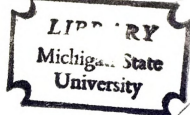


AMERICAN SCHOOLS FOR THE NATIVES OF PONAPE;
A CASE STUDY OF THE ROLE OF EDUCATION IN
THE DEVELOPMENT OF CULTURAL CHARACTER
AMONG THE PONAPEANS OF MICRONESIA

Thesis for the Degree of Ph. D.
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
NAT JOSEPH COLLETTA
1972



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ABSTRACT

AMERICAN SCHOOLS FOR THE NATIVES OF PONAPE: A CASE STUDY OF THE ROLE OF EDUCATION IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF CULTURAL CHARACTER AMONG THE PONAPEANS OF MICRONESIA

By

Nat Joseph Colletta

Problem

The purpose of this study is to provide a case analysis of the role of education in the process of cultural character change among the Ponapeans of Micronesia.

Procedures

Viewing education in the broader context of enculturation and non-school, as well as school learning, three methodological techniques were employed. In the first section, historical reconstruction and participant observation were used to give a brief ethnological picture of the Ponapean people; to examine and describe the process of indigenous education or enculturation; and to relate the history of cultural contact and the evolution of formal schooling on Ponape. In the second section, which applies the system as a unit of analysis, the methods of participant observation, the application of theoretical literature, and local statistical records

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were employed to look at the dysfunctional elementary school system; the bureaucratic monocultural high school; and the more general relationship between schooling and social class formation on Ponape. The third section relies heavily on data obtained through intensive interviewing to (1) establish an adult view of the schooling process; and (2) to compare four random samples of similar aged Ponapeans, who have had varying exposure to the urban environment of the District Center and who have participated at different levels of formal schooling. This was done in order to establish patterns of cultural character change in relation to the amount of schooling and the degree of exposure to urban life. The final section provides an overview of the inter-systemic conflict which results when the Ponapean family, the alien American school and the urban environment meet as divergent agents of socialization. This section makes several conclusions and recommendations for program design and future research.

Findings

1. Indigenous Ponapean education is primarily moral, technical, and conservative in nature, leaving little room for the development of a self separate from the collective cultural identity.
2. The major effect of formal schooling prior to the American era was to reinforce the traditional social

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structure and rote cognitive style, while inducing an element of cultural inferiority among the Ponapeans.

3. The American elementary school system, although relatively dysfunctional, has continued to induce cultural inferiority into the Ponapeans. At the same time it breaks the unitary sphere of influence and activity of the family, thus introducing the notion of a school character in the role of student. This character is separate from and in conflict with that which was socialized in the family.

4. The major impact of the high school years and the urban exposure has been to transmit the alien norms and aspirations of freedom, equality, conservation of time and goods, individualism, and consumerism, while bureaucratically reinforcing the traditional patterns of hierarchical authority, submissiveness, and a rote cognitive style. Because of the failure to educate for critical reflection and free choice, patterns of youth marginality are evolving in direct relation to individual participation in formal school and exposure to urban life. It seems that although urbanization is a necessary variable in the degree of systemic marginality, both the amount of urban exposure and the level of formal schooling combine to determine movement from the traditional Ponapean to the alien American system.

5. Ponape is presently moving from a feudal to a class society, with education playing a key role in

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the allocation of this new social class status. The Ponapeans, because of their porportionately smaller participation in the schools are coming out on the bottom of this new social order.

6. Ponapean parents are in general conflict over the desirability of schooling. They fully approve of the more visible material gains schooling can bring, yet they dislike seeing their children moving away from them in terms of world view and value orientation.

7. Time in system, commitment to the system, acceptance by the system, cognitive style adaptability (relational vs. analytical), and incidence of success in the system seem to be the key elements determining the degree of systemic marginality, or capacity for bi-culturality of Ponapean youth.

8. The American formal school system in its failure to instill independent critical thinking, while structurally reinforcing an indigenous rote relational cognitive style and transmitting alien aspirations of freedom etc., has promulgated a status of marginality for most Ponapean youth, rather than performing the liberating function necessary for free choice or for the fusion of cultures in the formation of a new cultural character.

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Recommendations

1. The data from this case study should be applied in the construction of cross-culturally equivalent instruments for empirically measuring some of the "suggested" variables and "implied" causal relations of this study in an endeavor to further understand the culture change process.

2. A number of field techniques should be employed and modified in order to better fit the Ponapean cultural idiosyncracies.

3. To attend to the problems of education and youth marginality, inter-generational conflict, and cultural discontinuity on Ponape, it is suggested that at least two significant structural changes be made on Ponape. First, the introduction of a reconstructed community school emphasizing skill training, an inquiring mind, and community participation of students, parents, and teachers. Second, it is suggested that quality primary education may be preferable to token universal education and that the use of non-school educational schemes such as youth mobilization be made as a substitute or alternative program to universal, compulsory education.

4. Finally, a number of areas of future research are delineated. First, much work is needed on the concept of cognitive style, the organization or structural

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socialization of such phenomena, and the general conditions for bi-culturality and/or levels of marginality and alienation as a result of inter-systemic, inter-cultural/structural socialization. Second, further research is needed in the investigation and design of non-school educational alternatives and their encumbent interface relationship to the formal schools. Third, questions of selection and accreditation (credibility) of varying modes of education must be investigated to legitimate any such structural innovations. Finally and most important, a dialogue on what quality education for Micronesia should be has to be undertaken by the Micronesians and Ponapeans themselves, for ultimately they alone must determine and take the responsibility for the kind of education they need for the kind of society they want to live in.

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF CULTURAL CHARACTER
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By

Nat Joseph Colletta

A THESIS

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in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Social Philosophical Foundations
of Education

1972

In Memory of
Malcolm Lawson
Friend and Colleague

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

A research grant from Michigan State University, Center for International Programs--Ford Foundation made this study possible.

The author is deeply grateful for the advice, assistance, and models of scholarship and humanistic behavior given to him by the members of his guidance committee. First, Dr. Cole S. Brembeck, committee chairman, who at every turn provided the freedom to learn. Second, Dr. Wilbur Brookover, whose relentless belief in equality of educational opportunity continually reinforced the ideals of a just society. And finally, Drs. Marvin Grandstaff and John Hanson whose willingness to be different, yet concerned for the general welfare, provided models of man's attempts to balance on the tenuous path of the individual in society.

Special thanks goes to Father William McGarry for his willingness to share the wisdom of his years living among the Ponapeans in the desire that others might come to learn and appreciate cultural differences.

The author is particularly grateful to Nancy Donohue Colletta's endless hours of reading, critiquing and typing of this manuscript.

