American Schools for the Natives of Ponape

A Study of Education and Culture Change in Micronesia

NAT J. COLLETTA
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A Reappraisal of the Micronesian Political Dilemma
Carl Heine

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Culture Learning Institute Monograph, East-West Center
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AMERICAN SCHOOLS FOR THE NATIVES OF PONAPE
AMERICAN SCHOOLS FOR THE NATIVES OF PONAPE

A Study of Education and Culture Change in Micronesia

NAT J. COLLETTA

An East-West Center Book from The East-West Culture Learning Institute

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# Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Illustrations</td>
<td>ix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreword</td>
<td>xi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgments</td>
<td>xv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>xvii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. The Ponapeans of Micronesia</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environment, 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family Structure, 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Ponapean Polity, 4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Supernatural World, 6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural Character, 11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A People in Transition, 16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes, 17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>References, 18</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Education Without Schools: Informal Learning Among the Ponapeans</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education: An Indigenous Perspective, 21</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birth and Infancy, 23</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Childhood, 25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth, 26</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mechanisms of Social Control, 28</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thought Processes and Methods of Persuasion, 30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education for Permanence, 32</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Note, 33</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>References, 34</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Cross-Cultural Contact and the Evolution of Formal Schooling on Ponape</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Socio-Historical Process, 35</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Nature and Scope of the Contact Relationship, 47</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes, 50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>References, 51</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Contents

4. Cross-Cultural Transactions in Ponapean Elementary Classrooms  
   The Setting, 54  
   Cultural Transference to the Schools, 55  
   Sex Role Stereotyping, 56  
   Behavior in the School Environment, 56  
   Situational Ethics, 59  
   Competition, 59  
   Interpersonal Relations, 60  
   Learning Style and Respect for Authority, 61  
   Peer Group Formation, 62  
   Implications of Cross-Cultural Transactions, 65  
   Notes, 66  
   References, 66

5. Ponape Islands Central High School: Bureaucratic Organization and Cross-Cultural Conflict in a Micronesian High School  
   Ponape Islands Central High School, 68  
   The “Stated” Goals of Education in Micronesia, 69  
   The Bureaucratic Structure of Ponape Islands Central High School, 71  
   Characteristics of the Coordination System, 71  
   The Administrator in the Authority System, 72  
   The Teacher in the Authority System, 74  
   The Counselor in the Authority System, 75  
   The Student in the Authority System, 77  
   Mechanisms of Organizational Control, 78  
   Environmental Effects upon the Organization, 80  
   Recapitulation of Ponape Islands Central High School as an Alien Bureaucratic Organization, 81  
   Role Theory and Cultural Conflict, 82  
   Notes, 85  
   References, 86

6. “Go, But Don’t Change”: A Parental View of School  
   Parental Expectations of School Outcomes, 89  
   Parental Expectations of Student and Teacher Behavior, 92  
   Conflicting Results: The Initiation of Generational Conflict and Familial Alienation, 94  
   Historical Dependence, the Abdication of Control, and the Passing of Indigenous Self-Reliance, 98  
   Education, Freedom, and Alienation, 101  
   Notes, 102  
   References, 103
7. “Make Style”: The Young Schooled Ponapeans Speak Out 104
   The Rural Eighth Grade Terminées: A Youth in Cultural Continuity, 104
   The Urban Eighth Grade Terminées: Charges of a Larger World, 110
   The Rural Seniors: A Force for Cultural Revitalization, 115
   The Urban Seniors: There is No Return Home, 121
   Schooling, Urbanization, and Cultural Change, 125
   Note, 129
   References, 130

8. Education and Cultural Awareness: Toward a New Ponapean Culture 131
   The Americanization of Ponape, 131
   Intersystemic Dissociation: When the American School Faces the Ponapean Family, 132
   The Formal School: The Social Environment and the Educative Process, 134
   Education and the Actualization of Change: Cultural Awareness, Critical Thought, and Changeability as Goals and Functions of the Education Process, 136
   Notes, 138
   References, 139

   Steps Toward an Integration of Education, Culture, and Development, 141
   Nonformal and Indigenous Based Educational Strategies, 143
   The Reconstructed Community School, 149
   A Final Note, 151
   Notes, 153
   References, 154

10. Epilogue 156
   Note, 159
   References, 160

Appendix A
   A Further Methodological Note 161

Appendix B
   Student Interview Schedule 164

Appendix C
   Parent Interview Schedule 167

Appendix D
   Non-Ponapean Educator Interview Schedule 169
## Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Appendix</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Appendix E</td>
<td>Ponapean Educator Interview Schedule</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix F</td>
<td>Child Rearing Interview Schedule</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Glossary of Ponapean Words</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Index</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Illustrations

Maps
1. Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands x
2. Ponape District, Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands xviii
3. Ponape xix

Figures
1. The Wasahi of Kitt, a Ponapean nobleman (1908) 7
2. Indigenous education at work: an elderly Ponapean teaches a young girl weaving 22
3. Micronesian women making a recording of a song for a visiting English anthropologist, 1903 36
4. Raising the Japanese flag and bowing toward the Emperor before school classes begin, Ponape, 1930s 42
5. A Japanese classroom (about 1924) 43
6. Japanese vocationally oriented training (about 1937) 44
7. Missionary education: introducing crafts to young Ponapean girls 45
8. A typical American era primary school on Ponape 57
9. Ponape Islands Central High School 69
10. Young Ponapean “making style” 105
11. The Americanization of Ponape: Ponapean boy in front of theater marquee, Kolonia 130
12. Cultural revitalization at Nett Cultural Center: young Ponapean girls perform the traditional dolkiu dance 146

Diagrams
1. Evolving patterns of youth marginality and cultural transformation on Ponape 128
2. Learning resource mobilization and management 152
TRUST TERRITORY OF THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

MARIANA, CAROLINE AND MARSHALL ISLANDS

TOTAL ISLAND POPULATION 107,994 (JUNE 1971)

37 INHABITED ATOLLS AND SEPARATE ISLANDS

OCEAN AREA APPROX. 3,000,000 SQ. MILES

LAND AREA 17.5 ACRES

7,000,000 SQ. MILES

VICINITY MAP
The United States experience with providing school systems in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands since the end of the second World War in 1945 has been one of increasing disappointment and disillusionment. It began ideologically as a noble experiment in the development of democracy and practically as the use of education as an instrument of national policy for economic and political growth. It has come to be seen as a new form of colonialism, transmitting most of the problems of the dominant society to the colonized peoples, fragmenting indigenous societies by the development of new, competing elites within them, and generating unintended and unwanted dependencies which make the ideals of independence and democracy increasingly unthinkable.

Colletta's present study of the nature and results of schooling on Ponape in the 1970s is a welcome contribution to the growing literature of anthropology and education. To me, it is also a significant study in a unique generational sense. It is a second-generation study at a level of sophistication and insight which was unattainable during earlier years because of cultural blinders among donor-nation personnel. In this respect, it represents a transitional period which will probably be followed ultimately by a third generation of studies from islanders themselves.

My own experience in the Trust Territory islands was superficially similar to Colletta's. We both entered as young, expatriate teachers; we both had gratifying living and personal experiences; we both found new potentials for our uses of anthropology in relation to education. But there the similarities end. The nature of our experiences is substantively different because my entry was twenty years earlier than Colletta's. Our own basic cultural premises, which provided each of us with definitions and patterns for operation, reflect the rapid changes in the United States during this period. I was among the survivors of a war which had devastated much of the habitable area of the islands, an emissary of the victorious nation which had committed itself to sharing the best it had available with others in the world who wanted to participate in the good life
of Western technosociety. The tinted spectacles through which we viewed
our environment reflected rosy hues. Colletta was among the survivors
of the civil rights movement, of the national reaction to Vietnam, and of
the personal rigors of Peace Corps indoctrination. His vision was less
colored by culturally tinted spectacles. To this extent, Colletta’s work is,
at least implicitly, an insight into cultural change in the United States as
well as among Ponapeans.

 Probably never before in history has there been such an optimal set
of conditions for the transmission of ideals as existed among the Pacific
islands in 1945. During and following the war with Japan, the United
States had implemented the Coordinated Investigation of Micronesian
Anthropology (CIMA). Data thus derived were part of the highest level
of decision making in the occupation and civil administration of the
islands. The earliest civil administration officers were trained for occupa-
tion and future development of the several jurisdictions at a CIMA-
based Stanford University program specifically generated for this
purpose. Anthropologists were employed on each district staff and at ter-
ritorial headquarters to advise at all levels of administration.

 Not least significant, in connection with schooling, was that there
had previously been few public schools in the islands—thus no existing
structure of a universal free compulsory school tradition or entrenched
bureaucracy which had to be modified. In effect, the slate was clean and
only the optimal was to be provided. What little schooling was available
before the war was religious training by missionaries and some relatively
low-level, selective vocational training designed to serve the Japanese
island economy. The concept of schooling as a right for all was complete-
ly new.

 We who were involved in the implementation of those schools were
imbued with a kind of Walt Whitman–Carl Sandburg idealism about the
potential of literacy and expanded awareness to generate the flowering of
a new society as the island nation of Micronesia. Coupled with the near-
idyllic material living conditions in the lovely Micronesian islands and
the generally eager acceptance of our ideals (for whatever reasons and
however understood) by the island peoples themselves, these factors
tended to shape our behaviors. The newly formed United Nations and
the replacement of the military government with civilians only added to
the general euphoria of those early developmental years. Among island-
ers themselves, reinforcement came in the form of readily available jobs
for those who went to school, life-style and social mobility potentials far
beyond previous aspirations, and, at least for some, the possibilities of
travel and further schooling away from home islands.

 Organizationally, we were poor; a peripheral operation of the
United States Department of the Interior with a minuscule budget which
was expected to diminish—or, at most, go no higher—each year. With the help of anthropologists and island elders, we modified school curricula; “community schools” with an essentially inward orientation were the standard developmental form.

“Colonialism” was simply not a part of our lexicon. We considered European powers to be colonialists; we were simply generous donors seeking to transmit shared ideals in such a manner as to reach a climax in our complete withdrawal, leaving behind a set of self-sufficient, “modern” island communities essentially unchanged except in their capabilities to cope within the world community of nations and to realize the potential for enhancement of life style by selective adoption of modern technologies or concepts.

Colletta’s entry twenty years later came during the latter part of a decade of explosive developmental activity among the islands. National policy had changed during the early 1960s to that of providing students in Trust Territory schools with schools and services equal to those of mainland United States. Already a significant economic factor, schools became the growth industry of the islands. Where earlier, numbers of United States personnel had been dozens and budgets had been thousands, now United States personnel were hundreds and budgets were millions. Where earlier, schools had been localized, indigenous enterprises, now schools were structural models of the United States patterns. Where earlier, the vision had been self-sufficiency and cohesive, stable indigenous societies, now the ideas of cohesion and self-sufficiency were incredible. “Colonialism” is very much a part of the lexicon of Colletta and the islanders. There is almost no possibility for withdrawal of the United States’ direct support and continuing influence. The best prognosis is for continuing fragmentation of the indigenous societies into new “acculturated elites,” a sizable trapped and bitter mid-level governmental bureaucracy functioning in a cultural limbo, and a large segment of “failures” (in school terms) who by necessity seek personal and cultural reaffirmation in basic subsistence and traditional cultural patterns. The noble experiment in self-sufficient democracy has long since vanished, replaced by near-total dependence on external funding and sources of power. A remote possibility that Japan would replace the United States as donor nation would not significantly alter the situation.

I do not mean to imply that the earlier expatriates and policies were qualitatively better; possibly quite the reverse is true. In retrospect, we can see that the seeds of colonialism were sown from the initial occupation and nurtured, albeit blindly, during the early developmental years so that they flowered fully with the nourishing fertilizer of the new developments. The new generation of donor-nation personnel have certainly been better prepared for their experiences, particularly Peace Corps Vol-
unteers who have begun with language competence and cultural awareness far beyond the entry level of the earlier generation. They have a built-in tendency toward Ponapean (or other islander) emic perceptions and interpretations of phenomena. The nature of their experiences has demonstrated an idealistic commitment equaling or surpassing that of the earlier generation. Further, from twenty years of refinement of social science theory and method, they have the capability of examining themselves and the consequences of the total undertaking—as Colletta has done in this work, a fusion of ethnography and pedagogical insights.

Broad questions remain unanswered. Is the pattern of fragmentation and dependency in Ponape and elsewhere in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands reversible? Must “modernization” and modern schooling always be accompanied by social traumas and disintegration of cultural patterns? The dilemmas emerging from this study are abundantly replicable throughout the Pacific islands, and indeed, throughout the “developing nations” of the world. In his final chapters, Colletta addresses these questions with some suggestive insights. I remain more skeptical than otherwise, but, if there is any hope for a positive reversal of these patterns, it lies in action resulting from studies such as this—and possibly from the yet-to-come third generation of analyses.

A. Richard King
University of Victoria
Victoria, British Columbia
As in any effort, I have become indebted to far more people than can be acknowledged in a mere page or two. But I would be remiss if I did not thank those whose continued encouragement and assistance stand out in my mind.

I am grateful to my early mentors, Cole S. Brembeck and Wilbur B. Brookover, for helping me conceptualize the social science framework for the initial study on Ponape. I am also thankful for the methodological advice given by John and Ruth Useem.

The depth of my understanding of Ponapean lifeways is in large part due to William McGarry, who shared the wisdom of his years living among the Ponapeans so that others might come to appreciate cultural differences as strengths, not weaknesses.

I wish to thank Emiko Santos, Francisco Marquez, Korapin David, and Alphonso Solomon for their assistance in conducting field interviews; and Fran Hezel, Dirk Ballendorf, and Saul Riesenberg for commenting on various drafts of the manuscript. I would also like to acknowledge the invaluable assistance of Nancy Donohue Colletta, for helping conduct the interviews on child rearing and for her endless hours of reviewing and commenting on the manuscript.

My field research would have been impossible without a research grant from Michigan State University, Center for International Programs—Ford Foundation.

Finally, I remain indebted to the Ponapean people, young and old, whose timeless lessons have repeatedly enriched my life.
Introduction

In the summer of 1968, having joined the Peace Corps, I arrived on the island of Ponape in the Eastern Caroline Islands after spending three nights sleeping on the deck of an ancient flagship of the Micronesian Inter-Ocean Lines. In the summer of 1970, I left that same island on board a Continental 727 jet departing from a man-made coral airstrip. A departure from traditional ways, more commonly referred to as "modernization," was occurring on Ponape at a rate equivalent to, if not surpassing that in most areas of the world. During my two-year stay I witnessed the virtual extinction of the outrigger canoe, the rapid diffusion of the transistor radio, and numerous other transformations. Change was taking place with such regularity that in a sense it had become the only significant norm.

In January 1972, I returned to Ponape to take a more structured look at this change process focusing on the cultural impact of the transplanted American school system. The cumulative results of those first two years living among the Ponapeans and this later six-month investigation are encompassed in this book.

The central issue under investigation is that of the role of American schooling in the promotion of cultural change among the Ponapeans. Although there are several island ethnic groups inhabiting Ponape, emphasis in this text is on the Ponapeans because they are the major cultural group on the island and because of my familiarity with their culture and language. The school is the primary change agent under examination, with the impact of familial enculturation and urbanization being included in the study as important interactive forces. The construct of cultural character, or cultural identity, as exhibited in the attitudes and normative behavioral patterns of Ponapean youth, is employed as a key barometer of cultural change throughout the book.

Several underlying assumptions concerning culture and education guided the study:
Ponape District
TRUST TERRITORY OF THE PACIFIC ISLANDS
Total Population: 16,956

NOTES:
TRANSPORTATION TO OUTLYING VILLAGES IS BY WATER. ROAD DISTANCES SHOWN ARE THEORETICAL. ROAD AND WATER DISTANCES ARE SCANNED FROM EXISTING DOCK IN THE RESPECTIVE MUNICIPALITY.

MAP SCALE 1:50,000
NOTE: ORIGINOAL AREAS OF ISLANDS AND ATOLLS ARE ALTERED TO THE REMAINING SPACE. ISLAND REGIONS ARE DRAWN ON A MARY SCALE.
a. *Culture* is fundamentally rooted in shared meanings and common symbols used to communicate those meanings.

b. To modify or change cultural symbols (i.e., language, customs) is to change cultural meanings, behavioral manifestations, and ultimately cultural identity.

c. *Education* is a cultural process. It is much more than classroom or school learning, and occurs outside as well as within such environmental realms.

d. What is learned in school is not solely course content, but values, attitudes, beliefs, and ways of looking at and approaching the external world. This latter latent curriculum is just as significant in terms of behavioral outcomes (cultural change) as the more formally manifested course content.

e. When two diverse cultural systems come into contact, historically, it has been the case that a superordinate-subordinate relationship will evolve as the system which is economically and technologically stronger attempts to define, control, and absorb the reality of the weaker one. Schooling has been instrumental in fostering this "colonial" relationship. Only "education" can break it.

The research design and methodology is essentially ethnographic and qualitative in nature. It is the author’s belief that reality cannot be sufficiently captured in overstructured, quantifiable, closed survey questionnaires which in their quest for objectivity tend to fragment rather than encapsulate the intricate meanings of a culture. Five open-ended interview schedules were constructed (see Appendix A for an elaboration of the research design and questionnaires) and administered to students, parents, school staff, and a range of key informants.

The primary interview schedule, administered to forty randomly selected Ponapean youth and differentiated along lines of exposure to the urban environment of Kolonia, level of formal schooling, and rural-urban origins, was designed to obtain the youths’ attitudes about several cultural themes, such as participation in traditional feasting, views on traditional governance, in-group versus out-group feelings, and others (see Appendix B). A second interview schedule (see Appendix C) was administered to forty Ponapean parents who were purposively sampled on the basis of geographical locality (twenty urban, twenty rural), sex, age, having children in school, and ability to arrange interviews. The Wax study (Wax, Wax, and Dumont 1964), which examined formal education on an American Indian reservation, formed the basis for this interview schedule, but was extensively revised to obtain parental views on the im-
impact of indigenous and school learning as well as the influence of the urban environment on their children. The third interview schedule (see Appendix D) attempted to see how twenty purposively sampled non-Ponapean educators (the majority being American) saw the interaction between Ponapean culture and the schooling process on Ponape. The fourth interview schedule (see Appendix E) was similar to the third, but was directed at twenty purposively sampled Ponapean educators in an effort to obtain their perceptions concerning schooling and cultural transformation among the Ponapeans. Finally, a fifth interview schedule (see Appendix F) was given to ten select informants (Ponapean mothers and grandmothers) for the purpose of examining child rearing practices.

These in-depth interview methods of data collection were supplemented with participant observation and historical reconstruction. In building a socio-historical perspective, the first section of the book makes extensive use of past ethnographic and historical records on Ponape, select sociocultural, theoretical and case literature on similar cultures in transition, and personal observation and diary accounts of the author over a two-and-a-half-year period living on Ponape. The middle section of the text, examining the cross-cultural dynamics of the elementary and high school years, makes particular use of participant observation and the application of theoretical literature on organizational behavior. Primary data for the final section of the text, which looks at Ponapean student and parental attitudes toward traditional culture and schooling, is derived essentially from the interviews. The general analysis of all data collected concentrates on the interaction between the key systemic institutions (family, school), the rural-urban environmental influence (market and workplaces), the individual roles (parent, teacher, student), and their subsequent implications for broader cultural change on Ponape.

The photographs that appear in the book will, it is hoped, add a dimension to the written text. Although figures 3 and 6 are of non-Ponapean scenes, they were utilized to depict points generic to all of Micronesia.

It should be stressed that all events in this study are described as they were observed and recorded in the period 1968–1972. Obviously, changes will have occurred since that time. This demonstrates the clear advantage and necessity for longitudinal research in studying cultural change.

For too long, foreigners have been measuring isolated elements and overlaying alien packaged solutions on Ponape with neither a comprehensive picture of the Ponapean culture nor a clear understanding of the problems and conditions confronting their grand designs. It is my hope that this book will begin to shed light on the travesty and tragedy of
America's experiment in neo-colonial education, while simultaneously providing the Ponapeans with a critical awareness of the cross-cultural processes of change now transpiring on their island.

NOTES
1. The bulk of the data for this book is derived from a larger study conducted by the author on the role of formal and informal education in cultural character change among the Ponapeans. This study served as the author's doctoral dissertation and was funded by Michigan State University and the Ford Foundation.


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1970 *Qualitative Methodology: Firsthand Involvement with the Social World*. Chicago: Markham.

Glaser, Barney G., and Anselm L. Strauss

Lofland, John

Wax, Murray L., Rosalie H. Wax, and Robert V. Dumont, Jr.

White, William Foote
Environment

Northeast of New Guinea and about 6°14' above the equator lies Ponape, a high volcanic island in the Eastern Caroline Islands. Its rugged, protruding basalt peaks siphon the passing clouds to accumulate an annual rainfall of approximately 180 inches. The lush tropical vegetation is well nourished by an abundance of streams and waterfalls.

The island's circular land area encompasses approximately 138 square miles, 113 of which are part of the main island, the remainder of which are neatly dispersed among the thirty-nine islands and islets on, or within, the surrounding reef. About 20 square miles of the main island consist of coastal mangrove swamp.

Ethnographically, Ponape is part of the greater cultural area known as Micronesia or "tiny islands." But as Mason (1968) suggests, the concept of Micronesia as a homogeneous cultural area, bordering Melanesia on the south and Polynesia on the east, loses its utility when confronted with the vast heterogeneity of cultures and languages within its bounds.

The entire territory of Micronesia is composed of three major archipelagoes: the Carolines, the Marshalls, and the Marianas (excluding territorial Guam). It incorporates over 2,000 islands, 98 of which are inhabited. The islands amount to a total land mass of 687 square miles and are spread over an area of about 3 million square miles of azure Pacific waters (approximately equal in size to the continental United States).

Politically, Ponape was one of the six administrative districts of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (the other districts were Palau, Yap, Truk, Kosrae, and the Marshalls). Ponape is now the capital of the newly formed Federated States of Micronesia. In 1976 the Northern Mariana Islands were separated administratively from the Trust Territory Government and became known as the Government of the Northern Marianas. Currently separate negotiations are under way between Palau, the Marshalls, the Federated States of Micronesia, which includes Yap, Truk, Ponape, and Kosrae, and the United States to determine their po-
The Ponapeans of Micronesia

...political status within the broad framework of a Compact of Free Association with the United States.

The majority of Ponape Island's more than 17,000 multiethnic inhabitants live either in scattered homesteads along the narrow coastal areas surrounding the island or in ethnic enclaves within the confines of the District Center, Kolonia. The Ponapeans are predominantly an agrarian people and tend to live on dispersed agricultural plots rather than in consolidated villages or in the District Center enclaves, although government employment and educational opportunities have encouraged their steady gravitation toward the latter. While the Ponapeans still represent the majority of the island's people, numerous outer-islanders have immigrated to the island and presently live in ethnic enclaves within the District Center and in a few other isolated areas about the island.

There are virtually no paved roads outside of Kolonia, and the major means of transportation beyond the town limits is still by boat or on foot. Neither do electrical power, running water, or other such Western conveniences extend outside the limits of Kolonia town and neighboring municipalities.

The primary modes of livelihood for most of the island's inhabitants are subsistence agriculture, fishing, some forms of government employment, or a combination of these.

The physical environment of the island, with its geographic isolation, high rainfall, and fertile coastal areas, has structured the evolution of an agrarian society functioning in an extended communal family organization as a means of assuring survival. It is the structure of this family unit to which we now turn.

**Family Structure**

The natives of Ponape are organized into more than twenty matrilineal, exogamous, totemic clans (*dipw* or *sou*) (Riesenberg 1968). These larger clans are further divided into matrilineal sub-clans called lineages (*keinek*). Whereas the clan is a group of lineages bonded by a trend of common ancestry, the lineage is a corporate body, with common landholdings, formalized hereditary leadership, and a core of members resident on the ancestral homestead (Mason 1968). As Fischer (1957:128; 1970) states: "The main thing a lineage system does is to establish in a community a series of clearly defined, mutually exclusive groups of relatives within which various kinds of property and social and political rights and duties are held and transmitted from one generation to the next." Lineages function in the promotion of competitive feasting (*kamadipw*), the exchange and distribution of goods and services, the regulation of marriage, the inheritance of titles (rank), and other economic and ceremonial activities. Today, the distinction between the
larger clan and the lineage is somewhat nebulous, as both tend more often than not to be discussed as one.

A further family delineation is the actual residence group or extended family (peneinei). This group includes a host of relationships with little emphasis on formal matrilineal rules of exchange, inheritance, or descent. This living unit can and typically does include any number of clans. Presently, this is the most common family pattern among Ponapeans.

In such a matrilineal framework, a child's maternal uncle, who is his linear superior, gains considerable authority as teacher and disciplinarian of the child, while the genetic father takes a secondary role as the indulgent caretaker and companion. One's cousins are generally treated as siblings and the sibling relationship itself becomes a powerful bond in deference to the genetic father's reduced role (Hambruch 1932). Although the avuncular role of teacher and disciplinarian is still strong, the role of the genetic father in these areas has grown with the increased nuclearization of the Ponapean family, particularly those residing in Kolonia.

The corporate nature of this family arrangement is clearly illustrated in the process of inheritance, whereby property, skills, knowledge, and goods remain within the context of the family structure and are not transferred as private possessions of individual members. When Ponapean youth are asked whether they would trade their land for an equal piece of land in any location of their choice, they typically respond with an emphatic "no," stating, "The land is not mine, it is my family's." Fischer (1957) notes that, although the German land reform policy of 1908 attempted to establish the rights of individual ownership of land and patrilineal inheritance, the traditional system was still practiced.

Today, the American land reform policy, among other forces, is tampering with traditional Ponapean family structure. American land policy is yet another effort to realize the practices of individual land ownership and patrilineal inheritance avowed by the earlier German warders. This structural innovation, which emphasizes the individual over the group, coupled with the introduction of other structural transformations such as formal schooling (stressing individual differences), Western notions of work (increased occupational role specialization), and a wage economy, has begun to cause visible strain in the communal nature of the extended Ponapean family.

It has been suggested that the current changes in land ownership and use are being brought about by the growing appetite that Ponapeans are acquiring for Western material goods. Ponapeans who own land with other kin members and want ready cash to buy a Toyota pickup will sometimes proceed against native custom to sell jointly owned land (Hezel, personal communication, Truk, 1977).
The Ponapean Polity

The Ponapean polity is rooted in a strong feudal heritage. As in other feudalistic agrarian societies, the land serves not only as a foundation for the family, but also as a basis for extended governance.

According to legend, Ponape was once ruled by a dynasty known as the Saudeleurs. This ruling class parcelled the land into divisions administered by vassals (soupeidi, or noble lineages), who in turn granted tenure of the land to commoners (aramas mwahl). The vassals or landed nobility acted as mediators in the transmission of goods and services of tribute to the Saudeleurs (McGarry 1968). Hambruch (1932), in reporting on the findings of James F. O’Connell (1836), an early resident among the Ponapeans, acknowledged a fourth caste in the feudal structure known as “nigurts” which was supposedly a slave caste, but Riesenberg (1968; 1972) refuted this as a fallacy in O’Connell’s pronunciation of the word “naikat” (nahi kat) which means “my people” or “commoners.” In any event, the feudal origins of the Ponapean polity are deeply rooted.

Over the years, through exchange, marriage, and conquest, these divisions gradually consolidated to form the five independent tribal states (wehi) of Net, Uh, Madolenihmw, Kitti, and Sokehs. Each of these states is headed by two principal chiefs, known as the Nahnmwarki and the Nahnken respectively. These chiefs form the bulwark of two lines of royal lineage (soupeidi) in each state, with sixteen major titles of rank in the Nahnmwarki lineage and at least seven in the Nahnken line (McGarry 1968). At one time there was said to have been a third line of royalty which constituted the priestly caste, but since the advent of Christianity they have lost their original function (at least publicly) and have been integrated into the Nahnken line (Fischer 1957). Little knowledge of this group can be found in the literature or extracted from the present-day populace. Whether it is lost knowledge or carefully guarded fact, like other matters concerning magic, medicine, and the supernatural on Ponape, is questionable.

The independent states (wehi) are organized on a feudal basis and divided into a number of sections called pwhin (a recent nominal division with no clear function other than cultural reintegration through competitive feasting). These are further subdivided into the primary state units or the kousapw (group of neighboring homesteads) which are governed by heads (kaun or soumas) who are appointed by, and formerly held their fiefs as vassals under, the Nahnmwarki. Finally, there is a subdivision into farmsteads (peliensahpw) occupied by separate residential households (extended families) whose relation to the section chief is also feudal in nature.

In theory, all the land formerly belonged to the Nahnmwarki and
Nahnken, who received regular tribute (nohpwei) from the people at numerous feasts (kamadipw). These feasts not only honored the Nahnmwarki but also commemorated the first fruits, the bestowing of titles, the conducting of marriages, and other ceremonial events. Each state (wehi) had at least one large feast house (nahs) and each group of homesteads (kousapw) had at least one smaller one. These houses were also used as meeting places. During feasts the seating in the nahs was such that positions of status or rank were distinctly demarcated.

The feast (kamadipw) integrated the entire economic, social, and political structure of Ponape, as it not only served to stimulate agricultural production in a subsistence economy, but also allowed for individual recognition and social mobility at all levels, while ritualistically reaffirming and legitimating the ascribed power and authority of the ruling chiefs.

Today, most feasts of tribute have been united into one yearly (obligatory) feast of tribute known as the kamadipw en wahu, or feast of honor. This phenomenon is largely a result of German land policy. When the Germans issued land deeds to individual tenants, they attempted to acknowledge the traditional pattern of land ownership and polity by including a clause which made obligatory the giving of one feast of tribute per year to the Nahnmwarki.

Formerly, the Nahnmwarki was considered too high ranking to be seen or to rule publicly, thus the Nahnken acted as the mediary between the royalty and the commoners. Even today, although the Nahnmwarki is visibly present and much more active, the Nahnken will still deliver the major address at a feast. There is little question that foreign contact has changed these roles dramatically; as Murrill (1948) points out, the Germans made the Nahnmwarki appear in public and manage district affairs. The Japanese enlisted the Nahnmwarki as district administrator and the Nahnken as district judge. The Americans continue to modify the traditional role of the Nahnmwarki; some Nahnmwarki currently perform electoral duties as chief magistrates under the induced American system of local democratic government.

The titles of the Nahnmwarki/Nahnken lines are progressively ranked and fall under the jurisdiction of the two distinct matrilineal clans that rule each of the five states. Theoretically, chiefs succeeded one another in an ascribed fashion. If an individual died in one line of rule, all members of that line moved up one rank. The two lines of rule were strictly segregated and one could not readily move from one line to the other. The actual practice of succession involved much deliberation by the two chiefs and other royalty, and often resulted in individuals jumping rank during the cycle of promotion. Such factors as relative age of the individual, foreign influence, individual industriousness or skill, in-
terpersonal politics, and martial exploits added a flavor of openness and achievement-based mobility to the system (Riesenberg 1968). Such a system might seem to make for confusion, but in the long run such a division of authority acts as a unique system of checks and balances.

Beneath the two principal lines of ascribed rule there existed an avenue for social mobility among the commoners. This was the acquisition of titles (nonroyal) or rank through prestige competition. This “prestige economy,” as Bascom (1948) found, revolved around a system of competitive feasting traditionally known as erazel. These were the very same feasts which served as an act of tribute to royalty and to commemorate other ceremonial occasions. The competition was similar to a North American county fair in which individuals gain prestige through the exhibition of the fruits of their labor. Yams, pigs, and kava were the primary status goods and prestige was usually measured in size rather than quantity. For example, yams were evaluated in terms of how many men it took to lift one. Titles of prestige, with their incumbent rights and obligations, could thus be obtained by individuals through agricultural competition. Although a commoner could not gain entrance into the ruling clan, the prestige economy did provide him with some means of personal recognition and social mobility within a limited framework.

The Supernatural World

Little is definitively known about the spiritual world of the Ponapeans. Both Mason (1968) and Morrill (1970) suggest that historically it has been passed over by anthropologists, suppressed and absorbed by Christian missionaries, and kept a well guarded secret by the natives themselves. The strength of its existence is still quite evident in the Ponapean behavioral environment. As McGarry (1968:7) attests, “Although liturgies performed for the spirits may be nearly extinct, belief in them is far from dead.” As early as 1910, Hambruch (1932:150) observed that the Ponapeans believed the whole nature and world around them to be alive with spirits and demons. He went on to state: “Christianity was easily able to expel and replace the native gods by the Christian conception of God, but not the magicians, spirits and magic, for rational explanations of the surrounding world do not mean very much to the native, and he cannot do without the age-old magical representations and explanations which he finds much more convincing and better adapted to his way of feeling.”

As one begins to focus on the spiritual world of the Ponapean, it emerges not only as a possible extension of the earthly order of events, but also as an integral part of the entire social structure. At the apex of this spiritual order are the ancestral gods (enihwos) of each clan which are symbolically represented by each clan’s totem. With the Ponapean
Figure 1. The *Wasahi* of Kitti, a Ponapean nobleman (1908); the intricate belt is an indication of his rank and station. From *Micronesia's Yesterday*, edited by J. Vincent (Trust Territory Department of Education, 1973).
emphasis on lineal descent it is natural that some form of ancestor worship would prevail. As McGarry (1968:7) found, "these spirits were not invented nor were they souls of the dead, they were believed to have always existed." Next in the supernatural hierarchy was the spiritual counterpart of the Nahnmwarki or Nahnken called the eni lapalap. Below this spirit was the eni aramas, or spiritual protector of the commoners, typically a dead ancestor. The Nahnmwarki's spirit bridged the gap between the ancestral gods or the enihwos and the commoner spirits or eni aramas. One might readily speculate that the parallel evolution of gods from spirits, state from clan, and paramount ruler from clan head on Ponape was indicative of a spiritual and temporal unitary world view among the Ponapeans.

McGarry (1968) contends that there are at least three other groups of spirits. The first is an additional group of enihwos who differed from the ancestral eniwhos in that they dwelt largely in daukatau, a place above, near the thunder god, and had strong influence on earthly events. This group appears to be a functional elaboration of the ancestral enihwos which Riesenberg (1948) and McGarry (1968) both acknowledge. The second group includes spirits called sokolei, who are described by Ponapeans as "pygmylike" spirits. The third group mentioned are the place spirits or those which inhabit the lagoon, the ocean, the mangroves, the mountains, and other places in nature. McGarry gives no distinct name for these spirits and is not clear on whether they are enihwos or merely spirits of the recently deceased (eni aramas). It is feasible that this latter group of spirits might be a part of the sokolei, or spirits constituting the natural world. He further submits the possibility of several other spiritual groupings, but does not elaborate on their existence.

In such a technologically unencumbered environment, man, nature, and the spirits live in face-to-face contact. Within his world the traditional Ponapean is an active participant, experiencing the world directly and immediately, with a balanced sensorium. He comes to experience this world as a totality. His task is not to dissect, reshape, or transform the existing environment, but to blend and dwell in harmony with its natural, spiritual, and human components. Thus, the temporal world of man, the object world of nature, and the spiritual world of the ancestral gods meld to give daily credence and meaning to the conscious and unconscious events of Ponapean life.

This "gestaltic," unitary approach to the world can be observed in many of the Ponapean behavioral patterns. Riesenberg (1948) observed that the commoners dreadfully feared the spiritual curse known as riahla. If a taboo (inopwi) was broken, such as the eating of a totemic animal, or if obligations of tribute and respect to the Nahnmwarki or other royalty were forsaken, the individual violator or a member of his
family, usually a child, would fall sick as a direct result of *riahla* delivered from either the ancestral spirit or the *Nahnmwarki*’s spirit. Spiritual conciliation for such a misdeed would entail the direct propitiation of the spirit through the *Nahnmwarki* via a feast of conciliation known as an *eluh*. For a milder act of disrespect, such as arguing with a titular superior, one would be expected to offer a more temporal apologetic feast known as a *tomw*.

The essential ingredient of these feasts of spiritual and temporal propitiation was the bearing and drinking of kava (*sakau*). Legend has it that kava emanated from a high place. Its innate power (*manaman*) served to bring peace and tranquility to the land, to decrease personal pride and anger, and to invoke an aura of humility and mutual respect among those present. If enough kava was presented, the *Nahnmwarki* traditionally could not refuse to forgive the violator. The preparation and offering of the kava was part of every ceremonial occasion. It was highly ritualistic and involved a number of intricate verbal and nonverbal forms of respect and honorific behavior, respect and honor being paid not only to those bodily present but also to their spiritual counterparts. An early Protestant missionary, Albert A. Sturges, observed in 1855: “To this people kava is the only means of communication with their spirits; they hold a cup of this drink, always in their hands, when addressing the object of prayer. . . . Kava here is what the cross is to the Christian; it fell from heaven and is the only means of obtaining a hearing there” (Riesenberg 1968:109).

The partaking of kava not only served as a means of ritualistic communion with and testimony to the spiritual world, it also sanctioned the earthly power and authority of the *Nahnmwarki* through spiritual association. This association was strengthened through a taboo against walking directly behind the *Nahnmwarki* for fear of disturbing his guardian spirit. Social conformity was thus guaranteed, as the fear of being cursed with sickness or ill fate (*riahla*) by the chief’s spirit was ritualistically reinforced at every feast. The fear of spiritual reprisal was a primary means of social control throughout every level of the society, from the clan chief to the head of the extended family. Moreover, this ceremony, using a product of nature, completed the bond between man and the spirit, giving continuity and meaning to the hierarchical social structure which pervaded every Ponapean celebration or ceremony from birth to death.

Although kava is still drunk at every festive occasion as a regular social activity, it is questionable how much conscious awareness of religious and social significance is attached to it. In fact, kava’s current popular use seems to stem more from the social significance of the rituals associated with its preparation and the complaisant withdrawal that
results from drinking it than from its religious importance. Today, one can even find it bottled, sold in stores, and served at so-called “kava bars.”

Sorcery, magic, and medicine are still very common on Ponape today. A sorcerer may determine that an illness is due directly to the unhappiness of a family spirit or to another’s act of black magic (kau). The family might then offer a feast for the victim, give the proper medicine (wini), and make incantations (winahni) to assure a smooth recovery. The incantation is usually made either to the spirit of the highest ranking deceased relative or to the spirit that the sorcerer has found to be the cause of the illness (Riesenberg 1968).

Sorcery enters almost all of Ponapean life from sickness and death to courtship, birth, and athletic events. The attribution of causation to riahla or winahni is ingrained in the cultural thought pattern. People bury the umbilical cords of newborn infants so that no one might employ them in witchcraft. Students often explain their athletic prowess or lack of it at the United Nations Day games through magical favor or curse. Stories of individuals paying for the services of sorcerers to cast spells of love or wicked revenge are continually told. The use of amulets and other such charms and fetishes is strongly adhered to. Little children can often be seen with small bits of string tied around their wrists as a spiritual protective device. Thus, the powers that be, either in natural objects or in the spirits at large, are continually summoned through incantation (sakarkihda) and employed in the worldly social intercourse of Ponapean culture to initiate, explain, and control human behavior.

Sacred temples also play a part in the Ponapean world of the supernatural. One of the most mysterious ruins known to exist is the basalt log fortress of Nan Madol, many artificial islands attached to the coast of Ponape in Madolenihmw.

The local populace is singularly in awe of the location, and repeats half-remembered legends of the time when the ruins were great temples of worship and warfare of the Saudeleurs. As O’Connell (Morrill 1970:55) noted, the natives acclaim that “animan (spirits) built them, and they are the abode of animan.” Even today access to the site is clearly restricted, especially after dark. There are countless tales of misfortune befalling persons who tried to spend the night at Nan Madol or who tried to extract magical amulets from its deep recesses.

The unity of spiritual and temporal orders, of man, nature, and the gods, provides the Ponapeans with a unique world view. Their conception of the world around them does not separate the physical and social from the supernatural realm. Unlike the Western world, where body and soul are inevitably separated and exist in noninteractional domains, the Ponapeans make no clear distinction between the life space of the spirit and the body. It appears they make little or no attempt to philosophize or
theologize about their world. Unlike Westerners, who have an analytical, fragmented view of the world, Ponapeans view their world relationally and holistically. Their approach to the world involves a more encompassing, multidirective, associational mental style. First-cause explanation is a marked feature of their logical makeup. There is little extensive secondary analysis. Much of their experience is directly explained by the activity of the spirits. Means and ends dialectically blend into one another. There is little separation of the subjective being from the objective world.6

There exists innately within the Ponapean world a certain balance of power (manaman) among man, nature, and the spirits. It is the essence of Ponapean life to preserve this delicate and harmonious balance. This is exemplified throughout the Ponapean behavioral environment. They will lie to one another to preserve interpersonal harmony. They will tell you anything they think you want to hear or give you anything you admire to placate your body and spirit. Their relationship to the land is also governed by this respect. Unlike the furrowed fields of Western agriculture, it is almost impossible to distinguish the arrangement of their crops, which blend into the contour and natural foliage of the land. For mortals, gods, and nature, the notions of respect and harmony dominate in all situations. The gesture (mwohmw) and its result are more important than the logic of the act itself. One does not just leave a social situation, one makes a prominent gesture or formal acknowledgment of departure which in itself is more important than the reason for leaving, however superficial.

Along with this humanistic logio-meaning orientation is a highly relativistic “situational” ethic which permeates Ponapean thought and behavior. There is little stress on a universal moral order for judging all behavior, only specific events, encounters, and relationships (situations) isolated in time and space with meager connective or generalizable value. Reality is for the moment, the situation, and not for all men at all times in all places.

