific skills to benefit them after release.

Training and Developments for Rehabilitation in Corrective Institutions

As pointed out in the previous chapters on the detainees training and rehabilitation within the Territory of Papua and New Guinea Corrective Institutions, the activities fall within the following agricultural and industrial projects:

- agriculture and horticulture;
- livestock and animal husbandry;
- carpentry;
- cabinet-making;
- building (including bricklaying);
- brick manufacturing;
- workshop machinery work (wood-working and metal working);
- forestry;
- tea growing;
- fisheries; and
- adult literacy.

Broadly speaking, all but the last of these fields of detainee rehabilitative training were vocational types which have definite rehabilitation benefits to the participant detainees in these Corrective Institutions.

■ **Agriculture**

In all Corrective Institutions in the Territory, more emphasis was placed on the growing or production of staple root crops (especially sweet potatoes). The majority of the produce in these institutions was consumed internally by the inmates and the officers and warders in the institutions.

The Corrective Institution regulation allows the substitution of root-crops for rice as a portion of the detainee daily ration scale. Additionally, in some Corrective Institutions in the Territory, large quantities of fresh vegetables (again sweet potatoes) were donated to hospitals, high schools and police messes. From the closed files that have been surveyed it has been revealed that over the years, hundreds of tonnes of sweet potatoes were produced and donated for rationing to the outstation showgoers who attended the Mount Hagen and Goroka Shows. (Correctional Service Headquarters File No. 4-5-1, Guise 1972). It had been estimated that approximately 170 tonnes of fresh food were used at the 1969 Mount Hagen Show and were grown and donated from Baisu major central corrective institution.

Apart from the Baisu major central corrective institution, in other institutions in the Territory the detainees were growing more staple root-crops, and were increasingly growing large amounts of other fresh vegetables as well. Some of these vegetable crops were tomatoes, pumpkins, cabbages, onions, lettuce, spinach and so on.

Again the majority of the produce was fed to the inmates as a supplementary item in their diet with some vegetables donated, from time to time, to warders and public institutions such as hospitals, high schools, police messes and charity institutions. Apart from the economic value, the long-term worth of the trained gardeners and agricultural workers was immeasurable. Factors such as cash crop market gardens, use of insecticides and fertiliser, modern drainage and irrigation methods were all applied. These methods were meant to have beneficial long-term effects on the village subsistence economy as many detainees in the corrective institutions in the Territory came from the villages.

■ **Livestock Husbandry**

In line with the colonial policies, great emphasis had been placed on cattle (both beef and dairy) and piggeries. Cattle management and husbandry was a growing industry (particularly beef) while pigs were a traditional livestock in all parts of the Territory's corrective institutions. In livestock husbandry, the training given to detainees included breeding and selection, pasture improvement, care and management, and training towards the establishment of cash-sale orientated livestock business. Training in

sheep husbandry was also being given at selected highlands corrective institutions (Baisu and Bui-Iebi) with the assistance from the Department of Agriculture, Livestock and Fisheries (Department of Primary Industry) (Correctional Service Headquarters, File No. 4-5-1, Guise 1972).

There was considerable growth in livestock numbers over the decade before independence in all the Territory's corrective institutions as the inmates were raising large herds. This was particularly so at Bomana major central corrective institution where intensive agricultural and livestock programmes had been implemented over this period. At that time, it was estimated that there was an annual turnover for sale of approximately 1000 pigs and 100 cattle from Bomana alone.

In the Territory of Papua and New Guinea corrective institutions, sufficient quality breeding stock was available for local piggery and cattle projects and local farmers through the Department of Agriculture, Livestock and Fisheries. Similar projects at that time on a smaller scale, had been commenced at Baisu major central corrective institution (with cattle, pigs and sheep), Bui-Iebi corrective institution in Mendi (cattle and sheep), Barane corrective institution in Kundiawa (sheep), Bundaira corrective institution in Kainantu (pigs and cattle), Buimo major central corrective institution in Lae (cattle), Boram corrective institution in Wewak (cattle and pigs) Beon corrective institution in Madang (cattle), Kavieng corrective institution (cattle), Kerevat major central corrective institution (cattle) and Biru corrective institution, Popondetta (cattle and pigs).

In conjunction with the intensive piggery project at Bomana, a natural cycle for effluent had been developed. Droppings of the pigs were washed twice daily into a digester consisting of a gasometer and two settling tanks. The gas was drawn off and used in cooking pig feed, while the effluent was channelled into algae ponds from which the algae was skimmed and fed as protein to the pigs. Residual algae was available for ducks and fish (cantonese carp). The fish in the pond were then fed back to the pigs as additional protein. The ducks were available for sale as they developed in numbers and maturity.

■ **Carpentry, Cabinet Making and Machinery Workshop**

In the Territory's goals these allied fields of training were given within the industrial divisions of Bomana, Buimo and Boram corrective institutions. Recruitment of trained industrial staff as correctional officers (Industrial Grade 1) during the period allowed the commencement of production and training in the industrial divisions of Baisu, Kerevat and Bihute institutions.

One of the major fields of work in which industrial training was given within corrective institutions was the large-scale production of school furniture for the Department of Education. Such work was done on the basis

that the Department supplied all materials, an estimated 90 per cent of machinery, and the labour component was supplied by the corrective institution service.

Additionally, coffins were also manufactured for the Department of Public Health at Buimo Central Corrective Institution. Packing crates for personal effects were manufactured at several gaols for the Division of Supply. The value of internal maintenance in carpentry, plumbing, sign-writing and office modification performed by the industrial divisions would be difficult to estimate. This work required costings of thousands of small jobs, and the savings to the Public Works Department were quite substantial.

■ **Building (Including Bricklaying)**

The detainees received training in this field at several institutions and new office blocks were constructed at Biru and Beon corrective institutions. At Bomana, near Port Moresby, a new headquarters complex was in the initial stages of construction and was estimated to cost in the vicinity of \$30,000. However, the actual costing with self-help construction was about \$10,000. It was also estimated that self-help construction of staff housing would reduce the cost per indigenous married quarter from \$2,500 to approximately \$1,000. This estimate was on the basis that sufficient 'minor new works' funds were made available for such a project. Most of the projects carried out by the prison officers in the corrective institutions in the Territory were on self-help concepts, and did not conform to standards or the Building Board's Sewerage Reticulation Regulations.

■ **Brick Manufacture**

The production of bricks was carried out in various centres in some of the Territory's corrective institutions over the period before Independence. Most of the bricks produced were for the Department of Public Works and other government departments also placed their requirements with the local corrective institution. Bricks were also produced for the construction of self-help projects in the corrective institutions without relying so much on the Department of Works. Internal constructions were made possible by the industrial officers employed by the Corrective Institution Branch throughout the Territory.

■ **Forestry**

In all corrective institutions in the Territory there were significant tubings and plantings of trees during the establishment of these institutions over the years. In Baisu major central corrective institution, for example,

plantings from the 1960s were ready for milling after five to seven years. Hence, in future it may be considered as a permanent productive industry for the gaol as the re-planting will progressively replace timber felled for milling.

No estimates were available on the expected millings or the income which may be expected; as well over 100 acres (40 hectares) were planted out under forestry at Baisu Gaol and afforestation of steeper slopes was increased.

For rehabilitation purposes, training was given to the detainees in forest nursery work and care and maintenance of trees. It was likely that training in sawmilling was considered for introduction when the production commenced. In the Territory's corrective institutions, forestry projects on a smaller scale were started and gradually came into production in the early 1970s. Timber felled from land-clearing projects at Kerevat major central corrective institution were donated to the Royal Papua and New Guinea Constabulary in Rabaul.

■ Tea Growing

There was a small area of tea planted at Baisu (approximately six acres (2.5 hectares)) which had been grown with assistance from the Department of Agriculture, Livestock and Fisheries and the Mount Hagen Tea Growers Propriety Limited. The tea leaf was to be ready for processing by about October in 1972 and the Mount Hagen Tea Growers Company was prepared to enter into a long-term contract for the purchase of the green leaf which gave an annual gross return of \$2,400 under the existing acreage planting.

The Mount Hagen Tea Growers Pty Ltd, suggested a major expansion of the existing cultivation project to 2000 acres (810 hectares) which was estimated to give an annual turnover of approximately \$60,000. Also (depending on the result of some investigations into the Mount Hagen Tea Growers Company's expansion into the Southern Highlands) the company may have offered permanent employment to the detainees who had been trained in tea growing or culture in Baisu Gaol, after their release. Quite apart from rehabilitation of detainees in tea growing in Baisu Gaol, another obvious motive was the economic benefit for the company. Such an offer by the Mount Hagen Tea Growing Company was a major breakthrough in the community resettlement field. In 1972 to 1973 the detainees in Baisu Gaol had commenced manufacturing tea chests for the Tea Company, giving an anticipated approximate income of \$45 per week. The company's staff members were consulted from time to time by the authorities at Baisu Gaol regarding the progress of the six acres (2.5 hectares) that had been planted.

As a result of the company's, association with the Baisu tea operations, it was seen that the company had made a substantial contribution

towards the rehabilitation of the detainees, in addition to assisting the institution to obtain an income to support its operating costs.