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Finally, deep appreciation is due the Ponapean people, young and old, whose timeless lessons have repeatedly enriched my life.

EDUCATION . . .

KNOWLEDGMENTS .

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INTRODUCTION

THE RESEARCH PROBLEM AND METHODOLOGY

You have been told to go grubbing in the library, thereby accumulating a mass of notes and a liberal coating of grime. You have been told to choose problems wherever you can find musty stacks of routine records based on trivial schedules prepared by tired bureaucrats and filled out by reluctant applicants for aid or fussy do-gooders or indifferent clerks. This is called "getting your hands dirty in real research." Those who thus counsel you are wise and honorable; the reasons they offer are of great value. But one thing more is needful; first-hand observation. Go and sit in the lounges of the luxury hotels and the doorsteps of the flophouses; sit on the Gold Coast settees and on the slum shakedown; sit in Orchestra Hall and in the Star and Garter Burlesk. In short, gentlemen, go get the seats of your pants dirty (Robert E. Park).

In the summer of 1968 my wife and I came to the island of Ponape in the Eastern Caroline Islands after spending three days and three nights sleeping on the deck of an ancient flagship of the Micronesian Inter-Ocean Lines. In the summer of 1970, two years later, we left that same island on board a Continental 707 jet departing from a man-made coral airstrip on a previously uninhabited lagoon atoll. A departure from traditional ways, more commonly referred to as "modernization," was occurring in Ponape at a rate equivalent to, if not surpassing, any other area of the world. During our two year sojourn we

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witnessed the virtual extinction of the outrigger canoe, the rapid diffusion of the transistor radio, and the influx of numerous other Western commodities. Change was taking place with such regularity that in a sense it became the only significant norm.

In January, 1972, we returned to that very same island to take a more structured look at this change process and the role of the American school in that process. The cumulative results of the first two year stay and this latter four month investigation are encompassed in this manuscript.

After leaving Ponape in 1970 two years were spent at Michigan State University working in the Institute for International Studies in Education while completing the requirements for a doctorate. In 1972 the return was made to Ponape with a more focused research problem based on a socio-cultural theoretical framework.

The central problem revolves around the question of the transplanted American formal school system's role (as a cross-cultural contact institution) in the promotion of youth marginality and cultural character change among the Ponapeans. The project narrowed in on the Ponapeans primarily because they are the major ethnic group on the island, and secondly because of the researcher's own familiarity with their culture and language. As an educator the author chose the formal school as the main

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independent variable to be investigated, although urbanization was also included in the final research design. It was felt that urbanization was a second and essential independent variable in the overall change process. The concept of cultural character, as exhibited in the normative behavioral traits of Ponapeans, was utilized as the dependent variable. It permeates the body of the study in an attempt to evaluate the effects on Ponapean youth of exposure to formal schooling and urban life.

Several theoretical assumptions concerning education and culture were brought to bear on the research problem:

1. Culture is fundamentally rooted in shared meanings and common symbols used to communicate those meanings.
2. To modify or change cultural symbols (i.e. language, customs) is to change cultural meanings and ultimately cultural identity (character).
3. For most peoples culture is implicit, it is lived, not observed. An essential role of research in the social sciences is to make culture explicit for those that live it (see De Tocqueville's study Democracy in America for an example of this point).
4. Education is more than classroom or school learning, it occurs outside as well as within such environmental realms.
5. What is learned in school is not solely course content, but values, attitudes, beliefs and ways of approaching the external world. This latter covert curriculum is just as significant in terms of behavioral outcomes as the formal overt course content.

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6. When two diverse cultural systems come into contact, historically it has been the case that a superordinate/subordinate relationship will evolve as the stronger system attempts to define, control and absorb the weaker. This is not the only relationship possible, a feasible ideal would be the meeting of cultures as equals and a fusing of the best elements of each as mutually determined.

From these theoretical assumptions we move to establish a historical perspective and then on to the testing of the three hypothetical questions:

1. What effect over time, does participation in formal school have on one's practice and identification with indigenous cultural patterns?
2. What effect over time, does exposure to urban life have on one's practice and identification with indigenous cultural patterns?
3. What combined effect over time, does participation in formal school and exposure to urban life have on one's practice and identification with indigenous cultural patterns?

As indicated, participation in formal school and exposure to urban life were the selected independent variables.

The dependent, outcome variable was the notion of cultural character as measured by behavioral participation and identification with the indigenous cultural patterns.

The actual research design and methodology* were as follows: in the design itself, four groups of ten similar age (19-21), mixed sex, Ponapean youth were randomly selected for comparative purposes. The first group consisted of rural terminees or those who were reared

* For an additional discussion of methodology see Appendix A.

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in the outer municipalities, attended elementary school through grade eight and then returned to the land. The second group consisted of urban terminees or those Ponapean youth who were reared in the District Center and attended elementary school there through grade eight, terminated and remained in the District Center. The third group consisted of rural Seniors, or those graduating Seniors at the local high school who were reared in rural areas, attended elementary school there, then attended four years of high school in the District Center. The fourth group consisted of the urban Seniors or those graduating Seniors who were reared in the District Center, and who attended elementary and secondary school there. The comparative analysis of these four groups will be used to measure the effects on cultural character development of participation in the formal school and exposure to urban life.

Three basic methodological techniques were employed to gather data: historical reconstruction, intense field interviewing, and participant observation. In building a historical perspective, the first five chapters make extensive use of past anthropological research on Ponape, of select socio-cultural theoretical literature on other cultures, and of personal observation over time. The chapters on the enculturation process and the high school as a bureaucratic social system make particular use of theoretical literature on other cultures and personal

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observations. Chapter VI relies heavily on social stratification theory and the analysis of local statistical records in the context of that theory. The primary data was obtained through intense interviewing and is found in Chapters VII and VIII in which the responses of the Ponapean adults and schooled youth speak for themselves. The social system (the family, the elementary school and the high school) is the primary dimension of analysis in the earlier chapters, and the individual (parent, teacher, student) is emphasized in the later chapters.

This is fundamentally a qualitative approach to research and not a quantitative study. It is an exploratory case study based on extensive library research, and qualitative interviewing and observation. It is viewed as a first step and necessary foundation to the development of cross-culturally equivalent instruments for further quantitative research in the area. Similar models of this methodological approach are William Foote White's Street Corner Society, Robert Cole's Uprooted Children, and Murray and Rosalie Wax's Formal Education on an American Indian Reservation among others. For an indepth description of this qualitative approach to research consult John Lofland's Analyzing Social Settings--A Guide to Qualitative Observation and Analysis.