As a result of their holistic world view there is little individualized image of self among the Ponapeans. They are one with clan, spirits, and nature. It is this very inhibited consciousness of an individual self, submerged in the group, that allows the Ponapeans to maintain such a unitary view of the world. For them, personal identity is rooted in the communal social order. The continual attempt to appease and balance this delicate tri-part harmony is the essence of Ponapean behavior and cultural character.

Cultural Character

As a construct, cultural character has developed from the works of William James, Harry Stack Sullivan, George H. Mead, Irving Hallowell, and several other scholars. Such terminology as “basic personality struc-
ture,” “normative orientation,” “national character,” and “social character” has been employed by anthropologists, sociologists, psychologists, and historians to describe the broad notion of the individual self in relation to a common cultural core. The term cultural character as here used is most congruent with Eric Fromm’s (1949:4) definition of social character: “By social character I refer to the nucleus of the character structure which is shared by most members of the same culture in contradistinction to the individual character in which people belonging to the same culture differ from each other.”

The interpersonal orientation of this concept fits well with the humanistic bent of Ponapean society. Individual character is firmly enmeshed in the communal social structure. Conformity is imperative. One can be sure of oneself only if one fulfills social expectations or conforms to the dictates of the cultural character. Cultural character is all-pervasive. There is little life separate from the group.

As Clifton (1968) suggests, there has been little social-psychological research done on Ponapean personality. Therefore, the ensuing analysis of Ponapean character is primarily derived from inferences drawn from data on indigenous social organization; the insights of other alien scholars and residents on Ponape; personal observations; and records of how Ponapeans see themselves taken from interviews, proverbs, aphorisms, and legends.

The affective, sanguine orientation of the Ponapean is apparent in his high regard for family life. As Hambruch (1932:73) stated: “In regards to general character of this people, the love of both sexes for their offspring, and the respect given to old age are the features which stand out the most agreeably; these are two qualities which are sadly lacking in other island inhabitants visited by me.”

McGarry (1968:66) further supports the importance of the family in Ponapean life by quoting a common proverb: *Sal en Pwoudpwoud kak mwei sal en neitik soh,* or literally, “the bonds of marriage can break, but the bond of birth cannot.”

It is common in a discussion of importance to hear a reference to the strength of the umbilical cord, reaffirming the centrality of lineage or blood relationships. Daily social interaction is characterized by a great deal of laughter which more often than not is about someone rather than something, indicative of emotive interpersonal leanings.

In tracing the historical development of the Ponapean emphasis on the character trait of public bravery, Murrill (1948) described how in ancient times boys were trained to be strong and brave, to endure pain, especially for tattooing and the removal of one testicle which was a ritualistic part of initiation into manhood. Girls were also trained to be brave both for tattooing and for the bearing of many children. Although these
rites are not followed today, courage ranks high among the qualities people deem necessary to be a “real Ponapean.” Many Ponapean maxims stress stoicism and bravery, as these two quoted by McGarry (1968:59, 60) indicate:

Sohte ohl kin mwuskihla mehkot apw pwurehng kangala, or no man vomits something up and then eats it again, meaning a man does not take back what he says.

ohl tohrohr, or a man acts otherwise; implying that a man is expected to do difficult things and must be willing to accept pain.

It might be added that implicit in much of the stress on bravery is avid male chauvinism. Ponapeans believe that when bravery and manliness are lacking, women become dominant and break up the family structure.

Much of the aggressiveness inherent in this stress on physical bravery and courageousness has in recent times been sublimated through the vibrant agricultural competition of the prestige economy. Now aggression is acceptably expressed in a high need achievement for social recognition, public industriousness, and zealous loyalty as exhibited at the feast (katnadippw) and reinforced through the title system. The titles awarded in the prestige economy competitions are highly symbolic of a man’s skills and industriousness (pwerisek). They act not only as a source of individual reward but also as a motivating factor to continue such model behavior.

It is considered un-Ponapean to boast or to be publicly proud. As Bascom (1948) observed, a man who manifests his pride openly is talked about and laughed at, and his prestige is quickly turned into shame. The Ponapeans have numerous words which not only denounce this unapproved behavior, but also linguistically serve to control it. Lest this public modesty be misunderstood, it should be noted that repressed at the inner level of self the Ponapeans have a wealth of pride. Fischer (1957) noted that this overt modesty might very well be social posing beneath which runs a strong current of vanity. It is acceptable for someone to acknowledge another’s success or to place him in the limelight, but the socially expected response to such praise is humble denial. In general, Ponapeans believe much more in demonstrating than in verbalizing their personal capabilities. Here, as in other instances, we see the individual Ponapean character being repressed in lieu of the collective judgment inherent in the overall “other-directed” social structure.

Amidst this public modesty and private pride is a profound sensitivity to public ridicule and criticism. The role of ridicule and praise in the modification of behavior stands out as one of the more observable Ponapean patterns of social control. To shame (sarohdi) or to be shamed
(mahk) in public is one of the gravest social errors that can transpire. One example of this is the story told by McGarry (1968) in which a farmer walking on his land happened upon a man stealing one of his yams. Immediately the farmer ducked behind a tree to avoid the personal embarrassment (mahk) of confronting the culprit and thus shaming him (saroahdi). Similar situations occur in a cross-cultural context. It is common for foreign visitors on Ponape to complain over the poor service in the stores, stating that they practically have to chase the storekeeper to make a purchase. This is readily explained by the unwillingness of the Ponapean to put the visitor in the embarrassing position of having to refuse proffered goods, thus unwittingly offending the storekeeper and breaching social convention.

A strong social taboo forbids publicly criticizing another individual or openly expressing a dissenting point of view. All expressions of criticism are transmitted indirectly through a third party; consequently, gossip is an important part of the daily course of events. It is not atypical for Ponapeans to tell "white" lies or to attempt to predict and elicit what one wants to hear in order to maintain harmony in social relationships and to avoid negative feedback. Respectful behavior and fear of negative repercussions are intimately linked; the golden rule functions to maintain social harmony.

To maintain such a tenuous social balance a nonassertive posture becomes the order of the day and mutual respect or confrontation avoidance becomes the primary law of social interaction as well as a definitive Ponapean character trait. It might be added that the reaction to a social faux pas is sometimes difficult to detect, as shame, as well as pride and satisfaction, must be concealed at all times.

In this highly sensitive, interpersonal world of the Ponapeans it should be of no surprise that countering this defensive, gentle posture of public modesty, nonassertive behavior, and respect are the opposing cultural character traits of intrigue, deception, and revenge.

In contrast to Hambruch's (1932:74) initial praise of the Ponapean character, he states: "A shadow falls on this description: it must be conceded that they are lazy, greedy and cunning; little credence can be given to their assurances." McGarry (1968) claims that the processes of intrigue and power politics are of greater importance to Ponapeans than the actual truth value of a particular occurrence. Thus one's reputation ultimately becomes more crucial than the specific point of discussion. It is quite acceptable to adjust the facts for personal convenience or for public display. Cautiousness and a general reluctance to immediately give trust are prominent characteristics of the Ponapean personality. Bascom (1950a), writing on the tradition of retaliation among the Ponapeans, shows that revenge is a common theme in Ponapean history from
early tribal warfare through the entire foreign contact era. One popular Ponapean saying refers to the need for revenge as "resting in the stomach like an infectious boil."

It should be noted that Ponapean character is not without a healthy dose of hospitality, tolerance, patience, and a sense of justice grounded in the age-old communal societal characteristic of reciprocity. A Ponapean home typically welcomes any stranger with a generous abundance of food. Yet the trait of modesty is demonstrated on such an occasion when the first thing the host will do upon welcoming a guest is apologize for the inadequacy of his home and the modest outlay of food. Hambruch (1932:303), in summarizing this behavior pattern, stated: "They are amiable, hospitable, and obliging where especially they may expect an advantage; readily willing to do service, but also crafty, cunning merchants."

The outward ambiguity of Ponapean character was described by F. W. Christian (Morrill 1970:86) when he visited the island briefly:

The character of the Ponapean, like that of the Caroline islanders in general, in whom so many different racial elements are merged, has some curious contradictions. He alternates fitful seasons of wonderful energy at work with long spells of incorrigible laziness. In supplying his simple needs he shows considerable ingenuity and resource. He is very superstitious, yet exceedingly practical in small matters. He has a good deal of the Malay stoicism and apathy, joined to great penetration and acuteness. His senses, like those of all half-civilized tribes, are very keen, and his powers of minute observation most remarkable. In many of his doings he exhibits a highly comical mixture of shrewdness and simplicity, of seriousness and buffoonery, of a light-hearted knavery tempered by a certain saving sense of justice—in short, a regular moral chameleon...

That the Ponapean character consists of these things is a matter of Christian's biased opinion. That the Ponapean has a unique cultural character is an obvious fact which Bascom (1965:17), among others, delineates:

a deep sense of pride that cannot be expressed openly, a hunger for praise and recognition when it is deserved, a retiring modesty, tolerance and patience, together with a quiet dignity, are dominant characteristics of the Ponapean's personality. The people of Ponape have a character, as well as a history and a set of traditions that are truly their own.

In merging what early researchers have said about the Ponapean cultural character with self-descriptions of the behavior of "real Ponapeans" from several indigenous informants and the researcher's own observations, the Ponapean cultural character may be summarized as follows: He is group-oriented and other-directed. His social sensitivity to
others is acute, and the extended family is his primary referent group. He values bravery and industriousness, and especially prizes the fruits of his labors on the land. Traditional Ponapeans agreed that one must have land, yams, pigs, kava, and a title before one can be considered a "real Ponapean." The Ponapeans refer to these elements as the dipwisou, or entities of the clan bondage. The Ponapean implicitly distinguishes separate realms of public and private behavior. He is to be publicly modest yet privately proud; publicly brave but privately gentle; publicly respectful and careful to avoid confrontation, but privately cautious and intriguing; publicly hospitable and kind, but privately deceptive and revengeful. It is taboo to mix the private and public forms of acceptable behavior. The time and place or the right situation and relation dictate the proper course of behavior. When the private role emerges in the context of the public role, foreigners are often confused and quick to label this paradoxical behavior that of a "moral chameleon." When understood as a "situational ethic," the concept of role segregation and bisituational or bicultural behavior can be seen to be a dominant cultural characteristic of the Ponapean. The maintenance of harmony in all relations, be they with nature, the spirits, or his fellow man, is of utmost importance to him. He is concerned more with form and process than with content and objectives. It is the visible "how" of things and not the rational "why" that encompasses his every act. The public showing of face is always in the forefront of his behavior and thought. Any independent presentation of his private self is a violation of custom and viewed as aberrant or non-Ponapean behavior.

The loss of and/or modification of these cultural character traits among the young schooled Ponapeans is an underlying concern throughout the remainder of this book. It serves as a barometer for the larger process of cultural change in Ponapean society. Special attention is given to the alien institution of school as a central force in this process.

A People in Transition

The unique Ponapean character and culture is changing as a result of schooling. The "prestige economy" is being transformed into a commercial economy, the hierarchical feudal order is being replaced by an egalitarian democratic polity, the supernatural world is being supplanted by the world of science, and ultimately, the communal social structure is being challenged by an avid individualistic orientation. In short, the traditional Ponapean culture is under serious assault. This change process is best described by Eric Fromm (1941:326) in the conclusion to his classic work, Escape from Freedom:

The social [cultural] character results from the dynamic adaptation of human nature to the structure of society. Changing social conditions [cultural
contact] result in changes of the social character, that is, in new needs and anxieties. These new needs give rise to new ideas and, as it were, make men susceptible to them; these new ideas in their turn tend to stabilize and intensify the new social character and to determine man's actions. In other words, social conditions influence ideological phenomena through the medium of character; character, on the other hand, is not the result of passive adaptation to social conditions but of a dynamic adaptation on the basis of elements that either are biologically inherent in human nature or have become inherent as the result of historic evolution.

Because of the complexity of the culture change process, this study focuses on the dynamics and institutional aspects of cultural transmission and renewal more formally known as education. A comprehensive understanding of this subject requires an understanding of the cultural character and of the manner in which an individual is normatively orientated or reoriented with reference to values, beliefs, ideals, and the standards expressed in the evolving social structure of the specific culture under study.

NOTES

1. The Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands is the only remaining United Nations Trust Territory. Political changes in 1978 and 1979 have been dramatic. Following a referendum on January 9, 1978, the Northern Marianas decided to separate from the other island groups, seek a commonwealth status with the United States, and inaugurate the first elected and autonomous government of the Trust Territory. Full commonwealth status will be assumed in 1981. In July 1978, the other island groups held a referendum to adopt or reject Micronesian unity under the proposed 1975 Constitution of the Federated States of Micronesia. Truk, Ponape, Kosrae, and Yap adopted it; Palau and the Marshalls rejected it. This resulted in what would have been the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands dividing into four separate political entities: the Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas; the Federated States of Micronesia, made up of the four central districts; the Marshalls; and Palau, each under its own constitution. The latter three are currently negotiating their respective future political statuses with the United States, which is scheduled to terminate its Trusteeship Agreement with the United Nations by 1981. If the current direction of negotiations continues, each entity will have separate political status under a single umbrella relationship with the United States called a Compact of Free Association. Toward this end, the United States Department of the Interior issued Secretarial Order 3027, effective October 1, 1978, which established legislative and fiscal separation of the three entities, dissolved the Congress of Micronesia, and raised the legislatures of the Marshalls and Palau to the status of congressional bodies equal to the former Congress of Micronesia. A second Secretarial Order, 3039, effective April 23, 1979, transferred executive powers to each entity upon the commencement of its own constitutional government based upon a lawfully adopted constitution. The transition of the judicial branch will take place sometime before termination of the Trust. The High Commissioner's role is now one
of overseeing United States expenditures and obligations to the United Nations Trust. If and when a single Compact of Free Association is negotiated, it will be subject to a referendum in each entity, and to the approval of each government and of the United States Congress (personal communication with James Berg, Political and Economic Advisor, Office for Micronesian Political Status, July, 1979).

2. The Pingelapese, Mokilese, Nukuorans, Kapingas, Mortlockese, and Kusaieans make up the greater part of immigrants from the neighboring Caroline Islands. There is also a smattering of other immigrants, i.e., Yapese, Palauans, and Saipanese, from the far reaches of Micronesia.

3. The American government has initiated a system of democratic government within the context of Ponape’s five petty states. For a detailed account of this see Daniel Hughes’ study, “Democracy in a Traditional Society: Two Hypotheses on Role” (1969).

4. Riesenberg (1948) distinguishes among the following different names and functions of curers: sow-n-winani (sounwinahni), or sayer of spells and prayers; sow-n-katiyani (sounkatieni), or shaman; sow-pwe (soupwe), sow-n-kustip, or sow-n-kasow, or soothsayers of various types. Magic and medicine are interwoven practices on Ponape.

5. Johannes Kubary, a Polish ethnologist, Paul Hambruch of the German Ergebnisse der Sudsee-Expedition 1908-1910, and Saul Riesenberg have done extensive archaeological work on the area. For a further account of legends, maps, and other information on the area see the section on Koloma in Whiting and Lawrence’s Nan Madol Ruins (1950).

6. Philosophically the implication is that Western analytic processes of logic directly result from this separation of body and mind, and often lead to a fragmented approach to the world.

7. This balance of power is somewhat akin not only to the notion of reciprocity common to most communal societies, but also to the theme of “limited good” or that every act has its negative or diminishing counterpart. For an interesting account of this principle read George M. Foster’s “Peasant Society and the Image of Limited Good” (1965).

8. Among the terms frequently heard are kala, or one who physically shows off; aklapalap, or one who is too proud to listen to reason; liosasahs, or one who speaks pretentiously.

9. This makes the researcher’s job extremely difficult, forcing him to rely heavily on behavioral observation, third party comments, and conscious sensitivity to intricate nonverbal cues.

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Education Without Schools: Informal Learning Among the Ponapeans

Education: An Indigenous Perspective

"The feast was well underway. The men had just completed the *uhmw* (ground oven) under the watchful eyes of Daro and the others. A multitude of breadfruit lay roasting under the heap of banana leaves and simmering stones. Daro proceeded to lay his single small breadfruit in the miniature *uhmw* he and his companions had so skillfully duplicated. Observing this event, his father, in a proud, joking manner exclaimed, 'Now you may get married, my son, you are a real Ponapean man.' The air filled with conjoint laughter. Daro was but six years old.'"

The foregoing narrative, as related by a Ponapean, connotes an educational process different from Western schooling. Here, and in situations less clearly defined but much more common to the daily life of Ponapeans, knowledge, values, and skills are continually transmitted and renewed incidentally by word and by example. It is during this indigenous enculturation process that young Ponapeans are taught to act as their society requires and to derive satisfaction from the inherent system of social sanctioning. It is here in the informal day-to-day situations that tradition is communicated and modified, that cultural character is molded, and the task of transmitting and preserving the culture in the image of the elders is advanced (Redfield 1943).

Formal schooling is a relatively recent innovation, but education as an operational phenomenon, in terms of teaching and learning, is firmly rooted in the history of man's struggle with nature from time immemorial. Anthropologists, in analyzing the process of enculturation, have long alluded in their ethnographies to informal educational practices in which tradition was communicated and modified.

Melville Herskovits (1956) pursued the notion of education in the broad context of a total learning system, distinguishing between the three components of education, enculturation, and schooling. He claimed that while education encompassed all realms of human teaching and learning, enculturation pertained primarily to nondirected learning, while school-
ing was that aspect of education performed by trained specialists in designated locations at particular time intervals.

Edwin Smith (1934:323), when addressing himself to the process of indigenous education in Africa, divided it into three distinct areas: the formal, as when a person is apprenticed to a trade or when the traditional rules of conduct are impressed through initiation rites; the informal, as when young people learn by direct imitation; and the unconscious, as when children in their play unknowingly follow impulses which have a social end and which are stimulated by the actions of their older models.

In short, a well-educated person, from a cultural point of view, is a person who, to paraphrase Fromm (1949:5), “wants to do what he ought
to do—the ‘oughtness’ being defined by his culture.’’ The process of transmission itself is referred to in as many ways as there are discrete disciplinary paradigms. Sociologists speak of socialization, psychologists talk of conditioning, anthropologists refer to enculturation, and educators beg and borrow from all of these disciplines and label it education. But the actual ‘‘process’’ still pleads understanding and clarification.

Birth and Infancy

A Ponapean child enters the world with much merriment and happiness. The child is seen not only as a gift from heaven, but also as an addition to the communal labor force and insurance for the parents in old age.

A woman often goes home to her mother to have her baby. Mothers and sisters are frequently present at the birth, but brothers are strictly excluded. Women are expected to be stoic during childbirth, and it is very rare to hear any outcries or demonstrations of pain. The umbilical cord is buried immediately after birth to guard against black magic or any other spiritual antagonism.

The status of the young man and woman changes after the birth of their first child; they are considered officially to have entered the adult world with all its responsibilities. It is generally felt that the first female child belongs to the mother’s family, the first male to the father’s family, and all others to the couple themselves. Soon after the arrival of the baby, both grandmothers come and stay for a couple of months to help the nursing mother. The woman’s mother takes care of her and the household chores, while the man’s mother takes care of the baby.

Indulgence is the rule, and the infant is rarely out of the arms of various family members, especially the grandmothers, aunts, and older sisters. Sometimes the mother will let the baby cry, but another family member will caress it, as a crying baby is thought to indicate a lack of love and thus could bring shame on the entire family. Even in later years, a crying child will be granted its wish in order to prove parental love. A grandmother caring for her eighteen-month-old grandson quickly excused herself from an interview when the child began to cry, explaining, “I’m sorry but I can’t talk to you now because the boy is crying.” She proceeded to fondle and play with the child until he was happy again. She never hit or yelled at the child, saying “Hitting him is wrong, he is too young, he would not even understand what he has done wrong. Wait until he can understand. Then he may be punished. To spank him now is only to teach him to cry.”

The infant’s legs and feet are often massaged with coconut oil so that his first steps will be strong. The Ponapeans prefer to bathe the child in the mornings because they believe that morning water is the cleanest. Since it is also the coldest, they often rub the child down with coconut oil to protect his tender body from the harsh effects of the water. Coconut
oil is considered to be highly medicinal and is frequently used to guard the child against fungus and to help heal cuts.

The baby sleeps in the same room as the rest of the family and usually near the mother. The child is free to nurse whenever he is hungry. The nursing mother is given the best food, so that she will produce much milk. It is believed that the mother must eat as much as possible in order to keep her milk flowing strong. She does not work much for the first month as too much action is thought to sour the milk. She must not bathe in cold water for the same period for fear of drying up the milk. The mother is supposed to eat during the night because Ponapeans believe that this is the best time for the mother to produce milk. Ponapeans will never wake a sleeping baby because they believe that a baby does most of its growing when asleep.

Weaning begins at age six months to twelve months when the mother starts to give the baby bananas and papaya to eat. Before the baby has teeth, special foods are prepared, but for convenience, mothers generally prefer to wait until the baby can eat regular food. Weaning is gradual and geared to the child’s pace. A widely accepted psychoanalytic belief holds that unlimited breast-feeding (orality) results in a character marked by a great level of interpersonal affection and generosity (Erikson 1950). These are certainly traits exhibited in later life by Ponapeans, especially as evidenced at the feast. It should also be noted that prolonged breast-feeding is linked to high affectivity and dependence between parent and child which are also dominant Ponapean character traits.

When a child is able to walk, he is expected to relieve himself outside the house, but is forbidden to go near the outhouse for fear that he might fall through the hole. He usually follows the example of the other children as they go about their toilet activities. In this act the child initiates his natural mode of learning by imitation and by being controlled through fear of public (peer group) shame.

The family is careful to see that the firstborn will not be jealous of a new arrival. The firstborn will sleep with the father while the newborn sleeps with the mother. Sometimes the firstborn will be spanked if he hits his new sibling, but usually the mother will say, “This is your baby whom you must love.” Although every family seems to treat the sibling jealousy problem differently, there are often enough people around so that the first child does not suffer much loss of attention.

When the infant reaches his first birthday, a feast is given to ritualistically confirm his survival of the difficult first year. In some instances naming the baby is withheld until this occasion because of superstitious fear of premature death.

Adoption is a common practice, especially if one family has an
abundance of children and another has few. It is not necessary to be a very close relative in order to adopt a child, but the person should be in the same clan. Usually a woman will adopt a girl and a man a boy. One cannot reclaim a child unless he is mistreated and returns to his original home. One must pay to take an older child back if he has not run away, since it is considered necessary that compensation be made for the time and effort put into rearing the child. Sometimes there are arguments between families if the real parents do not like the way that their child is being reared, but for the most part adoption seems to go smoothly for all concerned.

When the child begins to crawl, he typically becomes the ward of the eldest daughter and is carried almost continually. Thus the dual functions of child care and training for motherhood are combined. When the child begins to walk, he takes his place in the extended family pecking order of playmates, and childhood officially commences.

**Childhood**

A child is encouraged to start helping with family chores as soon as he is able to walk. Beginning with the task of fetching for the mother, the child will later carry water, sweep, gather firewood, and care for younger siblings. He is rarely forced into more complicated work, but he is encouraged to watch. The Ponapeans closely observe their children’s behavior, and, if one seems interested in a particular skill, his curiosity is quickly fed. The initial interest, however, comes from the child.

During this period the play group becomes the primary educational institution for the child. Through various forms of play the children mimic adult behavior, strengthen their muscles, stimulate their intellect, and develop their powers of observation, imagination, and imitation. It is common to see children constructing and sailing miniature boats, spearing fish, shooting fowl with a slingshot, and imitating dances and songs they have seen their parents perform on festive occasions. It is quite evident that this play is a direct practice of adult roles. The play group is sexually mixed and structured in a hierarchical order determined by age, with all members usually coming from the same extended family or clan. The group is marked by a great deal of freedom from parental involvement, as the members of the group guide, reprove, and cultivate each other’s behavior. It is here that the foundation for shame as the mechanism for social control and the adult character trait of extreme social sensitivity are firmly inculcated. At this stage also the respect and security of rank and place in the social order are first incurred.

During this period, too, the fundamental rule of all Ponapean education is laid down: All learning and teaching transpire in real life situations. There is no sharp cleavage between the life space of the child, his
physical environment, and the adult world. Children are not isolated from parents in separate physical structures or castelike categories. All take active part in family life, religious rites, and economic processes. The child observes and participates when ready. Readiness is intrinsically determined by the individual and is encouraged with expectations of success from significant others, both adults and peers. Identification with and mimicry of adult roles are learning processes sanctioned and guided by the group in the context of daily living.

Knowledge is sought where it is thought to be meaningful and useful to one's survival. Moments of instruction are not segregated from moments of action. Learning occurs through self-initiated activity in which individuals are in total sensory involvement with their environment. Ponapean indigenous education is not just a listening process where the burden rests upon the teacher, but is a full educational experience, deeply rooted in the experiences of childhood, with the learner actively seeking what he needs to know. The securing and developing of the keen perceptive powers which enable the Ponapean child to make astute observations, synthesize them, and apply what he has seen are firmly grounded in Ponapean cosmology.

Youth

At about age ten the child becomes more active in the economic life of the family. The boys take on such responsibilities as gathering and cutting firewood and feeding the pigs, while the girls wash, cook, and care for the younger children. The earlier indulgence pattern and the unrestrained freedom of childhood now fade into the constraints and responsibilities of family cooperation. All skills are learned while working side-by-side with the elders. The prolonged observation and practice of childhood begin to get their full test as learning proceeds through private trial to public performance. A youth will humbly refuse to attempt a task unless he is sure that he can perform it correctly and thus avoid public embarrassment. Identification, prolonged observation, and confident participation become the fundamentals of learning. The entire extended family interacts as both teachers and learners. Siblings, parents, uncles, and aunts all become crucial educators in the Ponapean lineage network. Community education and apprenticeship work hand in hand as the growing youth who wishes to acquire a particular skill attaches himself to a clan member who possesses the skill he desires.

Knowledge and skills common to daily survival (*tiahken sahpw*) are free for the observation, but matters dealing with magic, medicine (*winahni*), ritual, and legend (*podoapoado*) are much more difficult to acquire. It is believed that these areas are highly sacred and are to be passed on only to select individuals within a specific clan. Different clans
control different areas of knowledge which are often testimony to the clan's status. Elders who control a specific area of knowledge within the clan release it gradually, over time. It is common practice not to reveal all one knows until death is near. If knowledge is divulged earlier, it is believed that certainly status, and possibly life itself, will begin to fade. Individuals are usually selected to receive certain areas of knowledge on the basis of their temperament. For example, magic and medicine are typically taught to one who exhibits the most even disposition and silent tongue, because he can be trusted not to divulge or misuse the secrets. These secrets are not entrusted to the individual until he is well past the age of twenty, and even then they are given piecemeal until his teacher's dying moments.

Legend and ritual are frequently taught in the same manner. But one may also obtain this knowledge by close observation at feasts, through song and dance, and around the kava stone. One Ponapean made an analogy between his learning of certain legends and the putting together of a jigsaw puzzle. "First I would spend much time with different elders listening to their tales, but one has to be cautious since it is our custom not to tell all or at least not to tell it truthfully. Then I would have to compare the different versions of the legend given to me and piece them together to arrive at what I thought was the real version." It is further contended that such sacred knowledge may be transmitted through dreams and spiritual inspiration. Occasionally this knowledge is traded, sold, or given as a marital dowry.

Attitudes, values, and beliefs are often transmitted implicitly through Ponapean sayings and proverbs. Such maxims as "the quietness of a man is like the fierceness of a barracuda" convey moral lessons and teach social attitudes.

Other advanced technical skills, such as the intricate tying of the feast house poles, the building of a canoe, and the planting of yams, are also highly guarded and diligently transmitted. These skills, like all other knowledge, are kept in the clan for status purposes and are usually imparted within the clan according to individual interest and dexterity. If a child shows interest in canoe construction, he will be singled out to learn that particular skill. Each child will be given at least one skill, although many will acquire several at varying levels of mastery.

Another matter of considerable importance which is taught both directly and indirectly during this period is "right relations," or interpersonal gestures of respectful behavior. The child learns not to touch those above him, especially the head of an elder, to speak softly, and to stand below people of rank when addressing them. Both verbal and nonverbal honorific forms of respect behavior are commonly employed to distinguish titular rank and age. A separate high language (meing) is employed
when speaking to nobility as well as polite forms of the common language for addressing elders. Nonverbal demeanor is evidenced by remaining low when in the presence of nobility, extending the right arm in passage between individuals, and other such gestures of respect (Gavin and Riesen 1952).

The feast is the one comprehensive educational experience continually repeated before the eyes of the entire community. It is here that rituals are performed, songs are sung, dances are presented, legends are told around the kava stone, and special foods are prepared, all in an atmosphere imbued with the acknowledgment of rank, status, and prestige. In this context, the inculcation of skills, moral teachings, and attitudes of respect culminate to reinforce ritualistically the social solidarity of the group. The traditional feast might be envisioned as the nearest functional analogy to the modern day formal school in its emphasis on instruction, indoctrination, and social selection.

**Mechanisms of Social Control**

Need dispositions or motivational tendencies within a culture are often both creation and creator of the value patterns of the controlling social structure under endemic environmental conditions, with the control being maintained through a system of rewards and punishments.

The dominant forces of behavioral control at work in Ponapean society can be categorized as intrinsic situational mechanisms; threats and corporal punishment; supernatural sanctions; ridicule and shaming; praise and prestige; and material reward.

Both Spiro (1961) and Lee (1961) have elaborated on the notion of intrinsic motivation which applies when describing motivational tendencies among the Ponapeans. The unity of the social realm between adults and children, the immediate utilization of acquired knowledge, the reality and meaningfulness of the learning situation (in terms of survival), and the near “total expectation” that the individual is open to and capable of cultural acquisition serve as internalized incentives to self-actualization and the realization of social norms. Ponapean children deeply desire adult status and are constantly reminded of their proximity to that state. One continually hears such phrases as *Ke sohte kak wia olen Pohnpei*, or “Can’t you do it like a Ponapean man?” One informant related that when he was a small boy his father took him along when he went to work on a canoe. When he exhibited the slightest interest, his father quickly placed a small adze in his hand and told him to work on a section. He claims this early granting of responsibility and verbal support gave him a strong feeling of personal worth and intrinsic motivation. He went on to recall that after that occasion he frequently pleaded with his father to allow him to help with the canoe.
The threat of reprisal from the spiritual world is commonly utilized to control behavior from early childhood onward. Adults often discipline little children by saying that a spirit will harm them. Later in life these same individuals exhibit a tremendous fear of riahla, or spiritual curse.

Although parents are generally permissive during early childhood, they enforce strict discipline (kakos) from about age ten. Threats of loss of inheritance and shame are preferred techniques of controlling adolescents, but corporal punishment is not precluded. If the child is small enough, a mother will often project the threat of physical retaliation onto a stranger, a spirit, or a wild animal. This gesture serves to place the discipline outside the nuclear family and to preserve the affective harmony of the parent-child relationship. This also explains why the avuncular role is frequently one of disciplinarian in the extended family.

Ridicule and shame are probably the most typical forms of control in Ponapean society. Children are especially quick to point out shortcomings or public blunders in the most explicit terms, while elders are more apt to utilize humor and more subtle nonverbal forms of ridicule and shame. In general, as one enters adolescence, public abuse is withheld in favor of the defensive posture of mutual respect behavior. It then becomes a social taboo to shame openly or to be shamed.

Praise and prestige, the other side of ridicule and shame, are equally effective in the control of behavior. The bestowal of titles through the competitive feasting of the prestige economy provides the Nahnmwarki an important motivating and controlling device. Individual praise for acts of bravery, generosity, and skill are common reinforcements. Although it is the accepted practice to deny obsequiously all public praise, this behavior sometimes makes the praise seem even more outstanding. An American teacher in the community college related an experience that she had with this cultural trait. When she began teaching, she publicly praised one of the students, and he denied the praise. She continued to praise him lavishly as he profusely continued to deprecate his abilities. Finally, she stopped, realizing that she was led by his self-denial to honor him far beyond her initial intent.

As in every society where some form of material benefit accrues to certain individuals, in Ponape, a person with a high title will receive a larger portion of food at a feast, although traditionally he is also expected to contribute generously. Land inheritance and marital dowry are commonly used as a means of control. Knowledge which indirectly relates to material gain and social status (payment for practicing magic or medicine, or renown for knowing legends, certain skills, or rituals like the proper butchering of a dog) is a central avenue of social recognition and control among the Ponapeans. Knowledge is highly regarded in such
a communal society where limited material goods are shared by most people, thus diminishing their ultimate worth. But the greater influx of material goods on Ponape coupled with new types of knowledge is gradually changing this phenomenon. Communal practices are falling prey to capitalistic laws of supply and demand, and open competition is replacing traditional forms of cooperation and covert competition.

In essence, the indigenous Ponapean educator plays upon the student's curiosity, wonder, fear of the unknown, respect for elders, pride, fear of public shame, desire for acceptance, powers of self-restraint, rivalry, and covert competitiveness to control and mold his cultural character.

Thought Processes and Methods of Persuasion

The Ponapean tends to make mental associations which are concrete and immediate rather than abstract or defined in terms of multiple causation. He learns by listening, watching, or doing, not by reading. He stores no knowledge in symbols remote from contemporary applications. He places educational emphasis on a specific act of behavior in a concrete context. Connections are more final than causal in nature. Classification, experimentation, and abstraction may occur for practical knowledge (i.e., totemic classification), not as ends in themselves.

In a sense, the Ponapean has internalized nature's values and norms. The structural aspect of his life remains permanent and undisturbed, while functions or events are merely reconstructed to meet predetermined ends. There is no reflective choice, only spontaneous, uncritical, and immediate action. It is a matter of the sacred over the secular, or, as Piaget (1932) labelled it, "egocentric logic" in which an intuitive jump is made from premise to conclusion in a "holistic" leap of faith supported by personal and visual schemas of analogy and socially determined values. Thus, in the forming of opinions, emotional response takes the place of logical demonstration. Fixed values and limited needs (as governed by the ascriptive social structure) guide the meaning and arrangement of perceptions into streams of thought, while the phenomenon of perception itself is one of total sensory involvement in a restricted physical environment.

It is important to note certain related themes in the indigenous educational process. First, select knowledge is hierarchically aligned with age and status and is passed down in an authoritarian manner. There is little personal initiative in the learning process for acquiring highly specialized knowledge, such as magic and medicine, which differs from more general knowledge related to daily survival. The Ponapean mode of transmission, surrounded by a deeply internalized respect for the wisdom of the aged, favors rote memorization and direct imitation over free thought.
and creative initiative. Also, it is important to remember that imitation is a unique learning skill that is itself unconsciously learned through constant repetition. In short, when discussing the educational process, one has to consider not only the content to be learned but also the structure of the learning environment and the structure of the learning style itself.

Second, the question "why" is rarely directed in pursuit of causal explanation. Not only is causation assumed to be self-evident in the concrete nature of the learning context, but such a question would also be viewed as an affront to the Ponapean norms of respect behavior, thus as a culturally antisocial response. One story of an American science teacher's efforts to teach multiple causation goes as follows:

One day I decided to dramatically illustrate to a science class why it rained. I proceeded to set up a terrarium and to demonstrate the water cycle as I had so successfully done on numerous occasions in the States. I carried through the experiment explaining and showing the causes of rainfall while the whole class sat in utter boredom. When the class ended I asked the Ponapean teacher what I had done wrong. At first he made excuses such as the "class is tired, it is the end of the week," so as not to embarrass me. I persisted and finally he quixotically responded, "You know that it rains, I know that it rains, don't you think the class knows that it rains?" I departed in silence. [Kolonia, 1971]

It seems as if secondary analysis is perceived as a useless expenditure of energy. The knowledge that it rains is sufficient—why know more?

It is frequently implied that preindustrial peoples, such as the Ponapeans, do not have the capacity for the scientific method and processes of reflection and abstraction. Paul Radin (1927), Lévi-Strauss (1970), and other eminent scholars have presented sufficient evidence to the contrary. They demonstrate the existence of highly scientific modes of inquiry and thought among so-called primitive peoples. But as Dewey (1916) suggested, environmental deprivation as experienced by the limited physical mobility of isolated primitive tribes has not been conducive to the innovative utilization of the scientific method in reshaping the environment. This is surely one explanation for the Ponapean disregard for in-depth analysis. Moreover, the fragmentary nature of secondary analysis is not in line with the traditional relational, holistic Ponapean world view. Clearly the Ponapeans, like agrarian societies in general, have chosen a participative rather than an analytical mode of dealing with the world.

It is also possible that the authoritarian nature of the Ponapean social structure, which stresses interpersonal dependence and limits opportunities for individual decision making in the formative years, could contribute greatly to this form of cognitive development. In his study of
indigenous education among the Pueblo Indians of the Southwest, F. C. Spencer (1914) observed a similar developmental phenomenon and referred to the overall educational process of the Pueblo as one of "arrested development." As long as one's parents are alive, the road to becoming a Ponapean adult is long and arduous, and one's control over one's life remains rather minimal. Freedom of physical movement is great; freedom of mental diversion is heresy.

The methods of persuasion common in Ponapean social interaction are quite indicative of Ponapean mental processes. First, there is the deference to age-related position or rank. One's position in the social hierarchy can be employed to command direct obedience. Personal power based on age and title is at the core of the entire social hierarchy. To deny a social superior the mental deference due him is to cast doubt upon the social order itself.

Second, there is the accepted proverb or "cultural truism," which expressed at the right moment will often win an argument. Again, this is illustrative of the submission of individual logic to historically accepted statement as passed down for generations. To question the idiom is to confront the collective consciousness.

Finally, there is the subtle process of indirect logic, whereby one plays upon the pride, shame, or public consciousness of the other to convince him of a certain point. When a favor is requested, for instance, the emotive reasons are always given first, until the request, though still unverbalized, becomes evident. This is quite different from the Western style of presenting the issue first and then elaborating on supporting arguments. A good example of this custom was observed one afternoon when one Ponapean male approached another to borrow his canoe. There was no direct request. The borrower initially commented on how he had to go to town to buy milk for his child. Then he mentioned how hard it rained the previous night and how muddy the paths were. Finally, the owner of the canoe suggested (in my presence) that he take his canoe. The first response was clever hesitation, "Your canoe is most worthy, but I really can't. . . ." This, of course, brought on insistence by the canoe owner, "You must!" Finally, the borrower succumbed, "if you insist." The ritual was complete.

Education for Permanence

Ponapean education is essentially social in character. Although it may tend to such activities as skill training and mental discipline, its primary purpose is the enhancement of social solidarity—the preservation and transmission of the culture as it exists. Ponapean education is distinctly conservative in its aims; it seeks to perpetuate existing conditions (continuity) rather than to induce an element of unrest and change (discontinuity).
The major task of Ponapean indigenous education is the inculcation of the values of the group and the perpetuation of those group values by linking past tradition with present action and future generations. Human and material innovations are more likely to be adapted to the social structure, rather than the social structure being adapted to them.

However, this is not to discredit all aspects of Ponapean indigenous education, such as the interrelating of thought, act, and function; the stress on learning through participation in real life experiences; and the employment of intrinsic motivation inherent in the job and meaningfulness of a learning activity; and other such facets described in the preceding pages. It would be difficult to deny that modern progressive educators have more often than not looked to the origins of man and such learning for some of their more "progressive" concepts.

The Ponapean accepts his needs as fixed and predetermined by a social structure which incorporates both spiritual and natural orders. He maintains an aesthetically balanced sensory perception of reality, virtually unmarred by the filtering mechanisms of a highly technological society. His experiences and meanings are affectively (as opposed to cognitively) biased by a clear perception and unquestioning acceptance of socially defined reality. Complex choices and decision making are not a conditioned part of his mind. Cognition (discrimination and generalization) does not occur as a matter of free will (independent decision among multiple alternatives), but as an act of social conformity. He sustains a tolerant perception of reality without judgment. There is little individual selective perception of reality, nor is there abstract discrimination and deduction about perceptions. One's life chances are predetermined. There is little risk taking, control of natural events, or notion of discontinuity. There is no concept of directed change. Immutability is not only a trait, but a goal of Ponapean society and informal education.

Today, this highly functional, indigenous educational process is experiencing the greatest challenge to its survival in a powerful new American system that educates both formally (schooling) and informally (media, urban environment), introducing new values and ways of seeing the world. Inherent in this challenge is a threat to the very existence of Ponapean traditional culture. But what forces wrought the phenomenon of schooling and attendant urbanization of Ponape? Before we investigate the confrontation between traditional and modern education on Ponape, this important question should be explored.

NOTE

1. For a more detailed epistemological investigation into the notion of one's sensory relation to his environment, see any of Marshall McLuhan's major works (1962, 1967).
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3
Cross-Cultural Contact and the Evolution of Formal Schooling on Ponape

The Socio-Historical Process
For centuries, knowledge, skills, attitudes, and beliefs compatible with a subsistence agrarian economy have been transmitted informally in the daily situations of Ponapean life. However, throughout the whaler and missionary days of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and the more recent “Era of Modern Imperialism” of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, cross-cultural contact and the subsequent imposition of alien ideology and technology have come to weigh heavily upon this indigenous mode of cultural transmission. The schools have evolved as a central institution for alien cultural intervention in Ponape. In short, the indigenous forces of enculturation have been challenged by the alien acculturative phenomenon of schooling. Schools have become a primary instrument of foreign dominance and control.

As Ballendorf (1968:1) noted, “There have been four alien administrations, each bringing to the Micronesians its own brand of development and colonialism; each leaving a semblance of its own culture which has been absorbed in varying degrees.” In all of these administrations (Spanish, German, Japanese, and American), schooling has played a significant role. But the question still remains as to which culture will do the absorbing in the present American-Micronesian relationship.