■ **Fisheries**

In Baisu Gaol, a major freshwater fishery had been established. Fish that were harvested were fed to detainees at regular intervals as supplementary rations in lieu of tinned fish. In other corrective institutions in the Territory, fishery projects were also encouraged by the colonial prison officers. At Boram central corrective institution, salt-water fishery projects were established and shark-fishing yielded good results. Apart from Baisu and Boram Gaols, nets were purchased and provided for Alotau, Daru and possibly Kikori corrective institutions to teach detainees about net fishing. The main concept was to teach the inmates how to tap these natural resources and how to get involved in the industries when they are released from gaol.

■ **Adult Literacy**

Throughout the Territory, evening classes for selected detainees were conducted at several major institutions for several years. However, the programme was very much 'on and off' due to the Corrective Institution Branch's reliance on the generosity of the Department of Education's staff with time, books and teaching equipment. As soon as the position of education officer was funded and filled in these gaols, overall teaching programmes were developed and brought into the adult literacy evening classes. At that time, great emphasis was placed on literacy in pidgin. By attending such adult literacy classes, the detainees benefited by understanding and learning to become rehabilitated detainees after discharge from gaol.

**Table 9: Employment of Detainees on Behalf of Other Departments
(Major and Central Institutions Only) 1 July 1971 to 30 June 1972**

Department	Detainees Man-Hours Worked
Police	6,700
Public. Health	3,366
Education	42,357
D.A.S.F.	7,363
D.D.A.	83,775
Pub Works	22,086
D.C.A.	160
Army	560
S.D.H.A.	32,048
Transport	3,112
C.D.W.	396
Electric Commission	1,617
Treasury	7,334
Post and Telegraphs	272
Forestry	7,334
Law (Courts)	140
Other - Organisations	2,226
Total Hours*	220,846

- * This figure was for work for D.D.A. at the thirteen major and central corrective institutions only. It was impossible to estimate the number of hours worked on D.D.A. projects at outstation institutions such as road camps, airstrips and so on, run on an agency basis.

Conclusion on Detainee Rehabilitation

The colonial rehabilitation policies had three objectives: first, to master their supremacy in the colony; second, to introduce agricultural projects for the village economy; and third, to enable the long-term inmates to master industrial trade skills and enable them to find paid employment in towns or to teach their people upon return to the village. The colonial policies were fruitful in the sense that the various industrial and agricultural trades established in the central and district institutions have actually benefited the

long-term detainees as well as the warders. In those days of early development of corrective institutions the policies devised were to assist the country as it developed into nationhood.

It is very sad to learn that the industries, projects, workshops and activities, which were established by the colonial administration to implement the detainee rehabilitation policies, are now not functioning for the purposes for which they were established in the Territory by the Australian colonial prison officers in the 1950s and 1960s - for the purposes of detainee rehabilitation.

Summary

The methods used for the research and field work case studies in the institutions in the provinces have elicited a lot of information. Some valuable information was obtained from the retired and serving warders, and released and serving detainees on the colonial rehabilitation policies. From the research and field work case studies of the colonial policies both warders and detainees spoke highly of the colonial detainee rehabilitation policies for the indigenous detainees in the Territory. Chapter Six discusses the comparative concepts in the traditional forms of punishment and rehabilitation that were practiced in the preliterate inhabitant societies around the world before they came into contact with the Europeans, where the new colonial introduced laws were enforced on these societies which are totally different from their traditional customs and norms to control social behaviours in their preliterate societies.

Chapter Six

Punishment and Rehabilitation in Preliterate Societies

Introduction

Perhaps a known socio-anthropologist would say Papua New Guinea preliterate societies before European contact have used uniform sanctions to control human social behaviours. The context of the notion will not be so because of diverse cultural unique dissimilarities in these preliterate societies and they are not a single type of society but a whole assortment of social societies with different judicial process to punish and rehabilitate wrong-doers in these village communities. I am not going to elicit uniformity forms of traditional forms of punishment and rehabilitation in Papua New Guinea preliterate societies because of its diverse societal enforcement of punishment variations in these simple communities. Thus most appropriate scope would be to make a comparative discussion of the preliterate societies within Papua New Guinea and other similar preliterate societies in the world. The whole laws, customs, traditional sanctions are/were enforced in all the preliterate societies' unofficial judicial process, to punish in order to rehabilitate offenders against the individual or whole village in the simple communities. Finally in this chapter a correlation will be drawn out to show the unofficial laws used in the various forms of punishment and rehabilitation in the traditional and modern judicial process in Papua New Guinea.

Crime and Social Structure

The world presents a rich array of preliterate and civilised societies, both of which contain groups with conflicting interests. Before the arrival of Europeans in Papua New Guinea, it has been proven and provided in Papua New Guinea that many simple village communities have used their social institutions to control and regulate human behaviours. In these preliterate communities when a crime is committed a variety of social sanctions come into play. In this sense some simple preliterate societies have no laws, although all have customs, which are supported by social sanctions, as an application for enforcing punishments on the offenders in the community. Radcliffe-Brown (1922, pp. 212-19) pointed out that the obligation imposed on the individuals in the preliterate societies where there are no legal sanctions would be regarded as a matter of custom and convention but not law in the diverse simple communities.

Papua New Guinea before contact was composed of many diverse district village communities which were very unique in policing their traditional unofficial laws or customs to be applied on the offenders in the communities. The numerous anthropological works, which were conducted among the various simple communities in Papua New Guinea on the unofficial judicial processes of settling disputes in applying punishments and exercising rehabilitation on the wrong-doers, studied these societies from many different viewpoints.

Malinowski (1926, p. 59) study of the Trobriand community took an extreme view in reasoning that, 'law and customs are coterminous, that all institutions in society possess miscellaneous rules or norms regulating the conduct of individuals within culturally acceptable limits'. It has shown that in Papua New Guinea's traditional societies all simple hamlet constituencies have used their social institutions to regulate and police intolerable human behaviours before the introduction of foreign institutions such as courts, police, gaols and so on by the Europeans.

Some studies have been implemented to explain the relationship between economic mode of production and the organisation of social control mechanisms in the preliterate societies. From the fieldwork carried out in the various preliterate societies, a number of anthropologists have observed in principle that hunters and gatherers do not develop adjudicator mechanisms and would rather use avoidance as a means of dealing with social disorders in their communities.

Unofficial Laws of Preliterate Societies

The nineteenth century anthropologists were very much interested in the preliterate societies law. These anthropologists began their work by looking at the differences between western and non-western law. Especially, two positions prevailed among these societies; some anthropologists like Emile Durkheim's (1933) study of 'the Division of Labour in Society', has described primitive law as penal and repressive as contrasted with the more advanced and specialised societies which generally used restitution sanctions. But other anthropologists like Hobhouse et al. (1915) opposed the notion of that correlation and their argument was based on the existence modes of subsistence. The preliterate human societies were scaled along a progressive sequence at first characterised by the predominance of self-redress, a sanction gradually replaced by punishment or compensation.

The comparative perspective however need not stress differences between preliterate societies, nor between cultural societies and our own but may uncover similarities as well. Some preliterate societies are generally peaceful especially in coastal societies while the Highlands communities are

more warlike. Papua New Guinea preliterate societies as Melanesians settle most of their disputes through negotiations.

Anti-social conduct has been recognised as a universal aspect of group life. The particular form it takes and the nature of reaction it provokes are variables which are internally wrapped up in the particular culture and social organisation of the group. In some preliterate societies currently cannibalism, theft, selling products known to be harmful, or infanticide fall in the area of approved conduct but the standard of good and bad behaviours are not constant. Records for over a hundred-year period on the Tswana people of Africa indicate that 'Crime' is in a state of flux but also that crime is not necessarily an act disapproved of by all members of the society. Schapera (1972) pointed out that, among the Tswana people of Africa a civil law has made a penal offence.

Since there are no wrongs universally to the preliterate societies, there are no behaviours which are bad in themselves. The nature of the act alone cannot be used to determine its meaning. The identification of the wrongdoers may be critical. Killing Kin is murder while killing non-Kin is not for the Ontong Javanese as for many societies. Among the Tiv tribe of Nigeria, killing thieves or witches may be permissible by customary legal standards. Among the Kapauku tribe of New Guinea, intra-confederacy killing is murder, while killings outside the confederacy is warfare only if approved by the leaders, otherwise starting a war is a crime punishable by death (Koch 1974).

In New Guinea an offence is defined more by the social context than by the circumstances of the act. There are no broad definitions between types of offences, and opinions of what constitutes the same crime vary widely from group to group or among individuals in a group. In comparison, among the Kipsigis tribe of Kenya the same offence will meet with different consequences according to the political distance which separates the opposing parties.

The Tiv rank acts by their social consequences with the most serious being incest, homicide and sometimes adultery in which Gluckman (1955) reported a distinction between wrong and great wrong. Among the Jale tribe of the New Guinea highlands intention is ignored in favour of consequence as an act of offence. Attempted murder is not a crime among the Jale tribe since it inflicts no harm while in the death of a woman in childbirth the husband is responsible for the wife's death because he impregnated her just like a man who kills another in a fight. Gluckman (1955) found the same difficulty in distinguishing crime from tort among the Barotse tribe of Zambia. Since all wrongdoing is personal and often involves ritual reparation there is not a clear sacred secular division.

Enforcement of Sanctions

Earlier mentions about sanctions in preliterate societies are not supported by the ethnographic record. Sociologists theories such as Emil Durkheim's, reveal that repressive and penal law characterises the inferior societies. As a matter of fact, restitution plays a predominant role in small-scale preliterate societies. Restitution refers to the process whereby monies or services are paid by the offender or the offender's family or tribe to the victim or the victim's family or tribe. It may be paid in kind (a life for a life) or in equivalence (wife for a life) (Nader & Schilling 1977). There are various forms of liabilities been exercised by these preliterate societies, whether individual or collective, absolute or contingent.