Five open ended interview schedules were constructed (see Appendices B-F). The central and most

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extensive interview schedule, administered to forty Ponapean youth, was constructed to derive the youths' feelings and attitudes about several cultural themes (this point is elaborated on in Chapter VIII). A second interview schedule was administered to forty parents; twenty urban and twenty rural. This schedule was taken from the Wax study (1968) and modified in an endeavor to obtain Ponapean parental attitudes concerning indigenous and formal education as it affected their children. The third interview schedule was a non-Ponapean educator schedule attempting to see how twenty non-Ponapean (the majority being American) educators viewed Ponapean culture and the education process on Ponape. This schedule was also adapted from the Wax study. The fourth interview schedule was directed at twenty Ponapean educators in an effort to determine their feelings about the schooling process and cultural change. The first sample, that of the Ponapean youth, was the only group randomly sampled. The others were purposively sampled on the basis of geographical locality, sex, age, time in the system and logistic ability to arrange interviews. A fifth interview schedule was given to ten select informants (Ponapean mothers) to evaluate child rearing practices. The later four interview schedules were utilized to gather cultural material to build around the study and to give it a broader spectrum. It should be mentioned

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that childrens' art work was incidentally collected in elementary schools around the island and employed in the chapter on elementary education to illustrate various points.

The general organization of the study is as follows: Chapters I-III attempt to place the study in its historical-cultural perspective by describing traditional Ponapean culture, elaborating on the indigenous enculturation process, and establishing the nature of cross-cultural contact and the historical evolution of formal schools on Ponape. Chapter IV discusses the organization and functionality of the elementary schools on Ponape. Chapter V is a detailed investigation of the high school as a complex (alien) organization with its inherent process of structural socialization. Chapter VI is a tangential examination of formal education and structured inequality on the island as it specifically effects the Ponapeans. Chapter VII endeavors to provide an impression of the Ponapean adult view of formal school as related to the cultural process. Chapter VIII reports cultural material from the interviews with Ponapean youth and builds a model for the effects of education and urbanization on patterns of youth marginality and cultural character change. In conclusion, Chapter IX gives an overview of the developing cultural character as discussed in the earlier chapters and makes some recommendations for edu-

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cational innovation and future research on Ponape. The notion of changing cultural character is woven throughout the entire manuscript to bind the text together.

As previously mentioned, the worth of this study resides in its ability to describe the case situation in education and cultural character change in a qualitative, exploratory manner, such that future quantitative efforts might be undertaken in a culturally sensitive manner. It is further hoped that those who are living this experience, the Ponapeans themselves, may be assisted in the difficult but important process of making their culture explicit as a necessary prelude to smooth cultural transition.

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CHAPTER I

THE PONAPEANS OF MICRONESIA

Ecology

Northeast of New Guinea and about 8° above the equator lies the high volcanic island of Ponape, the crow's nest of the Eastern Caroline Islands. Its rugged, protruding basalt peaks syphon the passing nimbus clouds to collect an annual rainfall of approximately 180 inches. Its 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 included in the main island, the remainder of which are neatly dispersed among the 39 islands and islets on, or within, the surrounding reef. About 20 miles of the main island area consists of coastal mangrove swamp. Much to the dismay of western imagery, there are few beaches.

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

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when confronted with the vast heterogeneity of cultures and languages within its bounds.

Politically, Ponape is the administrative center of one of the six districts of the United Nations Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.* The territory is administered by the Department of the Interior, United States Government. The entire territory is composed of three major archipelagoes: the Carolines, the Marshalls, and the Marianas (excluding territorial Guam). It incorporates over 2,141 islands, 98 of which are inhabited. The islands amount to a total land mass of 687 square miles (about one half the size of Long Island) and are spread over an area of about 3,000,000 square miles of azure Pacific waters (approximately equal in size to the continental United States).

The majority of Ponape Island's 13,976 inhabitants live either in scattered homesteads along the narrow coastal plain 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

*The other districts are Palau, Yap, Truk, the Marianas, and the Marshalls. The Trust Territory of the Pacific is one of the two remaining United Nations Trust Territories, the Territory of Papua New Guinea under Australian administration being the other.

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Center enclaves, although one could readily find them dwelling in both of the latter places. The Ponapeans still represent the majority of the island's people, but 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 around the island.

There are virtually no roads outside of Kolonia, and the major means of transportation beyond the town limits is by boat or by foot. Electrical power, running water, or other such Western conveniences do not extend outside the limits of Kolonia town.

The primary means of survival for most of the island's inhabitants is subsistence agriculture, fishing, some form of government employment or a combination of these.

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

Family Structure

The natives of Ponape are organized into over twenty matrilineal, exogamous, totemic clans (dipw or

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sou*) (Riesenberg, 1968). These larger clans are further divided into matrilineal sub-clans called lineages (Kainek). Whereas the clan is a group of lineages cemented by 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 Fisher (1957) 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.

The lineages function in the promotion of competitive feasting, 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 the grandparents, parents and children and takes

*The orthography and definition of Ponapean words utilized in this manuscript are taken from a variety of past anthropological records. Although a number of dictionaries and word lists have been compiled, to date there is no one comprehensive manuscript on the matter. It is with encouragement that I note such a comprehensive effort is currently under way at the Pacific Language Institute, University of Hawaii.

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little cognizance of 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 on Ponape.

In a matrilineal framework, a child's maternal uncle, who is his linear superior, gains considerable authority as teacher and disciplinarian, while the real father takes a secondary role as the indulgent caretaker and companion. Cousins are generally treated as siblings and the sibling relationship itself becomes a powerful bond in deference to the real father's reduced role (Hambruch, 1910).

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 were asked whether they would trade their land for an equal piece of land in any location of their choice they unanimously replied in the negative. The reason they gave was that, "The land is not mine, it is my family's."

Fisher (1957) noted that although the German land reform policy of 1912 attempted to establish the rights of individual ownership of land and patrilineal inheritance, the traditional system was still practiced.

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Today, the American land reform policy is again tampering with traditional Ponapean family structure in an effort to realize the principles of individual land ownership and patrilineal inheritance avowed by the earlier German warders. This proposed structural innovation coupled with the introduction of other structural transformations, such as the Western notions of work (increased occupational role specialization and diversification) and formal schooling (all emphasizing increased individualization), have begun to elicit visible strain in the communal nature of the extended Ponapean family, a matter which will be discussed in later chapters.

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 government.