Even before the first Western contact period in Ponapean history, legends relate that during the migrations from the Asian subcontinent through the Pacific, famous houses of learning (“primitive” universities) existed in New Zealand and the Society Islands. In these houses of learning priests taught ancestral lore, genealogies, religion, magic, navigation, agriculture, arts and crafts (Luomala 1946). Whether Ponapeans participated in any of these formal educational institutions is unknown. That contact existed across island cultures prior to the advent of Westerners is a fact which often goes unnoticed.

As early as 1595, Pedro Fernandez de Quiros, a Spanish explorer,
recorded the first sighting of Ponape by a Westerner, though two earlier sightings may have occurred, by Loyasa in 1526 and Saavedra in 1528 (Riesenberg 1968:2). In 1827, O’Connell was shipwrecked on Ponape for a period of five years during which he worked as a mediator between the Ponapean chiefs and foreign visitors (Hambruch 1932; Riesenherg 1972). Numerous explorers, whalers, and drifters made contact with the Ponapeans during the 1800s, but there is no evidence of the introduction of formal Western education prior to the first missionary effort in the latter part of the century. Hambruch (1932:74) in discussing the influence of early drifters and whalers on Ponape, noted:

Through the influences the whites have obtained over the natives by speaking their language fluently and by adapting themselves as far as possible to their customs, the character of the natives has been very spoilt. They taught them how to make alcoholic drinks from the juice of the coconut palm, and have got them into the habit of lying and stealing. If these fellows are not removed from the island soon, they will have gotten the natives accustomed to all kinds of vices and immorality.

Figure 3. Micronesian women making a recording of a song for a visiting English anthropologist, 1903. From Micronesia’s Yesterday, edited by J. Vincent (Trust Territory Department of Education, 1973).
A Ponapean, Luclen Bernart (Fischer, Riesenberg, and Whiting 1977:63), further observed: "They (whalers) also sold much tobacco to the Ponapeans and many firearms, all kinds of firearms, and foreign liquor, and they also taught the Ponapeans the custom of making foreign liquor. So they came to learn how to make their own liquor and consume it when they wished to, and fought among themselves."

Members of a Boston Congregationalist organization, which had already introduced Christianity to Hawaii, arrived on Ponape in 1852. The Ponapeans increasingly trusted the Protestant missionaries because they taught crafts, domestic science, and introduced new varieties of useful plants (Bascom 1950). An American woman missionary opened a girls' boarding school (for five students) where she emphasized religious instruction. Work, however, was stopped abruptly in the late 1880s when trouble developed between the Spanish authorities and the American mission, leading to political intrigue, native rebellion, and the eventual banishment of the Boston Mission (Smith 1968).

The missionary efforts at formal education during the Boston Mission era and throughout the Spanish and German periods of hegemony were primarily directed toward spreading Christianity and "civilizing the heathen." Paramount in their work was the training of pastors, the teaching of basic literacy skills, and the translation and propagation of the Bible. Formal classes were arranged and conducted with small groups of Ponapeans in an attempt to meet these objectives.

The Reverend R. W. Logan made the following comment on such mission education: "Forty-eight scholars can read, and it was a joy to see the whole number stand up and read, each from his own copy of the scriptures; many of them are getting beyond the stage of word-calling into that of intelligent reading. The school also did creditably in singing, writing, and the beginnings of arithmetic and geography" (Bliss 1906:68).

The irony of the altruistic efforts of these early missionaries was that in the process of saving the people from a life of sin, they undermined some of the core values of Ponapean life. As Smith (1968:286) remarked, "The natives were to become Christians, and their lives were to be patterned after Western behavior, which was totally unsuited to Pacific island life."

The early missionaries not only interfered with the Ponapean feasting merriment and the important ritual of kava drinking by labeling it sinful, they also transformed the basic indigenous educational technique from learner-centered to teacher (preacher)-centered, as attention was directed toward proselytizing converts rather than apprenticing a novice to an elder as in the indigenous system. Coupled with missionary self-righteousness was the gradual development of a personal guilt orienta-
tion among the Ponapeans, which vied with the traditional Ponapean notion of shame as a major mechanism of social control.

Furthermore, religious propagation and conversion were part of the more general colonial economic objectives. As Hezel (1975: 128) notes, "Religious instruction was the heart of the curriculum, but it was almost always supplemented with training in the trades (agriculture and carpentry, in particular)." Instilling moral attributes of the Judeo-Christian ethic such as self-discipline, duty, and penitence further served to tighten the socio-psychological grip various expatriate warders held on the Ponapeans. Moreover, like the whalers and beachcombers before them, the mission schools taught the natives that the acquisition of a foreign language could be profitable and further demonstrated to the ruling colonial officials that bilingual natives could make useful middlemen, thus paving the way for the secularization of schooling and the economic exploitation of human as well as natural resources.

During the nineteenth century the islands of Micronesia became involved in European colonial rivalries. Both Spain and Germany had vested interests in the area. The Spanish were preoccupied with spreading Catholicism and gaining international prestige, while the Germans desired the lucrative copra and shell resources. Near confrontation between these colonial powers resulted in Pope Leo XIII mediating the situation in 1888. The Pope confirmed Spain's claim to the Carolines but allowed Germany the right to continue fishing and trading, and to establish coaling stations in the area. In 1899, with the weakening of the Spanish empire and the loss of the Spanish-American War, Spain made the decision to withdraw from the Pacific entirely, selling the Carolines (including Ponape) and the Marianas (except Guam) to Germany for the equivalent of $3 million (Ballendorf 1968).

During their rule in Micronesia, from 1885 to 1914, the Spanish and German governments paid little official attention to formally educating the Ponapeans. The Spanish merely occupied the islands, protecting the honor of Church and State. The Germans were primarily concerned with trade, especially the development of copra. For the most part, education was left to the protestant and Catholic missionaries, though the German government actually erected formal schools in the Marianas and drafted plans for the introduction of secondary education to Ponape. When World War I broke out, however, they quickly abandoned the idea.

Formal education on Ponape, prior to the Japanese occupation, consisted essentially of instruction in the language of the foreigners, some skills training, and the teaching of religious creeds of American, Spanish, and German missionaries. The training of educators was along ecclesiastical rather than pedagogical lines. As Hezel (1975:128) explained:
The emphasis may have differed [from the Spanish] under the short period of German reign, but the sacred educational triad still appears—the language of the foreign power, vocational skills, and moral training in those values that were most integral to the national spirit of the foreign power (although not necessarily of the native population). The overall educational program was fashioned so as to supply what, in the judgment of the colonial administration, was most needed to insure the progress of the native peoples toward civilization.

While the missionary schools under Spanish and German control preached Christian virtues, the governing colonialists themselves began to envision the potential of secular schooling for political indoctrination and economic exploitation.

In October 1914, the Japanese navy took military possession of the Marshalls, the Carolines, and the Northern Mariana Islands. As a result of the 1919 Versailles Peace Conference at the conclusion of World War I, Japan was awarded this occupied Micronesian territory as a Class C Mandate by the League of Nations. The Japanese were charged with the promotion of material and moral well-being, and the social welfare of the islanders (Clyde 1935).

In order to clearly understand the Japanese educational program in Ponape one has to look first at the general colonial policy of the Japanese. Ballendorf (1968:6) summarized it as follows: (1) to develop the islands economically; (2) to prepare them for Japanese emigration, thus relieving population pressure in Japan; (3) to Japanize the natives as quickly as possible through education, propaganda, inter-marriage, and by promoting cultural exchange; and (4) to fortify the islands in preparation for war in the Pacific.

A formal education system was rapidly installed in an attempt to realize these goals, especially the “Nipponization” of the native populace. As Fischer (1961:524) further acknowledged, these goals were directed at eventual “politico-economic integration into the Japanese Empire and the advancement of the natives by civilizing them.”

During the Japanese reign a dual school system was inaugurated. Children of Japanese nationals attended “primary” schools modeled on those of their homeland, while Ponapeans attended “public” schools established for purposes of assimilation. A public school was defined as, “... an institution in which common education is given to native children, its fundamental object being the bestowal on them of moral education as well as of such knowledge and capabilities as are indispensable to the advancement and improvement of their lives, attention being simultaneously paid to their physical development ...” (Antilla 1965:221). Informants state that the schools stressed the Japanese spoken language (approximately one-half the curriculum), basic arithmetic, ethics,
manual arts, and other subjects designed to supplement and support Japanese economic endeavors. The program consisted of three years of elementary school, reaching fifty percent of the eight- to fourteen-year-old Ponapeans, with a small percentage of the remaining children attending the few mission schools. At the discretion of the local education officials, an additional two-year course of study above the elementary level might be offered at the district administrative center. Beyond that, a few students might aspire to attend the highest educational institution in the mandate, the Woodworkers Apprentice School on Koror, Palau (Yanaihara 1940). At one point Japanese colonists outnumbered the native population on Ponape, and their successful economic program included a multitude of nonformal and incidental educational experiences to which the native population was peripherally exposed. They opened a sugar refinery; started industries devoted to button making from nuts and to salted fish processing; and constructed a narrow gauge railway and all-weather roads. These and other technological advancements introduced by the Japanese further served as acculturative mechanisms.

During his research in the islands, Yanaihara (1940:245) found much to criticize in the Japanese education system. He observed that “The use of Japanese teachers who had no idea of the mental capacity of Ponapean children, nor their habits and customs, coupled with the overemphasis on Japanese language in the curriculum seemed to disregard the special needs and requirements of the indigenous student.” While attempting to evaluate the functionality of this type of education, Yanaihara (1940:247) collected the following response from a Japanese public school teacher in Kitti, Ponape:

The education is not of much practical value to the student. But the ability of the student to converse in Japanese is no doubt a concrete asset. The graduates are able to come into closer contact with the Japanese because of their knowledge of the language; their standard of living may be said to be progressing in comparison with that of the uneducated native, although the progress is only in a material sense, for it is mostly manifested in an improvement in food, clothes, household equipment and dwellings. Their moral progress is but slight. They also become smart and sharp, which is not always desirable. But this cannot be helped in a period of transition such as the present.

Continuing his criticism of Japanese education, Yanaihara (1940:247) concluded, “The present educational system does not take into consideration the practical side of native life and is likely to make the student a mere highbrow (elite) among his people. It must, however, be admitted that education is playing the most important role in modernizing native society and in conferring on the islander that adaptability without which he will not be able to survive the changed conditions in which he finds
himself today." Japanese education for the Ponapean emphasized moral instruction, was designed to meet Japan's economic and political needs, and like the prior mission education, often was "civilizing" at the expense of traditional Ponapean lifeways.

Many informants emphasized the extreme regimentation of the Japanese schools. A typical day went as follows. Up at dawn for the long walk to school as there were only five public schools on the entire island. Attendance was made mandatory by the Japanese police who were sent to punish parents by beating or public abuse for their children's absence. Once at school, all the students lined up at attention for roll call, raised the Japanese flag, bowed to the North in honor of the Emperor and sang the Japanese national anthem. Following this was a brief period of physical exercise. Upon entering the school the entire class stood to recite the rules in unison. The rules were, "Respect your elders; don't steal, lie or cheat; pay attention in class; don't be tardy," etc. The class then proceeded to do language drills, followed by arithmetic and geography. "The Japanese method of instruction relied heavily on drill and rote learning. The first item in an official curriculum description of arithmetic for first grade, for instance, is 'Recitation and writing of the numbers up to 100'; for the second grade the corresponding item is the same for numbers up to 1000. For the subjects most emphasized, i.e., language and arithmetic, constant drill was probably especially efficient in the early stages of mass classroom instruction" (Fischer 1961:519). Discipline was extremely rigid and incidents of physical beating very common. A student stood at attention while addressing the teacher. At report time parents were invited into school to publicly share their children's rating. David Ramarui (1979:5) claims that "the Code of Ethics impressed upon Micronesians by the Japanese school authorities may be summed up in four words: Industriousness (Diligence), Honesty, Obedience, and Obligation (Indebtedness)."

The stress on rote learning, the authoritarian structure of the classroom, the rigid discipline, and the exercise of public shame ironically paralleled the traditional Ponapean means of controlling and modifying behavior, and led to much success in the teaching of Japanese language and math skills. When asked to compare the Japanese schools with the present-day American schools, the adult Ponapeans, although quick to recognize the limited opportunity for furthering education under the Japanese system as compared to the American, often openly admitted their preference for the rigid control and harsh teaching techniques employed by the Japanese. The Japanese school system in many ways reinforced the traditional values and methods of Ponapean enculturation and was readily adapted to by the children and condoned by the adults as well.

In at least one significant way both the Japanese and the missionary
educational approaches supported the traditional Ponapean social structure: they both used rote learning as a method of knowledge transmission, enhancing the indigenous style of learning by emphasizing memorization and direct imitation. Although the missionaries introduced a personalized guilt orientation as a means of social control, the Japanese reestablished the indigenous emphasis on public shame.

None of the aliens, whether missionaries, Germans, Spanish, or Japanese, allowed the Ponapeans to fully participate in the foreign life space. Kolonia, the district center, was virtually off limits to Ponapeans during Japanese times. This physical separation distinctly reduced the potential incidental impact on Ponapean culture of the Japanese economic and technological presence, which although long in time duration was short on intensity. As G. P. Murdock (1948:28) reported at the close of World War II: “the local cultures are everywhere still functional and still essentially aboriginal in character . . . the old subsistence agriculture has not been destroyed.”
Figure 5. This photograph, dating to about 1924, was taken from an early Japanese book of a classroom on Ponape. It was captioned, “After five years the Micronesian children were able to speak, read, and write Japanese.” From *Micronesia’s Yesterday*, edited by J. Vincent (Trust Territory Department of Education, 1973).

In distillation, the most significant negative effect that early missionary and Japanese schooling had on the Ponapeans was to provide them with a cultural mirror which reflected their inferior status in the overall contact relationship. So began the subtle, often unconscious, process of learning inferiority through compulsory participation in foreign schools. This process would be greatly advanced under American hegemony.

World War II, including the bombing of the town of Kolonia, led to the termination of the Japanese school program as the Ponapeans were rapidly assembled to assist in the defense of the island. This period was marked by forced labor and other maltreatment of the Ponapeans by the Japanese military and produced bitter feelings that older Ponapeans still retain.

With the Japanese surrender in 1945, the American navy took
charge of the islands and repatriated all Japanese in an effort to wipe out any remnants of their occupation. In many instances cross-cultural marriages were ignored and families were broken up. Such was the ominous beginning of the American occupation.

The American era can be divided into the periods of naval rule under the Department of Defense and of civil rule by the Department of the Interior. The United States Navy occupied the island from 1944 to 1947 in a very loose manner, sometimes referred to as the "zoo keeper" theory of control, with little initial effort at sustained institutional contact being made. During the early stages of naval occupation every effort was made to preserve as much of the native culture as possible. C. H. Wright (1947:96), the first deputy high commissioner, expressed the navy's policy toward education: "I would give them schools with native teachers, trained not to impose an alien culture upon their charges, but to perfect their own. . . . That sort of education will not disturb their social, economic, or aesthetic standards, which are adequate to them and in many ways enviable to us."
At Stanford University, a program for training and sensitizing the first civil administrators was initiated. The Coordinated Investigation of Micronesian Anthropology (CIMA) immediately followed the Stanford program as anthropologists were commissioned to assist the United States government in understanding the many cultures confronting its rule. This led to the first (and unfortunately short-lived) staffing pattern of including a cultural anthropologist in each district administration and at headquarters. A sincere effort was inaugurated to develop schools—and other socio-economic institutional concepts—within the islands' cultural framework.

In 1947, the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, under the United Nations Charter and the United States administration, officially came into being. The naval administration then began to establish a system of elementary and intermediate schools with this stated objective: “To benefit the many and assure progressive development to each community along lines designed to raise the standards of food production and the nature of the food supply, and to equip the local inhabitants for the conduct of their government and the management of their trade and indus-
try" (Department of the Navy, 1950). Ironically, this seemed at odds with Wright's earlier proclamation.

In these early phases a great amount of effort was generated and expended to promote an American ideal. Unfortunately, in almost every dimension the unanticipated consequences produced more problems than solutions.³

In 1951, the educational charge was passed from the Department of Defense to the Department of the Interior by Executive Order 10265. The United States educational policy under the United Nations Charter agreement was as follows:

To promote the educational advancement of the inhabitants and to this end shall take steps toward the establishment of a general system of elementary education; facilitate the vocational and cultural advancement of the population; and shall encourage qualified students to pursue higher education, including training on the professional level. [United Nations Trustee Agreement, Article VI, 1948]

To these ends a school program was designed on the basis of a six-year elementary school for all; a three-year intermediate school for a selected few in each district; and one territory high school for the "especially capable" intermediate school graduates. During this maiden period of American administration, progress was very slow, marked by, in Ballendorf's (1968:9) words, "low budgets, mixed with a less-than-vigorous administration."⁴

In 1961-62 under the Kennedy administration, drastic changes in policy occurred in the American Trust Territory administration: budgets were increased, English became the official medium of instruction in all the schools; a large number of educational personnel, both contract and Peace Corps volunteers, were imported from the United States; and school construction boomed. By 1978, Ponape island alone had more than thirty-six public elementary schools, one public secondary school, one private secondary school, one teacher training institute, one community college, and numerous nonformal educational programs.

Recent missionary efforts have taken a secular bent, resulting in increased vocational and academic training complementary to the previous religious emphasis (McGarry et al. 1972). There are now two Catholic elementary schools and one Catholic Trust Territory-wide vocational secondary school on Ponape. Other American-based religious groups, such as the Seventh Day Adventists, have also begun missionary educational establishments on the island.

There is little doubt that the current educational efforts have taken on a distinct American flavor. As Hezel (1975:130) noted, "Democratic participation in society, an openness to the world-at-large, and entrance
into the dollar economy imply certain values that are fundamental to a people. And it is these values—especially those of freedom of choice and egalitarianism—that lie at the bedrock of the American civitas."

Although the implication of the preceding is that most, if not all, of the impact of schooling on the native population has been negative, in fairness it should be pointed out that schooling does provide limited mobility for some. It also can promote egalitarianism rather than the rigid unequal relationships of a feudal society. Finally, schooling does provide an expanded world view inclusive of an international language. In the balance, however, the impact of schooling on the Ponapean has not proven to be advantageous.

The Nature and Scope of the Contact Relationship

Much of the historical contact between aliens and Ponapeans has revolved around the central themes of commerce, warfare, colonization, and religious conversion. Ancillary to these forms of contact have been various modes of education. From the time of the early explorers, whalers, and missionaries, through the more formal Spanish, German, and Japanese hegemony, to the present American Trusteeship, foreigners have been concerned with “educating the natives.” This process has involved not only imparting literacy, numeracy, and technical skills, but also changing the indigenous culture and character from that of “heathen” to Christian, from feudalist to petty capitalist, and from an authoritarian to egalitarian orientation.

The early missionaries, both Bostonian protestants and Spanish Catholics, sought conversion and domestication of the Ponapean. The German regime desired economic exploitation of the island, while the Japanese strived for both economic exploitation and assimilation. In each instance education was utilized to control human and natural resources, to allocate social position, and, ultimately, to define and legitimate reality for the subordinate Ponapeans.

The Ponapeans were impressed by the material and technological accomplishments of their foreign warders, and quickly sought to emulate them. “With something of the spirit of the cargo cult devotees, they look to the school as the quasi-magical means of introducing the millenary age of material prosperity into their society” (Hezel 1975:130). Indigenous education through the extended kinship unit was no longer sufficient to realize the new material aspirations which grew out of contacts with the foreigners and their life-styles. Meeting these new aspirations demanded participation in the alien institution of the formal school.

The predominant relationship in this meeting of cultures has been one of superordinate to subordinate. The foreigners have traditionally played the role of superordinate power, while the Ponapeans have per-
formed the passive part of subordinate host. In characteristic colonial fashion, conscious and unconscious acts of generosity and patronage served to make the indigenous population more dependent on largess and less sure of their own inherent capabilities to produce. The inevitable role of compulsory schooling in the destruction of indigenous self-reliance later provided the ultimate rationale for the self-inflicted inferiority of the host peoples.

Policies of parity and integration, although voiced by the Japanese and American warders, usually resulted in subtle domestication and assimilation of the Ponapeans. The initial potentialities of the contact situation, in terms of bicultural or transcultural evolution, more often than not ended in deculturation and personal marginality among many of the Ponapeans and concomitant ego enhancement for the aliens. It was rare, indeed, if the colonial power took account of the indigenous context before embarking on a course of innovation cloaked in such terminology as “progress,” “development,” or “modernization.” The social obligation and continuity that formed the core of indigenous education soon became social alienation and discontinuity for many under the colonial educational system.

Originally subjective beings in interaction with their physical environment, the Ponapeans were objectified and handed down as human possessions from colonial regime to colonial regime. They have gradually succumbed to the process of objectification by emulating their alien warders, through passive observation and unquestioning assimilation of the alien mores over time. Without a doubt, the Ponapeans actively sought trade with whalers, and the industrial products associated with them, long before any coercion from foreign governments was applied; nevertheless, even in these consciously desired relationships, they quickly became subordinate when faced with the overpowering technology of the foreigner.

Created to institutionalize the contact relationship by giving it social legitimacy and structuring its assurance of survival, the school is the main technological innovation of colonial powers. As a technology, schooling goes beyond the limited “hardware” concept of classrooms and blackboards to a broader definition of technology. Ultimately, it is not only a “technique” of organizing and controlling behavior, but also a method of instilling a way of thinking and perceiving the world. As the Ponapean extended family and indigenous patterns of enculturation acted to insure the internalization of generational relationships and to impart a unique way of looking at the world, the introduction of formal schooling served colonial regimes by establishing new relationships and inducing a new world view among the indigenous peoples. Sol Tax (1945:337) noted that the central educational question throughout the
history of cross-cultural encounters remains, "Whose cultural tradition is to be transmitted?"

Social, economic, and political expediencies share in the way formal education has evolved in the contact situation. A biased sense of history is brought forth in order to induce a sense of inferiority in the subject peoples and to provide a "scientific" rationale for the colonial relationship. As W. E. B. DuBois (1946:318) remarked: "Ability, self-assertion and resentment among oppressed peoples must always be represented as irrational efforts of 'agitators', folks trying to attain that for which they were not by nature fitted."

A review of historical contact will reveal that the control of access to learning and knowledge is the most certain way of holding a people in a position of servitude and maintaining a given power relationship, while the delicate selection of a minority of host country nationals for advanced education more often than not leads to their conversion to the colonial way of life, the formation of a corps of bilingual middlemen for the warders, and the deprivation of the masses of their natural leaders. Schooling has been used to inculcate obedience and servility lest the whole colonial relationship be overthrown (Turner 1946).

In discussing the connection between formal schooling and economic development in Southeast Asia, J. S. Furnivall (1956:383) stated that "Education, or rather instruction, is not preparation for the business of life, but preparation for a life of business." Furthermore, the increasing differentiation of developing societies through the introduction of Western modes of subsistence leads to an increased division of labor and the formation of self-interested propertied classes. As agencies for incidental and informal education become incapable of training men to meet the needs of this increasingly complex environment, society must assign the children, who may already be learning in natural situations, to schools where they can be sorted and selected for future occupational roles. The schools have manifestly taken up the task of training the masses in new skills while latently functioning as a mechanism for allocating the general populace into socio-economic classes.

The significant turning point in the cross-cultural contact relationship is the implementation of the technology of formal schooling as a major means of institutionalized control via the process of secondary socialization (acculturation) and occupational role allocation (social class formation). 5

Through influence, coercion, and instrumentalism, the Ponapeans historically relinquished their political control to foreign warders and, subsequently, surrendered control of the education of their children. The process of education was gradually transformed from one in which the Ponapeans had full control of the continuous enculturation of skills,
values, and identity into an acculturative, alien phenomenon, centered upon the technological innovation of the formal school and marked by rampant change and cultural discontinuity.

The part played by the present American school system in the historical process of cultural contact and foreign dominance on Ponape has yet to be fully realized. Only time will give the perspective necessary to evaluate the effect of American schools throughout Micronesia. Indications from this study are that the comprehensiveness of the American compulsory school system, in terms of percentage of people in school and years in attendance, is swaying the absorption process in favor of the alien culture. That schooling is a crucial denominator in the tenuous balance of cultures in contact was acknowledged years ago in Charles S. Johnson's (1943:632) remarks in a symposium on education and the cultural process: "When peoples of different cultures come together, there is acculturation in which there transpires a constant struggle between disintegration and integration. Basically this is education. Education, thus, is more than the transmission of culture from one generation to another. It is this transmission and it is also the transformation of peoples who are more or less in conflict."

NOTES

1. Class C mandates were given for territories which would be best administered as integral parts of the mandatory's territory. The laws of the mandatory might be applied, with modifications to safeguard the interests of the natives. An open door to trade was not required. The mandatories were forbidden to establish defensive bases or to organize native military forces for use outside the territories.

2. The Japanese hierarchical social structure with its stress on rank (place); reciprocal obligation; respect for the wisdom of the aged; face or shame, and corporal mechanisms of control; and indulgent, dependence-producing, patterns of early child rearing as evidenced in Ruth Benedict's *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword* (1946) is ironically very similar to indigenous Ponapean social structure and process.

3. Although the present-day manifestations of cultural trauma in Micronesia may in large part be attributed to educational and economic changes introduced after the Kennedy administration, inhibitions to the grand dreams and plans had begun long before and lay more in the paranoid anti-Japanese policies of Admiral Radford, the communist-scare ethos generally referred to as McCarthyism, and the penury induced by the Korean War and the Eisenhower administration (personal communication, A. Richard King, 1977).

4. The American administration in Micronesia can be readily broken down into three distinct periods of educational development: the navy period, 1944–51; the first Interior Department period, 1951–1963; and the second Interior Department period, 1963 to the present. While the first and third periods
have been well documented, the second period (1951–1963) remains relatively obscure. Recently, however, Dr. Robert E. Gibson, former Director of Education for the Trust Territory during that period, donated his extensive personal papers to the Hamilton Library of the University of Hawaii. Dirk Ballendorf, Director of the Micronesian Area Research Center, is planning to organize and analyze these documents.

5. The recent economic historical work of Martin Carnoy (1974) and of Herbert Gintis and Samuel Bowles (1975) tends to concur within a worldwide context with many of the points made here.

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Cross-Cultural Transactions in Ponapean Elementary Classrooms

The Setting

The expansion of Western culture into the non-Western world has been accompanied by the institution of the school patterned after that of the patron country, whether brought by missionary, colonial administrator, or trust officer. When the Eastern Caroline Islands formally came under United States administration in 1947 as part of the United Nations Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, the American school was introduced along with other manifestations of American culture. Since 1962, there has been an increased emphasis on schooling as part of a systematic program of development and acculturation. While the formal organization and curriculum of the schools reflect American tradition, island children have brought to the schools their own patterns of behavior which make the process of schooling a cross-cultural rather than a unilateral transaction. This chapter describes how children and teachers of the island of Ponape have brought indigenous patterns of behavior to the American elementary schools and have given them characteristics distinctly Ponapean.

On Ponape, as elsewhere in the Trust Territory, the American school model is followed with respect to physical plant, furnishings, curriculum, school schedule and calendar, and the use of English as the language of instruction. Reading and writing in the vernacular, however, have been introduced in grades one to three. Little attempt has been made to make modifications in schooling for the Ponapean culture. For example, there are no adjustments to the demands for family labor for agricultural activities, and high rates of absenteeism frequently correspond with the planting and harvesting of yams, breadfruit, and other crops.

Elementary teachers are primarily Ponapean male high school grad-
Cross-Cultural Transactions in Elementary Classrooms

Graduates with little supplementary teacher training. Although there is a fluctuating number of American teachers and administrators—from fifty to one hundred—they are mainly concentrated in Kolonia. Instruction, both in form and content, is a poor adaptation of the American system. It is not unusual to find an elementary school teacher merely copying something from his high school notebook or textbook and to see the children diligently copying the material into their notebooks. Because of the strength of the Christian religious tradition, it is also not unusual for instruction to include the copying and recitation of Biblical passages.

There is a considerable variation in the quality of education available on Ponape, conforming to the usual differences found in urban and rural schools. The two elementary schools in Kolonia are noticeably different from those outside the municipality. A Ponapean rural elementary school teacher commented on these differences as follows: “The District Center schools are the showplaces for all the touring dignitaries. They have the best physical resources and trained personnel. The buildings are well equipped, filled with teacher trainees from the community college and district teacher training center, and readily accessible to consultations with the American personnel.” Ponapean parents also recognize the differences in quality of urban and rural schools. It is a common practice to send at least one child from a family to live with relatives in Kolonia so that he or she can attend an urban school. This affords the child a better chance of doing well on the entrance examinations for high school.

Cultural Transference to the Schools

The concept of cross-cultural transaction used here is adapted from Gearing (1973). It refers to the dynamic interplay between dominant enculturated Ponapean childhood patterns of behavior and the transplanted structure and routine of an American school. The change agents in this process are American teachers and partially acculturated Ponapean teachers. Since the elementary schools are predominantly staffed by Ponapean males, a primary modification in the pattern of the American school comes from the educational intermediaries, the Ponapean teachers. Other important influences are found in the Ponapean value system relating to the status of males, competition, a learning style based on rote memorization and choral response, respect for authority, the importance of interpersonal relations, and the role of food in Ponapean culture. Behavior which expresses these values may be considered traditional Ponapean influence on the American school. In contrast, the development of the peer group, discussed in the next section, is an adaptive reaction to the age stratification of the American school which segregates school children into definite age cohorts.
SEX ROLE STEREOTYPING

The male in Ponapean culture occupies a dominant position. Since the teacher holds a prestigious status customarily assigned to males, Ponapean teachers are usually men. Most female teachers are American, and they find it difficult to exercise authority not only because they are aliens but also because they are females. One American female teacher explained her plight: "They have no respect for me. They disobey me, shout dirty things, and draw obscene pictures on the blackboard if I leave the room. Maybe it’s because I’m white and female. Especially female!"

Sex specific distinctions are also found in the seating arrangement of most classrooms. The traditional seating pattern, which reflects the Ponapean feast-house pattern, is one with boys on one side and girls on the other. An American teacher who forces a seating arrangement by some other criterion, such as alphabetical order, inadvertently affronts cultural norms.

The brother-sister respect taboos are also very evident in the classroom. If a brother and sister or male-female first cousins are in the same class, there is so much deference behavior that neither can operate freely for fear of offending the other, thus violating respect behavior. This sometimes affects the rest of the class, and a depressed atmosphere prevails as all are very conscious of the strained relationship. One teacher told of students requesting to be removed from a class or to have their sibling transferred because of such a culturally difficult situation. In this context, not only are both siblings inhibited in terms of overt behavior, but the male has the further obligation of having to defend or protect his sister from verbal and physical assaults from his classmates as well as from the teacher.

BEHAVIOR IN THE SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT

Ponapeans, like all people, do not encounter the world through a vacuum, but filter it through their own web of experiences. When children move from their families into the school environment, they transport their accumulated experiential baggage and attempt to fit their new experiences into this previously enculturated framework. This process of transferring culture, decoding and recoding through one’s experiential bank, is commonly observed in the elementary school classrooms on Ponape.

The initial transference entails an orientation to the alien physical structure of the school building and the classroom. Ponapean home life takes place in a free-flowing physical environment of sleeping quarters, cook house, porch steps, and farmland. Little time is spent behind tables, in chairs, or even within walls. When children enter school, they
are immediately confronted with the requirement that they sit in an orderly fashion for prolonged periods of time and request permission to perform normal bodily functions. Although the transference of the home's organizational behavior is generally permitted by Ponapean teachers in most of the outlying rural schools, where children can be seen roaming about freely, the spontaneity and freedom of this transference phenomenon seems quite bewildering to and is even prohibited by American educators, who are used to a more structured classroom environment. As one American teacher of a rural elementary school exclaimed: "Kids are always roaming around and looking in my classroom window. The Ponapean teachers don't even get bothered by this; they'll teach the interested kids and let the others roam around the school. There is just no structure or regimentation in this school." A further dramatization of this transference pattern is described by an American English teacher in a District Center elementary school:

In the three classes I have which are taught by Americans, I have few discipline problems and the kids are generally able to sit still and respond to the English lessons. In the one class taught by a Ponapean, the kids seem to be in perpetual motion, throwing things to each other, combing their hair, drawing pictures, etc. The English class is an endless struggle to keep them
seated and quiet long enough to even be able to hear the lesson. When I walk by the same class and the Ponapean is teaching, the same things are occurring and it doesn’t even seem to bother him.

Both Ponapean students and teachers alike sometimes transfer mutually reinforcing indigenous behavior to the school environment. Just as parental respect is often ascribed to the teacher during the very early years of school, the Ponapean teachers often reciprocate by acting as a parent.

The transference by students and teachers of the Ponapean concept of knowledge as power and status to be guarded rather than freely distributed is illustrated by the following episodes in an elementary school: One of the elementary school teachers didn’t seem to be teaching up to his capabilities. While reviewing the materials and tests he had given a class, it was noticed that he taught progressively easier material as the year wore on. An explanation by the Ponapean principal was that the brighter students were approaching his level of competence and thus compelling him to guard his position of knowledge. On another occasion an American eighth grade shop teacher reported: “One day I took two students aside and taught them how to use an acetylene torch and to do some welding. The next day I asked them to demonstrate their skill to the class. One refused on the grounds that it was ‘his’ specialized knowledge.”

The Ponapean indifference to Western punctuality is transferred to the school. A typical school day described by a teacher indicates that the schedule of the school is affected by the context of the wider culture: “Out of six hours of school a day sometimes we are let out two hours early, and in the four remaining hours we have one hour of recess and start one hour late. We do a lot of group language drills and we teach some math by putting problems on the board and having children copy them out. Other curricula are not really being taught here, maybe because the teachers really don’t know how to use them or just don’t like them.”

The same casual attitude toward the school day, reflected in the haphazard observance of the timetable, is found in the high rate of teacher absenteeism. An example from one observation is described below:

One of the teachers was absent today and the substitute failed to show. Since the principal was already teaching, he could not fill in. Each teacher was already teaching two combined grades. The principal was running between his seventh and eighth graders to the first and second graders, giving them bottle caps, empty beer and pop cans, and other paraphernalia to pass their time. The children began roaming about other classes in process. Finally the first two grades were dismissed to go home early.
The behavior of both pupils and teachers indicate the transfer of Ponapean values to the American school. As Ponapean culture becomes more rigid in its time expectancies, the roaming of pupils, the laxness of schedule observance, and the absenteeism of teachers may be reduced. In the meantime, this behavior, often interpreted by Americans as deviant, is normal for the total culture in which it occurs.

SITUATIONAL ETHICS

The application of a Ponapean situational ethic is frequently observed in the practice of cheating. What is interpreted as cheating by the foreigner is often viewed as "mutual assistance" by the Ponapeans—when they share information that is important only to the teacher, not to them. As one expatriate teacher noted, "They seem to think little of cheating, almost like there is nothing wrong with it, because they are sharing or helping each other."

COMPETITION

The question of why Ponapeans are competitive in traditional life, that is, competitive feasting, but do not seem to transfer this to school, leads to a more general problem related to the medium in which Ponapean competition occurs. Some teachers attribute the lack of competitive classroom behavior to the fact that Ponapeans already feel they have material security based on the family ownership of land, and thus see little need of school as a means of achieving material security. Others say that they are lazy or that they have not sufficiently internalized the cultural competitiveness exhibited by their elders. Some attribute it to the irrelevant curriculum materials used in the classroom. All of these points may have some influence on the situation, but the medium of classroom communication can, in large part, explain this phenomenon. Competition and achievement are expressed nonverbally in Ponapean culture. The exhibition of yams and other goods at a feast is a show rather than a tell mode of expression, a nonverbal, tactile, and concrete form of communication. In American schools matters are expressed in more abstract spoken and written responses. The grade on a paper comes closest to paralleling the Ponapean form of show competition and communication. Typically, children with low grades will be quick to destroy their papers. However, if the entire class does poorly, they are often all willing to show their grades, as the conspicuousness of the individual's low mark is buried in the equalization of the whole group's failure.

During the days of the Japanese schools, parents were assembled in the school at the close of the term to publicly view the posted ranking of their children. Reportedly, the effect of this strategy, in terms of increased student motivation and competition, was great. The medium was
consistent with the Ponapean style of communication and reward: graphic, nonverbal, and shame-oriented.

In traditional Ponapean culture, to verbalize knowledge is to show off and hence to be culturally out of step. This may be another reason why Ponapean children are very reluctant to respond verbally in class. When asked a direct question, typically their heads will bow and they will slide down in their chairs. They are definitely replying, but, more often than not, the alien teacher is not reading the message.

Since competitive feasting is a traditional integrative element of Ponapean culture, it is not surprising that the United States Department of Agriculture free lunch program has affected student and teacher behavior. Usually school attendance can be roughly correlated with whether the school's food supply has been replenished or is still awaiting a delayed shipment from the States. It is common for the school lunch program to appear as a primary agenda item at a school board meeting or administrative seminar. Rumor has it that in some of the more isolated rural elementary schools the position of the school cook in the community is almost as prestigious as that of the principal.

INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS

The indigenous patterns of interpersonal sensitivity and reciprocity are carried into many classroom situations. In the late elementary school years students refuse to correct one another's papers, for they dislike criticizing each other as this incurs delicate obligations and can set the stage for later retaliation. As one American English teacher related: "The only way I could get the students to evaluate each other in a speech class was on paper without signing their names. Then, I would accumulate the papers and generalize from their unidentified comments."

The indigenous stress on human interaction and social form rather than on substance is transferred to the classroom as a manifestation of proper behavior learned in the family organization. The correct relation to people is more important than the relation to the physical school structure and content. The time and place in which something is learned is not nearly as important as the individual from whom it is learned and the relationship between instructor and student, for the means are not separate from the ends. Students will sometimes refrain from raising a question or volunteering an answer for fear of violating someone else's social space. The deference behavior described earlier is an example of the human process orientation of Ponapean behavior in the classroom. It is the right (role) relation, place, and rank in the social order that often dictates appropriate behavior. The school is temporally bound and segmental in its approach to the world of men and nature, while the Ponapean is humanly bound and views himself as being in harmony with nature.
LEARNING STYLE AND RESPECT FOR AUTHORITY

Finally, possibly the most pervasive transfer phenomenon is that of the enculturated learning style. The indigenous learning style of identification, prolonged observation, imitation, and cooperative participation, which is ingrained in the early childhood years, is in large part brought to the classroom. It is evident in numerous ways. One example of rote responses and preference for group learning activities is that of children directly copying the teacher’s notes from the board. Another is the class’s frequent responses in unison to questions directed to an individual. With English language instruction being a core curriculum area, some of the best examples of the transference of a culturally rooted Ponapean learning style emerge from, and are often reinforced by, the rote nature of language teaching.

The Tate English language program in the schools stresses drill and repetition and relies heavily on student imitation and mimicry. The teacher says something; the students repeat it. The teacher reads something; the children reread it. As one American teacher asserted: “Teaching and learning English by the Tate method is so mindless. I know they say it is the best method, but it is such a drudgery for both teacher and student. Even the readers are rote. I read each sentence and demonstrate it, and then we read it from the book. If I were to stop in the middle and ask what a word meant, you could hear them going back to the beginning and rereading the sentence in which the word was contained in an attempt to answer me.”

The rote pedagogical style conforms to the indigenous imitative style of learning. It reinforces the traditional Ponapean hierarchical line of communication, of superordinate to subordinate, and the pursuit of a final explanation from higher authority rather than from secondary analysis or critical dialogue.

Underlying the immediate adaption to the rote structure of the English language curriculum is the transference of enculturated patterns of respect behavior. To directly question a teacher is to break the traditional pattern of respect; to ask why is often to insult the other party. A Ponapean teacher stated:

The Ponapean students always are very polite to authority. They just listen and learn without asking questions. Not only is there the risk of being publicly wrong, but even more important is the act of being respectful. This is a historical thing, first with the Nahnmwarkis, then the missionaries, and later with the colonial powers. Always a respect for authority. We had a guest speaker in class. After he spoke, not a single question was raised. He left, and I proceeded to tell the class that he probably thought they were stupid
because they did not ask questions. Now, in retrospect, if they had spoken, they would have broken the cultural ways.

These illustrations show that what is found in the American transplanted schools in Ponape is not merely the delivery of mathematics, science, and language skills according to an American model, but also the intricate dynamics of two cultures coming into contact. The wider Ponapean cultural context not only influences the manner in which these skills are transmitted and the way they are received, but the entire social organization of the school. The development of the peer group is an example of the interaction of American age grading with Ponapean indigenous patterns to create a cohesive peer group which exercises a dominant role in the school and threatens traditional Ponapean patterns of child rearing.