Among the Berbers tribe of the Atlas mountains of Morocco restitution follows a pattern of collective and contingent liability. Compromises in such restitutive agreements usually recognise the degree of seriousness of the act and the status. The greater the degree, the higher the restitution payment. Klaus-Friedrich Koch (1974) comparing the Egyptian Bedouin of the Western Desert recognised the exact consequence of the physical act and the status of both parties as the primary determinants of the amount of restitution. Whilst the Ifugao tribe of Northern Luzon recognised a sliding scale of payment depending on the social position of injury. In the case of the Trobriand tribe in Papua New Guinea fighting is with food. That is, how much food the victim and offender are able to mount to show that one party has beaten his challenger.

The reparation process in the preliterate small-scale societies may function as a deterrent since the process implicates kin groups on both sides. Once a reparation has been agreed upon, the victim is pressed to avoid further conflict with the offender because the whole tribe is paying for the victim's actions. Restitution can be found in both stateless and state societies. The preliterate societies that do not have formalised political systems such as the Yurok in California, the Ifugao in the Philippines or the Bedouin of the Western desert - do have very sophisticated unwritten indemnity codes. In many preliterate societies such as the Jale tribe of New Guinea, it has been noted that spatial distance increases the propensity of an aggrieved party to resort to retaliation rather than restitution. Finally, it appears that restitution is used sparingly, most often in cases of murder, theft, debt, adultery and property damage. The restitutive sanction whether collective or individual restores social equilibrium by addressing the needs of the victim or the victim's kin by restating social values, by providing a means for reinstating the offender into the mainstream without too much stigma. The public develops a general consensus about an individual's behaviour rather than the crimes.

Social Control in Preliterate Societies

With the emergence of the state, there is increasing reliance on sanctions of a penal nature to deter anti-social behaviour. But according to the tribesmen of the preliterate or pre-state societies the legal sanction whether penal or restitutive, represents only a particular means of enforcing conformity to norms. Mechanisms such as sorcery and suicide have often been labelled as criminal behaviour common to the preliterate societies by foreign observers. It was seen by Malinowski's study of the Trobriands as rather legal and rehabilitative mechanisms, behaviours which supported the preliterate social order. Some anthropologists such as Beatrice Whiting (1950) observed that sorcery was found in societies with decentralised political systems and argued that sorcery is an important mechanism of social control in preliterate societies.

Radcliffe-Brown (1952) argued that in preliterate societies there was a close connection between the sanctions of criminal law and religious beliefs. Obviously supernatural sanction is more threatening than physical retaliation or material compensation because they are so vague and unpredictable and for this reason it becomes more terrible. It is important to understand that courts, police, prisons and the like are not necessary for the presence of order in preliterate societies, where there is a wide range of checks upon human conduct which are functionally equivalent to enforcement agencies in state societies.

The Kapauku tribe of New Guinea consider killing by arrow, by sorcery or by violation of food taboos identical crimes, since all are attacks on people. The Gembe Tonga tribe of Zambia think that poisoning and sorcery are the same and functionally, they are both covert attacks which make people fall sick. In comparative analyses the Barotse and Gisu tribes of Zambia and Kenya and the Sepiks of Papua New Guinea Melanesian believe that no death or illness is entirely natural. Each death brings the question 'who has caused this illness or death'.

Although in these preliterate societies everyone fears sorcery not everyone condemns it. Sometimes sorcery is condemned but sorcerers are not punished. The Sepiks rarely accuse anyone of sorcery for fear of reprisals from the evil spirits. Among others, such as the Gisu tribe, a sorcerer should be killed if the killing can be carried out by the whole community. Today such sanctions under state law are officially illegal in Papua New Guinea and unable to be enforced as in traditional societies. Indeed such traditional punishment as sorcery is now defined as an offence by the Summary Offence Act of the country's criminal code or legal system.

In patrilineal preliterate societies women can be vulnerable to charges of witchcraft and sorcery in which they are seen both as outsiders and as a divisive force. Men may or may not accuse lineage members depending on

whether they considered their rivalry or their solidarity paramount. The accusations in this case were against the old people by the young generation who no longer feared them. Agricultural preliterate societies rather than pastoral tend to have witchcraft outbreaks. Such outbreaks may function to receive over-population areas of people who have an excuse to leave the community either because they have been accused or because they fear the harm of witches (Colson 1974). In these preliterate societies witchcraft waves may be connected with changing times, with stress, and periods of unrest in line with the absence of centralised preliterate societies. Earlier, the use of witchcraft led to the policy of indirect rules which were called upon to maintain the native customary law.

Conclusion

The preliterate societies like modern societies sustain various systems of rules, some of which may be contradictory. We can no longer argue that face to face societies are more peaceful or that civilised societies are naturally crime-prone. It is not true that preliterate societies use negotiations to the exclusion of arbitration or mediation and that civilised societies use more adjudication to the exclusion of negotiation. Preliterate laws may be flexible and highly effective as an instrument of human relations or highly unpredictable and disruptive because of the absence of formalised controls.

There were wide differences in the degree to which societal wrongs were recognised and punished. A study of exogamy rules in preliterate societies revealed that seven types of official sanctions were applied across these societies in response to violation of the rules: death, fines, beating, banishment, social disapproval, supernatural and 'severe' (Leland 1975).

It is true to proclaim that preliterate societies may sustain numerous systems of rules which correspond to the various types of groups within the society. How the violation of any one of those rules was treated would be produce in part of the tensions and relative strengths that exist among levels of rule-makers and enforcers. These tensions and strengths may vary over time within a society in response to the internal innovation or involution or in response to contact with external forces among the preliterate societies.

In the preliterate societies law comprises all those rules of conduct which regulate the behaviour of individuals and the communities. In Trobriand society adultery is treated by exchange food sanctions. Adultery is normally an individual offence rather than group offence in the sense that reaction to it, and attempted redressive action, depends largely upon the attitudes of the offended husband. Traditionally Papua New Guinea village communities coped very well and effectively with this type of crime. These village communities were self regulating because failure to conform brought it's own automatic penalties and individuals were rewarded or punished by

the attitudes towards them of fellow members of their social group. Before contact the Melanesians were composed of many diverse distinct village communities and they were very unique in exercising their traditional laws to apply traditional punishments and rehabilitation. The difficulty of administering customs or customary laws is that, when a particular custom or law applies to one village community it does not apply in another area or community.

Although crimes from the preliterate societies, from the western perspective, are violations of the law from the cross-cultural perspective they are not necessarily crimes. Radcliffe-Brown's (1952) definition of crime in primitive societies as a violation of public order is cross-culturally inapplicable if its operational maker is the exercise of a penal rather than a civil sanction. Research on preliterate societies has not yet established that the physical costs to the victim of a normative violation as opposed to the material or mental costs is a criterion commonly applied in establishing the severity of an offence or of a sanction or in making the behaviour which elicits that sanction. Societies which do not have a criminal population or individuals who are criminals are those which prevent individuals from obtaining criminal status through their behaviour not those who prevent violations of the law.

The notion of punishment and rehabilitation in preliterate societies is important too in controlling social disorder in their communities. When an offence is committed by a member of a community, traditional judicial process is established to adjudicate whether the offence has been committed against the accuser. As I have pointed out in this chapter there is no uniformity in the various punishments being dished out to wrong-doers in preliterate societies. The enforcing of various sanctions against individuals or a community is a form of punishment and rehabilitation which, according to the customary laws or rules, is to be inflicted on the accuser. The victim may be faced with penalty of death, payment of restitution, compensation or the community may assist and strongly advise the accuser not to commit further offences and place a burden on the community. All forms of sanctions were regulated and enforced by the preliterate societies to punish and rehabilitate their offenders in the respective societies to make their society a peaceful environment in which to live. The preliterate societies have applied various remedial measures by exercising traditional laws or customs to control and regulate human behaviours in these preliterate societies.

In preliterate societies when an offence is committed the case is reported to the leaders in the village communities and they call before them the accuser to determine the case to inflict punishment on the accused. Whereas in the English law the accused is picked up by police and charged to appear before the magistrate or judge in the court of law. In the official courts various authorities come into play to determine the rights and wrongs

in the likes of defence council (lawyer) police prosecutor, witness, complainants and so on. If the accused is found guilty he/she may be sent to a corrective institution as punishment and for rehabilitation. Whereas in the preliterate societies in the unofficial judicial process the wrong-doing is decided on the spot without delay and the punishment imposed is bonded to the culprit to settle the dispute. In these preliterate societies the whole laws, customs and traditions come into play to punish and rehabilitate offenders to control social behaviour in these societies.

Chapter Seven presents some conclusions based on the research field work that has been conducted in the major central corrective institutions in Papua New Guinea. A number of suggestions and recommendations are made for the prison administrators to bear in mind when planning the development of agricultural and industrial projects, including other workable activities in the rehabilitation of detainees in the corrective institutions in the country. In conclusion the author also outlines some further research proposals for the development of the organisation and sound management of the prison service department for the prime purpose of detainee reformation or rehabilitation upon incarceration in a corrective institution in the country.