According to legend, Ponape was once ruled by one man, the head of a dynasty known as the Saudeleurs. These rulers parceled the land into divisions ruled by vassals (noble lineages) who in turn tenured the land out to commoners (aramus mwahl). The vassals or landed nobility acted as go betweens in the transmission of goods and services of tribute to the Saldeluers (McGarry, 1968). Hambruch and Eilers (1910) in reporting on the findings of O'Connell, an earlier resident among the Ponapeans,

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acknowledged a fourth caste in the feudal structure known as "nigurts" which were supposedly a slave caste.

Riesenberg (1968) refuted this as a fallacy in O'Connell's pronunciation of the word "naikat" which means my people or commoners. Whatever the number of castes, the feudal origins of the Ponapean polity are well documented.

Over the years, through exchange, marriage, and conquest, the land divisions gradually consolidated to form the five independent tribal states (wehi) of Net, Uh, Madolenihwm, Kitti, and Sokehs. Each of these states is headed by two principal chiefs, known as the Nahnmwarki and the Nahnken respectively. These two chiefs form the bulwark of the two lines of royal lineage (souplei) in each state, with sixteen 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 (Fisher, 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 securely guarded fact, like all matters concerning magic, medicine, and the supernatural, is questionable.

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The independent states (wehi) are further organized on a feudal basis and divided into a number of sections called pwihns (a recent nominal division with no clear function other than cultural reintegration through competitive feasting). They are sub-divided 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 (peliensapw), 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 (nopwei) from the people at numerous feasts (kamadipws). These feasts not only served as moments of tribute but also acted to commemorate the first fruits, granting of titles, marriage and other ceremonial events. Each state (wehi) had at least one large feast house (nas) and each kousapw (group of homesteads) had at least one smaller one. These houses were also used as meeting places. During feasts the seating in the nas was such that positions of status and rank were clearly demarcated. Today, most feasts of tribute have been united into one yearly (obligatory) feast of tribute known as the "kamadipw en wau" or feast of honor. This phenomenon is a result of

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German land policy, for 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.

Both verbal and non-verbal honorific forms of respect behavior* are commonly employed to distinguish titular rank and age (Riesenberg and Garvin, 1952). Formerly, the Nahnmwarki was too honored to be seen or to rule publicly, thus the Nahnken acted as the mediary between the royalty and the commoners. The Nahnken's role was very similar to that of the Samoan "talking chief." Even today, although the Nahnmwarki is visably 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 Morrill (1948) points out, the Germans made the Nahnmwarki appear in public and manage district affairs. The Japanese made the Nahnmwarki district administrator and the Nahnken district judge. And the Americans continue to expose the sacred state of the Nahnmwarki with two Nahnmwarkis performing electoral

*A separate high language (meing) is employed when speaking to nobility as well as polite forms of the common language for addressing elders. Non-verbal demeanor is evidenced by remaining low when in the presence of nobility, extending the right arm in passage between individuals and other gestures of respect.

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The sixteen titles of the Nahnmwarki line and the more than seven titles of the Nahnken line are progressively ranked and are the property of two distinct matrilineal clans. In theory, 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 move from the Nahnken line to the Nahnmwarki line or vice versa as a matter of course. The actual practice of succession has involved much deliberation by the two chiefs and other royalty, and has often resulted in individuals skipping rank during the cycle of promotion. Such factors as relative age of the individual, foreign influence, individual industriousness or skill, interpersonal politics and marital exploits added a flavor of openness and achievement 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 network of checks and balances.

Beneath the two principle lines of ascribed rule there existed an outlet for social mobility among the

*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 Dr. Daniel Hughes' "Democracy in a Traditional Society."

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commoners. This was the acquisition of titles (non-royal) or rank through prestige competition. This "prestige economy," as Bascom (1948) notes, 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 not unlike our modern day 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 encumbent rights and obligations, could thus be achieved 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 feast (kamadipw) integrated the entire economic, social, and political structure of Ponape. It not only served to stimulate agricultural production in a subsistence economy, but also allowed for individual recognition and social mobility at all levels. It also reaffirmed and legitimated the ascribed power and authority of the ruling chiefs.

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The Supernatural World

Little is definitely known about the spiritual world of the Ponapeans. Both Mason (1968) and Morrill (1970) claim 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. That the strength of its existence is still evident is quite clearly demonstrated in the Ponapean behavioral environment. As McGarry (1968) attests, "The liturgies performed for the spirits may be nearly extinct, but belief in them is far from dead." As early as 1910 Hambruch noted that the Ponapeans believed the whole nature and world around them to be alive with spirits and demons. He goes on to state:

Although Christianity was easily able to expel and replace the native gods by the Christian conception of God, the rational explanations of the surrounding world did not mean very much to the native, and he could not do without the age-old magical representations and explanations which he found much more convincing and in line with his own world view.

As one begins to focus on the spiritual world of the Ponapean it not only merges 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 emphasis on lineal descent it is somewhat natural that some form of ancestor worship

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Next in the supernatural hierarchy was the spiritual counterpart to 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." As Riesenberg (1968) points out, one might readily speculate the parallel evolution of gods from spirits, state from clan, and paramount ruler from clan head on Ponape, thus supporting the notion 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 "enihwos" in that they dwelt largely in a place up above called "daukatau" and had great influence on earthly events. This group appears to be a functional elaboration of the ancestral "enihwos" which both Riesenberg (1948) and McGarry (1968) acknowledge. The second group includes spirits called "sokolai," who are described as a pygmie-like spirit (eni). The third group mentioned are the place spirits (eni) or those which inhabit the

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lagoon, the ocean, the mangroves, the mountains and other localities of nature. He gives no distinct name for these spirits and implies ambiguity as to whether they are "enihwos" or merely spirits of the recently deceased (eniaramas). It is feasible that this latter group of place spirits might be a part of the "sokolai" or spirits constituting the natural world. McGarry (1968) also discusses the possibility of several other spiritual groupings, but has no substantial evidence to clearly comment on them.

In such a technologically deficient physical environment, nature, man, and the spirits live in face to face harmony. The traditional Ponapean, within his world, is an active (subjective) first-hand participant, experiencing the world directly and immediately, with a balanced (untechnologically obscured) 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 are all united to give daily credence and meaning to the conscious and unconscious events of Ponapean life.

This "gestaltic," unitary approach to the world can be traced in many of the Ponapean behavioral patterns. Riesenbergl (1948) observed that the commoners dreadfully

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feared the spiritual curse known as "riyala." If a taboo was broken (inopiwi), 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 "riyala" 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 "aluh." 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 "tohmw." The essential ingredient of these feasts of spiritual and temporal propitiation was the bearing and partaking of kava (sakau). Legend has it that kava emanated from a high place. Its innate power (manama) served to bring peace and tranquility over the land, to decrease personal proudness 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 non-verbal forms of respect and honorific behavior. Respect and honor were paid not only to those bodily present but also

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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, 1958).