Peer Group Formation
Ponapean indigenous education takes place in the unitary sphere of the extended family homestead in which there are an established hierarchy of age and sex, clear lines of communication of superordinate to subordinate, and a defined system of deference behavior. From a theoretical standpoint, the one room school which encompasses several classes and children of different ages, a model sometimes advocated as multi-age grouping, may be more compatible with Ponapean social structure. Instead, the model used is that of one classroom per grade, which separates children into narrow age cohorts and creates a social structure that conflicts with the hierarchical relations of Ponapean culture. Ponapean children are thus forced to create a new social order based on peers, one which not only gives status and meaning to the individual class members but provides a mechanism by which they can cope as a group with the school system.²

The development of the peer group's structure and organization is a gradual, covert phenomenon. In grades one and two the children are relative strangers, with the exception of extended family members or neighbors who might be in the same class. In these early years the children are very quiet, cautious, and fearful of the new physical and social environment. Teachers frequently comment that these are the easiest grades to teach in the Ponapean elementary school because the children obey the teacher as they would a parent. An even more important explanation of their agreeable manner, perhaps, is that the children have not yet consolidated a power base of mutual support against the teacher. In grades three and four the major traditional Ponapean mechanisms of control, ridicule and shame, surface as the children begin to establish role and rank in the ensuing peer group structure. When a child makes a mistake, words like
Cross-Cultural Transactions in Elementary Classrooms

kasaroa, roughly meaning “you goofed,” and pweipwea, meaning “you are stupid,” are openly bantered about as the class sorts, selects, and controls its leaders and followers in the process of peer group formation. In grades five through seven the ridicule takes stronger and sometimes even cruel forms. In fact, to avoid ridicule, children who get bad grades on a test will often crumple their papers immediately. However, children who have done well will subtly leave their papers out in the open, visible to others, for in traditional Ponapean fashion there is no verbal boasting. Unlike the covert style of communicating shame and respect in adult Ponapean society, the children use overt ridicule and praise to control behavior and to allocate roles and rank in the classroom hierarchy. This overt ridicule gradually decreases by the closing years of elementary school when the roles of the children within their peer groups have been established.

By the seventh and eighth grades the patterns of role deference behavior, coupled with a decrease in public ridicule, indicate that the group structure has solidified. Individuals take on their specifically allotted roles as smartest, dumbest, toughest, funniest, and so on. Examples of this deference behavior related to class control are numerous. As one Ponapean elementary school teacher remarked:

In general, if the class thinks someone is smart, they are willing to defer to him or her to answer all the questions. Once he or she gives the right answers the rest will gladly join in unison to repeat it. One day I asked one of the group-appointed smarter students why he couldn’t help one of the slower boys. He replied, “I want to help him, but he cannot learn.” The class had already decided by the eighth grade who is smart and who is dumb, and each child seems obliged to fulfill this designated role.

Still another commented on peer discipline in his class: “The students control the class, not me. They quiet each other down. If I get real angry they look at me as if to say, ‘You didn’t have to do that; it wasn’t necessary; we would have taken care of things.’ ” If a person steps out of his role he is quickly reprimanded by the group and called lioasoaha (pretentious) or lemei (boastful), once more placing loyalty to peer norms above teacher dictates.

Reputation becomes very important in the role structure of the group and is continually tested. All members listen closely to everything that is said and once students say something, they are pressured by their peers to follow through in order to preserve their honor and status in the group.

By the seventh and eighth grades the peer group’s authority begins informally to supersede the school’s formally structured authority, that is, the teachers and principal. Furthermore, the solidarity of the peer
group enables the group to manipulate and subvert the teacher through
deferece behavior and nonverbal resistance. Numerous techniques of
manipulating and controlling teacher behavior are employed by the
group. For example, classes generally will not volunteer information by
raising their hands but often will shout out the answers in unison, mak-
ing it difficult for the teacher to discern who really knows the answer. If
an individual is asked to respond or to go to the board, withdrawal or a
frank I kahng ("I can't") will usually be the response. Thus children pro-
tect themselves from group scrutiny by reducing the risk of either failing
publicly or answering correctly and consequently being accused of col-
laborating with the enemy. If students volunteer answers they are often
reprimanded by the group with a comment such as Ma e mwomwehd mehn wai, or, roughly translated, "He is pretending to be an Amer-
ican." Thus the teacher is subtly forced to accept group recitation, which
in fact is a model more in tune with Ponapean tradition.

When a teacher tries to force individual behavior which the group
does not expect from their members, he confronts staunch peer group
loyalties. In such a case a typical class response is total silence until the
teacher submits to the peer group's deference pattern and selects the stu-
dent whom they have determined to be appropriate. One Ponapean
teacher related the following: "Once I wrote a simple math problem on
the board and asked for volunteers to answer it. No one would approach
the board until I selected the smartest child in the class to go up and work
out the problem."

The early years of watchful silence and the middle period of noisy,
critical role allotment finally culminate in the group solidarity of the later
grades. One American teacher summarized the evolutionary stages in
Ponapean elementary school peer group formation as follows:

A language lesson required getting different grades to imitate animal
sounds. The first and second graders all made a joyful effort. In the third
through fifth grades, there was so much joking and ridicule that the lesson
was lost in the disorganized harangue. The sixth and seventh graders would
either make the sounds in group unison or when I wasn't looking and
couldn't see who made the sound. The eighth grade wouldn't make the
sounds at all, saying, "I won't," until I finally had to change the lesson so
that they named the animals in group response while I quacked like a duck
and barked like a dog.

A primary skill informally acquired by the children in these schools
is that needed to cope with adult behavior as manifest in the alien school
environment. Here they begin to learn how to play the game exerting in-
fluence over and dealing with authority according to the rules of institu-
tional education. Those who learn some English and math will have the
chance to develop their coping skills even further in high school. For those who return home, the new social skills, supported by peer loyalty, will initiate a breakdown of traditional family authority. As one Ponapean parent attested:

*Here our houses are scattered and our children don’t get together in groups outside the family structure. When they go to school, they leave this situation for a good part of every day, which includes the usual long walk to and from the school house. When in school they form these groups outside the family structure. They begin caring more about these groups than any other relationships or what they should be learning in school. Finally they return home to challenge everything we say to them.*

One of the hazards of group conformity is that, in winning the approval of their peers, some of the children overconform to the defensive norms of silence and docility and are labeled slow learners by the teachers. Thus they are deselected at an early stage in terms of future opportunity for formal education.

It is clear that the peer group transfers many indigenous cultural patterns into the classroom while building its miniature society on the transplanted classroom structure. Ironically, this school-based social peer grouping, initially formed to give security to its members and to do battle with the teachers, later turns on the Ponapean family structure and becomes a threat to the wisdom and authority of the parental generation.

**Implications of Cross-Cultural Transactions**

This chapter has excluded a consideration of the impact of the formal curriculum and has focused on the informal transactions that affect the behavior of Ponapean students in the transplanted American school. On the one hand, the influence of Ponapean values appears dominant, but a subtle, yet major, cultural transformation is taking place.

The critical function served by the informal dynamics described above in the microanalysis of the Ponapean classroom is that of cultural transformation. The major outcome of the American school structure and process on Ponape is the promotion of a new culture, initially taking the form of the classroom peer group within the school and later of a cultural mediating force in the greater Ponapean culture.

This finding is consistent with other cross-cultural educational research which reports that the evolution of a new self-consciousness which will later serve as a basis for an alternate cultural frame results directly from peer organizational structures in schools. Bruner and Greenfield (1971:26) found that among the Wolof of Senegal, “It appears that school tends to give Wolof children something akin to Western self-consciousness.” Richard King (1967:79) observed a similar phenomenon
among the Indians of the Yukon: "Children—at least the older ones—appear to realize the artificiality of the 'school self' that they have to create in order to function." The Ponapean cross-cultural transactions described in this chapter clearly demonstrate the impact of Ponapean culture on the American primary school model and also show how schooling can change traditional culture.

NOTES

1. As LeVine (1979:191) similarly noted in his study on the psychosocial impact and cultural response when Western schools are introduced into non-Western societies: "The introduction of Western schools into this situation [non-Western society] leads to a case of what they (Inkeles and Levinson 1954) called institutionally induced noncongruence, in which Western norms of classroom interaction and public evaluation force individuals to bring their competitiveness and self-assertive tendencies out into the open. The anxiety thus aroused by the perceived threat to existing social relationships leads to one of two patterns of change: (1) If the bearers of the indigenous culture are in full control of the school system, they redesign its evaluation procedures to make them more compatible with their indigenous standards of self-presentation in face-to-face encounters. (2) If the school system is not under indigenous control, then bearers of the indigenous culture tend toward nonparticipation in school (truancy, dropping out), at least until a new generational cohort is socialized according to new standards of conduct modified toward a Western prototype." The Ponapeans clearly fall into the second reactive category.

2. It might be added that the sphere of influence of the traditional Ponapean extended family is not only broken down by American-style schooling, because it leads to the formation of age cohort peer groups which challenge adult authority, but is also dismantled by urbanization. For example, in urban areas school dropouts cluster in age-cohorts, sometimes described as gangs, while parents fulfill an eight hour day in civil service and other American-introduced occupational roles.

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Ponape District Education Office
Ponape Islands Central High School: Bureaucratic Organization and Cross-Cultural Conflict in a Micronesian High School

Ponape Islands Central High School
Ponape Islands Central High School (PICS) is a transplanted American, age-graded, certificate-granting, educational institution serving a culturally heterogeneous student body of approximately 1000 Micronesians from several distinct island cultures centering about the Eastern Caroline Islands. Approximately half (500) of the students, most of whom come from either outer islands or outer municipalities, board at the school, while the remainder commute. For the former group PICS is a “total” institution in that most of their life transpires within its organizational structure (Goffman 1961). About 48 percent of the students are ethnically Ponapean, and approximately 62 percent are male. The faculty and administration are composed of Americans and multiethnic Micronesians, with the American group outnumbering the Micronesians.

The curriculum is similar to that found in the American academic high school, with an option allowing students to earn a vocational certificate. Ability grouping is done in English language classes only, although the vocational certificate system manages to enact a de facto system of ability grouping throughout the school. With the exception of the English language curriculum and an additional senior history course entitled “Problems of Micronesia,” the courses are also similar to those in an American high school.

This chapter will focus on the school organizational structure as a network of contrived social roles held together by psychological bonds evolving in some instances from adherence to the formal structure, in other instances from resistance to that very same structure, and essentially from the interplay between these factors (Katz and Kahn 1966).

The perspective is sociological in that it concerns characteristics of the school as a complex formal organization, and the experiences of administrators, counselors, teachers, and students as participants in that organization. The perspective is also anthropological in the sense that it
Ponape Islands Central High School

is concerned with the acculturative impact of schooling in the formation of personality, with particular reference to the Ponapean students, the major informal subculture in the school.

School is a significant aspect of the developmental sequence commonly referred to as socialization. Like the family and the world of work, it should be viewed as a transitional structure linking stages in the total development of the individual's personality. What the Ponapean students learn about their culture and themselves derives, in large part, from the very nature of their experiences in the alien school social structure. It is the intent of this chapter to examine that alien social structure and its role in personality formation among Ponapean students. But first it is necessary to consider some further background information on educational objectives in Micronesia.

The "Stated" Goals of Education in Micronesia

As discussed earlier in chapter three, the United Nations Trusteeship Agreement (1947) charged the United States with the responsibility to "... facilitate the vocational and cultural advancement of the population ..." (emphasis added). The stated educational policy of the present United States administration has been "a universal free public school system from elementary through high school, with advanced training in

Figure 9. Ponape Islands Central High School (PICS). Photograph by Betsy Robb, 1978.
the trades and professions for those who can profit by further schooling” (Statement of Trust Territory Policy, High Commissioner, 1962).

These statements make the assumption that the school should be “a social unit [organization] vested with the service function, of technical [vocational] and moral [cultural] socialization of the young” (Bidwell 1965:973). But the major school concern has become one of cultural control and definition of reality.

To date the educational system in Micronesia has been a case of “American imposition upon the non-self-governing people of Micronesia of an alien educational system that has not been integrated into the various island cultures and that does not reflect the desires and needs of the people” (Smith 1971:280). The effects of this cultural hegemony have yet to be fully realized. Only recently have the Micronesians been allowed to address their grievances to the American administration with regard to the educational policy and existing patterns of education in Micronesia. Following an extensive study of education throughout the territory, a special committee of the Congress of Micronesia, the indigenous populations’ highest representative body in the Trust Territorial government, recommended the following:

Establishment of a system of education for the world of today and tomorrow without sacrificing the traditional and cultural values of Micronesia; evolvement of an educational system to fit Micronesian needs, not necessarily similar to the system in the United States; increasing the peoples’ share in the educational process by fostering effective boards of education in the districts and communities; increasing the number of Micronesian teachers and school administrators so that the educational system will be of Micronesia as well as Micronesian. [Congress of Micronesia, Report on Education, 1969]

As Corwin (1967:192) found when applying organizational theory to education, “In an effort to contend with conflict brought on by environment pressures, autonomous [informal] sub-units, and structural lags, the school as an organization can readily lose sight of its stated goals [goal displacement].” This is evident when one views education at the district level in Micronesia, where the generally stated goals remain amorphous and undelineated in terms of action sets. Nowhere are the operational educational objectives of Ponape District, and specifically those of PICS high school, clearly spelled out or visible for inspection. As one American educator, who has been working on Ponape for several years, noted: “I have been continually frustrated in my efforts, primarily because the district has never been organized to work in the same direction, always independent spheres overlapping and negating each other. There is no district philosophy of education. There is a Trust Territory
philosophy, but it is extremely general and has little impact in the district."

One can deduce the real aims and objectives of the educational system by directly observing the school structure in process. According to Bakke and Argyris (1954:6), "The organizational structure is the organizational activity in its stable state, and the organizational activity is the organizational structure in its fluid state." With this in mind, a detailed analysis has been made of PICS as a complex, monocultural (American) bureaucracy.

**The Bureaucratic Structure of Ponape Islands Central High School**

PICS is a self-sustaining bureaucratic organization in which the educational goals have never been operationally delineated. This is not atypical of school organization as most educational goals tend to be enshrouded in ambiguous, diffuse terms, presumably because educational outcomes are highly indeterminate beyond a minimal standard. The nonspecificity of goals actually helps maintain the interrelatedness of the school staff and student constituents through the commonly held position of ignorance and ambiguity. The stated Trust Territory educational goals have long been displaced in an endeavor to maintain the tense processual balance among administration, teachers, and students, that is, the gamesmanship between the formal and informal aspects of the school organization as an end in itself. Thus, the keystone of bureaucratic self-perpetuation is found in the structure, a means becoming an end in itself, and routinization setting in.

**Characteristics of the Coordination System**

In order to understand fully the local coordination system at PICS it is necessary to examine the allocation of decision making power in the broader territorial hierarchical structure. In the Trust Territory government, most top decision making positions are controlled by foreign nationals (Americans). Decision making is centralized at the headquarters on Saipan in the Mariana Islands. All decisions of the first order are made by American administrators for all government functions—political, social, and economic. Second order decisions are made largely by Micronesians at the state level. The district administration is directly responsible to the high commissioner of the Trust Territory who is an appointee of the United States president and operates directly under the auspices of the secretary of the interior.

At the district level there is a district director of education who operates under the director of education at the Saipan headquarters. Both positions are staff positions, with the district director of education being directly responsible to the district administrator, and the director
of education being directly responsible to the high commissioner. Lines of communication between the district director of education and the director of education run through the district administrator and the high commissioner's offices.

Thus, the lines of communication are hierarchical and highly centralized. Although recent changes have been initiated to give the district educational authorities much more decision making power than they formerly enjoyed, in reality their hands remain tied by the regulation of finances and staff recruitment from the headquarters. There is a Trust Territory handbook of rules and regulations and it is the responsibility of the district director of education to follow and enforce those guidelines faithfully. His power and status are invested in his official position, as legitimized through the legal body of written rules and procedures. His main function is to ensure that the system runs smoothly.

A new policy of territorial decentralization has been verbalized, but as one longtime Trust Territory employee observed: "We have supposedly decentralized, but not in reality. The money is still centralized. It is unclear as to whom to respond under this policy of decentralization. The lines of communication are still muddled. The people at the Headquarters level don't seem to have been able to clarify what decentralization means operationally."

District school boards have been appointed under Public Law no. 3C-36, with an overseeing Trust Territory board of education and localized community boards of education within the districts. Currently, the boards are relatively uninformed and have little experience in educational planning and policymaking. Rather than serving to decentralize and indigenize decision making and educational policy formation, they have deferred to the bureaucrats in power (that is, the district director of education) and more often than not acted as a mere rubber stamp for policy decisions made by foreigners.

The high school principal is directly responsible to the district director of education, and the power to initiate substantive change is held at the district rather than the school level. Descending the organizational hierarchy, one finds the vice principal, counselor, teachers, and students, each with specific positions; spheres of influence; degrees of autonomy, power, and status.

THE ADMINISTRATOR IN THE AUTHORITY SYSTEM

For the most part the American professional educator is ineffective at the district level. On the one hand, he is faced with a foreign culture which he does not fully understand and has little or no training to deal with. On the other hand, he is forced to operate within an organizational structure
which is different from those in his experiential background. He often finds the overt bureaucratic, political, governmental structure of the Trust Territory incompatible with his previous *modus operandi*. Frequently he finds his professional judgments and decisions in conflict with the bureaucratic government structure and organization. This is illustrated by the following excerpt from a memo from a district director of education to the headquarters:

Naturally, as a result, questions have emerged. Have we stepped on a treadmill that takes us nowhere? Is our machine caught in a mire of our own ersatz data gathering for others, with its wheels spinning? Are we gathering information for everyone and for no one? Assuredly, it is common knowledge that good, basic data is concomitant with the well functioning present and future plans of any system, particularly a social system as unique as a school district. Perhaps the "sifting and winnowing" to sort out the "basic" need is still to take place; for each report, each study, each completed project has served but to cloud the real issues providing ineffectual spurts of energy that takes us first one way, then another, never really rendering stable, steady direction. Have we had too many cooks? Has the information gathering that has [is, and will] taken place been substantially oriented for Micronesia and for Micronesians with an ear to the local overtones that come from those who have lived and breathed the problem? Can the rude cacophony of noisy jaybirds be drowned out so that the real needs of our schools can be heard? When do we start working for ourselves instead of trying to satisfy the recommendations of commissions, study teams, and master-planners? [Ponape District, July 1969]

There is a high turnover among administrative personnel, and the administrators who remain tend to fall back on their official positions for status and legitimacy. They proceed to become custodial cogs in the organizational wheel and seek to perpetuate the structure by promoting the bureaucratic norms of dependency, submissiveness, and passivity among both the teachers and students as ends in themselves (goals of the organization). Their energies are directed at guaranteeing efficient, predictable, and routinized operations throughout the school as an essential defense mechanism for their own personal status and survival in the system. This is not to say that individual administrators have not attempted to "buck the system" through innovations. But in most cases to date, their presence has been of short duration and the system manages to bounce back rapidly to its bureaucratic form.

In sum, both the lack of clear-cut educational goals and the powerless nature of low-level administrators in policymaking result in an increased emphasis on systems maintenance through an obsession with rule enforcement and correct procedure as a means of personal survival.
THE TEACHER IN THE AUTHORITY SYSTEM

The diversity of the teacher cadre, being a mix of several Micronesian ethnic groups and Americans, serves to delimit its possible unification as an informal collegial power base. Ironically, the actual effect of staff heterogeneity is individual insistence on clarity of rules and routinization of procedures which leads to further reinforcement of the already rigid bureaucratic structure.

Faculty meetings deal primarily with procedural matters. One teacher summarized a typical meeting as follows: "The principal either dispenses information or makes requests. Typical things brought up in a faculty meeting are campus cleanup, rules for submitting medical excuses, and coming events. Because the administration is so closed to complaints and suggestions, the teachers' room becomes an informal arena for the displacement of grievances and frustrations not aired in the formal staff meetings." Ethnic ties of informal unity among the teaching staff are preferred to alliance along professional lines. Many of the Micronesian teachers prefer not to spend their free time among their alien colleagues in the formally designated teachers' room. When asked why this situation existed, one teacher responded: "I'm not sure why the Micronesian teachers don't like to go in the teachers' room. Maybe it is because a lot of the American teachers insensitively pick apart the students and the Micronesian teachers take their criticism personally. I can remember Micronesian teachers silently slipping out of the room when this sort of gossip started."

Any strong threat to the existing hierarchical structure through unified teacher action is quickly dissipated by the ethnic infighting among the teachers. The legal-rational network of hierarchical school power thus remains intact and the bureaucracy is strengthened.

In the absence of a professional power base, to reconcile their position and status in the authority structure the teachers turn to the tools of the bureaucracy as a means of personal defense and role legitimacy. Standardization and specialization are central to boundary maintenance and status enhancement in any bureaucracy. As Sexton (1967:74) pointed out, "Among the standardized and specialized parts of the school are: the classroom—of standard size, time span, and specialized content; school personnel—of standard training, characteristics, and specialized assignments; differentiated and specialized subject matter; units of course credits; age grading; standardized tests and texts; promotion based on marks; standard curriculum, especially in elementary school; and standard building plans."

The grading system, as established by the PICS bureaucracy, is the primary tool of standardization and teacher legitimacy. The teacher can
enhance and legitimize his position of power by accepting and utilizing the bureaucratic methods of standardization. In fact, his compliance with bureaucratic standards, coupled with his inconspicuousness within the organization and the relative autonomy innate in the physical nature of separated classrooms, provides a shield for any personal lack of competence (Becker 1968). In responding to why he liked teaching at PICS, one teacher had this to say: "You can do what you want around here because they don't supervise very much as long as you have something to teach your class. You can teach whatever you think is important."

Yet, there exists in the personal nature of teaching an intrinsic tendency toward debureaucratization. The teacher as a human being finds himself caught between the conflicting roles of preserving his position of authority through a standardized treatment of his students (grading), yet generating personalized, affective feelings toward them as developing human beings. He faces the task of continuous integration and adjustment of conflicting role expectations from the depersonalized stance of the administration on the one hand and the personal needs of the students on the other. Not only is the bureaucracy continually having a socializing effect on him, but his colleagues and the students of similar cultural background are also continually influencing him. The result, more often than not, is an apathetic neutrality which, in the long run, serves to support the bureaucratic nature of the school organization. Contrary to popular academic belief that the Weberian concept of bureaucracy can be broken down to a rational-professional (collegial) aspect and a legal-bureaucratic (hierarchical) component (Gouldner 1954; Weber 1947), the school bureaucracy at PICS remains solidly based on a hierarchy of authority rooted in a legal-rational rule structure. Cultural heterogeneity serves as a barrier to the formation of a rational-professional power base.

Thus, like his administrative superior, in the face of being powerless, the teacher opts for an apathetic, but personally secure, maintenance of the status quo.

THE COUNSELOR IN THE AUTHORITY SYSTEM

The counselor has one of the most flexible, omnipresent roles in the PICS bureaucracy. He is not considered part of the administration, though he spends much time discussing school problems with the administrative staff. Although he mingles with the faculty in the teachers' room, he does not teach and therefore is not directly identified with the faculty. His office is located in the cafeteria-recreation hall, a student territory, and he spends the majority of his day meeting with students.

This pivotal spot of interaction places upon him the task of informally communicating and arbitrating both positive and negative mes-
sages among the rival camps of administrators, students, and faculty. The counselor, an American, noted: "Right now there are distinct elements in the school. There is a Micronesian staff, an American staff, the administration and the students. None really work together. Most problems are discussed in the faculty lounge, maybe one could call them informal staff meetings. I take many of the concerns to the office. I take disciplinary concerns to the vice principal, and academic concerns to the principal."

The counselor is often forced to assist in the translation of school rules and regulations, thus inadvertently abetting the general institutional socialization process. For example, while the vice principal's role in the school has traditionally revolved around attending to school disciplinary problems, he often defines many disciplinary cases as individual social-psychological problems and refers them to the counselor.

The counselor is a student's major source of information about course requirements, occupational careers, and advanced educational opportunities. Although he has assistance in the form of a counseling aid, the enormous load of over five hundred students imposes great limitations on his physical ability to deal adequately with all the students' concerns. He spends the better part of the year working with the seniors in planning their academic and vocational futures. This is extremely time consuming, as the Western world of work is a relatively new phenomenon on Ponape and most students have little understanding as to what it really means to be a plumber or an electrical engineer. Accompanying this problem is the enormous amount of paperwork necessary to complete application forms for grants, jobs, scholarships, and admission to institutions of higher learning—difficult for the Ponapean students to fill out themselves.

Since there is no actual tracking system in the school, the counselor does not officially act as gatekeeper to various educational and vocational opportunities, although he does perform the task of sorting the seniors into those who can apply for further academic training and those who should seek vocational outlets. He typically explains away inappropriate aspirations through past academic records. This informal sorting role would probably begin earlier, but the disproportionate student-counselor ratio permits little time for working with freshmen, sophomores, and juniors on an intensive individual basis.

The fluidity of the counselor's position in the overall structure enhances his role as a potential innovator in the system. As an innovator the counselor has been able to counteract some of the acculturating force of the school bureaucracy. One example was the introduction of a program for each class in which an effort was made to discuss the goals of education in relation to cultural change. This permitted the legitimate en-
trance of indigenous norms into the school in confrontation with the monocultural norms of the alien bureaucracy. Although the students responded very well to the program, it was interesting to note that the administration played little part in it. The Ponapean elders brought in to discuss education in the island traditions were received exceptionally well; however, the faculty presentations obtrusively brought the discussion back to the routine of the school and the necessity to “to work hard and learn English.”

Although such innovative programs are quite challenging to the acculturative strength of the bureaucracy, they are usually too infrequent to have a lasting impact on the bureaucracy’s monolithic character. Essentially, they are an occurrence, almost an intrusion, rather than a structured aspect of the overall system. Thus their effects are diminished in proportion to the existing structured program of the monocultural bureaucracy.

THE STUDENT IN THE AUTHORITY SYSTEM

As is true with the faculty, the heterogeneous composition of the student body, deriving from the mixture of several distinct island cultures, forms a constraint on student power as an informally organized collectivity in the general school organization. Instead, the students apathetically reinforce the bureaucracy, as their energies are dissipated in ethnic group power struggles among themselves. Group solidarity exists only at the ethnic level, where cultural identity takes precedence over student identity as the more generalized role or status.

The Ponapean peer group is exceptionally strong, as indicated by the following student comment in the school paper:

Mostly Ponapeans are with their own; Pingelapese, Kapingas, and Mokilese are together. In their own tongue, they call the term “chol”... which means a discussing of things you did or other people did. Some “chol” is all right but others is quite nonsense and full of ridiculous ideas. I think that if each group continues, each boy will forget he has a home of his own. [Micro-Treasure, January 13, 1972]

Facility members have made numerous observations on the strength of ethnic peer groupings in the high school. As one teacher recalled, “If I ask the students to work as teams or choose a partner to make something in the shop, they will invariably align with members of their own ethnic group.”

The student subcultural “we” feeling that Waller (1965) and Coleman (1961) allude to has not developed at PICS beyond ethnic associations, but this is not to say that students, as individuals or as ethnic groups, do not act against the bureaucracy. As Pettigrew (1972) asserted
in his work on heterogeneous high schools, "Heterogeneous groupings are more conflict-oriented, thus sometimes are more creative in their response set." However, most student attempts to subvert the system typically take the form of docility, as learned in elementary school, or of "giving the teacher what he wants" (Henry 1963). In this manner the bureaucratic norm of passivity is subtly internalized. Other students play by the rules and suppress their individual needs and desires by tolerating the system as an instrumental path to the money economy and material appendages of their foreign role models. The problem with both these forms of student reaction to the school organization is that, over time (years in school), the bureaucratic patterns of dependency, subordination, and passivity are likely to become internalized into the individual's personality structure. In fact, the individual's basic need structure may change through such subtle organizational structural socialization. Moreover, to the degree that other societal institutions approximate the bureaucracy of the school, the individual may generalize these internalized norms.

What is actually learned at PICS is certainly open to question. The latent curriculum may demand more attention than most educators are willing to admit. Given no responsibility, the Ponapean student shows none; treated as an automaton, he behaves as one. The means by which the students endeavor to control this outcome are frequent visits home and cocurricular activities with friends which serve to give some relief from organizational pressures toward conformity to bureaucratic homogenizing norms. In these small ways the students personalize their life within the framework of the school bureaucracy. But even this form of subversion is utilized by the organization as a mechanism of control in which the student's personalizing tendencies are fused with the organizational forces of acculturation. The result is alienation or cultural marginality.

MECHANISMS OF ORGANIZATIONAL CONTROL

The object of bureaucratic control is to reduce human variability and increase efficiency and predictability through environmental press (standards), induced norms, and enforced rules (Katz and Kahn 1966). As implied above, the cocurricular activities provide informal outlets for a student's energies and immediate interests within the framework of the formal school organization. While they assist the student in adapting to the system, they also act to keep him in the system by giving him just enough leeway to roam around but not enough to "split." In essence, cocurricular activities are a co-optive mechanism.

The professional standards of staff are easily displaced as the major concern throughout the recruitment process, and the ensuing socializa-
tion into the bureaucracy is to "make no waves." Recruitment and training of staff are major means of organizational control, since likemindedness and prior commitment to organizational goals are ascertained in the process. One American staff member described his training: "We trained for two weeks. We had two hours of language daily and a lot of sessions on water safety, foods, medicine and Trust Territory bureaucratic operations. There was little attention paid to actual classroom work with Micronesian students." The high staff turnover coupled with the inorganization socialization of those staff who remain throughout their contracts contribute to the supremacy of bureaucratically embedded norms.

Since universal free secondary education is not yet a reality on Ponape, recruitment also plays an important role for controlling students. Students are selected to attend PICS primarily on the basis of their elementary school performance. Thus, since they are selected for their high achievement on standardized tests and recommendations of good behavior, they are already somewhat socialized toward the system's norms.

Immediately following the selection (recruitment) of students, the deculturation process begins as parents buy school clothes or the informal uniform (typically black pants and white shirt for the boys, colorful short dresses for the girls, and sometimes shoes or sneakers), and the school memo comes out enumerating what equipment a new dorm student will need and what he cannot bring to his new home.

The opening day of school initiates the acculturation process as all freshmen are expected to attend the formal orientation program. This program is usually led by one of the older staff members and stresses the rules and ethical code of the institution. In these early days, the orientation program, the more personal contact with select members of the staff (homeroom teachers, counselor, and so on), and the observation of previously acculturated seniors serve to enhance the rapid acculturation of the new students.

The culturally irrelevant nature of the American academically oriented curriculum further serves to acculturate the student. One teacher noted:

Everytime they go ahead in our school system they fall behind in their own system. It is at the point where if high school graduates cannot continue their education nor find a job in the already saturated market, they are also alienated from going back and working their own lands. If school is to prepare people to live successfully and productively in their culture then this system is a total failure. It wrenches them out of their own culture and fails to provide them with sufficient training for the new culture.
Although an individual's grades are a relatively insignificant matter in the elementary years when all attention centers on doing well on the PICS entrance exam, upon entering high school the students discover that their behavior and production rate will be progressively judged and rated in the well established, periodic report card system of the high school. The standardization of student accomplishment through the establishment of a grading system based on open individualistic achievement disrupts the Ponapean student communal social structure and subsequently sustains organizational efficiency, predictability, and routinization of behavior. As Dreebin (1968:39) found, the achievement dimension of the school can be so organized that in fact the pupil's sense of personal adequacy or self-respect becomes the leverage for control. The loss of face or public failure, extremely important in Ponapean culture, is such a leverage for control and can be devastating to the individual's psychic makeup.

Along with the grading process as a means of control, the school compiles a cumulative folder on the student. This folder follows the student beyond his high school years. It extends school control into the society at large as it is continually referred to when the student seeks employment, further education, loans, and so forth.

ENVIRONMENTAL EFFECTS UPON THE ORGANIZATION

The school is not only client serving but also an agent of the public. It is responsible both to the Trust Territory government and to the Ponapean constituency. In this light, there are three key environmental forces bearing upon the school organization: public demands, usually expressed through school boards; fiscal support; and professional standards.

Since the official school board on Ponape is in an embryonic stage of development, a mechanism for expression of public will through formal channels is absent. The culturally plural nature of the surrounding urban community of Kolonia further restricts the possibility of organized public influence on the school. Moreover, the local community often refuses to get involved, proclaiming ignorance and lack of understanding of the educational process in the school which they regard as an alien institution. The general attitude is, "leave the school up to the Americans, they know best." As one teacher stated: "Communication between parents and PICS is terrible. The concept of education is foreign to them and the institution itself is not a Ponapean one. Years ago we had open houses and even went as far as having the parents bring in food when the school just started. Today the channels of communications are closed. Parents should be brought into the school and should be continually notified of their child's progress."

The fact that the surrounding urban environment of Kolonia is not
only ethnically divided but socially and economically stratified as well is reflected in the prominent lack of concern for integration of community and school affairs. PICS serves the adult community in virtually no way unless their children are in attendance. Under such circumstances, school administrators can initiate policies which are contrary to the dominant community values merely by enlisting the assistance of local teachers who are involved for material ends. Control of the knowledge of schooling by the school organizational leadership means absolute control of the school in all educational matters. As was mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, the Congress of Micronesia threatened that base of control with a study of education throughout the territory. Whether the local populace will take it upon themselves to pursue its recommendations through the district school board is another question. As long as the district director of education is alone responsible for recruiting teachers, paying a portion of their salaries and determining what is to be taught in the schools and how it is to be taught, one can expect little change in the present situation.

Since all the fiscal support for the school system comes from the United States government and not through local taxation, the Ponapeans have little control in terms of withholding funds. Thus the power of the purse resides within the government's educational bureaucracy itself. The only other external source of influence on the school system is the periodic United Nations Review Commission visit. But these reviews are relatively ineffective as the visits are typically short, infrequent, and pro-American.

In sum, there is virtually no pressure exerted on the educational bureaucracy at PICS by the surrounding community of Kolonia or by the rural parents of boarding students. Rather, there exists a definite cultural division between the school and the community. The school remains entrenched behind bureaucratic barriers as intercultural conflict and the lack of community understanding and control of the school process inhibit the amount of criticism the school would receive if the community were united, informed, and responsible.

RECAPITULATION OF PONAPE ISLANDS CENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL AS AN ALIEN BUREAUCRATIC ORGANIZATION

The officially stated goals of technical and cultural advancement for the Trust Territory are displaced as the school (PICS) bureaucratic norms of dependence, submission, and docility become ends in themselves. Threats to bureaucratic control from external environmental pressure, collegial unity among staff, and an informal peer union among students are nonexistent. Public trust is absent and financial support resides in the bureaucracy itself. Cultural heterogeneity and an opting for material
reward are prevalent among students and staff alike. Thus, the bureaucratic rules readily become the order of the day as instrumental rationalization supplants critical response. The bureaucratic cycle further entrenches itself by selecting both staff and students on the basis of like-mindedness and achievement; reducing human variability through standardization and specialization; maintaining a subtle structural socialization through the strict adherence to legal-rational rules; and coopting support through the use of cocurricular activities and instrumental reward.

In these ways, PICS continues to direct the behavior of its multiethnic students and staff to conform to the monocultural norms of an American bureaucracy: docility, dependence, and submission. Without question, the PICS bureaucracy is superbly efficient in producing instrumental rationalization as a foundation for the acculturative process. The price paid in terms of personality development remains to be fully recognized.

Role Theory and Cultural Conflict

A theory of social organization and of roles is also a theory of personality. If the roles which a person or group of people incorporate are all similar, then they are likely to develop generalized personality traits. If on the other hand, social institutions themselves exist inconsistently and autonomously, then the roles and the personality traits derived from them are likely to be inconsistent too. The institutional conflict present in most modern large-scale organizations threatens the sense of unity in modern man, although all men are not equally threatened.

Corwin 1965:51

The concept of role can be used as the major means for linking the individual (Ponapean) and the organization (PICS). An organization can then be viewed as a number of roles integrated in a certain fashion. Uniting these concepts, Clark (1962:172) describes the formal school organization as “an officially contrived web of arrangements, a system of rules and objectives defining the tasks, power, and procedures of the participants according to some officially approved pattern.” There are two behavioral processes transacting within the organizational structure: “First, the organization is trying to perpetuate and actualize itself by making agents (socializing) out of its individual participants (staff and students); secondly, the individuals are trying to actualize themselves (personalize) by making an agent out of the organization, including its resources” (Bakke and Argyris 1954:17).

Since the American-type high school structure and its largely American staff confront a client society characterized by distinctly different
values and patterns of activity enculturated in the family and supported by ethnic peer group socialization, the school becomes a battleground of cross-cultural/structural conflict: the earlier internalized structure of the family versus the structural, acculturative objectives and realities of the school. The direct psychological effect of this cross-cultural/structural socialization upon the student is role conflict and cultural disorientation leading to a sense of powerlessness and alienation (Merton 1952; Seeman 1962). As Argyris (1957:73) suggests, "the basic conflict results when the individual [cultural] character is defined as moving in the direction of self [cultural] maintenance, self [cultural] expression, and self [cultural] realization, and the organization is pushing him in the direction of task specialization [dependency], unity of command [subordination], and limited span of control [submissiveness]" (author's brackets).

Whereas the Ponapean family emphasizes ascription and limited achievement, the school bureaucracy stresses competition and open achievement. Although the family is group-oriented, the school stresses individualism. While the family is particularistic and affective in treatment, the school tends toward standardized, universal, and impersonal treatment. Although the family stresses authority and control, the school staff verbalizes freedom and democracy while bureaucratically exercising authority and control. Whereas the family trains for interpersonal dependence early in life, the school inculcates a continuum of increasing interpersonal independence but structural dependence.

This leads to a fundamental human and cultural incompatibility between the needs and values of the individual Ponapean and the role that he is expected to fulfill. There is a further conflict between the professed democratic norms of the staff and the actual hierarchical bureaucratic norms of the school. There are in fact three major normative forces at work in PICS. First are the espoused, alien objectives of individualism, independence, freedom, and democracy verbalized by American staff members, which tend to raise aspirations for personal change in the Ponapean students. Second, and functioning simultaneously, are the overriding bureaucratic structural norms of hierarchical authority, impersonal dependence, and standardized treatment which in fact are similar to and somewhat supportive of the third force, or indigenous Ponapean family norms of hierarchical authority, interpersonal dependence, and strict control. The essential difference between the norms of the school bureaucracy and the norms of the family is that while the former are impersonal and applied in a dehumanized manner, the latter have personalized application and meaning. To use Gouldner’s (1954) typology, whereas the school bureaucracy is “punishment-centered” and founded upon written rules, the Ponapean family organization is “mock” in nature and rooted in informally understood sentiments.
The individual Ponapean may well be able to adapt to the school bureaucracy by seeming to accept and act out the behavioral norms of docility, dependence, and subservience, but whether he can make the inner personality shift between his behavior in support of asserted school norms and the values encultured in the family is another matter.

There is constant faculty advocacy of democracy, equality, and freedom, yet the very authoritarian behavior of the faculty in response to the bureaucratic press at PICS denies the reality of any of these espoused norms. The ambiguity of this situation results in student alienation derived from the confusion of hope and aspiration for Western material entities and the associated values of freedom, individualism, and independence, with the reality of a bureaucratic structure that in fact denies these tenets of change. The overt verbal aspects of PICS teach freedom and equality, while the covert bureaucratic structure induces control and authoritarianism. What the school most effectively teaches is how to functionally rationalize the inconsistency of this dilemma between word and act. Critical reasoning, a necessary tool in the enactment of personal freedom, is absent in the pedagogical process and an alienating "functional rationality" (which enslaves the individual to the system and/or leaves him in an immobile state of anomie) is substituted.

In terms of reaction patterns to this cross-culturally induced conflict situation, the Ponapean student has a number of alternative paths of resolution: (1) withdrawal—he can drop out or be pushed out of the school structure and return to the traditional family with the social stigma of failure but with some peace of mind provided he has not already internalized too many alien aspirations; (2) conversion—he can abandon traditional lifeways and move headlong into the school value structure, obtain more formal education, and one day become an agent of the new system (teacher, administrator); (3) colonization—he can utilize the informal school ethnic organization as an accommodative defense mechanism, lower his personal aspirations and self-esteem, functionally rationalize his stay through graduation as an instrument for later material rewards, and become subtly alienated; (4) deviance/rebellion—he can remain in the system and battle it right to the end in numerous acts of defiance and rebellion, which result, more often than not, in his ending up in category (1) as a push out; or (5) biculturality—he can endeavor to transfer the indigenous notion of role segregation and situational ethnics to the school, separating the family world from the school world and fulfilling role expectations in each situation commensurate with each normative structure.

There are doubtless other patterns of reaction. The patterns of student reaction above could conceivably appear singly or in combination, harboring varying implications for the individuals involved.
In brief, then, the Ponapean student can either attempt to change the school structure, reject it fully, accept it fully, accommodate it through colonization or biculturality, or apply some mixture of these alternatives. If he seeks to change or reject the school organization, his degree of systemic (cultural) marginality will be in direct proportion to his personal level of commitment to and acceptance by the family or school social structure. If he chooses to accept or accommodate the new social system, his degree of marginality will depend on his personal commitment and adaptability to, and understanding and systemic acceptance of, each system’s symbolic and logico-meaning styles, and on his ultimate relative incidence of success. Falling short on any of these counts will result in a culturally marginal status. Such a status will be personally bearable in proportion to his defense repertoire, particularly to that of his ability to functionally rationalize.

In sum, if it is true, as Argyris (1957) theorized, that the incongruity between the act and the thought (word), behavioral fact and mental reality, increases (1) over time; (2) as the formal structure is made more clear-cut and logically tight for efficiency and predictability; (3) as one is lower in the hierarchy; and (4) as the task becomes more mechanized, then at PICS, the student has become virtually an institutionalized person, especially if he boards. The bureaucratic goals of efficiency, predictability, and invariance are all-pervasive. The student is low in the hierarchy. He is a product, not a person.

Whether the inculcation of critical reflective thinking and the fusion of the school as an agent of structural/cultural socialization with the Ponapean student as a humanistic force as embodied in traditional family norms results in a new Ponapean cultural character is one matter. Whether functional rationality and incipient alienation result and become societal norms in themselves is another affair. Behavioral adaptation without commensurate cognitive adjustment can be humanly alienating. The latter is a much slower, subtler manner of destruction. The problem in this context of change is not one of the Ponapean student being able to show himself, but one of his being able to think about and be himself.