Chapter Seven

Conclusions and Suggestions

Aim

This chapter summarises what has been discussed in the previous chapters. The aim of the research on this topic was to identify colonial policies of detainee rehabilitation and the establishment of the Corrective Institution Branch in the Territory of Papua and New Guinea. To organise the study, a number of research methods were employed to draw results of the questions raised and to present the evidence to support the research. Research of archival, library and Correctional Service Headquarters closed files revealed that the colonial rehabilitation policies and the establishment of corrective institutions in the Territory of Papua and New Guinea were to teach the indigenous inmates new skills in modern agriculture and industries. The field work case studies research conducted during the second semester of 1989 mid-term break involving visits to Bomana, Baisu, Buimo and Kerevat, led to the recording of the agricultural and industrial projects that were established by the Australian colonial administration.

In these agricultural and industrial projects, long-term inmates were trained by colonial prison officers to master trades and skills. These trades and skills were for detainee rehabilitation activities, to implement the colonial rehabilitation policies. To assess the colonial policies, during the field work case studies research, interview schedule methods were employed to elicit views and experiences from retired and serving warders, and released and serving detainees about colonial rehabilitation policies, as well as to assess the various colonial rehabilitation projects that were established at the major, central and district gaols in the Territory. This monograph also discusses chronological events in the administration of the Corrective Institution Branch, from 1950 to 1975, by the Australian colonial administration.

On 16 September 1975, when Papua and New Guinea gained its Independence, the Corrective Institution Branch became a department of its own. And, in 1985 it was granted departmental status as the Department of Correctional Service in the nation state of Papua New Guinea.

Summary and Conclusion

The concept of a corrective institutions is an innovation introduced into the Territory of Papua and New Guinea by the Australian colonial administration to punish and rehabilitate offenders in the colonial society for violating the introduced laws. The Corrective Institution Branch was established in the Territory by the colonial administration to consolidate their own colonial empire and to foster their own economic interest in the colonies. It was also purported to safeguard their own colonial interest and to exercise their supremacy over other conquerors in the Territory. The concept of prison was established around the thirteenth century and was developed in Europe, Asia, Australia and America. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the superpowers expanded to conquer as many colonies as they could in the Far East and the Pacific. The prison concept was introduced by the colonial administration into the Territory of Papua and New Guinea immediately after they settled and had established their colonial governmental authority. The indigenous people in the colonies were not allowed to exercise their traditional laws but, had to serve under colonial autonomy.

The Territory of Papua and New Guinea during colonial rule was administered under two different prison ordinances. As far back as the 1950s, the Australian colonial administration considered it a must to establish a Corrective Institution Branch separate from the Royal Papua and New Guinea Native Constabulary. When the Honourable Paul Hasluck was appointed as Minister for Territories in 1952 under the Menzies government, he wanted to see the new branch established to bring about the urgent reform of indigenous inmates who were serving terms of imprisonment in the Territory's prisons.

Under the Minister's direction, the administrator for the Territories, Mr Cleland, and Mr Somer, the Commissioner of the Territory's Public Service, carried out a great deal of preparatory work to establish the Corrective Institution Branch to take over the tasks of administering the work of the prisons. Then, the Controller General of the Queensland Prison Service, Mr Rutherford, was appointed to carry out consultancy work on the Territory's prisons. As soon as Rutherford's consultancy report was submitted and subsequently accepted, the Honourable Minister for the Territories then approved the establishment of the Corrective Institution Branch in the Territory of Papua and New Guinea.

The beginning of the Corrective Institution Branch in the Territory of Papua and New Guinea came about when the Legislative Council passed the Corrective Institution Ordinance 1957 (No. 67 of 1957) which resulted in the original two prison ordinances in the Territory being combined into one. The Honourable Paul Hasluck, Minister for Territories, immediately drew up

seven policy guidelines to administer the Corrective Institution Branch in the Territory. The Minister had announced the appointment of Malcolm English as the Controller of the Corrective Institution Branch on 8 February 1956. The new controller took up the office to administer all corrective institutions in the Territory, effective from January, 1957.

To facilitate a speedy implementation of the seven policies laid down by the Minister for the Territories, the Controller, as soon as he assumed office, started building corrective institutions throughout the Territory. In these institutions, various rehabilitation projects were embarked upon by the colonial administrators with a view to reforming indigenous inmates and also to teach new skills especially to those who were sentenced to longer gaol terms.

This monograph has established that the Corrective Institution Branch has become a major rehabilitation centre for long-term inmates, who were not only punished for their crimes, but were also taught necessary skills that they could use after completing their gaol terms. From the research and the field work case studies the following information was revealed: to implement the colonial rehabilitation policies the colonial administration started agricultural and industrial projects in all major, central and district corrective institutions. Some of the agricultural projects were livestock and animal husbandry (cattle and pigs), poultry (ducks and chickens), forestry, fish ponds and so on. Some of the industrial projects were electrical, mechanical work, bricklaying, brickmaking, welding, carpentry/joinery, wood handcrafts and carving, and so on. From the response received from the warders and the inmates who were interviewed they have greatly benefited from the skills which were taught by the colonial prison administrators in the institutions in which they had served or had been detained.

The findings of this research were obtained by visiting the agricultural and industrial projects in the four major central corrective institutions and from personal interviews with the warders and detainees, who highly praised the colonial detainees rehabilitation policies. The warders learned new skills while supervising detainees, while long-term detainees were transferred from institution to institution to learn new skills. Out of the five released detainees who were interviewed, two are motor mechanics, one is a farmer, one is a foreman bricklayer and one is a foreman in carpentry/joinery with private companies. The retired warders also agreed with the trades that they learned. The results obtained from the research have revealed that both warders and detainees learned new skills from the colonial prison officers and now they are practising these trades in their various respective works of life. They praised and emphasised that the agricultural projects were established for detainees who would be returning to their villages after serving their gaol sentences and that the industrial projects were established

for those detainees who wanted to use their skills in paid employment in towns and government stations.

The detainees stated that they were taught by the colonial prison officers not only on particular specialised trades but on all agricultural and industrial activities in the gaols where they were detained.

Suggestions and Recommendations

This research is the first of its kind on the effects of the Corrective Institution Branch on the concept of prison reform and detainee rehabilitation. Although it has achieved certain results or points of interest or concern, despite the brief nature of the scope of this monograph, there are certain questions and issues that could be further explored and researched in this field.

Future research should be coordinated nationally and abroad to conduct interviews with the former colonial prison officers who administered major, central and district gaols between 1950 and 1975 in the Territory. Obtaining valuable material from these officers, warders and inmates would enable researchers to prepare a well documented paper on the management of the Corrective Institution Branch by the Australian colonial administration in the Territory of Papua and New Guinea. Detailed research should be carried out in the subsidiary (rural) lockups, and the major central and district institutions which were controlled by the Australian colonial administration. This would help to identify the types of prison reform and detainee rehabilitation projects that were enforced in the rural lockups, and determine how these programs benefited the inmates who were serving terms of imprisonment under the patrol officers (*Kiaps*) employed by the district administration. Also, it would give clear views to national officers as to which rehabilitation policies would be beneficial and applicable to persons sent to gaol for longer terms of imprisonment.

The specific areas of research should include:

- training of warders;
- wages of expatriates, national officers and warders;
- promotion of expatriates, national officers and warders;
- release of expatriate and indigenous detainees;
- forms of punishment inflicted on the indigenous detainees;
- relationships among expatriates, warders and detainees;
- revenue generated from the agricultural and industrial projects; and
- the manner in which land was purchased to establish corrective institutions in the Territory.

The main idea of this monograph is the types of rehabilitation policies that have been formulated by the Australian colonial administration for enforcement in the Territory's prison system. I believe that open prisons should have been built at the subsidiary institutions in the Territory to teach long- and short-term detainees about agriculture. The colonial prison officers specialised in farming systems to teach detainees about innovations in farming methods. Then in major, central and district institutions large-scale industries should have been established to teach capable detainees in trades such as welding, mechanical work, brickmaking, bricklaying, electrical, woodwork - furniture making, painting and other industrial tasks. By establishing two separate categories of institutions, it would enable the agricultural sector to concentrate on teaching new farming methods to the detainees who are interested in farming and in the industrial sector those detainees keen to learn industrial trades or skills.

According to the Papua and New Guinea concept, prisoners should be punished within the community in which they committed the offence and the punishment be imposed on the whole family, clan or tribe rather than sending a culprit to gaol. The wrongdoer must be convicted to work for the person he or she has committed the offence against, so that the culprit will return the services which have been breached.

I believe that this monograph has revealed that the Australian colonial administration's motives for introducing such a state controlled institution was to manipulate the indigenous people to adapt to Western Culture, so that the administration could enforce the western style autonomy in social, political, and most importantly, economic interests in the Territory.

The colonial policies of establishing agricultural projects such as cattle and pig farming, poultry (ducks and chickens), gardening, forestry, fish ponds and so on were to assist inmates who would return to the villages and be subsistence farmers. The industrial projects in trades such as welding, brickmaking, painting, bricklaying, electrical, mechanical work and so on were to teach literate inmates, so that upon release, they could find employment with private companies or government departments in towns and cities. They also could return home and start up their own small-scale businesses in their villages. However, the great problem to starting up any small-scale industry is capital, because rehabilitation policies are connected with finance to commence such activities. To me, overall at least, the Australian colonial administration planned the colonial rehabilitation policies at that time in line with the level of thinking of the indigenous people. The greatest mistake the colonial prison officers made was to only offer warders (and detainees) on-the-job training. By doing this, warders did not get the opportunity to attend higher learning institutions to learn the trades and then come back to continue these trades in the institutions. Instead, when Independence came in 1975, the colonial experts departed

without leaving any skills behind. As a result, all the agricultural and industrial projects in the gaols throughout the country are now run down.