The partaking of kava not only served as a means of ritualistic communication with and testimony to the spiritual world, but is 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. Thus social conformity was guaranteed as the fear of being cursed with sickness or ill fate (riyala) by the chief's spirit was ritualistically reinforced at every feast (Yauci, 1967). This fear of spiritual reprisal became the primary means of social control throughout every level of the society, from the clan chief to the head of the extended family. Thus, this ritualistic ceremony, using a product of nature, completed the bond between man and the spirit, giving continuity and meaning to the previously discussed social structure which pervaded every Ponapean celebration from birth to death.

Although kava is still drunk at every festive occasion as a regular social activity, it is questionable

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how much conscious awareness of the above religious and social significance is attached to it. The social aspects of preparation and drinking have most certainly come to the forefront of its current popular useage.

Sorcery, magic and medicine* are still very common on Ponape today. A sorcerer may determine that an illness is due directly to displeasure of a family spirit or to another's act of black magic (kaw). The family might then offer a feast at the victim's side and the proper medicine (wini) and incantations (winani) would be made to assure a successful recovery. The incantation is usually addressed 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 "riyala" or "winani" is ingrained in the cultural pattern. People bury the umbilical cords of newborns so that no one might employ them in witchcraft. Students often explain their athletic prowess or lack of prowess at the United

*Riesenberg, in "Magic and Medicine on Ponape," makes the distinction between the following different names and functions of curers: "sow-n-winani" or sayer of spells and prayers; "sow-a-katiyani" or shaman; or "sow-pwe, sow-n-kustip, or sow-n-kasow" soothwayers of various types. Magic and medicine are very interwoven practices.

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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. Amulets and other such charms and fetishes are fully believed in. Little children can often be seen with small bits of string tied around their wrists as protective devices (McGarry, 1968). Thus, the powers that be, either in natural objects or in the spirits at large, are continually summoned through incantation (sakarti ta) and employed in the daily social interactions of Ponapean life.

Ponape is not without its sacred havens in the completion of this supernatural picture. One of the most mysterious ruins known to exist is the basalt log fortress of Nan Mado. It consists of many artificial islands attached to the coast of Ponape in Madolenihwm. This mysterious structure offers little clue to its source, meaning, or past use. The local populace is quite evidently in awe of the location, and repeats half remembered legends of the time when the ruins were great temples of worship and warfare. As O'Connell (1885) noted years ago, the natives claim that the towering walls were built and inhabited by "eni mem" (spirits). Even today access to the site is clearly restricted, especially after dark. There are countless tales of misfortune surrounding persons who tried to spend

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The foregoing unity of spiritual and temporal orders, of man, nature, and the gods, provides the Ponapeans with a unique world view. This concept of the world around them makes no separation of the physical and social from the supernatural worlds. Unlike the Western world, where body and soul are separated and exist in non-interactional domains, the Ponapeans make no clear distinction between the life space of spirit and the body. There is little or no attempt by the natives to philosophize or theologize about their world (Yaoch, 1965). Unlike the Western dichotomous,* analyzing, segregating view of the world, the Ponapeans view their world relationally and wholistically. Their approach to the world is not a calculated, linear-analytic mental style, but a more encompassing, multi-directive, relational, "Gestaltic" mental set. First cause explanation is a marked feature of their logical makeup. There is little secondary analysis. Much of their experience is directly explained by the activity of the spirits. Means and ends dialectly blend into one another.

*Philosophically the implication is that Western man's analytic processes of logic are a direct result of his mental separation of body and mind. This has often led to a dicotemous, either or approach to the world.

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The concept of time is inherent in space, happiness in sorrow, and life in death. Events are experienced neither quantitatively nor abstractly, but qualitatively and concretely. The Ponapean lives rather than contemplates the majority of his experiences. In a real sense he is an "existential man."

There exists innately within the Ponapean world a certain balance of power* (manama) between man, nature, and the spirits. It is the goal of Ponapean life to preserve this delicate and harmonious balance. This is exemplified throughout their daily behavior. 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 please your spirit. Their relationship to the land is also governed by this respect. Unlike the furrowed avenues of Western agriculture, it is almost impossible to distinguish the arrangement of their crops, which blend into the contour and natural vegetation of the land. In all cases, for mortals, gods, and nature, the notions of respect and harmony dominate. The gesture (mwomw) and human consequence (outcome) are more important

*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 counter-act. For an interesting account of this principle read George M. Foster's "Peasant Society and the Image of Limited Good," in American Anthropologist, LXVII (1965), 293-315.

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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 superficiality of the reason for leaving (which always goes unquestioned). Along with the logic of the preceding event is a highly relativistic "situational" ethic which pervades Ponapean thought and behavior. An example of this is the following story. An American resident returned home one evening to find some of his canned goods missing. His immediate reaction was outrage about this violation of personal property. However, after thinking the matter over, he concluded that the act was in line with Ponapean ethics, i.e. "I had much, they had little, it was a just sharing and redistribution of the goods."

As a result of this "wholistic" 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 self that allows the Ponapeans to maintain such a unitary view of the world. For them, identity is rooted in this social order.

The continual attempt to appease and balance this delicate tri-part harmony is the essence of Ponapean behavior and cultural character, a matter we will now turn to investigate in detail.

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Cultural Character

As a construct, cultural character is drawn from the works of William James, Harry Stack Sullivan, George H. Mead, Irving Hallowell and several other contemporary scholars. Such terminology as "basic personality structure," "normative orientation," "national character," and "social character" have been employed by anthropologists, sociologists, psychologists and historians to describe the normative, dominant learned, shared, and experienced patterns of behavior in a culture. The term cultural character as here used is most congruent with Eric Fromm's (1949) 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 belong to the same culture differ from each other.

The interpersonal framework of this concept fits well with the bent of Ponapean society. Individual character is firmly enmeshed in the 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 ethos. Cultural character is all pervasive. There is little life separate from the group.

As Clifton (1970) suggests, there has been little social-psychological research done on Ponapean personality. Therefore, the primary means of deriving the Ponapean character for the purposes of this study were

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The family orientation of the Ponapean cultural character is evident in the high regard for family life. As Hambruch stated in 1910:

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) further supports the importance of 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 not unusual to hear in a discussion of importance 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 interpersonal leanings.