NOTES
1. The administrative structure described here is that which existed at the time that this study was conducted. With the recent political developments discussed in chapter 1, note 1, there have been similar administrative changes. Ultimate authority for education now resides in the hands of each district (state) government. The headquarters has retained coordinating and technical support functions. While decision making is de jure in the hands of Micronesians, de facto, the High Commissioner, with his control of the purse strings, still exercises
strong normative (American) controls over policy matters and will likely continue to do so until the official termination of the Trusteeship.

2. It should be acknowledged that the Northwest Regional Laboratories were under contract with the Trust Territory Department of Education to run workshops for the Board of Education in the area of educational planning and policy development.

3. A similar co-optive mechanism is the administrative and faculty tolerance of the informal territoriality exhibited by ethnic cliques in the classroom as well as in the dorms and cafeteria-recreation room.

4. There is a Ponape District Curriculum Committee, but again the problems of competence, expertise, and prior determination of overall goals have inhibited any rapid progress in the area of curriculum reform.

5. Karl Mannheim has elaborated on the concept of "functional rationalization" in his many writings; see "The Meanings of Rationality" (1971) and An Introduction to the Sociology of Education (1962).

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“Go, But Don’t Change”:
A Parental View of School

We have brainwashed the people. We have convinced them of the importance of education. Ponapean parents have now adopted schooling as a value. It is almost impossible to initiate any successful educational program outside the context of the formal school. We are now phasing out the mission elementary school here, and when it is completely gone, then and only then can I conceive of a successful innovative educational program in this community . . . We have virtually convinced these people that the only place where learning takes place is in the school!

American informant, March 1972

Parental Expectations of School Outcomes

Increasingly Ponapean parents are perceiving formal schooling as an avenue of access to three things: to Western occupational roles in government employment; to the concomitant financial and material benefits for the family; and to the attached social status. When asked what the benefits of participation in formal school are, practically all the parents interviewed responded in terms of enhanced chances for employment with the government and increased material gain. As one Ponapean informant stated:

People always correlate your education with material gains. You always hear them saying to younger, more educated Ponapeans, “Now you have education, you have money.” Money is rapidly becoming the center of Ponapean life. Money is replacing the yam, and the feast is becoming a commercial enterprise for the chief. Yams are getting scarce since the people are either no longer planting or are selling them to the market in town to get money.

Parents and teachers are beginning to stress the necessity to continue education at PICS high school or be labeled a failure by self and community. One American educator summarized this attitude:

I can confidently say that nearly all emphasis in the elementary school is directed at instilling into the students the necessity of getting into PICS. “You come to school every day or you won’t get into PICS. You better work hard or you won’t pass the PICS test and everybody will know that you are stupid. Learn this because it will give you a better start in PICS. What will your family say if you don’t pass the test for PICS—do you want
to work on the land for the rest of your life?" These are a few examples of the continuous flow of comments, reprimands, and threats directed at the students in order to get them to learn their lessons. Obviously, a student who has a desire to go to high school and fails the test is a failure to his friends, his family, and worst, to himself.

The status attached to formal education is very high. Ponapeans see high school graduation as being analogous to the conferring of a title at a traditional feast. It is an honorific symbol to indicate one's status in the community. Not unlike the feast, graduation is surrounded by much preparation and merriment. Students purchase shoes for the occasion, and parents amass at the auditorium to witness the ceremonies.

Often at a feast, during the distribution of the foods by title, one will now hear ong sounpadahk (to the teacher). Thus, the status of teacher is recognized almost as a part of the traditional title system. It is typical to hear Ponapeans address college graduates as "degree laud" or "high degree." This becomes another way of granting honorific recognition to an individual and his family in a culturally meaningful manner.

One American informant told this story to illustrate the importance that Ponapeans place on schooling:

One day a young man came to see me and wanted to borrow fifty dollars to go to school. After thoroughly questioning him I found that he had not gotten into the local high school but deeply wanted to continue his schooling. He was offered a chance to go to a Bible school in the Marshalls and needed the money. I informed him that it was not exactly an academic or vocational institution. He argued that it was "school in loalekeng" [intelligence], but I refused to give him the money. Several months later I saw his father and he told me that his son was at this school. I told him that the school was only for Bible study and that he should have looked into it further. He argued fervently that I was wrong, that it was a school and that was what counted. Furthermore, he said that it was all my fault in the first place for not helping his son get into one of the local schools. Since that day I have not seen either the boy or his father.

When parents were asked if they thought Ponapeans who had much formal education were happier or unhappier than those who didn't, rural and urban parents responded differently. The majority of rural parents emphasized increased happiness as a result of further education, although most of them had had little if any formal schooling. A typical reply from a rural parent was: "Most students who return from school are much happier because they can find their job, make much money, buy much land and have the best of both Ponapean and American life. They are really lucky." On the other hand the urban parents, who for the most part had had higher educational exposure, felt that the more education
one had, the more unhappy one might become. As one urban parent explained: "There are many problems after some go to PICS because they can find no jobs and don't want to return to the land and get their hands dirty, so they just hang around Kolonia and make trouble. They have no control over themselves." Still another Ponapean urbanite reflecting on his own personal plight as a result of his college training said, "I could get a job all right. If I'm happier is another question. I would say no! Now that I'm making good money my whole extended family has moved in with me. I have less now for more effort and aggravation than when I was not educated."

When the parents were asked if they thought it was possible to go to school for many years (meaning high school and beyond for the average Ponapean) and still practice traditional culture, there was again a difference which could be related to the respondent's level of education. Those parents, usually urban, who had had greater exposure to formal schooling themselves generally pointed to the difficulties in long-term adjustment, although they did feel that roles could be somewhat segregated (traditional situational ethics). As one urban parent observed: "It is hard to come back to the way of the land once you go away to school. Perhaps a few can still remember the tiakh [customs], but many are ashamed to participate. Some forget that they are Ponapeans and are really just like the rest." Another urban parent summarized the situation in the following way: "Playing the American by day and the Ponapean by night is relatively easy once you thoroughly comprehend both cultures. It is natural for us to attempt to be in harmony with our environment. I have to adjust myself to whatever situation I'm in. If I don't, people cannot understand me and will laugh at me. It is just common sense to adapt. The only problem I find is that there is just not enough time to lead both lives fully."

The rural parents deemed it much easier to segregate roles and be a happier Ponapean as a result of the added status and material wealth of advanced education. One rural parent provided the following example: "Yes, it is possible to do both with a sort of cultural compromise. If a man has a good job and doesn't have time to tend his yams he can use his money to pay someone else to tend them. As long as he has yams, that is the important thing."

One of the Nahnmwarki who had the dual role of traditional chief and chief magistrate was asked how he handled his dual roles. He responded:

I can live in both worlds. When I'm Nahnmwarki I tell the people and the flow of communication is from me downward. When I'm chief magistrate the flow of communication reverses itself and the people tell me. When you
mix the roles it is bad business. Like once I was at a traditional funeral in Wone and decided to take the occasion to thank the people for voting for me. They were angry with me for weeks afterward.'

Both rural and urban Ponapean parents generally envision the same worldly benefits of added family wealth and prestige as direct outcomes of formal schooling. But when the psychological impact of schooling is discussed, the rural Ponapeans, who for the most part had had some experience (one to three years typically) in the Japanese schools but none in the American school system, readily voice the opinion that Ponapeans will be able to cope with psychological conflict through the application of the traditional situational ethic. The urban parents, who were usually younger and had had varying degrees of experience in the American school system, were a bit leery of the ability to separate the cultures over time. Implicit in their remarks was the idea that the level of school attainment and thoroughness of understanding of both cultures impacted on an individual's ability to adapt in a bicultural fashion. Their reservations are not surprising when viewed in the light of their differential experiences in American schooling and greater contact with American culture in their urban homes, as compared to those of more inexperienced and culturally isolated rural parents.

Parental Expectations of Student and Teacher Behavior
When Ponapean parents were asked how they thought their children should behave in school, there was a consensus that the children were expected (and in some cases told) to respect and obey the teacher as a parental figure. Furthermore, the children were to study hard so as not to embarrass the family. Typical parental comments were: “A good student works hard, does all that is required and listens to the teacher.” “I tell them to try hard /nsenokki/, obey the teacher and don’t make trouble.” “They must try to be successful, obey and respect the teacher.”

In addition, several parents made reference to their demand that their children learn the new ways, but not lose the old customs. One parent reported: “I tell my children to obey and respect the teacher, to learn something new, but to keep the old in mind.”

Teachers are expected to treat the children as if they were their own; that is, to maintain a strict code of respect and to utilize corporal punishment if necessary to insure obedient behavior. Where the teacher fails to do this he is unfavorably compared to the Japanese teachers whose stricter disciplinary approach many of the parents themselves experienced. As two parents stated:

The teachers today are too free with the children. They let them do whatever they want. The Japanese were much stricter and would beat you for
such behavior. In Japanese schools we had to recite the rules daily. The one rule that sticks in my mind most is the first one, "Respect all elders and always do what they tell you."

There is a basic difference between the family and the teacher. At home we whip the children and at school they don't. When the Japanese were here they were much stricter. The teachers would beat the children and call in parents when they were naughty. I feel a bit confused as to which method is better. The children are learning more today and are able to go further under this education system, but the schools lack the character training that the Japanese included.

The parents for the most part understand very little of what transpires in the school. As indicated earlier, most of them have had three years of Japanese formal education, or none at all, and have had very few experiences which relate to the events of the alien American schools. When asked if they thought that (other) parents really understood what goes on in school, most replied with an emphatic no. As these parents explained:

Most Ponapeans just don't understand what school is all about. School is like a mwaramwar [decoration] for the majority of the people. It is prestigious and it brings money and support to the family. A few people are beginning to raise questions. I have heard a number of parents say that the teachers are using our children as we do copra, to make money.

Most parents don’t understand the purpose of school. Some encourage their children to attend for the prestige and material rewards, while others discourage their children because they either want them to help work the land or don't want them to go away from them because they “love them so.” Sometimes when a child goes away to college and leaves the island it is almost as if he died. The people will cry for weeks. This is changing somewhat, but still is strong in the more rural areas such as Kitti.

This general lack of understanding leads to parental responsibility being transferred to the school staff and administrators. In terms of community involvement and control, the impact this has is devastating. When questions concerning the school were directed to parents, the first response was to tell the interviewer, “Ask the teachers, they know what is going on, they can tell you best.”

When parents were asked what their children learned in school that made them (the parents) happy or pleased, most pointed to foreign language (English) and mathematics. This is a common response because these subjects are given major attention in the elementary schools as they were during the Japanese times when the parents were in school. When asked if the teachers do a good job teaching these subjects, a mere affirmative nod was the typical response, as complete faith in the teacher was reaffirmed. Finally, when asked if they help their children with
homework, the majority responded in the negative, further elaborating on their "ignorance" of the subject matter. On this count the urban parents did seem to attend more to their children's school performance; again, they generally had a higher contact level in terms of their own formal and informal education in the District Center.

The discrepancy between rural and urban parents' levels of understanding was further demonstrated when parents were asked what type of employment they desired for their children. The rural parents were vague, stressing only that the children get the sort of job that would make them happy. Statements like "Any job suitable to their desires," and "Whatever they want to do," were typical among this group. The urban parents were much more specific, often naming such specialized roles as doctor, lawyer, and nurse. The level of parental comprehension of the Western innovations of formal schooling and wide occupational diversification often depended primarily upon their degree of exposure to each of these very same phenomena.

The discussions with Ponapean parents made it quite clear that the urban-rural dimension, in terms of exposure to formal schooling and degree of general cultural contact, was a significant variable in creating differential parental comprehension of, and responsibility for, their children's formal education.

Conflicting Results:
The Initiation of Generational Conflict and Familial Alienation

This system [the extended family] prevented the poor and destitute from isolation of human relationships as in the so-called 'civilized countries,' a system of control and guidance unequalled elsewhere in the world, which is now being challenged by a strong individualistic attitude.

Chutaro 1971:28

Freedom or control, emphasis on the individual or the group, independence versus dependence, authoritarianism versus egalitarianism, ascription versus achievement, and ultimately universalistic mass treatment versus a particularistic, humanistic outlook are all major themes of the generational conflict currently evolving on Ponape.

When Ponapean parents are asked to make the distinction between what is learned in school in terms of content and what is learned in terms of tiahk, or appropriate behavior, their earlier all accepting stance turns to bitter criticism of the school. The most central concern that parents raise is their lack of control in the schooling process. Traditionally one does not gain saledek, or freedom of decision independent of one's parents, until late in life. As one parent explained: "This American word 'freedom' came to us without any explanation as to its real meaning. We have a word 'nsenei' which literally means it is up to you or you can do
what you want. The younger people have interpreted the American word of freedom to mean *nsenei* while the older Ponapeans interpret the word to mean *saledek*, or freedom with familial responsibilities." A local Ponapean judge related the following anecdote:

The young have a grave misunderstanding of freedom. They think it means they can do anything they want. They reject what parents tell them. This is all learned in school. Under the American law a child is an adult at the age of eighteen. This is not true under Ponapean custom. A child may not reach adult status until late in his thirties in some cases. One day a child complained to me when I was community judge about a beating his parent had given him. Under the American law I had to fine the parent so I only fined him $2. I thought that this law was wrong but felt obligated to enforce it even though it did not apply to our custom... This freedom goes against our ways.

It seems that while the adult Ponapeans are pursuing a Skinnerian view concerned with more effective means of structuring and maintaining control, the younger, formally educated Ponapeans are being imbued with a romantic sense of freedom. There appears to be very little middle ground between these two extreme interpretations.

In terms of concrete behavior parents decry disrespectful conduct and the growing independence from family life, as these comments indicate:

After going to PICS they come home and act differently. They ignore their parents’ advice because they think they know more than us. They are very disrespectful. They cause problems in the community by roaming around, refusing to work, stealing, drinking, and staying out all hours of the night. They act so proud and independent—*aklapalap*. You can't tell them anything. Parents are complaining that they are too free in school, having many more privileges than they had at home.

A Ponapean does not learn to be an individual apart from his family. School teaches this sense of individuality, thus provoking the separation of the young from the family.

It was frequently stated that the young were disrespectful in greeting elders, failing to use the high language and sometimes even passing them by as if they weren’t there. “They maliciously laugh at old people in the District Center if they can’t open a car door or find their way out of a large store.” One parent said, “They are now addressing their elders by ‘Hey’ instead of ‘Maing’ [sir].” A mother added: “My daughter comes home from school and tells me, ‘No mother, this is the way it should be done, this is the way I learned it in school.’ She often refuses to do things and disobeys me. She has become very independent. This kind of behavior is against our custom.”

This independence is often magnified by the educated youths’ refus-
al to work the land. Generally, they are accused of being lazy and desiring only white-collar work. Frequently, their role models are alien teachers, bureaucratic officials, senators, and desk people in the District Center. In the words of one Ponapean: “Those who are educated and cannot find a job come back to the land and are lazy. Ponapeans are traditionally pwerisek [industrious] people and are proud of this character trait. We accept these laggards anyway because it is shameful in our customs to turn another Ponapean out. Many of the youth [unemployed] take advantage of this cultural outlet by just roaming from relative to relative.”

Many parents pointed to the fact that the culture was rapidly fading among the young and being replaced by the more negative aspects of American culture. One parent related: “The young say the tiahk [customs] are kapwang [boring], and that they are tired of sitting around in long ceremonies. They are ashamed to come to the feasts because they can’t speak the high language and don’t know the proper behavior. One always finds youth hanging around outside the nabs [feast house].” A Ponapean high school teacher further observed: “The kids all want money. The three most important status symbols at the high school are drinking, smoking and having a car or scooter. All these things take money. They think that it shows you are grown-up if you do all these things. They have gotten quite away from the traditional ideas that you are an adult if you drink sakau, learn some revealed knowledge, and are married with many children.”

Parental criticism is nearly endless on the subjects of short dresses, public displays of affection, drinking, and smoking. The parents enumerate three basic causes for the growing disrespect and cultural denigration: the environment of the District Center with its movies, bars, and cars; the influence of the peer group; and the geographical separation from the family. As one parent put it: “Maybe the children live away from home so long boarding at PICS that they fail to learn the traditional customs. It is not that they do not have wahu [respect] for traditional things. They either don’t learn, or forget how to do these things. When they come home they are afraid to do anything for fear of making a mistake and being ridiculed. It is not that they don’t respect the customs, they just don’t know them!”

Respect behavior is the hallmark of the traditional Ponapean social process, but, in the traditional system, respect only goes in a vertical path from lower to higher rank. The young now seem to seek a concept of respect rooted in a horizontal pattern or one based on the principle of equality. The traditional parental view of respect is illustrated in the following comment: “You must have respect in the schools. Religious schools are even better than the public schools for this. I want to put re-
spect back in the education system. Respect is among all people in Ponape. From child to parent, from wife to husband, and finally from husband to soupeidi [nobility]. So I conclude that if education has respect then all our problems will be solved. If we are not smarter, but more respectful, we will be happier!"

Ironically, many parents seem to be suffering from some of the same cultural abuses that they find in their children, as petty capitalism invades the old system of feudal distribution. Feasts are getting more Western by the day; people give money instead of yams to the chiefs; the chiefs often sell gifts back to the givers. As one Ponapean informant observed: "It is not so much a problem with the young neglecting the culture as the old themselves." Parents are always quick to blame the young for their own shortcomings. The growing hypocrisy and the denigration of indigenous culture by the parental generation is illustrated by a story told by an American missionary working in a rural Ponapean village:

The adult education program in this community has been completely abused by the people. They just set up the programs to get the money and pass it around. In one example the government sponsored a school for teaching tiahk or culture, a sort of program meant for cultural revitalization. All the high titles immediately became teachers and used the basic adult education funds to pay themselves and to buy goods from the people for demonstration purposes. No one was interested in such an undertaking until they heard about the money. My community wanted a similar program, but the government refused to fund it. I told the people to arrange one of their own if they were sincerely interested in preserving "their culture." I continued, "Why should my parents [American taxpayers] pay for you to learn about your own culture?" The people were very angry. The program never evolved although there were individuals who shouted proudly that they would foot the bill for the whole program.

There are numerous examples of such program abuse on Ponape. In one case the Community Action Agency Women’s Interest group sponsored sewing classes and initiated them by giving away material and paying local instructors. Once the free material was gone and the instructors were asked to work for less or no money the program folded. The same agency has a mobile education program. Notable is the sparse attendance during the day, and the crowds that flock in at night when films are shown. It seems that, if nothing else, these nonformal educational programs, like the schools, serve to build further dependence upon government services and unrelenting expectations of “giveaway,” thus causing Ponapeans to relinquish any innate sense of control and personal self-reliance to government largess.3

New values of romantic freedom, familial independence, individual-
ism, egalitarianism, and Western materialism are rapidly invading the minds and character of Ponapean youth. Parents readily blame the evils of the school peer society and the urban center of Kolonia as explanations for this transformation. In their ignorance of the school goals and process, they separate the content and objectives of schooling from the realm of student accultural behavior, ironically supporting the school ideology on the one hand and condemning resultant student behavior on the other, as if they were not interrelated.

Thus, in their increasing contact with the alien culture emanating from the District Center they find themselves subtly falling prey to the same cultural offenses they are so quick to note in their children. The paradox of this hypocritical parental behavior is not only confusing to the young schooled Ponapean, but also self-alienating to the culturally victimized parents themselves.

**Historical Dependence, the Abdication of Control, and the Passing of Indigenous Self-Reliance**

*At his job the average Micronesian stands in the shadow of an American supervisor whose responsibility it is to show his charges a better way of getting work done. New Zealanders built his hospital; Okinawans do his fishing for him; and the parish [and alien government] plan and construct his school and church. He is continually being told that he has not matured sufficiently to handle the most important jobs by himself; and when he does try something venturesome he is counseled that he has forgotten several important factors and thus impaired the quality of his work. His language is inadequate to the task of conveying precise information on technical matters; his customs are too hopelessly antiquated to be of much use in the modern life of the town; and his folklore is cute but irrelevant. What can he do? What is he good for?*

Francis Hezel, 1971

The building of a dependent relationship between the Ponapeans and the Americans occurs in all walks of life, but especially so in education. As mentioned earlier, most Ponapeans relinquished the control over their children’s education when formal schooling was introduced. That this has been a gradual historical process over time and through various foreign reigns is acknowledged in the following Ponapean observation:

*Our people today have no sense of responsibility toward the school. The government builds the schools, supplies them with teachers, pays them and governs them. It all started in Japanese times when a tax was collected, but the people didn’t know that it had anything to do with the schools. Then the navy came in and gave the people everything they wanted, including schools, and the people gave nothing in return. The general course has been to break our proud tradition of reciprocity by giving the people everything and keeping them ignorant, irresponsible, powerless, and dependent.*
When one cultural group is led to depend on the offerings and false generosity of another group, the former typically relinquish their ability to control their own affairs and fail to exemplify any form of self-reliance. One of the socio-psychological results of such a dependency relationship is the inferior status of the subordinate group. That a sense of inferiority has evolved in the overall picture on Ponape is demonstrated in this comment by an elder: “I have no personal experience to say what is wrong with the schools. I think we need more American teachers working since the foreign language is essential and our children are quite inferior due to the inability of our own teachers.”

Furthermore, the United States Department of Agriculture surplus rice program, among other federal programs, abets this developing dependence pattern as the following observation at a PTA meeting demonstrates: “The main complaint was about the food. The government was not giving yeast and canned goods. The parents were asked to contribute money to purchase these things as a balancing part in the USDA rice program for school lunches. The majority of the parents felt that it was the obligation of the government to provide these things along with the rice” (March 1972).

In a situation like this, the children are the losers. Instead of the government food being used to assist the community, tradition is reversed and the community, instead of volunteering food, feels imposed upon if asked to assist in the feeding of their own children. The parents not only accept the government handout, but have come to expect it as a “right.” As one informant noted, “It is not bad enough that the food is freely given away, but the people refuse to even carry it up from the dock, viewing even this as a government responsibility.”

The internalized expectation of the giveaway has served in the long run to make the people more dependent on and critical of the American administrators. One Ponapean educator summarized the popular feeling as follows: “Ponapeans are always expecting something and relying on someone else. No Ponapean will bring up his own ideas. Americans brought in so many new, beautiful, and easy things that the people were awestruck. Who wants to work the land when a man can sit around making eight dollars a day in a government office doing nothing. You can’t blame them if Americans are so stupid as to give, give, give.”

When parents were asked if there was anything they could do if their children learned things at school that they did not approve of, the majority indicated that one might talk to a teacher or principal, although most claimed that they themselves had not done this in the past. The urban parents were slightly more responsive on this count, suggesting some of the difficulties they perceived in terms of effective participation. One urban parent pointed to the fact that “the American laws have taken away
from us the right to control our children because they are now legally adults at eighteen.” Another parent summed up the majority’s feelings as follows:

The solutions are hard. One cannot freely discuss your children with others. Most parents really don’t understand what goes on in school. They don’t even ask what the children are learning. They think that once the children go to school they will be taken care of, and all the parent has to do is send them money and foods and pick them up on the weekend. Some think school is a waste of time because when the children return home they can’t do anything traditional, like planting yams.

Most parents assume that when the child is at home he is the ward of the parent, but when he is in school, he is in the total responsibility of the teacher. When asked if they had any suggestions for changing the schools, they had little, if anything, to say, once again pleading their ignorance of the alien imposed situation, and thus abdicating control of the socialization of their children to the American schools. When they did offer criticism it typically dealt with the perceived lack of moral training of the young and the failure to teach aspects of the traditional culture such as legends and indigenous skills. As one schooled parent reacted: “We want tiahk taught in the school. Our children must learn about Ponape first, then they can learn about other countries. These children are not going to be fully Americanized, they are still Ponapeans. They must study and learn about the rivers and peoples of Ponape, not about the Mississippi and George Washington.”

Coordination and cooperation throughout all levels of the educational system, from education officers to local school boards to the principals and ultimately to the people, are in disarray. This is demonstrated by a municipal chief’s comment on a local educational problem:

There is no clear-cut system of responsibility and duties between the principals, teachers, and school boards. We must clear this up before we can deal with the people’s concerns. The district boards are not the key, we need local boards in order to get to the people. I am the chief of this municipality and I wasn’t even informed that a new school was being built here. The education office went through the principal and the people weren’t informed. If they had gone through me I would have had a feast of dedication and explained the purposes of this school to the people. If I don’t know what is going on the people don’t know. It is not only this new building, but the whole educational communication process which ignores traditional leadership and authority. This ultimately leads to ignorance and disinterest on the part of the parents.

But the problems related to dependence and local control are not merely those of coordination and cooperation, they are also cultural in
nature, with inadequate communication the root of the problem. The lack of parental understanding and exposure to the formal educational system is clearly related to their lack of information, control, and involvement in the overall political, social, and economic processes.

The indigenous independence, control, and self-reliance of traditional Ponapean culture is slowly being undermined by a transcultural process of increasing dependence on foreign governance and reliance on American dictates. The access to and control of knowledge seems to be directly linked to the overriding issues of social participation, control, and a general sense of societal self-reliance. While the American educational institution is creating, controlling, and distributing new knowledge to its eager audience of young Ponapeans, it is simultaneously rendering traditional Ponapean knowledge, as established in the family, obsolete. Thus, the alien technology of schooling, along with the myriad forms of informal education attendant upon the urbanization phenomenon, serves as the primary value inducing and dependence creating arm of the superordinate American culture's evolving definition of reality, a reality the Ponapeans desire and are becoming ever dependent on, but nevertheless neither fully understand, participate in, nor control.

**Education, Freedom, and Alienation**

*Education right now is to teach our children to become American. In the coming years our children will no longer be Ponapean, they will be Ponapean-American. The only way to keep this from happening is to first see what we really are and then get the schools to teach those things as well as the most important new things.*

Traditional Ponapean chief, February 1972

The juxtaposition of freedom and control, authoritarianism and egalitarianism inevitably comes down to the core of the educational processes: rote learning and obedient memorization versus critical, reflective thinking. Authoritarianism is the repression of independent thought through rigid control, while egalitarianism becomes an empty slogan when not accompanied by the ability to exercise freedom through reflective consideration of alternatives. The indigenous education system on Ponape insures the former, while the American schools propagate the latter. As one American educator observed:

Parents are not willing to give their children freedom of decision making until after marriage. Thus when the children come under the permissiveness of the school and suffer from the lack of ability to make decisions they fall back into the reckless free behavior of early childhood. The school must teach the children how to handle alternatives, make decisions, deal with freedom, or in essence teach them to think on their own. This is something not taught nor expected in traditional Ponapean culture until late in life.
Both parents and educators are guilty of failing to provide the children with the skills necessary to exercise rational freedom of choice. At one social studies curriculum meeting, the Micronesians present were against the inclusion in the curriculum of anything that would emphasize independent thinking, and the Americans present deferred to this decision. A stated goal of one of the textbooks is "the teaching of respect." To live in a free, democratic society, one must not only be free to choose, but must also be capable of making a choice. Currently, education in both its indigenous and alien forms in Ponape is not meeting this challenge.

As it now stands, confusion and alienation, rather than reflective thought and liberation, are the major results of both formal and informal education processes on Ponape. This dichotomy advances as the young are separated from the traditional simple material and authoritarian life-style, yet not fully prepared to participate in any new cultural mode based on Western concepts of freedom and materialism. They are taught in the schools that the old ways are outmoded and inferior to the new, but they are not given the intellectual tools to deal with the new.6

Although major economic transformations from a predominantly subsistence, agrarian economy to a growing commercial, civil service-oriented economy tend to overshadow the role of schooling in creating a new socio-economic reality on Ponape, schooling does help define and legitimize this new reality. A major harm that the school inflicts on the Ponapeans is to tell them that the values they are losing weren't really too important anyway. It holds out the promise of training the young in those skills that they sorely need to become full participants in the consumer society which is emerging, a promise that often goes unfulfilled.

Thus imbued with new aspirations for freedom, equality, and affluence, and separated from the old ways of respect, authority, and limited materialism, Ponapean youth are unable to realize their aspirations in either realm.7 They are caught between the criticisms of the parental generation on the one hand and indoctrination by the alien warders on the other. The result is a cultural limbo marked by personal alienation and cultural marginality. It is these young people and the role of education in their personal plight to which we will now turn our attention.

NOTES

1. Prior to the interview the chief had returned from a gala welcoming at the airport for an American dignitary and was still dressed in white shirt, long trousers, socks, and shoes. During the interview—in the traditional feast house with sakau being pounded in the background—he gradually removed his Western clothes, e.g., tie, shoes, in preparation for the resumption of his traditional role.

3. In many ways alien government services such as education, health care, and social welfare tend to verify a subliminal 'cargo-cult syndrome' while reinforcing traditional feudal relationships of dependence between chief and commoner.

4. See "Taking the Long View" by Francis Hezel (1976) for an elaboration on "gifts" and "dependency" in Micronesia. His examples range from the hidden maintenance costs of a new university to the breakdown of community and extended family through governmental "assistance" to the elderly.

5. The fact that Ponape is functioning in a dependent (false) economy rooted in an artificial service-consumer orientation and funded almost totally by the American government has been established by a number of economic reports. As one Micronesian senator succinctly stated: "America is buying Micronesia in small down payments with each yearly increment in the budget."

6. One is persuaded to hypothesize a reinforcing cycle of dependent indigenous child rearing—yielding rote hierarchical thought—reinforced by a dependent colonial relationship bearing a more general cognitive style of "field dependence" (see Witkin et al. 1962), as established in the authoritarian pedagogy of a bureaucratic school structure. Again the question of cognitive adaptation in the cultural change process becomes crucial.

7. Ironically, "conspicuous consumption" as exhibited in traditional Ponapean competitive feasting remains a transferable cultural theme under induced American market economy conditions. Only now, the behavioral manifestations, for example, acquiring motorcycles or cars as opposed to yams, require new skills and occupational practices often legitimately tied to educational performance. When the desire remains yet legitimate channels for reaching it are not followed, illegitimate channels emerge, thus the growing rate of "legally" defined crime on Ponape today.

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“Make Style”: The Young Schooled Ponapeans Speak Out

Saturday night, September 13, was a great time for the freshmen boys. They showed their dance called “Seabees Style.” These teenagers were really groovy. They knew how to make the new style.

Micro-Treasure, September 1971

That a new cultural identity is developing to challenge the old was clearly evident in the interviews with young Ponapeans who had been to school. The different response patterns that evolved were directly related to the individuals’ level of schooling and degree of exposure to urban life.

In this chapter we will compare four groups of young schooled Ponapeans. Group one consists of eighth grade terminatees who were reared in rural Ponape and who attended an outer municipality elementary school; group two consists of eighth grade terminatees who were reared in the urban District Center and who attended elementary school there; group three consists of high school (PICS) graduating seniors who were reared in and attended elementary school in the outer municipalities, but who resided in the urban District Center while attending high school; and group four consists of high school seniors who were reared in and went to school in the urban District Center environment.

The interview questions utilized fall into four broad categories: First, feelings about out-group (alien) people; second, feelings about traditional (in-group) customs; third, feelings about the comparative institutions of schooling and government as they exist in the Ponapean and American contexts; and fourth, a general discussion of the level of cultural contact, feelings about the old and new ways (culture change), and personal loyalties (see Appendixes B-E).

The responses of each student group will be treated separately across the four interview categories, and then comparatively summarized in relation to the varying group patterns of cultural marginality.

The Rural Eighth Grade Terminatees:
A Youth in Cultural Continuity

Numerically this group is the largest. More than fifty percent of the Ponapean children do not continue their formal education beyond the eighth grade and the majority of these are rural students. Both the relative dysfunctionality of the rural elementary schools and the proximity
and influence of traditional family life keep the majority of these youth tied to the traditional Ponapean culture. When asked what they thought about Ponapeans marrying outside the group, most indicated that it was acceptable for “others” but not for themselves. One youth stated, “It is bad because such a thing forces one out of the Ponapean way of living and causes him to be unacceptable to other Ponapeans.” When asked how they felt about Ponapeans changing their names to American names, the general response was that they did not know many people who had done this, but that they thought it was very pretentious. As another youth observed: “Maybe they like to pretend that they are Americans. I know one guy who after dropping out of PICS changed his name to Hank Williams because he liked to sing and there is an American country musician by that name.”

The rural terminees maintained that they had very little interpersonal contact with non-Ponapeans in sports, work, or friendships. One individual who had a non-Ponapean friend commented, “Non-Ponapean friends are good if we can get along well with each other and can understand each other, but most of my friends are Ponapeans because I’m a Ponapean.” Few had worked with aliens, and when asked whom
they would hire first if given the chance to hire a well-qualified non-Ponapean or a not-so-qualified Ponapean, the majority claimed that they would hire the less-qualified Ponapean first. Those few who would have hired the more-qualified person tempered their statement by indicating that they still would prefer working with Ponapeans even if it meant a lower wage. As one youth succinctly declared: “I would hire Ponapeans first because they would learn the skills later. I prefer working with other Ponapeans even if it means working for less money because they are more cooperative and have a similar understanding of things.” Finally, after discussing several points revolving around the theme of outsiders, the question of how they felt about outsiders coming to Ponape was directed to the youth. Virtually all indicated that it was good if they came to visit, but not to stay, as the following representative responses suggest:

I like outsiders coming to visit but not to stay because when they stay they change our customs.

It is okay for foreigners to visit, but not to stay because they will take up space on our land which we need for food and they will be a great bother to us.

In response to questions pertaining to in-group feelings and orientation toward traditional Ponapean life-style (tiahken sahpw), the strong cultural bonds of rural terminees became even more apparent. Their relation to the land, the lifeblood of Ponapean customs, proved most important. When asked if they would trade their land for an equivalent place in any location of their choice, all unequivocally responded in the negative. One individual asserted, “No, I love my land and my family and cannot leave them.” Another added: “No, I have been raised here and am used to this land. If I were to sell or trade my land it would go against my family’s wishes. The land is the most important thing we have, my father received it from his father and my son must receive it from me.” Ponapean life revolves around the extended family, and the land is the binding material for that social unit.

When asked what foods they typically ate and preferred, the rural terminees responded that although they ate canned food as the main dish (sali) whenever they had money to buy it (which was infrequently), they still preferred eating Ponapean foods. The purchasing of the sali saved the efforts of a day of fishing or the waste of an entire pig or fowl, since food preservation methods are still primitive on Ponape.

Although beer is consumed periodically by most of the rural terminees, the majority still prefer sakau and claim to drink it nightly. As one respondent said, “I drink beer about once a month, but sometimes I
drink sakau a whole week straight with a short break and then continue drinking nightly."

When asked how they felt about using traditional medicine versus using American medicine, their responses were consistently in line with a pragmatic "situational ethic." The availability of the medicine and the type of disease usually determined which medicine was used. The following general comments support this rule:

Ponapean medicine is good for all Ponapean diseases. I use American medicine only when hospitalized or when Ponapean medicine is not available.

I usually use medicine according to the type of sickness and the availability of the medicine. If the sickness is fever or caused by magic then only Ponapean medicine will work.

Since yams are equivalent to money in the Ponapean status system, the rural youth were asked if they deemed it more important to have much money, many yams, or both. Again, responding pragmatically, most made a distinction based on where they lived. If living in the District Center of Kolonia, they would need more money. If living in the outer municipalities they desired more yams. Most preferred yams, although they would like both, as these comments indicate:

I would prefer many yams because this is the custom of Ponape, but I would like to have money too.

I prefer yams because we need them for the feast and if I have a lot of yams I can sell them anytime I want money. [Interestingly enough, the urban youths' response is opposite to this; that if they have a lot of money they can buy yams anytime they want.]

When confronted with the idea of buying yams in the public market in Kolonia, all were quick to acknowledge that they had yams, and so there was no need to buy them and shame themselves in the process. As one rural youth explained: "It is more important for me to have yams because I am a 'real Ponapean.' If I go to a feast I want to bring my own yams so that people will know that I have yams. I would be ashamed to buy yams, people would say, 'What, you have no yams? You are not a Ponapean; you must be Trukese.' "

When discussing feasts many contended that although they still often attended feasts, they had some bad feelings about the amount of work required of them and the way food was distributed. The following response best expresses the group feeling:

I like feasts. My friend, the teacher at the school, says that he dislikes the feasts because he has a low title and never gets an equal share of the food. I
say never mind the food, the drinking of *sakau* and the learning of the *tiahk* are good enough. I accept the distribution of the food even though I know only the high people will get it. This is the Ponapean way and maybe someday I will have a high title.

In relation to in-group orientation, the rural terminees were asked how they felt about language usage and, in particular, the Ponapean high language. While the majority claimed they liked speaking English, when questioned further they submitted that they only used it when drunk, joking, or when talking to foreigners. They all felt that the high language was extremely important for addressing elders and titled people in the appropriately respectful manner. As the following respondent professed: “I like to speak English so that I can talk to some Americans, but typically I use it when drinking, and when playing around. . . . The high language is very important for speaking to chiefs and elders with respect and honor.”

The next set of questions dealt with feelings toward the alien innovations of school and democratic government. The parental feeling that formal schooling is a panacea clearly carried over to their children. Although they generally agreed that they learned different things at home, most of the rural terminees were convinced that they learned more when in school and wished they could have continued.

I can learn more things at school, but much different things at home. I cannot learn how to squeeze *sakau* in school. Maybe they should teach such things there.

I learn some bad things at school too, like playing around with the girls and fighting and smoking, but I still prefer school because I would have been *marain* (enlightened) if I had stayed.

Most students prefer school to the hard work of farming and frequently made reference to this point. In general, the majority supported school as being a good thing and indicated that they would encourage their children to continue in school as long as possible.

Most rural terminees favored the *Nahnmwarki* system of government to the American electoral system, but conceded their ignorance of the American political process. The following statements best convey the group’s position on this matter:

I think that the *Nahnmwarki* system is good. The people still honor his rule, especially the older people. The young people like the *Nahnmwarki*, but it is hard for them because they don’t know the customs. They were not at home for their parents to teach them the customs or maybe some of the parents don’t want to teach them now.
The *Nahmnwarki* system is good because he tells the people what to do and the people can help him. Some of the young people do not want to honor him because they don’t want *tiahk en Pohnpei* (Ponapean culture). When they go to PICS it makes them change their minds about what they want.

It should be noted that in some rural municipalities the *Nahnmwarki* has also been elected chief magistrate, which tends to obliterate any systemic conflict for the people.

Although many of the rural terminees saw the injustices in the title system as manifested in the distribution of food at the feasts, they were quick to excuse the failures of the system, claiming that “the title system is good because it gives respect and dignity in the face of others, and makes for balanced, harmonic relations with other people.” When queried as to whether they would prefer a high title in the village or a high position in the American government, or both, they again employed situational ethics and stated that it depended on whether they lived in Kolonia or in an outer municipality. If forced to choose, most responded that they preferred the title system because “it is really Ponapean.”

It is interesting to note how many of the rural terminees’ responses were prefaced by a sharp distinction between urban and rural habitats. They are not necessarily critical of one and in favor of the other, but rather view them as two separate but equally justifiable worlds.

As a group, the rural eighth grade terminees have had very little contact with any foreign culture. They have lived in the rural areas most of their lives and are barely literate. They attend movies sporadically and rarely listen to the radio news. They have had few if any Western jobs, have spent time neither in the hospital nor in any other Western institutions, and speak very little English. When asked to describe a real Ponapean, they respond with the exact terms that their parents use. They emphasize such things as courage, possession of land, yams, wife and children, and a title.

When asked how they felt about maintaining Ponapean customs and/or adopting new customs (American), the majority advocated the unquestioning preservation of all the Ponapean customs and pleaded unfamiliarity with the American ways. Some characteristic responses were:

We must keep all the *tiahk*. By adopting foreign customs you cause problems when the two customs are going in different directions at the same time. One will always contradict the other. *Tiahken sahpw* is the real Ponapean way. I like the American idea of school, but we need to adapt the school system to our ways.

I think we should keep all Ponapean customs because I am familiar with them and feel comfortable. I am not familiar with the American customs so I don’t want them.
American customs are not bad, but they are good for Americans, not for Ponapeans. Ponapean customs are good for Ponapeans.

When asked what geopolitical level they identified themselves with, roughly half indicated their local municipality, while the remainder said Ponape. None made any reference to belonging to an alien culture or to Micronesia as a greater geopolitical entity.

For many of these rural terminees the interview process itself turned out to be an educational experience. It appeared that it was the first time that many of them had ever considered the whys behind their behavioral patterns and preferences. For the majority of these youth the traditional culture remains the major reference point. Their physical isolation from the effects of urbanization, the relative dysfunctionality of the rural elementary schools, and the pervasive influence of the family all serve to insure the traditional cultural orientation of this group.

The Urban Eighth Grade Terminees: Charges of a Larger World

The urban terminees were the most difficult group to locate primarily because so many urban elementary school students continue, rather than terminate, their formal education. Those who do terminate at the eighth grade level tend to either leave the island completely or remain in the urban environment. Their attitudes are strongly affected by the urban environment, as evidenced in the interviews.

When asked how they felt about marrying a non-Ponapean, most agreed that it was acceptable. They said that they would freely marry a non-Ponapean for reasons such as love, out-group interest, and because, as one stated, "the Ponapean women tend to be bitchy." As a matter of fact, a number of the group were either married to non-Ponapeans or contemplating such an alternative.

Generally, the group was not familiar with Ponapeans who had changed their names to American names, albeit many approved of doing this for perceived utilitarian reasons, as the following statements indicate:

Yes, I think it is okay to change your name because so many American teachers have a difficult time saying Ponapean names.

It is good to change your name if it helps you to get a job or to get into school.