Revitalisation of Industrial and Agricultural Industries

The foregoing discussions on the Australian colonial policies on the reform or rehabilitation of detainees centred on the agricultural and industrial projects in the prisons in the Territory of Papua and New Guinea. The colonial-concept industries were enforced in all corrective institutions in the Territory and were responsible for the production, in large scale, and volume, of goods and services. The long-term inmates were under the immediate supervision of colonial prison officers and were to be trained in agricultural and industrial trades. After release from gaol, they could then pursue these trades in their respective villages or in towns for paid employment. The industries flourished and expanded in the 1960s and early 1970s in all the corrective institutions in the Territory of Papua and New Guinea.

These industries were slowly running down as the Territory was approaching self-government in 1973 and gradually ceased after Independence in 1975. When the colonial prison officers left the Corrective Institution Service, they took all their experience and expertise with them. They left no knowledge with the national officers and warders to carry on these trades in detainee rehabilitation.

For the current Corrective Institution Service planners to revitalise the industrial and agricultural projects in all corrective institutions in the country, a number of resources are required to bring the industries back into existence and production, as used to be the case in colonial days.

The Department of Corrective Institution Service initially requires substantial capital to inject into the agricultural and industrial projects. Then the Department will need to employ suitably qualified industrial and agricultural officers, who possess the necessary expertise, in all those institutions where the industries have now stagnated and are not in production. These requirements have come to light and to the knowledge of all prison planners, prison officers and warders.

The key resource departments and private organisations, such as Primary Industry, Forestry, Works, Education, Youth and Home Affairs, the Coffee, Cocoa and Copra Industry Boards, Universities, Technical and Agricultural Colleges to train corrective institution personnel in these specialised tasks, should be consulted to help re-establish the industries. The agricultural and industrial projects, established in corrective institutions by the colonial prison officers, should be reactivated.

For example, in Bomana major gaol, experts could re-establish herds of cattle, pig farms, poultry farms (chickens and ducks), fish ponds, mechanical, electrical, and plumbing workshops and in Baisu major gaol, tea,

coffee, forestry, sheep, vegetable farming and so on. There are other corrective institutions in the country which possess hectares and hectares of land on which these industries could be reactivated. By re-establishing these industries it will serve the department of corrective institution service three purposes:

1. continuing on the concept of detainee rehabilitation;
2. pouring money into the department to generate revenue or contribute to the national budget; and
3. be self-sufficient to subsidise manufactured food or rations for the inmates diet.

This research has revealed that these initiatives are the only way that the planners of the Corrective Institution Service should go to re-activate the industrial and agricultural industries that have run down since the colonial prison officers left this country during self-government and after Independence in 1975.

The Department of Corrective Institution Service has free prison labour which, in economic terms, can generate large sums of money for the State and also is capable of producing, in large quantity, food for the prison community's consumption. Any surplus can be sold to public institutions or to the general public at large in the towns and cities of Papua New Guinea.

Many of the corrective institutions in Papua New Guinea have hectares and hectares of fertile land for growing crops and establishing animal husbandry industries. Moves to re-establish industrial and agricultural industries would enhance qualified training for the detainees in these trades. Then they can improve the quality of their living in their respective communities after release from gaol.

The corrective institutions planners should forecast their strategies on the agricultural and industrial sectors in all institutions to re-activate the industries to improve yields. The planners have to identify suitable agricultural (tree crops and animal husbandry) and industrial projects (brick machines, electrical, carpentry/joinery, mechanical, workshops and so on) to bring these industries back into full operation and production.

The availability of free labour in these corrective institutions will no doubt enhance the development of the prison industries. Then it can turn agricultural and industrial projects into large quantity producers which not only serve the interests of the corrective institutions in detainee rehabilitation, but also contribute to the country's overall agricultural and industrial markets within or abroad.

The corrective institutions with their free labour can develop the agricultural tree crops and animal husbandry projects into economically viable industries. My valuable analyses and suggestions will no doubt greatly

stimulate the minds of prison planners to re-vitalise the run down agricultural and industrial projects in the corrective institutions in Papua New Guinea.

In view of the small amount of knowledge presently available on the colonial prison officers, national officers, and warders' colonial attitudes and mentality towards the treatment of indigenous inmates, I strongly suggest that immediate research be undertaken to fill this gap. The results that researchers obtain would, no doubt, help the planners of prison reforms to find better ways or solutions to the problems currently experienced by the administrators of corrective institutions on the rehabilitation of inmates in Papua New Guinea today.

Bibliography

- Allen, F.A. 1974, *The Crime of Politics. Political Dimension of Criminal Justice*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA.
- Amean, A. 1983, 'Early Methods of Punishments in the Highlands', *Oral History No. 7*, History Department, University of Papua New Guinea, Port Moresby.
- Austen, L. 1945, 'Culture Change in Kiriwina', *Oceania*, vol. 16, pp. 15-60.
- Australia, Parliament 1950, *Report to the General Assembly of the United Nations on the Administration of New Guinea, 1st July 1948 to 30th June 1949*, Commonwealth Printer, Canberra.
- _____ 1952, *Report to the General Assembly of the United Nations on the Administration of the Territory of New Guinea, 1st July 1950 to 30th June 1951*, Commonwealth Printer, Canberra.
- _____ 1954, *Report to the General Assembly of the United Nations on the Administration of the Territory of Papua, 1st July 1952 to 30th June 1953*, Commonwealth Printer, Canberra.
- _____ 1955, *Report to the General Assembly of the United Nations on the Administration of the Territory of Papua, 1st July 1953 to 30th June 1954*, Commonwealth Printer, Canberra.
- _____ 1956, *Report to the General Assembly of the United Nations on the Administration of the Territory of Papua, 1st July 1954 to 30 June 1955*, Commonwealth Printer, Canberra.
- _____ 1959, *Report to the General Assembly of the United Nations on the Administration of the Territory of Papua, 1st July 1957 to 30th June 1958*, Commonwealth Printer, Canberra.
- _____ 1961, *Report to the General Assembly of the United Nations on the Administration of the Territory of Papua, 1st July 1959 to 30th June 1960*, Commonwealth Printer, Canberra.
- _____ 1961, *Report to the General Assembly of the United Nations on the Administration of the Territory of New Guinea, 1st July 1959 to 30th June 1960*, Commonwealth Printer, Canberra.

- ____ 1962, *Report to the General Assembly of the United Nations on the Administration of the Territory of Papua, 1st July 1960 to 30th June 1961*, Commonwealth Printer, Canberra.
- ____ 1964, *Report to the General Assembly of the United Nations on the Administration of the Territory of Papua, 1st July 1962 to 30th June 1963*, Commonwealth Printer, Canberra.
- ____ 1965, *Report to the General Assembly of the United Nations on the Administration of the Territory of New Guinea, 1st July 1963 to 30th June 1964*, Commonwealth Printer, Canberra.
- ____ 1966, *Report to the General Assembly of the United Nations on the Administration of the Territory of New Guinea, 1st July 1964 to 30th June 1965*, Commonwealth Printer, Canberra.
- Baisu Corrective Institution, Mount Hagen, Western Highlands Province 1969, File No. 4-3-5/6, Murray.
- Barry, Sir John 1969, *The Courts and Criminal Punishments*, Government Printer, Wellington.
- Barry, Sir John 1959, *Alexander Maconochie of Norfolk Island*. Melbourne University Press, Melbourne.
- Biles, D. 1976, *Crime and Criminal Justice Statistics in Papua New Guinea: A Proposal for an Integrated Data-Gathering System*, Australian Institute of Criminology, Canberra.
- Blizek, W.L. 1977, *Justice and Punishment*, Ballingen Publishing Company, New York, NY.
- Buimo Corrective Institution, Lae, Morobe Province 1974, File No. 5-2-15, Wagambio.
- Colson, E. 1974, *Tradition and Contract: The Problem of Order*, Aldine Publishing Company, Chicago, IL.
- Cooper, L.B. 1974, *Progress in Penal Reform*. Oxford University Press, London.

- Correctional Service Headquarters, Bomana, Port Moresby 1972, File No. 4-5-1, Guise.
- Cross, R. 1971, *Punishment Prison and the Public: An Assessment of Penal Reform in Twentieth Century England*, Stevens, London.
- Durkheim, E. 1933, *The Division of Labor in Society*, Macmillan, New York, NY.
- Feil, D.K. 1976, 'People, Pigs and Punishment'. *Australian Natural History Journal*, vol. 18, no. 12, pp. 445-47.
- Gluckman, M. 1955, *The Judicial Process Among the Barotse of Northern Rhodesia*, Manchester University Press, Manchester.
- Guthrie, G. 1987, *Basic Research Techniques*, Report No. 55, Educational Research Unit, University of Papua New Guinea, University Printery, Port Moresby.
- Hall, K.L. 1987, *Police, Prison and Punishment: Major Historical Interpretations*, Garland Publishing, New York, NY.
- Hobhouse, L.T. et al. 1915, *The Material Culture and Social Institution of the Simpler People: An Essay in Correlation*. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.
- Hoebel, E.A. 1967, *The Law of the Primitive Man: Study in Comparative Legal Dynamics*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA.
- Hong Kong Correctional Service Department 1985, *Management of Corrections in the Commonwealth: Proceedings of the First Meeting of Commonwealth Correctional Administrators, Hong Kong 18th to 22nd March 1985*, Correctional Services Department, Hong Kong.
- Husluck, P. 1976, *A Time for Building: Australian Administration in Papua New Guinea 1951-1963*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne.
- King, R.D. & Morgan, R. 1980, *The Future of the Prison System*. Goven Publishing, London.
- Kituai, A. 1986, Papua New Guinea Policemen of the Colonial Period, Paper presented to the Law Conference, Australian National University, Canberra.