Morrill (1948) historically traces Ponapean emphasis on manliness when describing how in ancient times boys were trained to be strong and brave, to endure

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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 for both tattooing and for the bearing of many children. Although the rites are not followed today, the quality of manliness ranked high among the qualities the people thought necessary to be a real Ponapean. Currently women are stoic during childbirth and men refuse to brush glowing ashes off themselves to prove their virility. McGarry (1968) quotes several sayings in support of the prevalence of this trait of bravery and manhood:

1. "Sohte ohl kin mwuskihla mehkot apw pwurhng kangala," or no man vomits something up and then eats it again, meaning a man cannot give up and then go back for another try.
2. "ohl torohr" 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 manhood is an 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 implicit in this earlier stress on physical bravery and manliness has been sublimated through the vibrant agricultural competition of the "prestige economy." Here it is acceptably expressed in a high need achievement for social recognition, public industriousness, and zealous loyalty as exhibited at the

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feast (kamadipw) and realized through the title system. The titles awarded in the prestige economy are highly symbolic of a man's skills and industriousness (poresik). They act not only as a source of reward but also as a motivating factor for the continuance of such behavior. The majority of Ponapeans interviewed agreed that to be considered a Ponapean man one had to have yams, pigs, kava (dip sou) and a title. In other words one must be an active participant in the "prestige economy." The outward characteristics of such participation are demonstrations of loyalty, industriousness, and public modesty. The last characteristic is preeminently important.

It is considered un-Ponapean to boast or to be publicly proud. As Bascom (1948) points out, a man who demonstrates 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 express this unapproved behavior, but which are also used to control such behavior. Lest this public modesty be misunderstood, it should be noted that at the deeper level of self the Ponapeans have a wealth of pride. As Fisher (1958) observed, this overt modesty might very well be social

*Among the terms frequently heard are "kala" or one who physically shows off; "akalapapap" or one who is too proud to listen to reason; "lioasoahs" or one who speaks pretentiously. If a man is to be proud in the positive sense he is to be proud of his humility and his respect for others or "pohn massu en wouu."

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posing beneath which runs a strong current of vanity. It is all right for someone else to acknowledge your success or to place you in the spotlight, but the socially expected response is humble denial. In general, Ponapeans believe much more in demonstrating than in describing their character expectations. Here as in other instances we see the individual Ponapean character being submerged in favor of the collective representations of the overall social structure. Amidst this public modesty and private pride is a deep sensitivity to ridicule and criticism. The role of ridicule and praise in the modification of behavior is set forth as one of the most observable patterns of social control. Ponapeans are extremely other-directed in that they hang on the verbal and non-verbal cues of social interaction for every motive of behavior. To shame (soroti) 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 through his land happened upon a man stealing his yams. Immediately the farmer ducked behind a tree to avoid the personal embarrassment (mahk) of confronting the culprit and thus shaming him (soroti). In a similar cross-cultural context it is common for foreign visitors on Ponape to complain about the lack of service in the stores, stating that they practically have to chase the storekeeper to make a purchase. This is readily explained

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by the unwillingness of the Ponapean to put the visitor in the embarrassing position of having to refuse proffered goods and thus unwittingly offending the storekeeper and social convention. To publicly criticize another individual or to express a dissenting point of view is a strong social taboo. All expressions of criticism are transmitted indirectly through a third party and 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.* Here respect behavior and the fear of negative repercussions are intimately linked, and the golden rule functions to maintain social harmony.

To maintain such a social balance a non-assertive posture becomes the order of the day and mutual respect or confrontation avoidance becomes the main rule of social interaction as well as a definitive Ponapean character trait. It might be added that the reaction to social faux pas are very difficult to observe 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 makes the researcher's job extremely difficult, forcing one to rely heavily on behavioral observation, third party comments and conscious sensitivity to non-verbal cues.

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this defensive, gentle posture of public modesty, non-assertive behavior, and respect are the more negative cultural character traits of intrigue, deception and revenge. Juxtaposed to Hambruch's (1910) earlier praise of the Ponapean character is his statement:

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 intrigue and power politics are of greater importance to the Ponapeans than the actual truth of a particular occurrence. Thus one's ultimate reputation 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 general reluctance to immediately give trust are prominent characteristics of the Ponapean personality. Bascom (1951), writing on the tradition of retaliation among the Ponapeans, demonstrated that revenge is a common theme in Ponapean history from tribal warfare through the entire foreign contact era.

It should be noted that their character is not without a healthy dose of hospitality, tolerance, patience, and a sense of justice grounded in that communal societal characteristic of reciprocity. A Ponapean home typically welcomes any stranger with open handed gifts of food. The character trait of modesty is shown on such an occasion when the first thing the host will do is apologize for the

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Hambuch (1910) in summarizing this behavior states:

They are amiable, hospitable, and obliging where especially they may expect an advantage, readily willing to do service (reciprocity), but also crafty, cunning merchants.

In Ponape, it is to be expected that when a stranger visits, a great deal of respect, kindness, and hospitality is automatically shown to him (McGarry, 1968).

The outward ambiguity of Ponapean character was recorded by F. W. Christian when he visited the island briefly in 1899:

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 possibly biased opinion. That the Ponapean has a unique character is an obvious fact which Bascom (1948) among others delineates:

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. . . 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 uniting what early researchers have said about the Ponapean cultural character (collective, normative personality traits) with descriptions of the behavior of "real Ponapeans" from indigenous interviews, and the researcher's observations, the following ethos of the traditional Ponapean is projected: he is group-oriented and other-directed, his social sensitivity to others is highly important, and the extended family is his primary referent group. He values industriousness, and especially prizes the fruits of his labors on the land. Every Ponapean agreed that he must have land, yams, pigs, kava, a title, a wife and children before he can be considered a "real Ponapean." (The Ponapeans refer to these elements as the "dip sou," or entities of the clan bondage.) The Ponapean distinguishes clearly separate realms of public and private behavior. He is to be publicly modest yet privately proud; publicly brave and manly but privately gentle; publicly respectful and careful to avoid confrontation, but privately cautious and intriguing; publicly hospitable and kind, yet privately deceptive and revengeful. It is taboo to mix the private and public forms of acceptable behavior.

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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 confused and quick to label this paradoxical behavior as that of a "moral chameleon." When understood as a situational ethic, the concept of role segregation and bi-situational or bi-cultural behavior can be seen as a dominant cultural character trait of the Ponapeans. The loss of and/or transference of this particular trait among the young schooled Ponapeans will be examined throughout the body of this text along with the other collective character traits at systemic and individual levels of analysis.

A People in Transition

That the unique character aspects of the Ponapeans are changing is the basis of the remainder of this study. Their "prestige economy" is being transformed into a commercial economy, their feudal order is being replaced by a democratic polity, their supernatural world is being supplanted by the world of science, and ultimately their social structure is in the process of drastic revision. This change process is best captured by Eric Fromm (1941) in 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.