Almost all of the urban terminees had non-Ponapean friends and thought it was advantageous. As one urban terminee stated, "I like to have non-Ponapean friends to get used to different ways." When asked
how they would feel about working with and hiring non-Ponapeans, most indicated that they had actually held jobs with non-Ponapeans and had enjoyed the situation. They all submitted that they would hire a more qualified person before hiring on the basis of ethnicity. As one youth summarized: "I work with non-Ponapeans now and I like many of them. It doesn't matter if they are Ponapean or not just as long as they are nice. I would hire the most qualified person, and as to myself, I think it is better to get a good job than to work with other Ponapeans for a lower wage."

Here we begin to see merit (achievement) overriding heredity (ascripton) and a general openness to out-group persons. When recounting how they felt about outsiders coming to Ponape, better than half of the group vocalized their approval of aliens coming and staying on Ponape. They believed that they could learn from the outsiders and could earn the money and obtain the goods outsiders brought in.

The Americans are good because they bring money and jobs with them.

I like outsiders to come not only to visit, but to stay because they teach us many new things.

Generally, this group expressed positive feelings toward out-group peoples, but still followed a traditional, pragmatic line of reasoning, viewing aliens as a means to new material and esoteric ends.

As far as in-group attitudes toward the traditional culture are concerned, some distinct divergences from the tiakken sahpw manifested themselves. Although the majority agreed that land was sacred and was not to be sold or traded, the total, unquestioning support of this view that existed among the rural terminees was absent. One diffident student remarked: "Yes, I would exchange my land for a piece of land in America because there are many good things there, like big houses and cars. I don't think I care what my family says or thinks." Another conceded: "If I knew the customs of the people there I would trade for land in Hawaii. My parents wouldn't approve but that doesn't matter." The emphasis on Western materialism and an aspiration for out-migration is certainly implicit in these comments.

The majority of these respondents eat canned foods daily and prefer beer to sakau. They still liked the traditional foods though they found them difficult to get in the District Center, but made explicit their dislike for Ponapean sakau. On the subject of Ponapean versus American medicine, the urban terminees, like their rural counterparts, fell back on the "situational ethic" in stressing that it depended on the type of illness and the availability of medicine. One urban terminee stated: "I think that Ponapean medicine is very good for some things. I use it mostly when
I'm pregnant. But American medicine is also good because they do things that Ponapean medicine can't, like X-ray. Both medicines are good but for different things.

When it came to a choice between money or yams, most respondents claimed that the choice would again depend on where they were living. They said that they would like both if possible, but if forced to choose, unlike their rural counterparts, they preferred the money to the yams. The majority further maintained that they would not be ashamed to buy yams in the market because they were living in the urban center and could not grow them. The following statements illustrate the group consensus on this topic:

It is important to have money, because money can buy many other foods besides yams. If I could have both then that would be good because then I could eat the yams and spend the money on other things. I would buy yams to eat. This would not bother me because it is hard to grow yams here.

It is more important for me to have much money. I don't plant yams. If I need them I just buy them.

Although the influence of the traditional culture is still somewhat felt, ultimately money is preferred.

When asked about the traditional feasts all agreed that feasts were acceptable for those living outside Kolonia, but added that the distribution of foods was unjust. They were more verbal about this and less willing to excuse it than the rural terminees.

Feasts are no good. Everyone works for many months to get food for the feast and they don't have enough food for every day for their families. Then they all bring the food to the feast and don't get much to take home. Even those who take a lot home waste it because they can't eat it all in one day.

It is not important to attend feasts. I dislike the fact that only a few get to eat. That is why I prefer American feasts, everyone lines up and gets an equal share.

Although the group generally found the inequality of food distribution difficult to accept, they retained a basic respect for the custom itself and generally felt that "it was good as long as it remained in the rural areas." In one particular interview the depth of this conflict came to the forefront. The urban terminee began by expressing the fact that he believed feasts were good and the distribution of foods at feasts was acceptable. When asked how he liked American feasts (parties), he pointed to the fact that they were also good "because all could equally share in the food and activities." When the conflicting statements were pointed out to him, he laughed, saying, "I didn't expect you to ask the second ques-
tion. I guess in reality I respect the old ways, but desire the new." It is this statement which best captures the plight of the urban eighth grade terminee, a youth in cultural transition. He has respect for the in-group culture but aspirations to the out-group culture. This conflict is handled primarily by psychologically projecting the culturally appropriate behavior onto his rural counterparts. In this way, the youth can embrace the new secure in his belief that the old will be preserved by others. Like its rural counterparts, this group views the urban and rural environments as separate but equally legitimate realities.

In discussing language usage and preference, all urban terminees acknowledged their daily use of the English language. Again projecting the maintenance of traditional culture, attitudinal responses given concerning feasting, the Ponapean language, and the high language in particular indicated that these were viewed as good things for one living in the outer areas or possessing a high title. The following urban terminee's statement best captures the group's attitude on this issue:

I like to speak English but I'm not very good at it. I use it mostly when I meet someone who can't speak Ponapean but who can speak English. I use it a lot at work. I would prefer English be the primary language because it is more useful. Ponape is a very small island and not many people in the world speak Ponapean. Now many people are coming to Ponape who don't speak Ponapean so English is necessary. But it is still important to speak the high language if you are talking to a Nahnmwarki or are at a feast.

When questioned as to their opinion on the traditional Nahnmwarki system of rule versus the American electoral system, the majority lashed out at the Nahnmwarki's abuses of the traditional system. They alluded to the fact that the system itself has innate worth in terms of respect and dignity, but that only those with high titles, the rural people in general, were bent on preserving it. The following comments exemplify their position:

I think the Nahnmwarki is bad because at the feasts he takes all the people's food and gives it only to the high titles, keeping much for himself. Most people still honor him; the old especially, but the young people show the least respect for him. The young people would prefer the American ways that they learn in school and from the movies.

I think the electoral system is better than the Nahnmwarki, although most people still revere him. If he does a bad job then we can replace him in the electoral system. Those with titles prefer the old system, while those without prefer the chief magistrate.

It is good to have the Nahnmwarki so that people have someone to respect. A lot of people still honor him, but the people in Kolonia don't because they are away from the land and have jobs.
The urban eighth grade terminees’ movement toward an egalitarian value orientation is quite apparent in their criticism of the traditional Ponapean system of governance.

In this group, as with the rural terminees, schooling surfaced as a remedy to give hope to all, but unlike the rural terminees, the urbanites had little if anything good to say about the things one can learn at home. They generally thought that in school, and in school alone, all significant learning takes place. Furthermore, they saw school as freeing one from laborious tasks, enabling one “to get a job and to make much money.” The realities of these high expectations were beginning to emerge. One perplexed student responded, “School is good because it teaches you how to get a job, but sometimes people go to school and work very hard but still cannot find a job.” With their parents working predominantly in Western jobs, and land being scarce in the crowded District Center, it is no wonder that many of these youth make little reference to learning anything at home.

The urban terminees have had a great deal of contact with aliens and foreign institutions. Virtually all of them have had some type of Western employment at one time or another, go to the movies at least once a week, listen to the radio news often, and have either gone to the hospital or been in jail. When asked to describe how a real Ponapean should behave, even with their tremendous exposure to Western role models they still verbalized the attitude that a Ponapean should be respectful, work hard, and have the traditional dipwisou (yams, sakau, pigs, and ti-tile). Although they voice this opinion, most of them do not have these things and thus view their own “Ponapeanness” with some ill-ease.

It is implicit in many of their statements that this group is attempting to bridge the cultural gap. They are more knowledgable about Western customs, fundamentally disagreeing with their rural brothers and sisters in that they prefer a combination of cultures rather than the unquestioning acceptance of Ponapean tiahk. The following statements outline their general outlook:

I like both American and Ponapean ways. I would prefer many American ways because Ponapean ways are so hard to do. It is good to keep respect for parents but we should throw away the feasts which are not fair to all people. The material things that the Americans bring are good but the beer is bad because it makes men go crazy and fight, and forget their families.

I would keep some of both cultures. What I really like is my own customs, yet I want to wear long hair and Western clothes. I guess I'm really confused.

Their resulting state of cultural confusion is readily apparent. They verbally project admiration for the maintenance of respect and tradition-
al authority on the one hand, but actively seek equality, justice, and Western materialism on the other. The resounding note is one of extreme cultural marginality marked by behavioral out-group (American) identification and the absence of a clear-cut membership in the traditional Ponapean culture.

The fact that they are in movement toward alien American norms of achievement, egalitarianism, and material consumption, yet have one foot in the traditional Ponapean culture, is illustrated by the responses they gave as to their geopolitical identification. Whereas the majority of the rural terminees identified with local areas (municipalities), most urban terminees choose Ponape itself as a locus of identity. As one urban eighth grade terminee said in synopsis: “I am a Ponapean, but not in the traditional sense, I am a new type of Ponapean.”

So far we have presented the effects of limited educational and maximal environmental exposure in terms of the rural-urban dimension and its impact on cultural change. Now we will turn to the effects of maximal educational and minimal environmental exposure with a discussion of the rural graduating seniors at PICS.

**The Rural Seniors: A Force for Cultural Revitalization**

The rural seniors are a group marked by division and ambiguity. On the one hand they acknowledge the alien tenets of egalitarianism and materialism, while on the other hand they nostalgically idealize the traditional Ponapean ways.

In terms of out-group attitudes, like the rural terminees they thought that marriage outside the group was acceptable as long as it involved someone besides themselves. They listed sophisticated benefits for marrying out of the group, but stammered when asked if they themselves would do so. Some common responses were:

- It is good if Ponapeans marry non-Ponapeans because then the two different peoples will be able to understand each other better. I can’t say if I would marry a non-Ponapean, I’ll have to wait and see.

- I know Ponapeans who are married to non-Ponapeans. I don’t see anything wrong with this. It can be a very good thing because then the couple can pick the best of the two cultures, and the possible conflict will be useful to make a better marriage. I can’t say if I would marry a non-Ponapean or not.

Again we see projection at work, but in this case, while the individual remains hesitantly couched in the traditional culture, he attempts to project the new value onto others.

When questioned as to how they felt about Ponapeans changing their names to American names, most opposed the idea, but added in a
somewhat contradictory fashion that if it was useful to do this for some instrumental end then it was generally acceptable.

Although most of these students stated that it was good to have non-Ponapean friends, many still remained members of ethnic cliques and in reality had only peripheral friendships with non-Ponapeans. The Kitti seniors (from the most rural municipality) were an extreme example of the ethnic cliquishness at PICS. The reasons for having non-Ponapean friends were articulated as follows:

It is good to have non-Ponapean friends. It is not good to learn just your own ways. Then if you go to another place you will have people to visit and you will know how to act.

It is good to have non-Ponapean friends because I like to learn the different languages and customs of other people.

The group was divided on whether they would hire an ethnic Ponapean over a more qualified non-Ponapean to do a job. The majority did show a clear preference for working with Ponapeans even at the expense of a lower wage. As two rural seniors elaborated:

I would hire the more qualified person, but would prefer working with other Ponapeans because I understand them and would be afraid of non-Ponapeans getting angry.

I have worked with non-Ponapeans, but would prefer hiring and working with Ponapeans because I would know they are my people.

The most pointed question dealing with out-group orientation concerned the group's feelings toward aliens coming to Ponape. Here a negative response was typically tempered by mention of the more realistic benefits of the situation: "Sometimes I feel good about outsiders and sometimes bad. Tourists bring money but some say that they are ruining our culture because many Ponapeans imitate them." Others were concerned with the possible shortage of land and jobs:

I think that there are too many outsiders coming to Ponape now. This will get bad because there will not be enough land or food. They also will take the jobs that Ponapeans could have even though they will bring jobs too.

It is good if some outsiders come to Ponape because Ponapeans can work for them and can get some money. But if too many come then it will get very crowded and everyone will fight.

Although the rural seniors tend to condone out-group contact from an instrumental perspective, they emotively temper their initial statements with the revelation of a deep-seated ethnocentrism. Seeing the ad-
vantges of reaching out, but unwilling to relinquish the security of the
traditional culture, many of these rural students suffer deeply within
themselves.

When it comes to in-group feelings as expressed through the tradi-
tional culture, the tiahken sahpw is still a definite reference point for
many of the rural seniors. In fact, they are very much involved in the
finer nuances of the culture and have a well-thought-out stance for its
preservation. All the rural seniors insisted that they could not sell their
lands. While citing the family as the major reason, they also pointed to
the importance of land in terms of survival. As one rural senior submit-
ted: “I cannot sell my lands because I will get the land from my father
and don’t like it to go out of the family. Other people will criticize you
for selling your land. Because once you sell your land you will spend the
money on a motorboat instead of food, and when you die they will have
to bury you in the ocean because you have no land.”

Although the group regularly consumes canned Western foods at
the school cafeteria, their preference for traditional foods was well estab-
lished in the interviews. It is a common practice for their parents to send
them Ponapean food or to see that they return from vacation with a bas-
ket full of food. When discussing drinking habits, the majority of the
students claimed that they liked beer and sakau equally well, and that
what they drank depended on whether or not they had money or where
they were residing. One rural senior stated, “Here in Kolonia, I drink
beer every weekend; when I’m in Kitti I drink sakau every night.” The
few who claimed a dislike for sakau usually gave medical reasons for
their not wanting to drink it.

Regarding the use of Ponapean medicine versus American medicine,
the answers of the rural seniors were parallel to those of the other
groups. They indicated that generally the use of medicine depended upon
its availability and the type of illness. That they still firmly believe in tra-
ditional magic and spiritual sickness (soumwahu en eni) was demon-
strated in this statement: “I think that Ponapean medicine is good for
some things that American medicine cannot cure like ghost sickness or a
love spell. The hospital is better for other things like a cough.”

On the subject of the importance of yams versus money, the rural
seniors again took a situational stance, emphasizing that the need for one
over the other depended upon where they were living. When asked if they
would buy yams in the market they responded in a traditional fashion by
exclaiming how un-Ponapean such behavior would be. The following as-
sertion best speaks for the group:

If you live in Kolonia money is important; if you live in Kitti yams are more
important. Only outsiders buy yams. If you are a Ponapean you don’t have
to buy yams, you have some. If you are seen buying yams in the market people will laugh at you, and say that you are not a real Ponapean.

The rural seniors were divided on the value of traditional feasts. Those who still preferred the feasts stressed the qualities of family reunion, respect of elders, and preservation of the culture. Those who criticized the feasts pointed to the conspicuous waste of time and food, and the unequal distribution of the work and foodstuffs. The following responses illustrate this conflict:

I would prefer to keep the feast because it is a way the Ponapeans can preserve their culture. It is very important to attend them because they bring the whole family together.

I don't like the feasts because I think that they are a waste of food. Some people get the food but others go home with very little. I went to only a few of the feasts. I don't like to go because I'm very young and I have the lowest place in the feast house.

Whether they opted for the traditional feasts or not, they all seemed somewhat disoriented by the present situation. They sensed their pursuit of a new value called equality, but knew they were losing something valuable and irreplaceable in the process.

In regard to the use of English and the traditional Ponapean high language, the entire group advocated maintaining the high language on which the traditional values of honor and respect are founded. They acknowledged the value of being able to speak English in terms of acquiring jobs and communicating interculturally. One student's comment particularly captured the group's feeling: "I like to speak English but find it hard. I usually speak it in school to students and teachers. I think it is more important than Ponapean because it has greater use in the world, but I still think it is important to learn the high language. If you don't, people will laugh at you and you won't be able to talk to the Nahnmwar-ki or participate in sakau with the other young men."

While the rural seniors conceded to there being many benefits from alien ways, they still exhibited a tremendous concern for the preservation of Ponapean culture, implying an awareness of the great socio-psychological cost of violating traditional mores. Attempting to maintain the delicate balance between new and old is the distinct hallmark of the rural senior.

When subsequently discussing the institutions of American government and the traditional native polity, the rural seniors generally favored the Ponapean system. They did, however, enumerate flaws in the traditional system, singling out the Nahnmwar-ki for specific criticism. "The Nahnmwar-ki is not fair. Some Ponapeans are rich and some are poor,
but when he keeps order he doesn’t care whether you have money or not, as long as you give him the things he demands.” Congruently, another student stated, “The Nahnmwarki is bad because he dictates to the people and then reaps all the fruits of other people’s labors.” Most valued the respect and honor in the title system in its traditional form, but could not refrain from criticizing the unequal distribution of foods by title. Their current environment, the American structured high school, was teaching them something quite different from their traditional belief system. In this case the change in behavior provoked a change in attitude which was difficult to reconcile with their strong emotional attachment to their home life.

The majority of the rural seniors lauded the American electoral system as a form of government, but were skeptical of its workability on Ponape. One rural senior expressed these doubts: “I think that the American-style government is good, but not the way that the Micronesians adopt it. Here the congressmen don’t talk to the people but just pretend to be big men and ride around in big cars. They are not at all close to the people.” When asked if they preferred a high job in government or a high title in the village, the majority indicated that both positions were important, and that they would like one or both depending on residence. In the outer areas they would like the high title, but in Kolonia they preferred the government job.

As in the other groups, school was a highly revered institution. But the rural seniors distinctly separated school learning from home learning, and were quite concerned about the important cultural things they were not learning in school:

At home they taught me many things not taught at school, like how to behave before high titles and never to steal. At home I was allowed to touch and use everything I saw, but if I did this once I came to school people would say I was stealing.

I can learn as much at home as in school but I learn different things at home. I can learn traditions, customs, and the very old legends from the old people.

One student’s comment in particular illustrates the conflict and concern that arises from comparing the home learning experience to the school learning experience:

If I didn’t come to school I wouldn’t have learned the new things and met many people from other areas of the island. These are the good things about school. But there are also some bad things. Now I don’t like to work the land because it has been so long since I worked. I dress and act differently from my friends who didn’t go to school. I have forgotten some of the
high language and now they know more than I do. They like to go fishing and to work the land everyday. I just like to go roaming around and visiting people. They respect me more than I respect them, because they learn how to respect all the time at the feasts, in sakau and in speaking the high language.

Their confused responses, tempered by a sadness, conveyed the great strain in being torn between two cultures. Daily they see and live with the worth of a new culture at PICS and in Kolonia, yet they long for the days of rural childhood and a culture they know might very well die with their parents.

Like the urban terminees, the rural seniors experience a great deal of contact with the alien world through their very existence in the urban environment for the four years of high school, through weekly attendance at movies, and through daily contact with alien role models in the classroom. Although they did not have the Western work experiences of the urban terminees, they had the additional skill of a high literacy level which they used more often. They were also much more mobile, some even having traveled off the island to other parts of Micronesia.

The rural seniors, like the rural terminees, could freely elaborate on what it meant to be a “real” Ponapean, listing pigs, yams, sakau, a title and so on, as necessary. When directly asked how they felt about keeping Ponapean customs or about adopting new American customs, the majority submitted that, although they thought certain American customs were good, it was necessary to keep many Ponapean customs. The following comments best convey this general feeling:

I think we should keep our culture because it is our own and if we lose it we will lose part of ourselves.

I think it is very important to keep our ways. It is not good to be one-half Ponapean and one-half American because then you are nobody.

Deep down this group still views itself as Ponapean, but as Ponapeans who are moving in new ways, as one rural senior summarized in the following comment: “I am Ponapean, but not in the traditional way because I went away from the village and went to school.” Trajected into the alien culture, living at PICS and surrounded by the urban environs of Kolonia, the rural seniors somehow manage to maintain a strong identification with the traditional Ponapean realm. At once members of an alien social system (PICS) and an aware force for cultural revitalization, they are probably the most personally alienated of the four groups under study.
The Urban Seniors: There Is No Return Home

The urban seniors have always lived in the alien environments of the school and the District Center, and definitely lean toward the foreign (American) culture as an aspirational and reference point. Virtually the entire group avouched that marrying out of the Ponapean ethnic group was a favorable act, and that they themselves would gladly do so if the opportunity arose. When it came to changing their names to American names, most of them also viewed this as desirable. It appeared that marrying out and changing one's name were two perceived ways of gaining status by identifying oneself with out-group, American people.

The group had many non-Ponapean acquaintances and considered itself quite cosmopolitan. As one urban senior stated, "I think it is good to have non-Ponapean friends because I can learn many different things and visit many new places when I go to see them." Without question the entire group indicated that they preferred hiring qualified non-Ponapeans to Ponapeans who were less qualified, and that they would take the higher paying job over the possibility of working with fellow Ponapeans at less pay. In fact they were critical of Ponapean workers, as one urban senior revealed: "I would hire the more qualified man rather than the Ponapean because if he doesn't know me he might think he is better than me. The Ponapeans are quite jealous of other Ponapeans in higher positions than themselves."

The real indication that this group had left the traditional culture far behind is demonstrated in their responses toward the traditional culture itself. With all the new attitudes that this group expressed, however, they still felt that land was a sacred thing and not to be freely given up, sold, or traded. But beyond this point of agreement with the traditional norms, there was great verbal disparity and denigration of the traditional culture. First, they openly displayed a dislike for Ponapean sakau, describing it in terms such as "dirty," "grimy," and "wicked tasting." Although they still liked Ponapean foods, they were quick to note their preference for American foods. The majority felt that Ponapean medicine still had worth, but they typically used American medicine first and preferred it to Ponapean medicine as the following comments suggest:

I try American medicine first, if it doesn't work then I use Ponapean medicine. I really don't believe in magic.

I never use Ponapean medicine, but use American medicine because five minutes after I take American medicine I'm better.

Less than half of the urban seniors believed that it was still important to have both yams and money; most clearly choose money, feeling
little cultural pressure to have yams. If forced to choose one, all opted for money. Some of the reasons were:

I would rather have money because money is much more important today. I'd have both if I could, but yams are not as useful because you can only eat them and take them to feasts.

Today, having much money is more important for me because I can buy both local foods and imported foods.

When asked if they would be ashamed to buy yams in the public market, most of the group said no, submitting that if one had no land or no time to grow yams, yet wanted to eat them, one would have to buy them.

The urban seniors as a group were staunch in their condemnation of feasts. They not only related their disapproval, but were quite explicit in their statements. The following responses best convey the overall attitude:

I never go to the feasts because I don’t like just watching people. Feasts are a waste of time. I prefer American parties. I never really participated in the Ponapean feasts even when I was young.

It is useless to attend feasts. I always go away hungry. People who don’t have a title are considered nothing at the feast. They do all the work but get no food. I prefer American parties because all are equal and everybody can enjoy themselves. But at a Ponapean feast only the high titles can enjoy themselves.

I think that feasts are a waste of food and money. I don’t go to many feasts and neither does my family.

In these criticisms of the traditional feast, traditional Ponapean values are contrasted with Western standards of time, equality, and conservation of goods and money, and found wanting. This tends to corroborate the urban seniors’ preference for an achievement orientation, supported by their comments on hiring practices and their more general blatant identification with American culture.

It is also evident that the urban students’ families, most of whom are government employees, have a low level of participation in traditional events, and provide a divergent cultural model for their children. It should be further noted that many of these students come from families with low titles which are truly peripheral to the native polity. More often than not, when one of their parents does have a high title it has literally been purchased by dollar payment to one of the more culturally negligent Nahnmwarki.
When questioned as to how they felt about speaking the traditional high language and English, most described the high language as being rather useless while stressing the necessity of learning English for broader communication. As one student asserted: "I prefer English because it is a much more useful language. You can express many things in English that you can't express in Ponapean. I can't think of any reason it would be better to use Ponapean and I never speak the high language." In reference to the perceived viability of the high language the following student speaks for the group: "The high language is not important because half the people never use it and those that use it only use it at feasts or when addressing the Nahnmwarki." It is apparent that the urban seniors are more than ready to criticize the traditional culture in alien terms indicative of their adoption of a new normative framework.

Their reaction to the institutions of school and government are even more demonstrative of their cultural orientation. Like the urban termini, the urban seniors rarely mention what they have learned at home. All learning seems to be geared to the schools.

When I first went to school I didn’t like it, but now it has become a habit. When I started learning I wanted to learn more and more, and now I feel like learning many new things.

School is good. If you finish school you can get a job and make money. You can buy all the things that you want. School teaches many good things like English, math and science. School doesn’t teach bad things.

Note how this group continually alludes to money, material entities, and the general process of consumerism. School for them can do no wrong; it can only further the realization of out-group aspirations, both material and psychic.

Although some granted that the Nahnmwarki system of government is beneficial, especially in terms of maintaining respect for the aged, the majority of urban seniors clearly favored the American electoral system. They pointed primarily to the principles of equality (fairness) and freedom in their comparison of the two systems.

I don’t like the Nahnmwarki’s rule because he abuses the title system and exploits the people. Many people bring him food and return from the feast with nothing. The older people follow the Nahnmwarki, but not the young. Perhaps the young like the American style of things.

The Nahnmwarki isn’t good because he only cares about his own affairs. He doesn’t care about the young people. Most of the older people follow him, but the young who are going to school [PICS] don’t want to follow him anymore. They disagree with the waste of money for feasts and the in-
justices of the system. The American system of government is good because it is fair to both young and old.

The urban seniors have the highest level of interpersonal and institutional contact with alien norms of any group under observation, and they are the most articulate and critical about their likes and dislikes. Many of them have held Western salaried jobs, some have traveled outside Ponape Island, and all have had tremendous exposure to mass media through literature, radio, and movies. Their parents generally are in government employment and are schooled themselves. When asked to describe what a real Ponapean is like, they responded in negative terms. One student said: "Ponapeans are lazy and don't care about school. They just want to have a good time."

When queried as to how they felt about maintaining traditional customs in light of the advent of American ways, most felt that respect was the only essential traditional custom, and that feasts, titles, and Nahnmwarki rule, among other things, should be replaced by American ways of doing things.

Some of our customs are good and some are not. The feast is bad because some people cannot afford to provide for the chief and still have enough for their own families. It is good to keep respect behavior.

It is not possible to keep all our customs because we are moving with the changing times and the Americans are teaching us new things. Some of our customs are important to keep like wearing long dresses instead of mini skirts [he couldn't think of others]. We should get rid of the feasts because they are bad, costly and wasteful. Actually, I think all American customs are good to have.

When asked how they perceived their deeper geopolitical affiliations, one-third said that they thought of themselves as Micronesians first, the remaining two-thirds viewed themselves as Ponapeans first, but Micronesians second.

The group as a whole tended to have limited contact with the traditional culture and typically were critical when discussing it. While they identified with and aspired to American culture, they often failed to fully comprehend it beyond its material manifestations. That new concepts of time, individual achievement, the conservation of goods, equality, freedom, and consumerism were all subtly emerging within their new framework of identity was evident throughout their interviews.

Now that each group has spoken for itself on a number of cross-cultural issues, let us proceed to compare the four groups in a broader analysis.
Schooling, Urbanization, and Cultural Change

When alien people have been dominant as administrators, school teachers, and other agents of authority, and where the traditional economy has been undermined or replaced, acculturation has taken place as a result of the interaction, in particular social situations, of individuals who carry the two cultures, with consequent alterations in their definitions of the situations in which they live and especially in their self-definitions. These alterations have led to changes in attitudes, ideals, values, and behavior. To look at these alterations is a fruitful way to look at acculturation.

Berreman 1964:231

There are at least four distinct socio-cultural patterns of change corresponding to the four groups under observation. The rural eighth grade termminees can be readily classified as “conformist” to the traditional Ponapean normative system. Their physical isolation from the intensive influences of the urban center, the relative dysfunctionality of the rural elementary schools, and the overpowering influence of their families, peers, and community significant-others all serve to reinforce a physical and mental location in the traditional society and a contiguous orientation toward a traditional lifestyle. In referent terms, their membership group is in fact the traditional society and their identification group is likewise the traditional Ponapean society. They are relatively unaffected by schooling and urbanization, and seem content and secure in their present status. For them, the internalized norms of early childhood enculturation still remain fundamentally unchallenged. They lack both sufficient understanding of alien ways and realistic opportunities to move in that new direction. Shut out from the high school and the money economy of Kolonia, they typically turn, as did their fathers before them, to the land.

The urban eighth grade termminees are truly marginal youth. They are physically separated from the traditional Ponapean culture and have their referent values and aspirations mainly in the American culture, but are somewhat fearful and uncertain of acceptance in either system. They verbally project favorable attitudes about the traditional culture onto rural peoples, while they themselves behaviorally comply with American cultural values. In a sense they are without a membership group. Since the educational differences of the rural and urban termminees in terms of formal schooling are not significantly great, one would have to assume that urban impact has made the meaningful difference in cultural identification, for the urban termminees. The fact that the urban termminees are on the same plane of identity as the urban seniors (in terms of American values) but feel less out-group acceptance may indicate that although
schooling tends to be relatively insignificant at the elementary level on Ponape, it becomes progressively significant at the higher grades in terms of out-group acceptance and personal feelings of adequacy and legitimacy in the dominant alien system.

The rural seniors are less marginal than the urban termincenes but are the most personally alienated of the four groups. They are typically boarding students totally immersed in the alien environment of PICS, yet showing a strong identification with the traditional Ponapean norms of their rural upbringing. They are part of the alien monocultural (American) high school yet identify with traditional ways. In behavior they are out-group oriented, while in attitude they lean toward the in-group. To maintain this tense balance they do not change themselves to become Americans, but instead attempt to segregate roles and adjust to the American culture. They typically fall back on the pragmatic situational ethic fundamental to the traditional Ponapean culture character in an attempt to remain in harmony with and adapt to their environment. Bruner (1956:612), in his studies on American Indian acculturation, calls this compartmentalized behavior "situational role specificity." What makes this extremely alienating for the rural senior is that when he shifts his membership group, without wanting to do so he unwittingly loses legitimacy in his identity group. As the individual moves away from the original identification and membership group to live in another (PICS), he becomes increasingly marginal to the original group (Ponapean culture). This marginality leads to a personal sense of alienation.

The plight of the rural senior is that although he is marginal to both his native culture and to the alien culture, he views the problem as being within himself. Often people in this situation will be at the forefront of revitalization movements. In this regard it is worth noting that most of the articles in the PICS newspaper that dealt with the preservation of traditional culture were written by rural seniors. While seeking the advantages of the dominant group, they plod through the school system always unconsciously wary of rejection by members of the traditional culture. Thus the maintenance of social distance from the alien culture through formation of ethnic cliques and the cynical projection of alien ideas onto urban Ponapeans becomes the order of the day.

The last group, the urban seniors, not only finds itself fully identifying with the dominant alien culture, but also views itself as part of the alien society through the combination of attending urban elementary schools and PICS, and having resided in an urban environment from birth. The urban seniors are overtly dissatisfied with the traditional Ponapean culture and view the alien culture as being superior. They perceive opportunities for rewards and mobility in the alien system through the vehicle of formal schooling, and have relatively ineffective communi-
cation with the traditional system. Most of this group already have a foothold in the alien culture, their parental role models being government employees. At the same time they occupy a generally low status in the traditional culture as a result of the lack of participation by their parents.

There is a definite distinction between the urban seniors, who embrace the norms of the dominant culture and make it an identification group, and the urban terminees, who show similar commitment to the alien group but remain marginal to it. This difference seems to rest on the urban seniors’ ability to gain acceptance in the alien system, abetted by their greater success in the formal school. Thus, urbanization in itself, although conceivably a necessary element, is not sufficient to bring about a complete change in cultural systemic location; that is, the adoption of an alternate congruent membership, identity group, and cognitive style. Instead, it would seem that the honorific effect of gaining status through participation in formal schooling at higher levels, and its subsequent use as a passkey to occupational slots in the “New Society,” must accompany the general influence of the urban environment for one to realize more fully a change in cultural identity.

In the case of the urban seniors compared with the rural seniors, it would seem that where the latter view adjustment in terms of change in self (role segregation), the former advocate systemic or cultural transformation consistent with perceived alien American norms on Ponape.

The diagram on page 128 illustrates the differential patterns of cultural transition among the four groups.

As Goodenough (1963) has suggested, “To destroy or lose old symbols with which we have identified is in a real sense to destroy or lose a part of our former identity.” Ponapean youth are now embracing new symbols and meanings at rates proportional to their level of formal schooling and exposure to the alien urban environment of Kolonia. The new symbols and meanings point toward the forming of a new cultural identity. It would seem that personal commitment to the system, acceptance by the system, adaptation to the systemic cognitive style, and some incidence of success in the system will determine their degree of marginality to, or integration into, a given cultural system.

In the case of our four samples, the rural terminees, having had limited exposure to formal schooling and near total time in the rural system, being committed to, accepted by, and having full understanding of the traditional Ponapean system, and having experienced success in that system, are fully incorporated in the traditional system while totally separate from the American system. The urban terminees, having had minimal exposure to formal schooling and near total time in the urban system, express commitment to the alien American system but lack the
Evolving Patterns of Youth Marginality and Cultural Transformation on Ponape*

Ponapean Traditional Culture | Locus of the Group | Ponapean Traditional Culture
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RURAL TERMINEES (traditional conformist, marked by both traditional identification and membership groups.)
RURAL SENIORS (A growing personal alienation and perceived self change, marked by a traditional identification group and an alien membership group.)
URBAN TERMINEES (cultural marginality, marked by a weak identification with the alien culture and the absence of membership in either traditional or alien culture.)
URBAN SENIORS (Perceived systemic change, marked by both alien identification and membership groups.)

Induced American Culture

*Throughout this study, the term “marginal” is not to be viewed in a pathological sense, but rather interchangeably with the term “transitional,” meaning in the process of transformation.

comprehension, acceptance, and experience of any success in that system, and are, at best, culturally marginal people in transition between systems. The rural seniors have had maximum exposure to formal schooling, but minimal experience (four years) in urban life. They find themselves somewhat committed to the traditional Ponapean social system while acknowledging certain benefits in the novel American system. Through schooling and isolation from family life they are losing acceptance in the traditional group and are gaining legitimacy in the new system. They fully comprehend the traditional culture, but lack the ability to critically weigh alternatives and understand the intricate meanings of
the new symbolic system. They endeavor to accommodate the conflict through the application of role segregation, but as boarding students the effects of their total institutional immersion in the high school make it increasingly difficult to balance the old symbols with the new. The result for the rural senior is the growing personal alienation of one caught between traditional and alien systems. Finally, the urban seniors, who have had maximum exposure to both formal schooling and urban life and who fully identify with the American system, have high acceptance and success in the alien system, a high level of cognitive adaptability to that system (while experiencing the reverse in the traditional system), and are part of the American system yet totally separate from their traditional Ponapean roots.

In sum, there are at least four fundamental stages of cultural change implicit among the response patterns of the four research samples. The first is that of the rural terminees, who remain wedded to the traditional culture as both membership and identity group. Second, and perhaps most acute, is the case of the rural seniors, who continue to identify with a group in which they are gradually losing acceptance while behaviorally participating in the alien membership group of high school and the greater District Center environment. Third is the plight of the urban terminees whose marginality results from the lack of having either a solid membership or group acceptance. Finally, there are the urban seniors, who have negative valuation of the group in which they are at least ethnically members, while identifying, acting, and striving for total membership in an alien group.

Whether conscious consideration has been given to the task of forging a new cultural character, or whether marginality and alienation themselves are integral parts of the process of cultural change for the Ponapean, is a matter I will endeavor to address in the concluding chapters.

NOTE
1. Applying the Ponapean system of indirect communication, a researcher can get a greater response by asking a number of questions around a theme, thus gradually building up to the central point.

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Figure 11. The Americanization of Ponape: Ponapean boy in front of theater marquee, Kolonia. Photograph by Carlos Viti.
Education and Cultural Awareness: Toward a New Ponapean Culture

In my dream, I was stunned by the gradual manner in which so many great changes took place. Over the years we had taken small, easy steps up the ladder of progress. We had associated ourselves with the United States because we were eager for the material gains we would get at hardly any cost to us. And gradually we were absorbed. Association turned into commonwealth . . . and then integration. And I pondered the days that were lost and the Micronesia which had been forgotten.

Charles Dominick,
Micronesian congressman, 1970

The Americanization of Ponape

American education has been more than just an attempt to increase literacy and vocational skills among the Ponapeans. It has also been an attempt to contribute to humanistic expectations of a qualitatively better life with a higher standard of living and aspirations toward alien ideals of freedom and equality. It is a highly selective and competitive process in which social stratification and elitism are inherent. In short, it is an American process, with American goals and American means overlaid on a Micronesian setting. It employs a strictly American perspective of reality, the "good life," and the means to achieve it.

For many Ponapeans, American education has become the panacea, the solemn answer to all problems, and they seek it religiously. Its irrelevance to Ponapean customs, beliefs, and manners and its general disregard for the local environment have planted a seed of discontent which has yet to fully blossom. The American dream is rapidly becoming a Ponapean nightmare.

The present formal school system on Ponape fosters a dissociative process characteristic of rapid acculturation and the introduction of new disparities. The transplanted boarding school concept of both the missions and the American government has resulted in family and kin isolation, the breakdown of the extended family social structure, increased mobility (psychic and physical), and new age group (peer) associations among schoolmates. All this may abet some sense of Micronesian nationalism, but at the high price of cultural marginality related to a growing discontinuity with traditional patterns. Students who have attended boarding schools located in urban areas have tended to remain in these areas to search for employment and the good life as defined through the
alien schooling process. This rural-urban flow not only leads to the neglect of rural areas in the phenomenon of development, but also burdens the urban areas with unemployed youth whose rising expectations, as a direct result of formal schooling and urban exposure, are quickly transformed into rising frustrations. Thus, when Ponapean economic conditions cannot produce the kind of life promised in the schools, disillusionment, alienation, and violence fill the vacuum. Furnivall (1956:376) observed a similar pattern when reviewing colonial education in Southeast Asia: "Thus the schools produce a surplus of unemployed and discontented men, whose intellectual attainments are bounded by a 'literary' syllabus prescribed for their examinations, and whose character has not been strengthened by moral discipline."

The increasing unemployment represents the more visible aspect of the growing marginal status of Ponapean youth. Another aspect of this marginal state with far deeper implications ensues when no social ties exist, or when an individual is attached to two or more groups or cultures with a weak commitment or sense of belonging to any. Thus, the psychological syndrome of anomie, marked by heightened anxiety, alienation, and a general feeling of inferiority, sets in. This is a position of role confusion and conflict, status inferiority, and identity crisis. All this transpires on Ponape within the context of a dual socialization process—the Ponapean family and the American school—which threatens to become a multiple socialization process with the increase of urbanization. This process encompasses no sense of cultural continuity, no form of social integration, nor any search for ultimates.

Schooled Ponapean youth are both the essential victims and potential vanguards of cultural transformation. Products of formal education, caught between traditional Ponapean beliefs and novel American aspirations, they have found the transition to adulthood elusive and their sense of cultural identity unresolved.

Intersystemic Dissociation:

When the American School Faces the Ponapean Family

The discontinuity between the socializing agents of the American school and the Ponapean family preconditions the movement of the Ponapean student away from his traditional roots. Urbanization and communications media such as the radio and the local movie further raise his aspirations and his predisposition to change. Like schooling, the media and urban environment fail to infuse the basic cognitive tools necessary for the attainment of the newly created needs, and thus join the formal school system as disjunctive models in the resocialization of Ponapean youth. As the Ponapean and American systems of socialization interact in an unbalanced onslaught on the Ponapean cultural character, they produce the phenomenon of "culture lag" in which certain physical and aspira-
tional changes are not complemented by concomitant cognitive transformations. Thus, marginality increases with the corresponding growth of intersystemic dissociation.

From a position of role circumspection and a firm sense of cultural character embedded in the traditional family, the urban Ponapean proceeds to role spread, role conflict, and a fragmentation of traditional character across an emergent cultural awareness fixed within the larger context of intercultural conflict.

The confusion and conflict of roles resulting from the awareness of a new cultural model invariably require a decision-making process which, in large part, demands a critical, reflective mental set or cognitive style which has yet to be fully assimilated by the Ponapean. If he cannot make a decision as to appropriate behavior and is caught between multiple roles and multisystemic influences, then it is possible that he will be marginal to any one role or system and experience a basic cultural identity crisis. This condition of marginality—normlessness, powerlessness, and alienation—may in effect serve as a predisposition to a general change for the individual and culture (Merton 1965). It is in this period that the individual is most prepared for change or innovation. But the form that this change takes, be it adaptive or deviant, is very much dependent on how the individual perceives the support or like-mindedness about him, and whether he has adapted the critical cognitive style necessary to help him balance these incongruencies and alternative paths in a meaningful fashion.

Thus, the marginality caused by the juxtaposition of differing sociocultural systems in the life of Ponapean youth in actuality predisposes him to a change orientation, but his ability to cope with and meaningfully comprehend the novel situation is hindered by his lack of critical analytical skills. His newfound cultural awareness (self) and relative behavioral changes only serve to increase his aspirations (felt needs) in a context of autonomous choice which he can neither fully understand nor freely act upon.

In its formal aspects the high school has served well to lead Ponapean youth away from traditional culture to American cultural norms. It has done this by physically isolating him from his traditional roots, perplexing him with the possibility of a new cultural life-style, and predisposing him to change. In its formalized purpose, that of developing the cognitive processes commensurate with independent, free choice, the school has failed to give him any meaningful way to deal with the alternative socio-cultural referent system.

The work of Rosalie Cohen (1968, 1969) and others implies that participation in formal organizations such as school not only imparts attitudes, beliefs, and aspirational norms, but also structures patterns of analytical thought. Applying these findings to the Ponapean situation, it
would seem that although normative aspirations for individual achievement, political egalitarianism, and Western materialism have been structurally acquired by the end of the senior year, an analytical, cognitive approach to the world has not been sufficiently attained as well. Instead, a marginal, alienating status ensues in the vacuum created between internalized alien norms and an applied indigenous (nonappropriate) cognitive style. This is not to dispute the contribution of Cohen, but only to suggest that such variables as time in the system, comprehension of the system, and intensity (totalness) of the system, among others, may play a large part in the structural socialization of an alien cognitive style as well as in the adoption of alien norms. Further research on this matter is of utmost importance.