- Klare, H.J. 1973, *People in Prison*, Pitman, London.
- Koch, Klaus-Friedrich 1974, *War and Peace in Jalemo: The Management of Conflict in Highland New Guinea*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA.
- Larson, J.E. 1968, Crime and Punishment. Mores in Transition, Paper presented at Anthropological Study Conference, Amapyaka, WHP, Papua and New Guinea.
- Lawrence, P. 1970, 'Law and Anthropology: The Need for Collaboration', *Melanesian Law Journal*, vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 40-50.
- Leland, D. 1975, 'Exogamy Rules and Sanctions: A Cross Cultural Research Note on Deviance Rates and Severity of Punishment'. *Journal of Comparative Sociology*, vol. 16, no. 3-4, pp. 280-84.
- Mackenzie, D.F. 1980, *While We Have Prisons*, Methuen Publications, New Zealand.
- MacPherson, S. 1982, *Social Policies in The Third World: The Social Dilemmas of Underdevelopment*, Wheatsheaf Books, London.
- Malinowski, B. 1926, *Myth in Punitive Psychology*, (Psych Miniatures General Series, No.6). Kegan, Paul, Trench, Truber, London.
- Melossi, D. & Pavarini, M. 1981, *The Prison and the Factory: Origins of the Penitentiary System*, Macmillan, Washington, DC.
- Morris, N. 1974, *The Future of Imprisonment*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, IL.
- Nader, L. & Schilling, E.C. 1977, 'Restitution in Cross Cultural Perspective', in *Restitution in Criminal Justice: A Critical Assessment of Sanctions*, Joe Hudson and Burt Galaway (eds), Lexington Books, Lexington, MA, pp. 27-43.
- Papua New Guinea Corrective Institution 1972, 'A Young Proud Service', Corrective Institution Service, Port Moresby.
- Papua New Guinea Corrective Institution 1985, *Papua New Guinea Corrective Institution Services Handbook*.

- Papua New Guinea Office of Information 1979, 'An Outline of the Corrective Institution Services'.
- PNGNA, Box No. 9002, Series No. 822, File No. 1-1-1, Cleland 1956.
- PNGNA, Box No. 9002, Series No. 822, File No. 1-1-1, Hasluck 1957.
- PNGNA, Box No. 9002, Series No. 822, File No. 1-1-1, Rackemann 1955.
- PNGNA, Box No. 9002, Series No. 822, File No. 1-1-1, Somers 1955.
- PNGNA, Box No. 9002, Series No. 822, File No. CA 37/4/19, Wilson 1955.
- PNGNA, Box No. 9002, Series No. 822, File No. 1-1-1, Cleland 1956.
- PNGNA, Box No. 9002, Series No. 822, File No. 1-1-1, English undated.
- Pospisil, L. 1979, 'Legally Induced Culture Change in New Guinea', in *Imposition of Law*, S. Burman (ed.), Academic Press, New York, NY, pp. 127-46.
- Priestly, L. & McQuire, J. 1985, *Offending Behaviour: Skills and Strategies for Going Straight*, Batsford, London.
- Radcliffe-Brown, A.R. 1922, *The Andaman Islanders: A Study in Social Anthropology*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- 1952, *Structure and Function in Primitive Society: Essays and Addresses*, The Free Press, New York, NY.
- Schapera, I. 1972, 'Some Anthropological Concepts of Crime: The Hobhouse Memorial Lecture', *British Journal of Sociology*, vol. 23, no. 4, pp. 331-36.
- Shirley, I. 1982, *Development Tracks: The Theory and Practice of Community Development*, The Dunmore Press, New Zealand.
- South Pacific Post*, Port Moresby 9 September 1965, 'A Matter of Trust in Wabag'.
- South Pacific Post*, Port Moresby 31 March 1967, 'Prisoner's Hate the Gaol Routine'.

South Pacific Post, Port Moresby 4 September 1968, 'Prisoners Won't Be Shifted'.

Strathern, M. 1975, *Village Attitudes Towards Corrective Institutions*, New Guinea Research Unit, Port Moresby.

——— 1976, 'Crime and Correction: The Place of Prisons in Papua New Guinea', *Melanesian Law Journal*, vol. 4, no. 1, pp. 67-93.

Sutton, G.E. 1975, Rehabilitation and Treatment of Offenders Sentenced to Imprisonment in Papua New Guinea, Paper presented at Waigani Seminar on Crime Prevention in Developing Areas, University of Papua New Guinea.

Territory of Papua and New Guinea, Office of Administrator 1957, *Corrective Institution Ordinance 1957-1963*.

The New Guinea Times Courier, Lae 8 April 1967, 'Council Call for Tougher Prisons'.

The New Guinea Times Courier, Lae 11 January 1968, 'Son Now a Cadet'.

Tokilala, W. 1974, 'The Valley of Prison', *Oral History No. 5*, History Department, University of Papua New Guinea, Port Moresby.

Tomasic, R. & Dobinson, I. 1979, The Failure of Imprisonment: An Australian Perspective, George Allen & Unwin and The Law Foundation of New South Wales, Sydney.

Townsend, G.W.L. 1933, 'The Administration of the Mandated Territory of New Guinea', *Geographical Journal*, vol. 85, no. 5, pp. 422-34.

Turton, P. 1986, *A Report on the Prisons of Papua New Guinea*, Department of Corrective Services, Port Moresby.

United Nations 1957, *Standard Minimum Rules of Treatment of Offenders. The Treatment of Prisoners Related Recommendations*, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, United Nations, New York.

Whiting, Beatrice B. 1950, *Paiute Sorcery*, No.15 of Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology, Viking Fund, New York, NY.

Appendix A

Interview Schedule for Retired Warders

1. What is your name?

- How old are you?

2. Which year did you join the Corrective Institution Service?

3. Which were the institutions you served in during the colonial administration era?

4. What were the types of training you received and the actual work you performed in these institutions?

5. What are your views on the rehabilitation policies of the colonial administrators, which were enforced on the indigenous inmates?

6. Have the policies formulated by the colonial administrators benefited the indigenous inmates upon release?

7. What other rehabilitation policies and administration of colonial prison officers in the institutions have you served?

Appendix B

Interview Schedule for Serving Warders

1. What is your name?
How old are you?
2. Which year did you join the Correctional Service?
3. In which institutions have you served?
4. What types of training have you received and the actual work you performed during the colonial administration era in those institutions?
5. What are your views on the rehabilitation policies of the colonial administrators which were enforced on the inmates?
6. What types of projects were established for the rehabilitation of detainees in the institutions in which you have served?
7. Do you think that the types of rehabilitation projects engaged in benefited the inmates living after discharge from gaol?
8. What other information can you give regarding administration, rehabilitation and various policies of the colonial administration in the affairs of the prisoners?

Appendix C

Interview Schedule for Released Detainees

1. What is your name?

How old are you?
2. In which year were you convicted to serve your gaol sentence and, for how many years?
3. In how many corrective institutions did you serve your term of imprisonment?
4. What types of rehabilitation projects were you engaged in, in the institutions in which you served your term of imprisonment?
5. What types of rehabilitation projects that you were engaged in, have been beneficial to you since you were released from the institution?
6. Can you elaborate on the colonial rehabilitation policies in the corrective institutions in which you served?
7. When you were in gaol what did you intend to do after you were released from prison?
8. What are your views on the administration and the treatment you, as a detainee, received from the colonial prison officers?

Appendix D

Interview Schedule for Serving Detainees

1. What is your name?
How old are you?
2. In which year were you convicted to serve your gaol sentence and how many years were you convicted for imprisonment?
3. In which corrective institutions have you served your gaol sentences?
4. What types of work have you been engaged in during your term of imprisonment?
5. What types of rehabilitation projects do you see as being beneficial to you after you complete your gaol term in these institutions?
6. What can you tell me about the colonial administration's rehabilitation policies in the corrective institutions in which you have served?
7. What are you intending to do after you are released from gaol?
8. What other things have you learned from the gaol that may be of assistance for your livelihood in society, when you are released?

Appendix E

Press Statement

Prison Reform in Papua and New Guinea

Statement by the Minister for Territories

The Minister for Territories, Mr Paul Hasluck, announced to-day that he had approved of the creation of a position of Controller of Corrective Institutions and the establishment of a Corrective Institutions Branch in the Department of Civil Affairs in the Administration of Papua and New Guinea. Applications for the appointment will be called from within the Territorial service, as it is considered the office requires knowledge and experience of local conditions. The first duty of the officer appointed will be to reorganise prisons system in the Territory.