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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 this phenomenon, as an educator, I will focus my efforts on the processual and institutional aspects of cultural transmission and innovation more formally known as education. A comprehensive understanding of this whole matter requires a better understanding of the cultural character and of the manner in which the individual is normatively oriented with reference to values, beliefs, ideals, and the standards expressed in the social structure (institutions) of the specific culture under study. Thus, the central theme of this manuscript will be the changing Ponapean cultural character.

With this in mind we now delve into the process of enculturation. It is during this process that people are taught to act as the membership in their society requires and to derive satisfaction from the system of social sanctioning.

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CHAPTER II

EDUCATION WITHOUT SCHOOLS: LEARNING

TO BE A PONAPEAN

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 erected. Observing this event, his father, in a proud, joking manner acclaimed, "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 above narrative, as told by a Ponapean informant, clearly denotes a different educational process than that utilized in the West. Here, and in situations much less clearly defined, but much more common to the daily life of Ponapeans, values, attitudes, beliefs, and skills are incidentally transmitted and renewed by word and by example.

Education as exhibited in formal schooling is a relatively new concept, but the operational phenomenon itself, in terms of goals and methodology, is rooted from time immemorial in the history of man's struggle with nature. Anthropologists, centering on the process of

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In 1943, at a symposium on education and culture, Robert Redfield addressed his comments to the informal, daily transmission and renewal of knowledge, skills, and values among the natives of the midwestern Guatemalan highlands. Later, Melville Herskovits (1956) pursued the notion of education in its broader context as a total learning system; distinguishing the three components of enculturation, education, and schooling. He claimed that enculturation pertained to both directed and non-directed learning, and schooling was that aspect of education performed by trained specialists in designated locations and at particular time intervals.

Edwin Smith (1934), 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

*For additional literature on enculturation studies throughout the world see the author's bibliography, "Non-Formal Education in Anthropological Perspective," Institute for International Studies in Education, East Lansing, Michigan. An additional source is the extensive bibliography in the appendix of Thomas Rye's book, A Borneo Childhood: Enculturation in Dusan Society.

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Eric Fromm once defined a well-educated person from a cultural point of view as, "A person who wants to do what he ought to do--the 'oughtness' being defined by his culture" (Spiro, 1955). The transmission process itself is referred to in many ways. Sociologists call it 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 "process" still pleads for clarification.

With this brief introduction, let us now turn and examine in detail, the indigenous educational process among the Ponapeans of Micronesia.

Pregnancy*

Legend has it that if a man is growing his beard it is a sure sign of his wife's pregnancy.

The expectant mother is the center of attention and is carefully waited on by the entire extended family. She is to be given anything she desires. It is generally believed that she should get plenty of rest, eat a lot and have priority on special foods such as meat, so that

*Credit is due to Nancy Donohue Colletta for her assistance in gathering cultural material on pregnancy, birth, and infancy among the Ponapeans. It is difficult if not impossible for a man to interview a Ponapean female on these and other delicate matters.

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the baby will be strong. Pregnant women often have whims for foods such as mangos, lemons and salty products. They are often given drinks made from special leaves to make them calm during pregnancy. It is said that women are apt to be very moody and argue a lot with their husbands during this period.

Pregnant women are not expected to work very hard and it is generally understood if they do not feel well enough to do all their usual work. They are not supposed to walk and eat at the same time for fear that it will upset the baby and also cause the mother additional pain in labor. They are not supposed to be near very hot places where there is much cooking going on because the heat and smell are believed to make the baby uncomfortable. All during pregnancy native herbs are given to the mother to lessen the pain of delivery. This is accompanied by continual massaging and repositioning of the baby in the womb to facilitate birth. Indulgent concern for both mother and child smooth the path for birth and later social adaptation.

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 further old age insurance for the parents.

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A girl usually wishes to go home to her mother to have her baby. Mothers and sisters are frequently present at the birth but fathers and brothers are strictly excluded. Girls 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 when they are considered to have officially entered the adult world with all its responsibilities. It is generally thought that the first girl belongs to the mother's family, the first boy 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 girl's mother takes care of her and her chores, while the boy's mother takes care of the new baby.

Indulgence and dependency is the rule as the baby 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 pick it up 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. In the course of one interview with a grandmother who was

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caring for her eighteen month old grandson, the child began to cry. The grandmother quickly excused herself, "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 the child 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 the morning water is the cleanest. Since it is also the coldest, they often rub the child down with coconut oil to protect its tender body from the harsh effects of the water. Coconut oil is considered to be highly medicinal and is frequently used to protect the child against fungus and to help heal cuts.

The baby sleeps in the same room as the rest of the family, 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

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water for the same period for fear of drying the milk up. The mother is supposed to eat during the night because the Ponapeans believe that this is the best time for the mother to produce milk. The Ponapeans will never wake a sleeping baby because they believe that a baby does most of its growing when asleep.

Weaning begins from six 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 mothers generally prefer to let weaning wait until the baby can eat regular food for convenience sake. Weaning is gradual and geared to the child's pace. It is a common psychoanalytic belief that such unlimited breast feeding (orality) results in a characterology marked by a great level of interpersonal affection and generosity (Erickson, 1950). These are certainly traits exhibited in later life by the Ponapeans, especially as evidenced at the feast.

Toilet training is very casual and untraumatic. Babies don't wear diapers but are held over the porch when someone thinks they have a need to relieve themselves. On one occasion a family friend of the author's (an American) was on a field trip to the southern islands with her five children. One afternoon she turned and saw her baby, pants lowered, being held over the ship's rail by his Ponapean nursemaid. The child was frightened and the

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mother terrified, while the young Ponapean was merely doing her job as nursemaid.

When a child is able to walk he is expected to relieve himself outside the home, but is absolutely forbidden to go near the out-house 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. By this act the child initiates his natural mode of learning by imitation and being controlled by the fear of public shame.

The family is careful that the firstborn will not be jealous of the new arrival. The firstborn will sleep with the father while the new born 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 celebrate his survival of the difficult first year.

Adoption is a common practice, especially if one family has an abundance of children and another has few. It is not necessary that a very close relative adopt a child but the person should be in the same clan. Usually

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a woman will adopt a girl and a man a boy. One cannot reclaim a child unless he is mistreated and runs home. One must pay to take an older child back if he has not run away, since it is thought that repayment must be made for the time and effort put into raising the child. Sometimes there are arguments between families if the real parents do not like the way that their child is being raised, but for the most part adoptions seem to go very smoothly for all concerned.

When the child begins to crawl he typically becomes the ward of the eldest daughter and is carried almost continually as she goes about her daily tasks. When the child begins to walk he takes his place in the extended family "pecking order" of playmates and childhood officially begins.