These “cognitive” concerns relate to the generality of the phenomenon of biculturality through the transference of the situational ethic from the traditional Ponapean culture to the alien American culture. As noted above, it would seem that time in the system, totalness of the system, and the ability to adopt each system’s cognitive style would be significant in determining whether an individual could fully realize bicultural status. Again, further research is needed on the conditions under which biculturality can effectively transpire without cultural conflict and alienating marginality.

The Formal School: The Social Environment and the Educative Process

It is important to differentiate between the American school as an alien normative system and the notion of education as a mind-expanding process. Whereas schooling merely teaches people to accept values, true education enables them to create, clarify, and choose values.

Ponapean youths enter the school culture with a number of beliefs, mental processes, and behavioral repertoires which comprise their perceptual functioning and world view. For most, these patterns have been socialized and reinforced in one socio-cultural system—the traditional Ponapean family. The student’s roles are limited and ascriptive in nature. His primary means of communication is oral. He is illiterate. He learns basically through identification, prolonged observation, imitation, and participation. He is intrinsically motivated to be one with the surrounding social and physical environment. His sense of personal self is deeply submerged in the mystical and sacred, and his social self is buried in the collective cultural identity. He affectively relates to the known world and views it through a holistic mental framework. His most cherished dreams have to do with the emulation of his forebears, and his sense of future resides in the present.

He brings these learned patterns to a secondary and novel socializing system—the formal school. There, his traditionally learned beliefs about
the world and himself and ways of acting upon those beliefs are put to the test of change. Whereas the Ponapean family stresses a collective self hidden in the context of role circumscription, the American school presents many divergent selves, inclusive of the new presentation of self as student, in a multiple-role environment. While the family emphasizes ascription and limited achievement, the school encourages open competition and unlimited, individualistic achievement. The family exhibits an emotive, relational world perspective laden with a mystical trust in the unknown, while the school presents the world in an analytical, factual manner operating under the premise of informed skepticism and a rational scientific methodology. In the family, the reward system is immediate and outcome sufficient in itself, whereas the school employs tests, grades, and diplomas which it is hoped will result later in a job, money, and status in the alien world. In the family, learning occurs through concrete action. In the school, learning transpires through a vicarious process called literacy. Ultimately, the difference between Ponapean indigenous education and induced American schooling comes down to learning how to live versus learning how to make a living (Furnivall 1956:383).

At most, the effect of American schooling is a kind of threshold phenomenon, resulting in an acquisition of basic literacy skills in English coupled with the environmental (normative) concomitants of the school setting itself. The mere contact with the alien bureaucratic structure and personal role models (foreign teachers) of the new social system has had tremendous impact on the traditional Ponapean youth. The idea of peer group begins to evolve with the encouragement of acting out and responding publicly in the classroom situation. The alien model of Western dress and individualistic behavior is readily imitated and aspired to by Ponapean youth. The classroom and more general school environment enhance the establishment of a novel social self, while the alien teacher sets aspirations for that new self. With the new awareness of self comes a changing world view. The school, as a physio-social intrusion in the local environment, provides alternative ways of behavior and dress, new desires and dreams, and a newly found individualized perception of self for the previously tradition-bound Ponapean child. The process of cultural transformation is now having marked impact upon the previously relatively resilient Ponapean culture.

It is easy for the young Ponapean to acquire the desire to achieve these goals, because they are primarily material and can be visually obtained through the traditional learning style of observation and imitation, but the means to gratify that desire entail a thought process, a logic, a mental approach to the world different from any the students have ever known. The transplanted American school transmits substantive affects, but neglects appropriate structures and processes of analytic reasoning.
As Clifford Geertz (1968:108–109) has so aptly observed in his research on socio-cultural change in Southeast Asia, "There occurs a basic disjunction, discontinuity between the form of integration existing in the [new] social structural 'causal-functional' [analytical] dimension and the form of integration existing in the [old] cultural 'logio-meaningful' [holistic] dimension—a discontinuity which leads not to social disintegration but to social and cultural conflict." Ponapean youths acquire the aspirations, but not the tools, of change. They internalize the ends, but fail to obtain the means to achieve them.

The effects of schooling and urbanization combine to structurally introduce Western values such as equality, freedom, individualistic achievement, conservation of time and goods, and material consumerism for many schooled Ponapean youth (urban terminee and seniors). Other Ponapean youth (rural terminee and seniors), with less schooling and lower exposure to the urban environment, have internalized some of the material aspirations of the alien culture, but have yet to fully dispose of such deeply conditioned traditional beliefs and attitudes as authoritarianism, control, ascription, and timelessness. As a result, both have obtained in varying degree the superficial aspirations of a new social system through their traditional learning styles and direct participation in the new system. They continue, however, to find the thought processes and intricate meanings commensurate with that new system hidden, elusive, and incomprehensible.

The school as a viable social system has imparted a desire to obtain an alternative life-style through its mere structural injunction in the life of the Ponapean student, but it has done little to teach the means by which to achieve it through the process of education. Thus the formal school, as an institution for cultural change, must do more than teach students to read and write, and imbue them with values and aspirations of a new life-style. It must also instill in them the cognitive means and the supportive analytical-rational processes necessary to provide meaning to and to cope with the growing complexity of alternative choices in the movement away from traditional norms.

**Education and the Actualization of Change: Cultural Awareness, Critical Thought, and Changeability as Goals and Functions of the Education Process**

*In a dynamic society the major responsibility of education is not to prepare individuals to merely adjust to social change, but to build a new social order engulfing change itself.*

George Counts, 1932

Education should not be seen as a mere response to social change. Education should not only include the selective transmission of culturally sanctioned norms, but more importantly, it should lead to the learner’s
awareness of his right and capacity as a human being to transform reality. Learning is more than a simple act of decoding symbols; it is a way of knowing through which a person is able to look at his society critically and to move toward a positive action upon his world (Freire 1970).

As societies become more complex and diversified through structural differentiation and increased role-spread, the notion of rationality or a calculus for choice is an essential attribute for personal adaptation and innovation. The school as a major socializing agent can play a large part in the transmission of appropriate cognitive processes, but is this, in fact, what is happening throughout the Ponapean schools?

The difference between schooling and education, between the justification of myth through psychological, functional rationalization (uncritical belief) and the search for truth through rational thought (critical reflection), must be clearly understood. Formal education systems are the major myth makers and solicitors in their strict adherence to "schooling." Schooling initiates the myth of unending consumption. It contributes to the notion of social class differences and individual and cultural inferiority. It perpetuates the belief that all learning comes as a result of teaching within four walls. Ponapean traditional society has more than sufficiently demonstrated that education is not the result of artificial institutional instruction which one undergoes and later justifies with a diploma in hand, but is the product of unhampered participation in a meaningful setting, relevant to real life tasks. Ivan Illich (1970:47) very aptly stated, "School makes alienation preparatory to life, thus depriving education of reality and work of creativity." Schooling shapes man's vision of reality and conditions him psychologically to functionally rationalize decisions he neither perceives the alternatives to nor makes himself. In many places such as United States ghetto areas or developing nations like Micronesia, failure in school also provides the rationale for an inferior state of being. "School is a ritual of 'initiation' which introduces the neophyte to the sacred race of progressive consumption [felt needs], a ritual of 'propitiation' whose academic priests mediate between the faithful and the gods of privilege and power, a ritual of 'expiation' which sacrifices its dropouts, branding them as scapegoats of underdevelopment [or cultural inferiority]" (Illich 1970:44).

Education differs from schooling in that it is an act of aesthetic perception of reality and the capacity for aesthetic judgment (critical reflection and action) upon that reality. Education is not the incarceration of men's minds in walls of obscurity and paradigms of verbal self-justification, but the increasing of cultural awareness to new levels of perception. Moreover, it entails the liberation of one's creative faculties amidst an increasing field of life chances such that each may come to exercise his full human potentiality.

Presently, students on Ponape are engaged in a process of learning
form rather than meaning, content rather than process, information rather than knowledge. American schools act to either co-opt or dissociate most Ponapean youth. Either way the results are varying degrees of personal alienation and/or cultural marginality.4

The options are clear. We can either promote functional rationalization in the guise of critical rationality or consciously work toward imparting the latter. We can either assume it is possible to create industries by solely training men to practice them (in fact merely creating unemployment), or we can create productive enterprises in which men can be trained, on the job, while producing. Either we can continue to perpetuate the belief in only institutional learning (schooling) with an investment in social alienation in an artificial environment, or we can begin to tear down the barriers that now impede opportunities for equal participation and meaningful learning essential to role versatility in a changing world. We can either continue to instruct people on how to tolerate dissonance through repression, or we can assist them in acting upon dissonance through liberation. For as Alvin Toffler (1970:357) stated so well, “The technology of tomorrow requires not millions of lightly lettered men, ready to work in unison at endlessly repetitious jobs, it requires not men who take orders in unblinking fashion, aware that the price of bread is mechanical submission to authority, but men who can make critical judgements, who can weave their way through novel environments, who are quick to spot new relationships in the rapidly changing reality.”

The process of education is in fact a process of conscious cultural transmission and renewal. It is a process of liberation from rote thinking; of widening awareness; of imaginatively and creatively viewing maximum life chances; and of gaining equal access to, and rational capacity for, choice from those life chances.

NOTES

1. That American schools were chosen as a deliberate tool “to facilitate the general development of Micronesian interest in, and loyalties to, the United States” was evident in the Solomon Report (1963:10) which suggested that to accomplish this the United States should take various actions, three of which were: “sponsorship by the Department of State of Micronesian leader visits to the U.S. . . . Introduction in the school system of U.S. oriented curriculum changes and patriotic rituals . . . and increasing the number of college scholarships offered to Micronesians.” All of these actions were taken during the 1960s and 1970s.

2. As Lerner (1958:48) has stated, “For a traditional man to be fully modern he must be infused with a rationalist and positivist spirit.” Inkeles (1969) and others (Weiner 1966) have suggested the importance of a notion of rationality, calculability, or a scientific approach to the world as a necessary part of the social change process. The formal school in Ponape has failed miserably on this count.
3. This is not to imply that the traditional "relational" cognitive style among Ponapeans should be abandoned in favor of an American analytical mental set. In fact, it would seem to this author that the ability to employ both cognitive styles dependent upon the learning objective would be preferable.

4. Historically, one might question whether formal school systems anywhere have ever imbued the majority of their students with the capacity to think critically. Most people tend to assume that human beings are born rational, and that learning to reflect upon one's environment critically is a mere matter of physical attendance in school. Might it not be the case that man is born with the potential for critical thought, but it is society that transmits limited ends and the psychological ability to "rationalize" those ends rather than to rationally consider them as alternatives along a broader continuum of choice? Thus rationalization as opposed to reflective thinking becomes the major pseudo-coping mechanism, or psychological defense mechanism, in the creation and justification of social order. Is this not what ideology and schooling are all about?

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Structural Innovations in Education and the Fusing of Cultures: A Design for the Future

How can change be introduced without destroying the existing culture patterns and values that provide meaning and stability to a people, while at the same time helping to build the new patterns and values that an ever-changing society requires if it is to remain human?

Hefner and DeLamaster 1968:15

Steps Toward an Integration of Education, Culture, and Development

Most educational planning and development in Micronesia has been initiated in the name of relevancy but its energy and resources have been expended on irrelevant matters. As one American educator observed, “All we have done out here is give packaged solutions. We have never identified any real problems.” This is characteristic of the hierarchical nature of educational development in Micronesia, which consistently endeavors to apply standard solutions from the top down to an array of heterogeneous local problems. Although bureaucratically efficient, the ineffectiveness of such an approach has been the legacy of centralized colonial governments around the globe.

Remnant and neo-colonial school systems throughout the world are now under seige. They have contributed to cultural disruption, Ponape being but one example. They have also proven to be high in cost, wasteful, and elitist in nature. Such school systems have not made great contributions to the economic development or general well-being of the populations they serve. These shortcomings have fostered a new direction in educational thinking which is expressed in the idea that fixed temporal and spatial structures with finite resources and rigid lines of human interaction (as represented in the homogenous educational model of schooling) are incapable of meeting the infinitely expanding, diverse learning needs of changing societies in a cost-effective manner. Educators are now searching beyond the school-based model to alternative community-based and nonschool models of education. Ironically, such efforts have led some full circle back to a reexamination of indigenous educational institutions and processes.

This study has sought to reverse the “top down” perspective on edu-
Educational development in Micronesia by first identifying local problems within a broader socio-cultural context. It has focused on how the problems of youth marginality and the changing Ponapean culture are related to the structure and processes of the transplanted American school system. Related issues of economic underdevelopment and political socialization have been mentioned. Clearly these issues should be expanded upon in future research in Micronesia.

Some suggestions for reform have been implied throughout: the need to promote Ponapean participation (from the bottom up), and to encourage cultural awareness and critical reflection in order that the Ponapeans might choose the best of cultural alternatives in the face of rapid change. Unfortunately, realizing the need for reforms and actually designing and implementing an educational strategy to actuate them are two quite different matters. In order to promote participation, awareness, and reflection, a revolution in the educational sector may be required. Significant educational change may mean the introduction of alternative educational structures directly in competition with, if not complementary to, the formal schools. Innovations within the formal schools themselves may be necessary as well, but will not be sufficient in themselves to realize desired objectives. Often reordering the structure and activities within the schools has only served to provide superficial movement while avoiding real change.

The first requirement for this change process is a fresh perspective on the entire process of education, both school and nonschool based. This perspective would show society as a potentially total learning environment, would seek to discover the appropriate mixture of educational objectives (cultural, economic, political) and differential cost-effective learning environments (formal, nonformal, and informal structures), and would revolve around the notion that some specific educational means are more suitable than others for realizing specific societal objectives. It would begin with a dialogue raising basic ideological (value-laden) questions as to what, indeed, are the Ponapean (Micronesian) definitions of the good life, good society, and good man, and then proceed to transform these ideological tenets into concrete societal goals upon which meaningful criteria for quality education might be established and translated into educational means (programs) for actualizing these societal ends.

Education for popular participation, cultural awareness, and critical reflection is crucial for both changes in perspective and changes in society. Julius Nyerere (1976:2), president of Tanzania, eloquently summed up the importance of this type of education for the overall development of man:
So development is for Man, by Man, and of Man. The same is true of education. Its purpose is the liberation of Man from the restraints and limitations of ignorance and dependency. Education has to increase men's physical and mental freedom—to increase their control over themselves, their own lives, and the environment in which they live. The ideas imparted by education, or released in the mind through education, should therefore be liberating ideas; the skills acquired by education should be liberating skills. Nothing else can properly be called education. Teaching which induces a slave mentality or sense of impotence is not education at all—it is an attack on the minds of men.

In regard to Ponape, it would seem crucial that this kind of ideological dialogue be initiated by Ponapeans—and other Micronesians—at all levels of the society. Ultimately, they alone must determine and bear the responsibility for the kind of society they want to live in and the type of education necessary for that society.

There is no shortage of alternative models emerging throughout the developing world for the Micronesians to draw examples from. Some of the options being tried elsewhere in the world are outlined below.

**Nonformal and Indigenous Based Educational Strategies**

Micronesia, like many developing areas, is caught in the throes of developing a national identity on the one hand, and promoting economic development on the other. The central problem is in finding a balance between economic growth and political equity while maintaining local ecological and socio-cultural harmony. In other words, it is a problem of insuring cultural continuity and social-psychological stability within the broader context of political-economic transformation.

Historically, the colonial answer to this dilemma has been to promote economic growth at the expense of political equity and to bring about social change through psychological instability and cultural discontinuity. More often than not, the very importation of alien institutions into Micronesia implied that there were no viable institutions existing with the Micronesian setting and frequently totally ignored the local environment and indigenous culture as a frame of reference. The spread of the alien technology of schooling throughout the non-Western world by colonial regimes and its subsequent propagation by indigenous elites is a key example of this limited approach. Such imported educational strategies have typically been ethnocentric, discriminatory, and irrelevant to local needs. They have tended to artificially separate learning from productive activity and training from employment. This separation has caused the waste of human energies and natural resources in a capital intensive enterprise (school) which merely resulted in more problems in
the form of culturally marginal unemployed youth with unfulfilled expectations. Only recently have the functional limitations of schooling come to worldwide attention, resulting in a growing search for non-school, production-linked channels of learning.

The challenge to educators working in development is to discover the most efficient and effective means of introducing skills, knowledge, and attitudes within existing cultural patterns, institutions, and values, while using human and natural resources so that economic development might be maximized and socio-cultural disruption diminished. In short, the practical task is to make capital intensive productive activities more educational, all within the framework of existing cultural and natural resources of a given country, in this case, Micronesia (Colletta 1975, 1976).

The strategy of educational planners has most commonly been to predict future manpower needs and then try to develop the necessary human resources through an efficient education and training network. This has been the fundamental strategy employed in developing countries since governments recognized the need to absorb trained personnel into a fluctuating labor market in a harmonious fashion, thus providing technical skills to support a growing economy, while simultaneously insuring political stability through the generation of employment. But both the predictability of skill demand and the emphasis on schools (academic and vocational) as the primary educational institutions to meet this task have proved less than successful (Foster 1968). School-based learning has expanded far beyond the present opportunity to use it in most countries.

To quote Furnivall (1956:386), "The encouragement of technical instruction with regard for the demand for men with technical qualification implies that it is possible to create industries by merely training men to practice them." Clearly, this false assumption has led to massive numbers of schooled, unemployed youth in many developing countries—Micronesia being no exception.

Although schools have not directly promoted economic development, they have had marked success in molding values and in promoting alien political attitudes and cultural change, as is evident on Ponape. To reverse this imbalance between education and political, economic, and cultural development, learning must be moved closest to the actual point of application and productivity. It must also be tied to the rediscovery and redeployment of human and natural indigenous resources. The many examples of nonformal and indigenous community-based educational strategies being tried throughout the world all seem to support this theory.

The concept of nonschool community-based educational structures has great potential for simultaneously promoting economic development and cultural continuity. Callaway’s (1964) stress on the need to rediscov-
er and utilize the long-standing indigenous apprenticeship system as a viable training model rooted in West African cultures is one example of this linkage. By upgrading and building on an indigenous educational structure in ways to support its development, such as providing marketing assistance, loans for purchasing new tools, and so forth, productivity may be increased within the framework of traditional socio-economic manpower training patterns.

Micronesia's master-apprentice system for teaching skills from canoe building to weaving and the tying of feast house poles has been almost completely ignored by vocational educational planners. Instruction and knowledge once was readily available outside the formal school on Ponape, the activities surrounding the now diminishing traditional feast being perhaps the greatest educators of all.

In Sri Lanka, the revitalization of Buddhist culture in the form of temple and priestly roles is once more providing the leadership for community organization and shared labor. This is leading to the rehabilitation of the ancient irrigation tanks (reservoir system), the training of youth in building and agricultural techniques, and increased agricultural production (Ariyaratne 1976). This combination of rehabilitation, training, and production also has the beneficial effect of giving out-of-school youth a feeling of cultural roots, a sense of belonging, a chance to work, and a new sense of purpose in life.

If the Nahnmwarki of Ponape were to retake their traditional role of organizing communal labor for the benefit of the entire community—as Buddhist monks are now doing in Sri Lanka—a viable alternative educational program could be put into operation within a traditional context. To put rural Ponapean youth into vocational schools or academic courses in Kolonia is to miss the importance of capitalizing on the traditional learning environment as a mechanism to fuse indigenous structures and modern skills. Eventually school graduates and terminees should be able to fit into and serve the community from which they come. Some work along these lines is being done in Wone, Kitti, by the local mission on Ponape with the organization of the Pwihn Pwulopwul or young men's group for skill training, but success is uneven as the mission is not an indigenous institution and is thus limited in the extent of its impact over time.

The Nett Cultural Center is another innovative indigenous non-school educational project on Ponape in which young people from Nett municipality get training from the elders in their traditional skills and cultural history. This is a natural structure for the interweaving of cultures as the new can be readily interpreted within the context of the old.

In Botswana, an African nation experiencing a tremendous shortage of skilled labor, production brigades have been formed, their first objec-
tive being to invest in a productive activity and their second being to train laborers. Brigades of previously unemployed youth are now becoming trained and employed in group-generated construction and building firms, bicycle factories, and garment industries. On-the-job training is now considered a normal part of any economic investment activity (Van Rensburg 1976).

The educational value of productive labor is continually demonstrated in Cuba's educational reforms. The _escuela al campo_, or, "the school goes to the country," is a program in which entire school populations move to the countryside for extended periods of harvesting crops and other agricultural work. This program has not only served to close the gap between learning and production, but has also acted to integrate the productive life of this agricultural nation into the school curriculum (Bowles 1971). In Cuba, farms are being modified into educational units.

In the People's Republic of China, not only are farms being modified into educational units, but educational units (schools) are being modified into factories and farms. The most respected motto is "tzu-li keng-sheng" ("self-reliance"). Schools produce a variety of items, from crops for student consumption to pencils produced in small factories for
local marketing. Schools are to be self-reliant in both management and finance. This promotes popular participation in the quest for survival and enhances a general sense of self-confidence and competence (Seybolt 1976). Schools are further encouraged to link up with neighboring community production units which may guide the students' training and specialization, with the students in turn providing the production units with additional labor. The principle that schools are part work, part study institutions is firmly established in China.

As a final example, in Indonesia, an experiment is being conducted to increase popular participation and utilize indigenous resources at the village level by viewing the community itself as an entire learning system. Agricultural extension workers, village craftsmen, and social entertainers are all considered potential resources for the villager's learning needs. In many ways this is an attempt to "deschool" learning and put into practice Ivan Illich's (1970) notion of "learning exchanges." The goal is to mobilize and manage community learning resources—the schools and teachers being taken as merely one learning resource among many—into a prototype community learning system which connects community-articulated learning needs to community-based learning resources in a comprehensive, integrated community education network.

These examples of how learning is linked to the needs and resources of the community in West Africa, Sri Lanka, Botswana, Cuba, China, and Indonesia not only provide information on how learning may be relevant in its immediate application—much like traditional Ponapean education—but also take into account indigenous formal and informal institutions, roles, decision making and sanctioning processes, values, learning styles, and other aspects of traditional culture as potential educational inputs.

Central to the above strategies are two assumptions. One is that a vacuum ideology of development, which views the indigenous domain as being backward and having no viable resources, is false and inappropriate; indeed, the community itself possesses a large portion of the resource base needed for its own development. The other is that education is more than schooling, and like life itself, is diverse, multidimensional, and lifelong. To a large extent it requires an integrated approach to human problems and their solution. Education in its broadest sense is the connective tissue of development. The perspective must be total, a gestalt—many pieces of the human puzzle whose basic fit is such that no one piece is totally meaningful in and of itself. It is the whole which gives meaning to its parts; crop diversification (production) is related to family planning (reproduction) to nutrition education (consumption) to effective management of resources and benefits (distribution) to open channels of communication (education), and so on. Here, essentially all the
learning resources of a community are identified and woven into a mutually supportive, interdependent, total learning system wherein the whole becomes greater than the sum of its parts.

The process of creating such a community-based learning system is not merely a mechanical one of linking learning needs with learning resources. A crucial organizational component is the involvement of indigenous, functional learning groups—women's organizations, farmers' clubs, youth groups, and so forth—in the process. Their subsequent contacts with learning resources become the means to pursue mutually identified educational goals. Double cropping and irrigation procedures may be the focus of a group of farmers working with an educational extension agent or a model farmer; community kitchens may be the focus of a women's group working with a nutrition specialist. These indigenous learning groups themselves are valuable resources since they have a wealth of practical knowledge for exchange and are already functional in the community (Colletta 1976).

It is important to emphasize that frequently such learning groups already exist along culturally based lines of community and kinship organization and only need to be identified and brought into contact with existing educational resources. Again, a natural situation can be taken advantage of by discovering key persons and organizations in the indigenous learning structures. Once identified, the application of supplementary educational efforts can be made to build upon and enhance the existing informal learning potential. It should be emphasized that in such a "totalistic" community-based educational strategy, all become potential teachers and learners. As in precolonial times education is once more a prerogative not only of schools and school-aged persons, but also of dropouts from various levels of the formal school system, youth who have already terminated at a particular level and seek additional knowledge and/or skills in order to function more productively, subsistence farmers, rural women, and other adults who desire additional educational opportunities to improve their lives. In this process these individuals may learn not only to use new technologies and to manage and improve their own affairs, but also to form or rediscover networks of mutual self-help between individuals and groups within their communities.

The preceding is not to ignore completely or to suggest total abolition of the system of formal education in Micronesia or elsewhere in the world. Despite the existence of alternative modes of education, it is highly unrealistic to think that formal schooling will disappear or even that its disappearance is desirable. Formal, nonformal, and informal modes of education can serve distinct yet complementary functions. Community-based nonformal and informal education seem to be best at promoting cultural continuity and training in practical skills. Formal
schools appear best at providing literacy and numeracy skills and facilitating cultural innovations. In effect, the fusing of cultures might be viewed as the fusing of diverse educational structures, school and community-based learning channels, into a comprehensive educational strategy. Historically, traditional Ponapean indigenous education fell into the nonformal and informal spheres. The formal American school system has endeavored to supplant this indigenous system, causing an imbalance between skill training and cultural transmission on the one hand, and literacy and numeracy training and cultural change on the other. To stress one end of this continuum at the expense of the other is to miss the point of the necessity and role of a total learning system as a foundation for balanced and harmonious cultural, economic, and political development. Both systems of education may function in a symbiotic relationship. Research and innovation are desperately needed on Ponape, in Micronesia, and throughout the world to facilitate the development of educational structures serving cultural conservation, political development, ecological balance, and economic development. One such institution being tried throughout the world and having its roots in the American community school movement is the reconstructed community school or community learning center.

The Reconstructed Community School

Differing from the transplanted ivory tower American schools, this institution is integrated into the community in many ways. First, it attempts to integrate a range of people and social services under its auspices. In addition to the general education of children, it is concerned with the education of adults and their involvement in the education of their own children. It links formal education with other social services such as agricultural extension, community health, public welfare, community recreation, and employment assistance, among others. The community school is not only concerned with teaching the young by day, but also with instructing the old by night. In an outreach orientation it provides information on such matters as population control, nutrition, new agricultural techniques, job placement, child care, financial and legal aid, and a host of other locally determined needs. As in Tanzania, school garden plots serve as agricultural experiment stations for neighboring farmers, as well as sources of training and self-sufficiency for the school itself. There, science curriculum comes alive as the nurturing of agricultural production and manual labor takes on a sense of renewed meaning and dignity.

The concept and role of teacher in such a school would clearly change. A nonschooled farmer or local midwife, both uncertified by degrees but proved competent by practical performance of their special skill, might become part of the school instructional staff. New relation-
ships would be created between teachers and the rest of the community, such as villages, banks, markets, government services, and other institutions, as teachers become facilitators of learning and seekers of a vast array of potential instructional resources outside the bounds of the school yard. School will no longer divorce participants from the very society it is supposed to be training them for.

In essence, such a community school would integrate those social services such as public welfare, public health, and public education which are in fact theoretically related—in terms of improving the human condition of the entire community—but presently operationally fragmented on Ponape. To assume that individual needs are not interrelated is to take a fragmented view of life itself. Compartmentalizing the treatment of human problems into neat bureaucratic departments such as welfare, health, and education is to structurally insure this fragmented view of life through the daily treatment of human concerns as if they had no interconnection with one another.

The second manner in which the reconstructed school would be integrated with the community is through the decentralization of educational policy formation and the inclusion of community members in the decision making processes concerning local educational and development matters. Perhaps the most important single thing that Ponapeans and other Micronesians can do is take back the responsibility for the education of their children from the grasp of foreigners. This is not a question of community control by either big government or local citizenry, but rather of community involvement and participation in breaking the bonds of foreign domination and reasserting a sense of cultural dignity.

A third aspect of this model would be a redesigned curriculum based on indigenous cultural understanding and a coherent picture of village needs and activities. A positive step in the direction of the former has already been made by the education department on Ponape through the initiation of the bilingual education program at the primary level. An example of the latter point might be the interest groups in Cuban schools where children are oriented to both existing and potential productive activities of the community. This insures the transmission of traditional as well as new skills.

Nyerere (1967:17) sums up this concept of the reconstructed community school as follows:

Alongside this change in the approach to the curriculum there must be a parallel and integrated change in the way our schools are run, so as to make them and their inhabitants a real part of our society and our economy. Schools must, in fact, become communities—and communities which practice the precept of self-reliance. The teachers, workers, and pupils together must be the members of a social unit in the same way as parents, relatives and children are the family social unit. There must be the same kind of rela-
tionship between pupils and teachers within the school community as there is between children and parents in the village. And the former community must realize, just as the latter do, that their life and well-being depend upon the production of wealth by farming or other activities. This means that all schools, but especially secondary schools and other forms of higher education, must contribute to their own upkeep; they must be economic communities as well as social and educational communities. Each school should have, as an integral part of it, a farm or workshop which provides the food eaten by the community; and makes some contributions to the total national income.

A community oriented curriculum with skill training and development projects, adult education, the integrated delivery of social services, and increased community involvement in the decision making process are some of the "hows" of the proposed reconstructed community school. But to pretend that there are no problems with this model is to ignore reality. The major problem revolves around the delicate balance among various community interest groups. This broader umbrella becomes further aggravated in ethnically heterogeneous communities such as urban centers where the notions of "community" versus "communal" (ethnic) development are suspect. There are other more pragmatic problems (such as staff load, reorganization) with this model, but the scope of this book does not permit their full treatment at this time.

A Final Note

If the reconstructed primary schools are concerned with such matters as economic self-reliance, societal integration, the rudiments of developing literacy and teaching inquiry, along with some functional skill training, while other avenues of nonschool community-based education focus on skill training and cultural transmission, then where is the more sophisticated training for evolving specialized economic tasks and leadership to be found? Clearly, a de-emphasized, but still important, secondary and tertiary education system will remain for the development of leadership and highly specialized skills. However, the equitable selection of the participants at varying levels of education and training will be highly problematic.

The complementary element of a total learning system, as discussed earlier, is perhaps to be found in the many models of nonformal community-based education programs, such as brigades, mobile skill units, youth organizations, training camps, animation projects, resettlement schemes, and others, which are being experimented with in many countries, not to mention historical precedents in the United States for such experiments in the TVA, WPA, and similar Depression era projects. It is crucial that no stone be left unturned. Programs like these must be designed, implemented, and evaluated in the local Ponapean
(Micronesian) context before outright rejection by educational decision makers. Already mobile skill units have been tried on a limited basis on Ponape but an extensive and careful evaluation is needed prior to further judgment.

If such nonschool educational programs—which if utilized properly have great potential for stimulating economic development and consequently increasing employment—were to complement the reconstructed community schools already discussed, then an important breakthrough in the integration of educational, economic, and cultural development could be forthcoming. The crucial aspects of nonformal community programs and the reconstructed community school model are that both maintain continuity with the traditional structure of Ponapean culture, while serving to socialize youth into novel occupational roles and contributing to a more general level of productivity necessary for an improvement in the human condition and eventual Ponapean (Micronesian) self-determination.

In the long-term view of educational development, the goal is to interface school-based learning with community-based learning. The following model illustrates:
In the model above we are working toward a community learning system concept which would unite the school and the community into one total learning network, whereby such functions as materials and methods development and staff training might be center oriented while actual learning activities would be community based, in other words, would take place in the community’s churches, homes, fields, museums, libraries, factories, and so forth.

The central point in this educational design for the future on Ponape is that there can now be some semblance of synthesis between the previously disjunctive socializing (educative) institutions of the family (community), the school, and the world of work through the incorporation of a newly integrated and interactive pattern of the family, the community school, and community-based educational schemes. These unifying principles go to the heart of the problems of education, youth marginality, and cultural transformation by synthesizing the multisocialization agents that formerly served only to divide and alienate Ponapean youth from their cultural heritage. With linkages established, a sense of integration of self and community can develop in the wake of an era of growing personal alienation, group marginality, and cultural discontinuity on Ponape.

It is the author’s personal belief that the essence of cultural contact and societal development (transmission and renewal), as outlined in this text is, indeed, education. As Margaret Mead (1943:633) so astutely observed, “Not until the dogma of superiority of race over race, nation over nation, class over class, is obliterated can we hope to combine the primitive idea of the need to learn something old and the modern idea of the possibility of making something new.”

NOTES

1. This suggests the Marxian position of structural transformation as being rooted in a fundamental change in the technology employed, for our purposes, the “technique” of organizing learning.

2. In the field of education, these terms have emerged into clear concepts. Formal education is generally organized in institutions called schools which fit into a composite system. Nonformal education is imparted in organized learning situations but lacks the sequential systematic structure of formal education. Although ad hoc, it results in deliberately organized programs of learning with clear-cut objectives. On the other hand, informal learning is what one incidentally learns as a by-product of living without any explicitly stated educational objective.

3. This point was mentioned earlier, but those leery of the unquestioning emphasis on vocational education of late on Ponape are invited to read Phillip Foster’s “The Vocational School Fallacy” (1968) for a fuller critique.

4. The lack of interdepartmental communication among government offi-
cials on Ponape is clearly evident in the amount of duplication of effort and conspicuous wastage of program resources.

5. This concept of a community school was in fact tried during the Gibson years (1951–1963) under conditions of scarce government financial resources. Gibson’s Statement of Policy on Education (1952) describes what was done:

The schools at Ponape have been especially resourceful in finding ways to improve the use of that community’s resources. The Intermediate School at Ponape might well be called a school for living because the curriculum of the school, the content and method of instruction were all concerned with the process of living together. For instance, the school subsists many of its pupils. They live in dormitories and eat at a common mess hall. Part of their education—probably as much as half of it—is acquired through this process of living together. They grow at least half the food they eat on their forty acre farm, which contains all kinds of livestock—110 pigs, 7 carabao, 14 cattle, and 11 goats. The pupils learn about animal husbandry as they daily care for this livestock which provides them with some of their food. They care for the land and cultivate such crops as pineapple, yams, and taro to supplement their subsistence in their mess hall. Two or three times a week the boys go out in their outrigger canoes and fish with the spears they have learned to make themselves in their school shop. The[y] keep the mess hall supplied with this very valuable source of food.

Because the school people at Ponape have aroused the interest and cooperation of parents and of the people in the community, these parents have been contributing large quantities of food for pupil subsistence. Is it any wonder that the cost of subsistence at Ponape Intermediate School last year was one third less than the next school to it?

The pupils in Ponape are having many other fine educational experiences. The boys built the finest Intermediate School building in Trust Territory. With the exception of cement, they built it out of native materials and through the use of native tools. This year the pupils are involved in the budget planning and the carrying out of all budgetary expenditures. With such experiences in living and the rich content and subject-matter implicit in them, good education is bound to result.

This early experience at the Ponape Intermediate School suggests that the community school concept is viable.

6. According to Seybolt (1972), the Maoist vision is similar: “to obliterate the three distinctions” which have been manifest historically in exploitation—alienation-dominance-dependency syndromes—distinctions which place mental laborers over manual laborers, city over countryside, and the advanced over the backward.

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10
Epilogue

Education cannot easily be separated from economic, political, and cultural concerns. All are involved in a circular relationship, interacting to promote development or underdevelopment. In examining this complex interrelationship while doing research on Ponape over a decade ago (Colletta 1969), I set forth the following development diagnosis and future prognosis:

The essence of development on Ponape is that the Western oriented urban center of Kolonia in its growth process has a defining and converting effect on the traditional rural areas. As economic growth occurs in the urban sector, certain expectations are conveyed to the rural sector in the form of felt needs rather than real needs, thus initiating the conversion of the rural sector to the value system of the urban sector. A self-fulfilling prophesy is set in motion as the urban sector defines the rural sector as poor and in dire need, and the rural sector becomes that definition. As the rural sector becomes more oriented toward profit and material possessions the four family members who each worked two hours a day on the land will eventually be replaced by one landowner working eight hours a day assisted by modern technology. This will create unemployment for the remaining three workers who were formerly “disguised” unemployment under the traditional economic value system. Unemployment, the initial problem, leads to further social problems, as those now unemployed family members migrate to urban areas in search of employment which may be non-existent. When they do not find jobs they turn to crime and delinquency. . . . The rural areas are not only told that they are poor, but that they are poor precisely because they do not possess certain physical manifestations of felt needs such as cars, outboard motors, and radios—things that they had survived without for centuries. Eventually pity is taken upon the rural “poor” and the most debilitating blow to their dignity and economic self-reliance is dealt them in the form of welfare. Alas, there is the combination of unemployment, crime, welfare, and self-dejection called “poverty”. During all this a very costly, but highly inappropriate, school system is expanded to teach children about things that they may never possess and to open
the eyes of fortunate scholarship winners to a world they never knew existed. Thus, education (schooling) continues the flow of and, in fact, organizes permanent channels for communication of felt needs to the “poor”. For the few who succeed, it becomes the avenue for socioeconomic mobility and the “good life” as defined by the Westernized urban sector. For the majority it leads to alienation. Before long, a group of highly aware and frustrated young, whose hopes appear to reside in the hands of another nation, or in the hands of an indigenous elite, has been created.

It is clear today that this scenario has, to a large extent, become an increasing reality throughout Micronesia. Since the completion of this study, Micronesian public education has continued to expand, with about 90 percent of the relevant age group enrolled in primary schools and about 80 percent in secondary schools (UNDP Report 1977). On Ponape, these enrollment figures were 97 percent and 89 percent respectively. Nearly 1500 Micronesians were attending institutions of higher learning abroad in 1977–1978. Another 257 were enrolled in the College of Micronesia on a full-time basis.

On the cost side, between fiscal year 1969 and fiscal year 1975 the operational expenditure for education throughout Micronesia fluctuated between 25 and 27 percent of the total operating budget, while capital expenditures absorbed about 12 percent of the gross national product (estimated at 125 million dollars). In comparison to most developing countries, where the average recurrent costs for education are about 20 percent of the operational budget and capital costs are about 4 percent of the gross national product, these Micronesian educational expenditures are relatively high. Furthermore, this financial analysis does not take into account the additional private monies or federal grants used to support education in Micronesia. For example, from fiscal year 1972 to fiscal year 1976 federal grants amounted to $16,758,769. This is equivalent to more than half of the direct operational funds spent on education during the entire first two decades of American educational expenditure in Micronesia. In another example, for fiscal year 1976, a federal grant of $6.8 million was channeled from the Trust Territory Department of Agriculture to the Department of Education for the school hot lunch program (UNDP Report 1977). In 1979, 45 percent of the total funds spent on education came from federal program sources. The recent American administrative policy emphasis on containment and curtailment of federal programs in the Trust Territory by about 50 percent by fiscal year 1980, and likely even further by the end of status negotiations, most certainly highlights the potential problems of educational finance facing Micronesia in the future (Micronesian Seminar 1979).

Despite this marked expansion of the educational system, the quali-
ty of education is still questionable and fundamentally American in orientation. A report put out by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP Report 1977) noted that “the qualifications of the teachers appear to be inadequate. It must be noted that 79% of all teachers have only a high school certificate [and no teacher training].” In reference to the relevance of the curriculum to employment opportunities the report goes on to say, “Only 44% of the graduates were employed in the area for which they were trained. About 11% went on for regular academic degree programs while 22% were unemployed. About 19% were employed in areas other than trades. Investment in training which ends up in such results may be considered a kind of “wastage,” since its operation was so expensive. It shows the lesser degree of relevancy of curriculum to the needs of the society.’’

In 1977-1978, unemployment outside the subsistence sector stood at about 13 percent; of that, 30 percent was in the critical youth age group of 17 to 25 years of age. With half of Micronesia’s population under 16 years of age and with the population growing at a rate of about 3.5 percent per year, the situation, especially among out-of-school youth, is bound to deteriorate (Butterfield 1977).

Ballendorf (1977:6) feels that a brain drain is “almost certain to happen soon as more and more young people return to the islands after completing training only to find that there are no jobs, or that the only available jobs are those for which they are over qualified.” Some argue that the “education explosion,” at least in the short run, may not necessarily lead to such a negative outcome. Hezel’s (1978) study of Truk high school graduates found that nearly 60 percent returned to their home islands to live, even though the prospects of employment were dim. Hezel (1978:31) further points out that, “in the past few years, several hundred Trukese graduates, displaying powers of readjustment greater than many of us would have imagined possible, have settled back into their island communities with apparent good grace. A great many more will almost certainly have to do the same in the years ahead. Whether those who are now in college, or will soon be there, will be willing to do likewise remains to be seen. If they are not, and barring another economic ‘miracle’ we shall at last see the beginning of the ‘brain drain’ in Truk.”

In addition to the problems mentioned above, the rise in crime and suicide among youth throughout Micronesia is cause for concern. As Hezel (1978:5) has observed, “Overall, it is safe to say that suicide, especially ‘juvenile’ suicide among the 16–26 age group, has grown into a problem of alarming proportions within recent years. For example, since 1960 the suicide rate among college age Americans has increased to a high of 10 per 100,000. In comparison, the rate among the same age group (16–26) in Micronesia during 1976–77 would have been a whop-
ping 70 per 100,000—an astonishingly high figure by standards anywhere in the world." Ponape had the highest number of suicides (5) last year (1978) in all of Micronesia. The number of violent crimes (homicides, aggravated assaults, and thefts with violence) in Micronesia has risen from 22 in 1970 to a high of 184 in 1978 (Trust Territory Annual Reports 1970 and 1978). Over one third of the prison inmates in Micronesia in 1978 were under the age of 21 and two thirds were under the age of 30 (Trust Territory Annual Report 1978). The rise in crime and suicide, especially among the young, is in many ways further evidence of the rising cultural anomie emanating from the breakdown of traditional cultural institutions and processes, such as the social control exercised by the traditional extended family. The solution to these problems may very well require the total restoration, revitalization, and reintegration of communities at various levels of society (Hezel 1977).