Mr Hasluck said that in March, 1955, following personal inspection of the existing prisons in the Territory, he gave a direction that comprehensive reforms were to be made. In the first place he laid it down that the requirements of the law in respect of the trial of a native, committal to prison, custody and release were to be observed as strictly as in the case of any subject of the Crown. Custody of prisoners was to be regarded not only as a measure of restraint but as an opportunity for taking reformatory and educational measures. A separate branch of the Administration, distinct and separate from the constabulary, was to be created to carry out this policy and central institutions were to be established at suitable locations for the reception of all prisoners sentenced to terms longer than 12 months. Each of these institutions must have sufficient ground, plant and other facilities to ensure useful full-time occupation by the prisoners. As well as this training in useful occupations, attention should be given to their education in hygiene, standards of living and the English language. Furthermore every prisoner should undergo a medical check by the Department of Health and remedial or preventive measures, which this examination might show to be necessary, should be taken during the period of his sentence. After discharge of a prisoner the Department of Native Affairs should become responsible for assisting him to settle down, preferably in his own community, in circumstances conducive to his future welfare.

Following this Ministerial direction on policy, the question was examined in further detail by the officers of the Territorial Administration

and, last October, the Territory obtained the services on loan of Mr W. Rutherford, Controller-General of Prisons in Queensland. The Government appreciated the action of the Queensland Government in making his services available.

Mr Rutherford visited the main prisons already existing in the Territory and had discussions with officials. The report he presented has been used in drawing up proposals for the creation of the new branch of the Administration and, on his suggestion, the name 'corrective institutions' had been adopted as being a more accurate description than 'prisons' of the work to be done.

In his report, Mr Rutherford pointed out that the main accepted reasons for imprisonment were (a) to protect society, (b) to fit the prisoner to become a useful member of the community. In the Territory of Papua and New Guinea the nature of offences differed largely from the mainland of Australia for, in the Territory, there was virtually no community of confirmed criminals; and a very high proportion of those committed to prison could not be considered criminals by normal European standards but were rather offenders through tribal custom or ignorance of European law.

The Minister said it was pleasing to find that Mr Rutherford, after inspection of the existing prisons, reported that he was very impressed with the efficiency of the officers generally and the cleanliness of their establishments and that the central prison at Bomana was in his opinion 'an excellent institution'. Mr Rutherford's report also showed that 86 per cent of those serving sentences had been sentenced for terms of less than 3 months and could be classified as minor offenders. There was a yearly average of only 443 persons serving sentences of more than 12 months and an average of 874 serving sentences between 3 and 12 months. These figures were remarkably low, the Minister said, having regard to the fact that the total indigenous population was over one and a half million and included large numbers who, in their primitive state, had been accustomed to regard deeds of violence and inhuman practices as the customary thing. An examination of the figures showed that where the native people had been under European jurisdiction for long periods the number of natives sentenced to imprisonment fell away very sharply. In other words a large part of the problem was that of teaching primitive native people that some limits on personal conduct were necessary if any advance were to be made towards civilisation. This fact underlined the need for regarding the prison system as a process of training.

Another part of reforms will be to take separate measures for the care of any juvenile offenders, possibly through the establishment of reformatories conducted quite apart from any other institutions. Some time ago a definite rule had been laid down that no juvenile prisoner was to be placed with older prisoners.

The Minister concluded that it was hoped that after the filling of the newly-established post of Controller of Corrective Institutions the new establishment would come into operation without delay.

'While we have set ourselves a clear ideal and will pursue that ideal steadily', the Minister said, 'everyone familiar with the history of the Territory will be aware that many difficulties will have to be over-come. In the Territory population, as in all communities, there arises occasionally, the individual who defies the law and deliberately sets himself in opposition to society. Such a determined and defiant offender may have to be shown that the law is stronger than he is. But although such situations sometimes occur they should not blind us to the reality that, in the case of a large number of those indigenous people who come before the courts of the Territory, the real problem is not to overcome defiance but to bring understanding. Although old Territory hands know full well that they are "bad men", whom it is difficult to handle, I think most of them will also agree that very large numbers of those independent characters who have broken the law at one time or another are often the best potential leaders for assisting the advancement of their own people. It is a lost opportunity on our part if any man or woman leaves a prison with a worse understanding of our aims for advancing their welfare and with a worse spirit towards us'.

3rd February, 1956.

Source: PNGNA, Box No. 9002, Series No. 822, File 1-1-1.

Appendix F

Territory of Papua and New Guinea

Tables giving the Corrective Institutions Daily Averages for Papua and New Guinea

Notes:

M = Male

F = Female

* = Estimated average

Source:

PNGNA: Box No. 9002, Series No. 822, File 1-1-1

Corrective Institutions Daily Averages: Papua

Institution	1956-57		1957-58		1958-59		1959-60		General Average 1956-60		Daily Average 1960-61	General Average 1956-61
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M & F	M & F
BOMANA	170.90	1.8	178.0	0.70	159.70	0.02	161.67	0.48	167.56	0.75	125.94	159.84
Abau	16.00	0.2	26.3	1.00	2.17	1.02	16.11	1.72	15.14	0.98	9.36	14.77
Kairuku	39.20	1.0	20.1	0.10	18.00	0.40	20.46	0.32	24.44	0.45	28.40	21.79
Rigo	27.20	0.6	26.5	0.30	24.50	-	13.37	-	22.89	0.20	8.90	20.27
Tapini	65.00	3.3	40.6	9.40	42.00	1.90	43.25	3.91	47.71	4.63	24.10	46.69
Waitape	15.00 *	-	15.0 *	-	5.00	2.17	17.40	2.56	18.10	1.18	15.34	14.49
Guari	-	-	37.5	5.30	14.10	4.00	18.83	-	23.48	3.10	6.50	21.55
											<u>218.54</u>	<u>299.40</u>
KIKORI	23.70	0.9	12.3	0.75	38.30	0.29	26.81	-	25.27	0.48	18.70	24.35
Kerema	40.20	1.1	23.3	0.60	32.50	2.75	25.43	0.55	30.35	1.25	22.75	29.83
Beara	7.30	-	8.7	0.20	18.80	-	12.40	-	11.80	0.05	21.02	13.68
Ihu	25.40	0.3	19.1	-	44.00	-	25.10	-	28.40	0.07	12.86	25.35
Kukipi	23.54	1.3 *	10.1	0.03	14.90	0.46	13.20	0.61	15.42	0.60	12.74	15.37
											<u>88.07</u>	<u>108.58</u>
DARU	34.60	0.1	36.2	0.08	42.16	2.16	53.59	1.80	41.46	1.03	46.55	43.84
Balimo	17.00	-	19.6	-	14.74	0.23	37.71	3.87	22.26	1.02	5.64	19.75
Lake Murray	10.00 *	-	10.0 *	-	1.50	-	7.65	-	7.28	-	8.10	7.45
Kiunga	10.00	-	5.5	-	5.75	-	2.96	-	6.05	-	3.90	5.62
Morehead	2.50	0.5	2.4	-	5.36	0.08	8.67	0.04	4.73	0.15	10.73	6.05
											<u>74.92</u>	<u>82.71</u>

Corrective Institutions Daily Averages: Papua

Institution	1956-57		1957-58		1958-59		1959-60		General Average 1956-60		Daily Average 1960-61	General Average 1956-61
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M & F	M & F
MENDI	74.6	0.5	40.10	0.5	56.63	0.17	150.69	1.17	80.55	0.58	122.22	89.35
Lake Kutubu	6.0 *	-	38.00	4.8	31.60	0.24	6.39	0.62	20.40	1.41	10.04	19.53
Tari	8.4	-	19.20	0.2	22.50	0.80	49.25	0.16	24.84	0.37	51.04	30.37
Erave	32.0	0.4	10.70	0.2	10.00	0.10	13.20	0.65	14.22	0.34	30.90	10.63
Ialibu	36.6	0.2	22.80	1.0	30.97	2.90	37.43	0.46	31.95	1.14	30.50	34.37
Korobe	2.4	-	4.50	0.08	5.02	-	23.67	0.83	8.99	0.22	41.84	15.74
Kagua	-	-	-	-	11.41	0.02	21.23	1.00	16.32	0.51	41.84	25.16
Nipa	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	<u>2.00</u>	<u>2.00</u>
											<u>330.38</u>	<u>227.15</u>
POPONDETTA	69.2	8.0	34.30	5.4	46.35	5.30	50.48	2.22	50.07	5.23	37.08	51.66
Tufi	19.5	-	10.10	0.3	20.50	0.49	19.16	0.39	17.31	0.29	25.90	19.26
Kokoda	13.2	0.2	6.70	-	4.75	0.08	4.11	0.26	7.19	0.13	10.85	8.03
Ioma	18.7	1.2	15.00	0.31	9.60	-	2.58	1.88	11.47	0.85	<u>3.18</u>	<u>10.49</u>
											<u>76.91</u>	<u>89.44</u>
SAMARAI	30.1	0.7	19.00	0.3	26.75	0.66	34.35	0.88	27.55	0.63	27.20	27.98
Bwagaoia	3.2	0.5	4.40	0.2	2.16	-	2.55	-	3.07	0.02	9.74	4.55
Esa'Ala	22.4	1.8	32.70	2.7	30.00	4.30	39.45	0.58	31.14	2.35	20.93	31.01
Gehua	24.0	-	16.10	-	9.00	-	-	-	-	-	-	16.36
Losuia	-	-	-	-	6.74	0.55	15.15	1.08	10.94	0.81	21.17	14.89
Baniara	23.9	1.6	14.90	0.6	17.00	0.16	10.69	0.48	16.62	0.71	9.47	15.76
Konimaiava	-	-	0.16	-	0.21	-	2.60	0.19	0.99	0.06	1.32	1.12
Sinaeada	-	-	-	-	-	-	7.97	-	7.97	-	3.64	6.80
Mapamoiwa	-	-	-	-	-	-	9.96	-	9.96	-	<u>12.65</u>	<u>11.30</u>
											<u>106.12</u>	<u>129.77</u>
											<u>903.01</u>	<u>946.05</u>

Corrective Institutions Daily Averages: New Guinea

Institution	1956-57		1957-58		1958-59		1959-60		General Average 1956-60		Daily Average 1960-61 M & F	General Average 1956-61 M & F
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F		
MADANG	89.0	0.1	87.5	-	73.50	0.25	72.37	0.48	80.59	0.21	59.22	76.48
Saidor	21.6	0.2	26.2	0.60	13.18	0.41	6.84	0.41	16.95	0.41	9.40	15.76
Aioma	24.4	0.3	20.0	-	15.00	0.41	9.65	-	17.26	0.17	10.01	15.95
Bogia	71.0	0.8	51.3	0.40	33.00	0.08	32.99	1.96	47.07	0.81	31.41	44.58
Bundi	11.5	4.5	11.0	6.00	11.29	2.98	15.75	0.08	12.38	3.39	0.46	14.91
Karkar	9.0	-	13.5	1.00	9.01	0.71	9.88	0.83	10.35	0.63	12.53	11.29
Simbai	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	<u>1.65</u>	<u>1.65</u>
											<u>124.68</u>	<u>180.62</u>
LORENGAU	14.3	0.5	26.0	0.30	22.96	1.27	21.20	1.70	26.12	0.94	<u>30.50</u>	<u>27.75</u>
LAE	59.2	1.5	44.0	0.80	49.08	0.86	80.18	0.83	58.11	0.99	90.83	65.45
Wau	35.0	0.2	27.6	-	25.41	0.10	20.36	0.27	27.09	0.14	8.93	23.57
Finschhafen	10.8	0.5	19.0	0.08	10.66	0.30	7.11	0.75	11.89	0.41	8.34	11.50
Menyamya	16.8	-	37.4	-	34.41	0.23	25.79	2.23	28.60	0.61	32.24	29.82
Morobe	11.3	1.6	4.4	0.09	4.45	0.65	0.61	0.08	5.19	0.60	3.8	5.39
Oomsis	46.5	-	39.3	-	47.66	-	39.19	-	43.16	-	-	43.16
Mumeng	48.3	-	38.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	43.15
Bulolo	9.0	-	9.4	-	15.99	0.18	16.33	-	12.72	0.04	5.78	11.33
Wantoat	2.3	0.2	1.0	-	4.65	1.37	10.78	0.47	5.19	0.51	18.74	7.90
Kalalo	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.72	1.72
Wasu	-	-	0.9	-	1.18	-	3.99	0.28	2.11	0.07	-	2.11
Kaiapit	-	-	15.0	0.50	5.36	1.05	7.76	0.49	7.03	0.51	3.65	8.45
Pindiu	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
											<u>174.03</u>	<u>253.55</u>

Corrective Institutions Daily Averages: New Guinea

Institution	1956-57		1957-58		1958-59		1959-60		General Average 1956-60		Daily Average 1960-61	General Average 1956-61
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M & F	M & F
RABAUL	129.20	1.6	134.25	6.40	100.90	3.37	146.18	8.43	127.64	4.95	149.00	135.86
Kokopo	46.80	-	59.10	-	41.12	-	49.12	-	49.12	0.40	8.15	41.30
Kandrian	24.30	0.1	15.10	0.50	28.41	-	11.09	0.61	19.72	0.30	38.63	23.74
Talasea	43.75	2.0	20.40	3.00	20.00	2.21	24.22	2.36	27.09	2.39	22.87	28.16
Pomio	11.10	0.9	6.50	0.10	4.00	0.50	7.09	0.67	7.71	0.54	11.27	8.42
Mora Mora	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9.45	9.45
Cape Gloucester	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	<u>6.93</u>	<u>6.93</u>
											<u>246.30</u>	<u>253.86</u>
KAVIENG	49.40	4.7	62.00	4.30	49.87	1.65	48.26	2.45	52.38	3.27	60.97	56.72
Namatanai	32.60	0.3	23.00	0.80	12.00	0.56	14.88	0.81	20.62	0.62	<u>21.62</u>	<u>21.31</u>
											<u>82.59</u>	<u>78.03</u>
WEWAK	110.20	0.3	150.90	0.04	122.50	0.41	121.14	1.41	126.18	0.54	97.52	120.88
Aitape	29.00	3.6	9.70	0.40	9.91	-	17.19	0.80	16.45	1.20	33.47	20.81
Ambunti	27.70	1.2	29.00	2.60	27.00	1.41	12.71	0.83	24.25	1.51	27.85	26.18
Angoram	9.00	0.2	18.00	-	1.10	-	23.99	0.47	13.02	1.40	36.21	17.79
Lumi	-	-	-	-	8.44	0.79	6.65	0.26	7.57	0.52	15.32	10.50
Maprik	90.00	0.5	45.60	2.00	35.20	1.40	72.48	1.57	60.82	1.38	70.10	63.97
Telefomin	22.60	0.7	22.30	2.00	12.60	0.19	7.59	1.60	16.29	1.12	7.94	15.51
Vanimo	4.40	1.2	3.30	0.10	7.48	0.59	5.62	0.57	5.20	0.61	5.97	5.84
Yangoru	12.20	0.2	7.00	0.20	27.70	0.67	21.59	0.29	18.38	0.34	17.54	18.48
Dreikikir	11.00	2.2	20.00	2.50	7.00	0.25	22.90	0.41	15.24	1.34	24.20	18.12
Green River	-	-	9.90	0.90	13.70	0.29	4.50	0.38	7.02	0.39	6.24	8.97
Nuku	-	-	-	-	5.00	1.00	9.36	0.59	7.18	0.79	21.46	12.47
Amanab	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.02	-	0.02	-	<u>7.34</u>	<u>3.68</u>
											<u>371.16</u>	<u>343.20</u>

Corrective Institutions Daily Averages: New Guinea

Institution	1956-57		1957-58		1958-59		1959-60		General Average 1956-60		Daily Average 1960-61	General Average 1956-61
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M & F	M & F
SOHANO	23.50	2.30	20.10	2.50	21.04	1.65	8.69	0.47	18.33	1.73	8.76	17.80
Buin	8.70	1.50	5.60	0.40	5.08	0.36	7.11	1.11	6.62	0.84	7.00	7.37
Kieta	12.00	0.20	17.00	0.20	12.96	0.33	7.45	0.66	12.35	0.35	6.90	11.54
Boku	-	-	0.25	-	1.09	0.76	4.57	0.30	1.97	0.35	1.30	2.06
Kunua	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.26	0.45	0.26	0.45	3.37	2.04
Wakanai	-	-	-	-	-	-	4.33	0.08	4.33	0.08	<u>7.63</u>	<u>6.02</u>
											<u>34.96</u>	<u>46.83</u>
GOROKA	110.00	2.10	108.70	4.10	90.83	3.58	110.03	5.58	104.89	3.84	181.77	123.33
Kainantu	185.75	5.75	121.70	-	62.00	1.37	49.39	2.28	104.71	2.35	73.50	100.34
Kundiawa	171.10	18.70	149.50	9.30	112.16	2.75	134.64	8.42	141.85	9.79	117.12	144.73
Chuave	20.60	1.20	20.40	-	22.70	0.50	43.12	10.85	26.70	3.14	63.73	36.62
Gumine	16.54	0.20 *	20.00	5.00	23.08	-	44.99	-	26.14	1.30	32.27	28.40
Henganofi	9.60	1.10	18.90	2.80	16.00	-	15.84	0.02	15.08	0.98	22.15	17.28
Kassam	-	-	-	-	-	-	12.68	-	12.68	-	-	12.68
Lufa	8.30	1.40	10.10	0.2	18.14	0.30	14.06	4.99	11.40	-	11.06	12.71
Okana	23.00	-	25.80	-	26.95	-	10.00 *	0.50 *	21.44	0.10	62.55	29.76
Genogl	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8.44	8.44
Watabung	10.00 *	-	0.50	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	<u>5.25</u>	<u>5.25</u>
											<u>577.84</u>	<u>519.54</u>
MOUNT HAGEN	90.00	4.00	148.00	0.04	98.51	5.72	162.35	3.48	124.71	3.31	168.87	136.19
Minj	71.20	0.70	99.00	1.60	93.80	5.40	107.37	6.14	92.84	3.46	70.72	91.18
Wabag	49.80	2.70	68.00	1.50	76.20	7.20	105.54	9.17	73.38	5.14	77.26	78.27
Kompaim	14.60	1.00	5.90	1.00	41.95	2.52	22.41	2.75	21.21	2.02	29.64	24.51
Laiagam	14.00	0.60	17.75	0.60	15.55	1.00	32.79	3.92	20.01	1.80	35.92	24.45
Wapanamunda	15.80	1.20	23.25	1.80	22.19	-	48.66	1.83	35.45	1.21	73.10	43.94
Jimi River	-	-	2.35	-	13.40	1.16	19.85	1.41	11.82	1.28	14.04	13.05
Tambul	-	-	13.00	0.34	18.40	0.36	1.68	-	11.06	0.23	<u>26.12</u>	<u>15.00</u>
											<u>495.67</u>	<u>426.59</u>
											<u>2290.83</u>	<u>2129.83</u>