The major problems of education and development facing Micronesia—growing numbers of unemployed youth with training irrelevant to economic development needs; the burden of financing an expanded school system when economic self-reliance has been underdeveloped; and the rising acts of violence resulting from rampant cultural change and attendant youth marginality—all have been discussed in this study of education and cultural change on Ponape. Solutions to these problems do not necessarily reside in the dismantling of the present education system, but rather in a rethinking and redirection as discussed in the previous chapter.

All of the foregoing problems are complicated by current political events in Micronesia. The educational implications of the division of Micronesia into four self-governing political-economic entities (Northern Marianas, Palau, the Marshalls, and the Federated States of Micronesia) remain uncertain. In effect, the need for decentralization, often voiced in the early days of the Trust, may now, out of necessity, result from these political events. This in itself is cause for renewed optimism, as Micronesians in general, and Ponapeans in particular, are now truly faced with bearing the burden of deciding for themselves what kind of society they desire and what type of educational system will best serve the realization of that society.

NOTE

1. One hastens to add that the American Government was quite aware of this eventuality and may have purposively contributed to it. To quote from the Solomon Report (1971:14):

   The large part of the capital investment program, and the even larger part of the annual operating program, devoted to education reflected the acute need and the critical importance of that program. But, given the limitations on the feasible rate of economic development, it also poses a dilemma. Modern
education, particularly secondary education, will create a demoralizing unemployment problem as graduates refuse to return to their primitive outlying lands, and to the extent that they are not aided to continue on to college it is essential that the safety valve of legally unlimited (and possible financially-aided) immigration to the United States be established. Fortunately, that would come to pass when the Micronesians are given U.S. national status, if not sooner.

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Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands
APPENDIX A
A Further Methodological Note

The five field interview schedules were administered from January 1, 1972 to May 1, 1972 on Ponape. As mentioned in the introduction, the study and samples focused on the dominant ethnic group—the Ponapeans, although a number of non-Ponapean educators were included in that particular sample. The sampling techniques, the number and characteristics of each of the five samples, and a description of the universe from which each sample was drawn are as follows:

1. The Student Sample: Four groups of ten Ponapean youth (ages 19–21) were randomly selected on the basis of two dimensions: (1) exposure to urban versus rural environment, and (2) level of formal schooling. The forty youth randomly selected can be characterized as follows:

   Group A—Rural terminees, five male and five female from a population of approximately 150 youth reared in the rural municipalities and having terminated from a rural elementary school at the eighth grade level in the school year 1967–1968.

   Group B—Urban terminees, five male and five female from a population of fourteen youth reared in the urban area of Kolonia and having terminated from Kolonia elementary school at the eighth grade level in the school year 1967–1968.

   Group C—Rural seniors, five male and five female from a population of thirty-two rural Ponapean students who were reared in and attended elementary school in the rural municipalities, but have been living and attending high school in the District Center.

   Group D—Urban seniors, five male and five female from a population of twenty urban Ponapean students who were reared in and attended elementary school and now attend high school in the District Center.

   Thus, the rural and urban seniors were randomly sampled from the senior class of 1972 at Ponape Island Central High School, while their former eighth grade classmates (eighth grade rosters of 1967–1968) were randomly selected from groups who terminated their formal schooling at that level. A total of forty Ponapean youth with varying exposure to ur-
banization and formal school participation were randomly selected by strata and interviewed.

2. The Parent Sample: Forty parents were purposively sampled on the basis of sex, age, geography, and mere ability to locate them. The numerical distribution by variable was as follows:

   sex: Male=20; Female=20
   age: 20-40=20; 40 years old and above=20
   geography: urban=20; rural=20

   An endeavor was made to interview parents from every municipality in equal proportion, but the difficult transportation and communication problems on the island made this impossible. The majority of the parents interviewed lived within a radius of three miles of the local school. Although parents were interviewed from every municipality on the island, logistics pretty much determined their selection within the confines of sex, age, and the urban-rural dimensions mentioned above.

   It is impossible at this time to establish the characteristics and number of the larger Ponapean parent population as the 1970 census data is still being held in review for its rumored "large inaccuracies." The lack of this census data forced the researcher to abandon the usage of random sampling for this group. Thus, a purposive sample was employed to enhance dispersion.

3. Non-Ponapean Educator Sample: There were twenty non-Ponapean educators interviewed at the high school and education office levels. Fifteen or the majority were American and one was Filipino. The remaining four educators were Micronesians of non-Ponapean descent. Since the majority of non-Ponapean educators work at these two levels, the entire sample was chosen from these levels. They were all purposively selected on the basis of one variable—time in the educational system. They had all been working in education on the island for at least sixteen months. Since the typical contract is two years, this means that the researcher didn't formally interview educators who were not at the endpoint of their second year. The researcher did informally speak with most of the first year educators.

4. Ponapean Educator Sample: Twenty Ponapean educators were interviewed, nineteen men and one woman. The educators were selected according to level of employment—elementary school, high school, community college, and education office. Five of a total population of approximately 100 elementary school educators were randomly selected and interviewed. The total populations of Ponapean educators at the high school, community college, and education office levels were interviewed. Respectively, they numbered: high school = 4; community college = 3; education office = 8.
5. The Child Rearing Sample: The final interview schedule on child rearing was administered to ten Ponapean mothers (beyond the age of thirty) who were selected primarily on the basis of availability and personal friendship with the researcher’s spouse.

One hundred and thirty intensive interviews were formally conducted, typically lasting from one to two hours in length. Countless informal discussions were engaged in on numerous occasions adding to the formal insights of this study.

All quantitative data were obtained through research in local school and administrative records. It should be noted that most records were incomplete and sometimes nonexistent prior to 1970. This fact, coupled with the poor census data, made it most difficult for the author to pursue a full random sample on groups other than the youth. Fortunately, the youth were the primary sample of the study, and with diligent efforts in tracking local school records in the outer municipalities, inspecting lists of rejected students at PICS, and reviewing old test records, the author was able to establish class membership and select random samples.

The major difficulties in gathering the data (beyond the poor records) were: first, the tremendous physical difficulty in locating and getting to and from people to interview; second, the necessity to rely on observation and third party information to get truthful statements from many of the informants who were continually attempting to please the researcher and maintain social harmony by “giving what they thought he wanted to hear”; and third, the necessity to use indirect questioning and to project the question onto a third party, such as “What do you think others feel about that?”
APPENDIX E3

Student Interview Schedule

1. How would you describe the ideal Ponapean?
2. Do you know any Ponapeans who are married to non-Ponapeans? What do you think about that? Would you marry a non-Ponapean?
3. How do you feel about Ponapeans changing their names to English names? Why do you think they would do this?
4. How do you feel about maintaining Ponapean customs in light of the growing presence of American ways? What Ponapean customs are most important to keep? Which ones, if any, would you discard? Why? What American ways, if any, would you prefer the Ponapeans did not obtain? Why?
5. Do you ever play sports with non-Ponapeans? How often? With whom? Do you like them better than other non-Ponapeans? Why? How do you feel about having non-Ponapean friendships?
6. How do you feel about outsiders coming to Ponape? Which group of outsiders do you like the best? Why?
7. Would you trade your land on Ponape for an equal size piece of land elsewhere (i.e., America, Japan)? Where? Why?
8. Do you ever eat non-Ponapean canned foods? Which ones? How often?
10. How do you feel about speaking English? When do you use it most? In what situations? With whom? Would you prefer English or Ponapean as the primary language? Why? What advantages and disadvantages do you see each language having? Is it important to know the high language? Why?
11. What do you think about Ponapean medicine? When do you use it, if at all? For what types of illnesses? How do you feel about non-Ponapean medicine? Have you ever gone to the doctor or hospital? Why? What are the advantages and disadvantages of each? How would you compare them?
12. Is it more important for you to have much money or many yams? Why? If you could have both, would you? Why? How do you feel about people buying yams with money in the local market? For what reasons would you buy yams? Would this bother you?

13. What are the characteristics of a good student? What do you think about school? What good things does the school teach? What bad things? Could you learn just as much at home (on the land)? What kind of things can you learn at home that you cannot learn in school? Who was/is your favorite teacher? What is he/she like? Why do you like him/her? Would you rather work the land or go to school? Why? What do you prefer to going to school, if anything? Do you want your children to get a formal education? How many years? Why? What kind of student are you? Is there any difference in the way you act in school and at home? How does this difference make you feel?

14. How do you feel about the traditional governance of the Nahnrnwarki (chief)? Do you think most people still honor his rule? What types of people honor him the most? The least? Why do you think this is so? How do you feel about the title systems? Do you hold any titles? How do you view the elected chief magistrate’s role? How do you compare his position to the Nahnmwarki? How do you feel about the American style of government by elected officials? What kind of political status would you choose for Ponape (Micronesia)? Why? Would you rather have an important job in the government or a high title in the village, or both, if you had your choice?

15. Have you ever worked with non-Ponapeans? When? How did you feel about that/them? Do you think it is better to hire a Ponapean even if he is less qualified than a non-Ponapean? Why? Which is more important to you, working with Ponapeans or getting a better job with non-Ponapeans? Why?

16. How do you feel about feasts? How many of the four major feasts did you attend last year? Do you think it is important to attend feasts? Why? How do you feel about participating in Ponapean dancing at the feasts? What about bringing food to the feasts and the distribution of it? What do you think about Ponapeans who bring canned food to the feasts? What do you think about Ponapeans buying titles at feasts by giving the Nahnmwarki money and Western goods? Have you ever attended an American party or dinner affair? What do you think about that style of feast? How do you feel about American style dancing?

17. Deep down, how do you think of yourself? Who are you (Kittian, Ponapean, Micronesian, etc.)? How do you compare to your ideal Ponapean?
18. Is there anything that you would like to say or talk about that we have not already discussed?

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS:
1. English usage during the interview?
2. Identification and handling of any embarrassing questions?
3. Identification of individual style or pattern?
4. Identification of areas of marked deviancy?
5. Personal feelings about interview and interviewee?
APPENDIX C

Parent Interview Schedule

1. What does it mean to be a Ponapean man; how should one behave?
2. How do your children learn to fish, plant yams, paddle a canoe, etc.? At what age?
3. How do you get your children to obey you? What do you do when they disobey?
4. Do Ponapeans ever learn things at school that make them disrespectful or mean to their parents—or make their parents feel sad?
5. Have you ever learned anything at school that makes you and your family feel pleased?
6. Is there anything parents can do if their children learn things at school that their parents do not wish them to learn?
7. When it comes to teaching your children English and arithmetic, do you think the teachers do a good job or a bad job?
8. Do you think that Ponapeans are competitive at feasts (e.g., largest yam, sakau)? If so, is this competition transferred to school activities? Why or why not?
9. Sometimes children get ashamed in school and don’t like to go. Have you ever heard of anything like this?
10. Have you ever helped your children with lessons?
11. Do you think that Ponapeans who go to school get better jobs than Ponapeans who don’t go to school?
12. Do you think it is possible to go to school for many years (high school/college) and still practice the way of the land (tiahken sahpw)?
13. Is there any Ponapean you know who is unhappier because he went to school?
14. What kind of a job do you want your kids to have when they grow up and finish school?
15. Do you think that most parents really understand what goes on in school? If not, why, and what can be done to change the situation?
16. Has your child ever said that he didn’t want to go to school?
17. How do you think that your children should behave in school?
18. Have you ever heard other Ponapeans talking about the school? What do they say?
19. How would you compare the Japanese schools with the American schools?
20. Do you have any suggestions for making the schools better?
APPENDIX D
Non-Ponapean Educator Interview Schedule

1. What do you think are characteristic traits describing traditional Ponapeans? I'd like to know how you feel about working here—the good points and the bad points.
2. What are the nicest things about working here?
3. What are the worst things about working here?
4. What are the special difficulties about teaching Ponapean students here?
5. Are there any respects in which it is easier to work with these students than with others?
6. What do you feel these students need most in the way of education?
7. What are the things that make it hardest for you to do a good job working with these students?
8. What changes would you make or what programs would you initiate to improve the situation here?
9. As you see it, what are the biggest problems of the Ponapean people?
10. Since you have been working on this island have you had any special training in the teaching of or working with Ponapean students? Please describe it. Do you feel this was enough training and of the right kind for you, or should it have been something else?
11. What would be the characteristics of an ideal Ponapean student at PICS?
12. Do you know any of these students (sheets of student names)? Describe them in relation to your student ideal.

Now I'd like to know something about your own background.
A. Where did you get your training as an educator? (schools, years of training, degrees).
B. What schools and grades have you taught in? (schools, grades, years, kinds of pupils).

Now, do you have any questions or further comments?
1. What does it mean to be a Ponapean man; how should one behave?
2. How do your children learn to fish, plant yams, paddle a canoe, etc? At what age?
3. What are the nicest things about working here?
4. What are the worst things about working here?
5. What are the special difficulties about teaching Ponapean students here?
6. What do you feel that these students need most in the way of education?
7. If you could be the district director of education what changes would you make or what programs would you initiate to improve the situation here?
8. Are there any respects in which it is easier to work with these students than with others?
9. As you see it, what are the biggest problems of the Ponapean people?
10. What would be the characteristics of an ideal Ponapean student at PICS?
11. Do you know any of these students (sheets of student names)? Describe them in relation to your student ideal.
12. How do you think your formal education has affected your relation to the culture?
13. Do you think that the traditional culture should be preserved? Why or why not?

BACKGROUND QUESTIONS:
A. Where did you get your training as an educator? (schools, years of training, degree)
B. What schools and grades have you taught in? (schools, grades, years, kinds of pupils)

Now, do you have any questions or further comments?
APPENDIX F
Child Rearing Interview Schedule

1. How is the expectant mother treated? Is she expected to work as usual, is she given special foods? What kind of Ponapean medicine is used, what kind of massaging? What stories (legends) are told about pregnancy and birth? What kind of taboos are placed on the expectant mother (e.g., not walking outside at night)?

2. What, if any, are the special preparations for the birth? Where does the woman choose to have her baby? Who is present at the birth, who is forbidden to be present? Are there any cleansing rituals that a newborn must go through? Is there anything that a mother must do right after giving birth? Do the young mother and father undergo a change in status after the birth of their first child?

3. Who chooses the child's name? Is he named after someone special? If guardians are chosen what determines who they will be?

4. Are there any stories (legends or taboos) for a mother while she is nursing? Must she eat special foods? How long does she nurse? How does she wean the child, at what age? Do the mother and father sleep together while she is nursing? Where does the child sleep? Does the child nurse at its or the mother's convenience? Is weaning abrupt or gradual? When does the child start to eat solid foods? Are special foods made for him? Are young children given special foods, are they expected to eat before the adults or wait and eat later?

5. Toilet training: Traditionally Ponapean babies don't wear diapers, how is wetting handled? When is the child first expected to be able to relieve himself outside the house? Does he use the outhouse at first? Who teaches him? Is he punished if he has accidents? By what age is he expected to be able to control himself? Is he ever laughed at if he has accidents, when, where, before whom?

6. Who cares for the infant? Who has the final say or control over the child? How is the child treated (left to cry or picked up immediately)? Is he held or left to crawl on the floor? Is the child the center of atten-
tion, does the family spend a great deal of time holding him, playing with him?

7. How does the first child react when a new baby is born? How do parents treat this situation? Who cares for the older child? Does he suffer a change in status, are his needs met as quickly as before? Does the main focus of attention shift to the new child?

8. When a very young child disobeys what do the parents do? At what age do they start to punish their children? How do they punish their children? How do they get their children to obey? (Threats, fear or ridicule?) Once a child can walk is he to know certain rules, what are they, how are they taught? When/how does a child learn respect behavior? How to act before high titles, various relatives? What is the makeup of the traditional extended family? Who would a young couple live with? Who would help them out in case of emergency? Who is the head of the extended family? How is the work load divided? Does a child obey his aunts and uncles like he would his parents?

9. When is a child expected to start helping with the chores? What does he learn to do first? Who teaches him (how does he learn)? As he gets older what new responsibilities does he assume? Is work given as a form of punishment?

10. Who will a family allow to adopt a child of theirs? Under what conditions? Is the child ever returned? Do the natural parents have any say as to how the child is reared?

11. How do the Ponapean people feel about having a large family? When an unwed girl has a baby who cares for it? How does her family feel about this?
# Glossary of Ponapean Words

More extensive information on Ponapean terms may be found in the *Ponapean-English Dictionary*, by Kenneth L. Rehg and Damian G. Sohl (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1979).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ponapean</th>
<th>English</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aklapalap</td>
<td>cocky, swaggering, acting like a big shot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alasang</td>
<td>imitation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aramas mwahl</td>
<td>commoners</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chol</td>
<td>discussing things you or other people did, gossip (Pinglepese)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daukatau</td>
<td>dwelling place of spirits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>degree laud</td>
<td>high degree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dipw</td>
<td>clan (also sou)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dipwisou</td>
<td>things</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eluh</td>
<td>feast of reconciliation offered to offended spirits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eni aramas</td>
<td>spirit protector of commoners</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>enihwos</td>
<td>ancestral spirits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eni lapalap</td>
<td>spirit protector of chiefs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eni men</td>
<td>spirit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>erazel</td>
<td>competitive feasting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I kahng</td>
<td>I can't</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inopwi</td>
<td>a taboo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kakos</td>
<td>strict discipline</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kala</td>
<td>one who physically shows off</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kamadipw</td>
<td>feast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kamadipw en wahu</td>
<td>feast of honor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapwang</td>
<td>boring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kasaroh</td>
<td>literally, you goofed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kau</td>
<td>black magic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaun</td>
<td>boss, leader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keinek</td>
<td>lineages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kousapw</td>
<td>section; group of neighboring homesteads</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lemei</td>
<td>boastful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lioasoahs</td>
<td>pretentious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loalekeng</td>
<td>intelligence</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
mahk  to be shamed, embarrassed
maing  sir
manaman  power of sakau to bring peace; balance of power among man, nature, and spirits
marain  enlightened; intelligent
meing  high language; respect forms of speech
mwadang  hurry
mwaramwar  decoration, wreath
mwohmw  gesture
Nahnken  chief, second only to Nahnmwarki; head of Nahnken line
Nahnmwarki  high chief, head of Nahnmwarki line
nahi kat  my people, commoner
nahs  feast house
nohpwei  tribute
nsenei  my freedom
nsenohki  to try hard, to care, to want to
ong sounpadahk  to the teacher
peliensapw  homestead (also sapwen kasapwasapw)
peneinei  family
poadoapoad  legend
pweipwei  stupid
pwertisek  industriousness
pwihnh  group
riahla  spiritual curse as a result of breaking a taboo
sali  main course at meal; meat or fish part of meal
sakarkihda  incantations to summon spirits
sakau  kava, root of the pepper tree which is pounded and drunk at ceremonial occasions
saledek  freedom
sarohdi  to shame
Saudeleurs  legendary rulers of Ponape
sokolei  a pygmy-like spirit which is part of the natural world
soumwhahu eneni  spirit induced sickness
sounkatienei  someone possessed by an evil spirit
sounwinahni  sayer of spells and prayers
soupeidi  noble; those who look down
soupwe  soothsayer
tiahk  custom
tiahken sahpw  way of the land
tomw  apologetic feast offered for an act of disrespect
uhmw  ground oven
wahu  respect
wehi  nation; country; state; district; municipality
winahni  incantations; magic
wini  Ponapean medicine
Index

acculturation, of students at Ponape Islands Central High School, 79-80
agrarian economy, 2, 4; and change to commercial economy, 102; demands for family labor in, 54; versus rural schools, 108
alienation of youth, from Ponapean society, 126, 129, 133-134, 138, 157; reintegration attempt, 153
American influence: eroding traditional Ponapean society, 3; Westernizing feasts, 97. See also Ponape Islands Central High School; Schools
American occupation: civil rule, 44, 46-47, 51-52n4; Kennedy administration, 46-47; naval rule, 44-46, 51n4
American schooling: acculturation, increase in, 50; educational policy statement for Ponape, 69-70; and Ponapean cultural change, xvii. See also American school system; Ponape Islands Central High School; Schools
American school system: and client society, 82-83; and cross-cultural conflict reactions, 83-84, 132; cultural impact on Micronesia of, xvii; different from home life, 56-57; failure of, 133, 135-136; as model for Ponape, 54; urban versus rural, 54. See also American schooling; Ponape Islands Central High School
American teachers: as change agents, 55; concentrated in Kolonia, 55; in Ponape Islands Central High School, 72-73, 74 ancestral gods (enihwos), 6, 8. See also Totem, clan’s apologetic feast (tomw), 9. See also Feast(s)
apprenticeship, indigenous, 144-145
appropriate behavior (tiahkk), 94, 96, 100, 109, 114
authority system, educational: administrator in, 72-73; counselor in, 75; student in, 77-78; teacher in, 74-75
behavioral patterns: Ponapean social control, 13-14, 28-30; of Ponapean youth, xvii, 60. See also Social controls
behavior, respect(ful), 61-62: learning, 27-28; role deference, 63; vertical versus horizontal interaction, 96-97
biculturality, 134
bilingual education program, 150. See also English; English language
black magic (kau), 10. See also Magic and medicine
brain drain, 158
bureaucracy, educational: as alien to Ponapeans, 135; and compartmentalization, 150; at Ponape Islands Central High School, 71-82
Catholic schools, 46. See also Spanish colonial influence
causation, as cultural thought pattern, 10
ceremonial occasions: kava, importance of, 9; traditional feast seating pattern, 56
change agents: American schools as, xvii; teachers as, 55. See also American schooling; American school system; American teachers; Teachers
change process, 16-17: and family, students, and school, 100; impact on American school system, xvii
child, Ponapean: adoption of, 24-25; desirous of adult status, 28; development of perception, 26; early infancy of, 24; and play group, 25; toilet training of, 24; traditional rearing versus peer group, 62
clans: matrilineal, 5; totemic Ponapean (dipw, sou), 2-3
co-curricular activities, for students, 78-79
colonialism: American, 44-47; German, 37, 38, 39; Japanese, 39-43, 47; Spanish, 37, 39
“colonial” relationship, xx
commercial economy, 16. See also Agrarian economy
commoners (aramas mwali), 4; social mobility of, 6
community learning system concept, 153
community education program, nonformal education, 152
community schools: for integration of social services, 150; as link with formal education, 149; outreach orientation of, 149; transmission of traditional and new skills, 150
“community” versus “communal,” 151
Compact of Free Association, 1-2, 17-18
competition and achievement, nonverbal expression of, 59. See also Yams
competitive feasting (erazel, kamadipw), 2-3, 6, 59
conformity, 12, 33
Coordinated Investigation of Micronesian Anthropology (CIMA), 45
corporal punishment, 28, 29. See also Social controls
counselor, role of, 75-76
crime rate, rise of, 158-159
cross-cultural conflict: students’ reactions to, 84; of youths, 96, 136
cross-cultural contact: and formal schooling, 49, 95-96; induces conflict at Ponape Islands Central High School, 82-85
cross-cultural transactions, 55, 62; Ponapean values dominant, 65-66
cultural change, xvii, xx. See also Acculturation; Cross-cultural contact; Education
cultural character, 12, 15; modified, 16; polar traits of, 14, 16
cultural heterogeneity, as educational barrier, 75
cultural inferiority: compartmentalization of, 150; induced by education, 137; schools’ contribution to, 43, 49, 137
cultural process, education as, xx. See also Education
cultural systems: conflict between, 102; conflict between parents and students, 94-98; conflict between school norms and student values, 82-85; contact between, xx, 48, 62. See also Ponape Islands Central High School
cultural transmission, via Ponapean education, 32-33
culture, defined, xx
“culture lag,” 132-133
decentralization, of educational policy formation, 150
deculturation, of Ponapeans, 48
democratic polity, 16
dependence upon government, 97-98, 99; induced by schooling, 101. See also Education; Knowledge
District Center, Kolonia. See Kolonia
education: achievements, ideal, 136-137; American, 45-46; correlative to material gain, 89, 92; cost of U.S. government, 157; as cultural process, xx; decentralization of policy formation, 150; dependence upon U.S. government, 101; as essence of cultural contact, 153; impact on traditional culture, 66, 95, 96; inadequacy of indigenous, 47, 48; indigenous, 22; informal, 22, 148-149; and interpersonal interaction, 60; Japanese, 59-60; missionary versus indigenous, 37-38; nonformal, 153n2; play group as dominant, 25; Ponapean, 21, 25-28, 32-33; for socio-economic mobility, 157; in total perspective, 147-148. See also Education, American; Ponape Islands Central High School
education, American: alternative systems of, 142; attempt of, 131; and cultural inferiority, 137; culturally disruptive, 141; failure of, 132; goals, optional, for Ponapeans, 138; hierarchy, traditional, 141; as panacea for Ponapeans, 131; reform of, 142; vocational schools, 145; youth led away from traditional culture by, 133-136
educational authority system: administrator in, 72-73; counselor in, 75-77; student in, 77-78; teacher in, 74-75
education versus schooling, 134, 137
elementary schools. See Schools
enculturation, 21-22, 23; challenged by schooling, 35; familial, xvii; indigenous learning style, 61; Ponapeans in full control of, 49-50; traditional values reinforced by Japanese school system, 41
English, instruction in, 46, 61
eni aramas (spiritual protector of commoners), 8
enilapalap (spiritual counterpart of chiefs), 8
ethics, "situational," 11, 59, 134
extended family, 16; breakdown of, 131.
See also Ponapean: family versus school, and traditional family structure
familial alienation, 94–98, 100
familial enculturation, xvii
family labor: need in agriculture, 54; and youths' independence, 95–96
farmsteads (peliensiapw), 4
feast house (nahs), 5; traditional seating pattern, 56
feast(s): apologetic (romw), 9; analogous to formal school, 28; competitive (erazel, kamadipw), 2–3, 6, 59; conciliation (eluh), 9; distribution of food at, 107–108, 112; honor (kamadipw en wahu), 5; Westernization of, 97. See also Feast(s), competitive
feast(s), competitive: analogous to graduation, 90; and "prestige" economy, 6; purpose, 5; and school lunch program, 60; seating order at, 56. See also Apologetic feast; Feast(s); Feast of conciliation; Feast of honor
feast of conciliation (eluh), 9
feast of honor (kamadipw en wahu), 5
Federated States of Micronesia, 1, 17n1, 159
feudal structure, 4, 16
fishing, 2
foreign language, knowledge of as advantageous, 38. See also English
foreign influence. See American influence; American schooling; Japanese colonial education; Japanese colonial policy; Spanish colonial influence; Western influence
formal education, 153n2. See also Education; Formal schooling; Ponape Islands Central High School; Schools
formal schooling, 21; and alternative modes, 148–149, 149–151; not advantageous to Ponapeans, 47; changing traditional culture, 60; and cross-cultural contact, 49; harm of, 102; prior to and during Japanese occupation, 38, 39–43; results of, 102; status of, 90
freedom (nseinet), 95
freedom of decision (saledek), 94
generational conflict, 94–98
geopolitical orientation: of rural seniors, 120; of rural terminees, 110; of urban seniors, 124; of urban terminees, 115
German(s): colonial influence of, 37, 39, 47; and copra and shell resources, 38; education, 38; and feast of honor, 5; and land reform, 3, 5
gods, ancestral (enihwos), 6, 8. See also Totems
government employment, 2, 89, 96, 115
Government of the Northern Marianas, 1
grading process, and social control of schools, 80
graduation, as analogous to feasts, 90
group-orientation, 15; versus family, 83. See also Peer group; Ponapean: family versus school, and traditional family structure
guilt versus shame, 37–38, 42
harmony: with nature, 11, 12, 48, 60; social, 14, 16, 60
high language (rneing1, 27–28
holistic world view, 11, 31, 48, 134
home life, Ponapean, 56–57
homesteads (kousapw), 5; heads of (kaun, soumas), 4
imitation: as learning skill, 30–31; in Tate English language program, 61
immutability, goal of informal education, 33
incantations (winahni), 10; to summon spirits (sakarkihda), 10
in-depth interview method, xx, xxi
independence, of Ponapean youth, 95–96
indirectness, 32
infant, care of, 23–24. See also Child; Ponapean; Parent-child relationship
inferior status: and access to learning and schools, 43, 49, 137; of Ponapeans, 43
informal education, 22, 148–149; goal of, 23, 33. See also Education; Enculturation
informal learning, 153n2
in-group feelings: of rural seniors, 117; of rural terminees, 106; of urban seniors, 121; of urban terminees, 111
inheritance of land, as social control, 29. See also Land; Social controls
intercultural conflict, 102, 133. See also Cross-cultural conflict
interpersonal harmony, family versus school, 83
interview schedules, 164–172
Japanese colonial education, 39–42; consistent with Ponapean, 41, 59–60; similar to missionary, 41–42; teachers viewed differently, 92–93
Japanese colonial policy, 39, 47; acculturation furthered by, 40; dual school
system under, 39; forced labor of Ponapeans under, 43
kava, 9–10: bearing and drinking of (sakau), 9; and missionary interference, 37; and Nahnmmwarki, 9; as a prestige good, 6, 16
key systemic elements. See Education; Ponapean, family; School
Kitti (tribal state), 4
knowledge: as control and power, 58, 101; in Ponape Islands Central High School, 81
Kolonia (District Center), xx, 2; American teachers’ concentration in, 55; blamed for Westernization of youths, 98; bombing of, 43; elementary schools of, versus rural areas, 55; influence on Ponape Islands Central High School, 80; Japanese occupation of, 42; place of greatest alien domination, 125, 129, 156
land, 4, 16; and rural seniors, 117; and rural terminees, 106; and urban seniors, 121; and urban terminees, 111
land ownership, German influence on, 5
land reform, American and German, 3, 5
learner-centered education, 37
learning resources and total education, 147–148
lies, and interpersonal harmony, 11. See also Harmony, interpersonal
livelihood, Ponapeans, 2
lineages (keinek), 2–3, 6, 12
Madoenihw (tribal state), 4; Nan Madol (temple) in, 10
magic and medicine, 18n4, 26–27
male status, 55; and traditional seating pattern in feast house, 56
marginality: cause of, 132, 138; and community learning system, 153; of Ponapean youth, 131, 132, 133; schools teach inadvertently, 138
marriage, to non-Ponapeans: and rural seniors, 115; and rural terminees, 105; and urban seniors, 121; and urban terminees, 105
material security, importance of, 59. See also Land; Prestige goods
maternal uncle, role of, 3
matrilineal clans, 3, 5
medicines (wintu), 10; and magic, 18n4; traditional versus American, and rural seniors, 117; traditional versus American, and urban seniors, 121; traditional versus American, and urban terminees, 111; non-Ponapean educators, view of schools and culture, xx, 169. See also American teachers; Education, Japanese; Teachers
nonschool educational programs, and employment, 152
other-directed, 15
out-group persons: and rural seniors, 115–116; and rural terminees, 105–106; and urban seniors, 121; and urban terminees, 110–111
non-Ponapean educators, view of schools and culture, xx, 169. See also American teachers; Education, Japanese; Teachers
non-Ponapean friends: and rural seniors, 116; and rural terminees, 105–106; and urban seniors, 121; and urban terminees, 110–111
non-Ponapean, family
nonschool educational programs, and employment, 152
other-directed, 15
out-group persons: and rural seniors, 115–116; and rural terminees, 105–106; and urban seniors, 121; and urban terminees, 111
parents: and rural seniors, critical of school’s failures,
Index

100; responsibility transferred to
schools, 93; and school contact, 94;
separateness of culture, 92; view of
education, 90, 92

patterns of change, sociocultural: identifi-
cation with alien culture, urban
seniors', 126-127, 129; marginality, ur-
ban terminces', 125-126, 129; personal
alienation, rural seniors', 126, 129;
traditionalism, rural terminces', 125,
129. See also Rural seniors; Rural ter-
minces; Urban seniors; Urban terminees

Peace Corps Volunteers, 46. See also
American influence; Western influence

peer group, 62-64, 66n2, 131; classroom
group as new culture, 65; influence of,
96; strength of, in Ponape Islands Cen-
tral High School, 96; versus teachers,
63-64, 66n2; versus traditional child
rearing, 62; and Westernization of
youth, 98

personal recognition, and prestige
economy, 6

persuasion, methods of, 30-32

pigs, as prestige goods, 6, 16

play group and child, 25. See also Child

Ponape, description of, xviii, xix, 1-2, 4,
36-37

Ponapean: children's education, control
over, 49-50; clans, 2; cultural incom-
patibility with Ponape Islands Central
High School, 83-85; and family life, 12;
family versus school, 83, 105, 134-135;
home life of, 56-57; livelihood of, 2;
self-determination of goals, 143, 159;
thought processes of, 30-32; traditional
family structure, 3, 134; traditional,
natural, and spirit world, 8, 60, 134;
traits, 14-15; value system of, 55

Ponapean culture: importance of lost, 96,
102; strength in rural areas, 104

Ponapean educators, schooling and
cultural transformations, xxi, 170

Ponapean parents: communication with
Ponape Islands Central High School,
80; criticisms of youths, 96; expecta-
tions of student and teacher behavior,
92-94; freedom, attitude toward, 95;
school learning and urbanism, impact
of, xx-xxi

Ponapean youth: conflict between parents
and, 102; cultural themes, attitudes
toward, xx, xxi; culture, loss of, 96;
disillusioned, 132; freedom of, 95;
marginal status of, 132; new symbols
embraced, 127; status symbols desired,
96

Ponape Islands Central High School, 68;
as agent and client, 80; as alien
bureaucracy, 81-82; bureaucratic struc-
ture of, 71, 81-82; decision-making
positions, 71; grading, 74-75; gradu-
tion from, necessity of, 89-96; hierar-
chy, 71-72; operational goals, lack of,
73; and parental communication, 80;
for select students, 79

possessions and ownership, 3

praise: role of, 13-14; as social control,
29

prestige competition, 6

prestige economy, 6, 13, 16; as control
device, 29

pride and modesty, public, 13, 15, 16, 60,
63

primary interview schedule, xx, 164-166

"primitive" universities, 35

private versus group ownership, 3

propitiation, direct, 9

public bravery, 12

public criticism, forbidden, 14

Pwihn Pwulopwul, young men's group,
145

"pygmylike" spirits (sokolei), 8

respect(ful) behavior, 27-28, 61-62, 96-97

revenge, 14-15

ridicule, role of, 13-14

role: conflict in school, 83; and organiza-
tion, 82; of teachers, in community
schools, 149-150. See also Counselor;
Parent; Teacher; Student

role deference behavior, 63

rote memorization, 30, 55, 61; and
authoritarianism, 101-102; and
Japanese education, 41; as reinforce-
ment of Ponapean traditional educa-
tional mode, 61

rural parents. See Parents, rural

rural schools: contact with non-
Ponapeans, 105; dysfunctionality of,
104, 110; versus agrarian economy, 108;
versus urban schools, 55

rural sector, as poor, 156

rural seniors: American names, adoption
of, 115; feasts, attitude toward, 118;
food and drink of, 117; home learning
and school learning, 119; medicines
used by, 117; and Nahnmwarki,
118-119; out-group marriage attitude,
115; and non-Ponapean friends, 116; as
personally alienated, 126, 127; as Pona-
peans first, 120; yams versus money, at-
titude toward, 117-118

rural terminces, 104-110, 127-129;
American names, adoption of, 105;
geopolitical orientation, 110; high
language and, 108; in-group feelings, 106; land, importance of, 106; medicines used by, 106–107; Nahnamwarki system, preference for, 108–109; out-group marriage attitude, 105; title system, attitude toward, 109; traditional family life, influence of, 105; as traditionalists, 125 
rural-urban flow, 131–132

Saudeleurs, dynasty, 4; temples of, 10

school(s), 68, 69, 70, 85; Catholic, 46; and colonialism, 48; foreign, 43; Japanese, 39–41; as symbol of domination, 35, 84; versus family, 83, 105, 108, 134–135, 137. See also American schooling; American school system; Community schools; Ponape Islands Central High School; Vocational schools

schooling versus education, 134, 137

school learning, xxi

school system, Japanese, 39–43; discipline in, compared with American schools, 92–93; practicality of, for Ponapeans, 40, 59–60; and traditional Ponapean values, 41, 59n2, 59–60. See also Japanese colonial education

second interview schedule, xx, 167–168

Seventh Day Adventist, missionary education, 46

sex role stereotyping, 56

shame, 13–14, 25; as control of behavior, 29, 42; and Japanese education, 59–60; “situational” ethics, 11, 59; and biculturality, 134

social conformity: of children, 65; and spiritual world, 9; of students, 78

social controls, 13–14; of children, 62–63; of Ponape Islands Central High School, 80. See also Corporal punishment; Inheritance; Praise; Pride; Ridicule; Shame; Supernatural world

social structure, Ponapean, 31–32

social mobility, of commoners, 6

Sokehs (tribal state), 4

sorcery, 10. See also Magic and medicine

Spanish colonial influence, 37, 39; and Catholicism, 38

spiritual curse (riahla), 8–9

spiritual reprisal, as means of social control, 9, 29

Statement of Policy on Education, 154n5

status goods, 6. See also Kava; Pigs; Status symbols; Yams

status symbols, of youths, 96. See also Status goods

stereotyping. See Sex role stereotyping

student(s): deculturation of at Ponape Islands Central High School, 79; differing treatments, reaction to, 78; docility of, 78; grades, emphasis on, 80; heterogeneity of groups, 77, 78; as subculture at Ponape Islands Central High School, 69

succession, clans, order of, 5–6

suicide rate, rise of, 158–159

supernatural world: and Christianity, 16; and modern science, 16; strength of, 6; traditional Ponapean as active participant in, 8, 10–11

superordinate-subordinate relationship, xx, 47–48; inferior status of subordinate, 99; reinforced, 61

taboo (inopwji), 8–9, 9, 56

Tate English language program, 61

teacher(s): absenteeism of, 58; American, 55; as authoritarian, 84; community schools, role in, 149–150; elementary level, 54–55; Micronesian, 54–55, 74; parental expectations of, 92–93; in Ponape Islands Central High School, 74–75; responsibility for child, 100; status of, 90; versus peer group, 63–64

teaching and education, traditional Ponapean style, 25–28, 134–135; informal and nonformal, 149; relevancy to real life tasks, 137; results of, 102; versus American schooling, 135, 137

thought processes, 30–32

tiahh (appropriate behavior), 94, 96, 100, 109, 114

title system: and rural seniors, 119; and rural terminees, 109; and urban seniors, 123; and urban terminees, 113–114

total learning system, 147, 148, 149; in local context, 151–152

totem, clan’s, 6–7


traditional Ponapean life style: beer versus sakau, 106–107; breakdown of, 130; food, 106; medicine, 107; preservation of, 109–110; and rural areas, 107; title system preferences, 109

transference pattern, 57–58, 61

transferring culture, 56, 58–59

tribal states (wehi), 4. See also Kitti; Madolenihmw; Net; Sokehs; Uh

tribute (nophwej), 5

Uh (tribal state), 4

unemployment: percentage, 158; voca-
Index

181

tional schools and, 145; of youth, 132, 144, 159
United Nations Charter, 45
United Nations Trusteeship Agreement, 69–70
United Nations Review Commission, 81
urbanization, xvii; and schooling, 94–95, 96. See also Ponape Islands Central High School
urban parents: contact with schools, 94, 99; criticism of schools, 100; education, view of, 90–91, 92; responsibility transferred to schools, 92
urban sector, 156
urban schools versus rural schools, 55, 104, 110. See also Ponape Islands Central High School
urban seniors, 121–124, 127–129; achievement oriented, 122; American names, adoption of, 121; foods, 121; geopolitical orientation of, 124; and high language, 123; identified with alien culture, 126–127; land, 121; marriage to Ponapeans, 121; medicines used by, 121; and Nahnmwarki, 123–124; outgroup orientation, 121; and title system, 123; yams versus money, attitude toward, 122
urban terminees, 110–115, 127–129;
American names, adoption of, 110; combination of cultures, 114–115; feasts, attitude toward, 112; foods of, 111; geopolitical orientation of, 115; and English, 113; land, attitude toward, 111; as marginal, 125–126; and Nahnmwarki, 113–114; medicines used by, 111–112; non-Ponapean friends, 110–111, 114
vassals (soupeidi), 4
vocational schools, 145–147. See also Education; Schools
wage economy, 3. See also Western influence
Western influence, 36–37, 48; on education, 102; on feasts, 97; Spanish colonial, 37–39; and traditional family structure, 3, 65, 95–96. See also American influence
yams: as nonverbal prestige goods, 6, 16, 59; and rural seniors, 117–118; and rural terminees, 107; and urban seniors, 121–122; and urban terminees, 112
youth: behavioral patterns of, xvii; education of, 26–28
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While contributing theoretical and historical insights into the role of education in the culture change process, this book also brings an important but overlooked international political issue to the forefront. The Micronesian example demonstrates the potential impact of the policies and practices of neo-colonial transplanted education systems on indigenous peoples.

Nat J. Colletta was a Peace Corps volunteer in Micronesia in the 1960s and later returned under a Ford Foundation research grant to do fieldwork among the Ponapeans of the Eastern Caroline Islands. He earned his Ph.D. in sociology, anthropology, and comparative education from Michigan State University in 1972. He has taught university courses in Malaysia as a visiting Fulbright-Hays Senior Lecturer and at the State University of New York. From 1974 to 1976 he served as an advisor to the Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture—planning, research and development unit. Since 1977 he has been employed as an education specialist in the Eastern Africa Projects Department of the World Bank.