Childhood

A child is encouraged to start helping with the chores as soon as he is able to walk. First the mother will ask the child to bring her something, later this evolves into minor tasks of carrying water, sweeping, gathering firewood and caring for younger siblings. The child is rarely forced into more complicated work, he is merely encouraged to watch. The Ponapeans observe their children's behavior closely, and if they seem interested in a particular skill their curiosity is quickly fed. The initial interest comes from the child.

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During this period the play group becomes the primary educational institution for the child. It is in various forms of play that the children mimic adult behavior, strengthen their muscles, arouse their intellect, and develop their powers of observation, imagination, and imitation (alasing). It is common to see children constructing and sailing miniature boats, spearing fish, sling-shooting fowl and imitating dances and songs they have seen their parents perform on festive occasions. That this play is a "directed" practice of adult roles is very visible. The play group is structured along a pecking order of age, with the group 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. Here the foundation for ridicule as a mechanism for social control and the adult character trait of extreme social sensitivity are inculcated. Here also, the respect and security of rank and place in the social order are first incurred.

During this period the fundamental rule of all Ponapean education is laid down, that is, all learning and teaching occur in real life situations. There is no sharp cleavage between the life space of the child and the adult. Children are not isolated from parents in separate physical structures. All take active part in

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family life, religious rites, and economic processes. They observe and participate when ready. The readiness is intrinsically determined by the individual and encouraged with expectations of success by significant others. 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 an educational experience in which the learner is actively seeking what he needs to know. Securing and developing keen perceptive powers is well grounded in Ponapean cosmology. As discussed in the preceding chapter, he approaches the world in a balanced sensate manner. He is "wholistic" and "relational" rather than "analytical."

All education is in response to social needs. Knowledge is sought where it is thought to be meaningful and a useful guide to survival. Thus, basic principles of Ponapean indigenous education are firmly rooted in the experiences of childhood. The mimicry and identification

*For a more detailed epistemological investigation into the notion of sensory relation to one's environment see any of Marshal McLuhan's major works, i.e. The Gutenberg Galaxy or Understanding Media.

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with adult roles becomes an actual learning process in the context of daily life.*

Youth

On or around the age of ten the child becomes more active in the economic life of the family. The boys take on such responsibilities as gathering and cutting fire wood 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 restraints and responsibilities of family cooperation. All skills are learned by working side-by-side with the parents. The prolonged observation and practice of childhood begins to get its full test as learning proceeds through private trial to public performance. A youth will refuse to attempt a task unless he is sure that he can perform it correctly and thus avoid public embarrassment. Identification, observation, and participation become the fundamentals of learning. The entire extended family interacts as both teachers and learners; siblings, uncles and aunts all become crucial educators in the Ponapean lineage network. Community education and apprenticeship work hand and hand as the

*For an in depth social-psychological account of education among pre-industrial peoples, read Meyer Forte's, "Education Among the Tales." For an additional reference see Colin Turnbull's, The Forest People, A study of the Pygmies of the Congo.

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growing youth who wishes to acquire a particular skill, attaches himself to family members with the skill he desires.

Knowledge and skills common to daily survival (tiak en sop) are free for the observation, but matters dealing with magic, medicine (winani), ritual and legend (loquis buta but) are much more difficult to learn. It is believed that these areas are highly sacred and are to be transmitted to select individuals within a specific clan. Different clans control different areas of knowledge which are often indicative of the clan's status. Elders who control the 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 will begin to fade. Individuals are usually selected to receive knowledge with their temperament in mind. For example, magic and medicine is typically taught to the child who exhibits the most even disposition and silent tongue, so that he can be trusted not to divulge secrets or to abuse them. These secrets are not entrusted to the individual until he is well past the age of twenty, and even then they are given piece-meal until his teacher's dying moments.

Legends and ritual are frequently taught in the same manner. But one may also acquire these things by

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close observation at feasts, through song and dance, and around the kava stone. One Ponapean made the 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 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 dowry.

Attitudes, values, and beliefs are subtly transmitted through Ponapean sayings and proverbs. Such sayings as, "The quietness of a man is like the fierceness of a baracuda," teach moral lessons and social attitudes.

Other technical skills like the tying of the feast house poles, the building of a canoe and the planting of yams are also guarded and diligently passed on. These skills like all other knowledge are kept in the clan for status purposes. In the case of these skills they are usually transmitted according to interest. If a child shows interest in canoe making he will be the one singled out to learn that skill. Some effort is made

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Another thing of considerable importance that is taught both directly and indirectly during this period is "right relations" or interpersonal gestures of respect behavior. This is usually demonstrated in the home and at the feast house, where parents will point out to the child the behavior which should be accorded certain titles of rank such as the Nahnmwarki. The child is also taught the high language (meing) to be employed when addressing nobility and the polite language forms for addressing elders. He is taught 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. The feast itself is the one comprehensive educational experience continually repeated before the eyes of the entire community, for here rituals are performed, songs are sung, dances transpire, legends are told around the kava stone, and special foods are prepared, all in an atmosphere imbued with the acknowledgement of rank, status, and prestige. Here, the inculcation of skills, moral teachings, and attitudes of respect culminate to reinforce the social solidarity of the group.

Mechanism of Social Control

Need dispositions or motivational tendencies within a culture are often both a creation and a creator

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of the value patterns elicited by the controlling social structure under endemic environmental conditions, with the control being maintained through a system of rewards and constraints.

The main 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 (Kaplan, 1961) and Lee (Gruber, 1961) allude to the notion of intrinsic motivation which applies in describing motivational tendencies among the Ponapeans. The unity of social sphere between adults and children, the immediate utilization of acquired knowledge, the reality and meaningfulness of the learning situation (in terms of survival), and the "total expectation" that the individual is willing and capable of cultural acquisition serve as internalized incentives to self-actualization and 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 cock wia ohl en Ponpei," or can't you do it like a Ponapean man? One informant told of when he was a small boy and his father took him to work on a canoe. When he showed the least bit of interest his father

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placed a small axe in his hand and told him to work on a section of the canoe like a "real Ponapean man." This granting of responsibility and verbal support gave him a strong feeling of personal worth and intrinsic motivation. He went on to state, that after that occasion he frequently pleaded with his father to go to work on the canoe.

Fear of the spiritual world is utilized to control behavior from early childhood onward. Little children are often disciplined with the threat that a spirit will harm them. Later in life these very same adults exhibit a tremendous fear of "riyala" or spiritual curse.

Although parents are generally permissive during early childhood, from about age ten onward strict discipline (kakos) is enforced. Both verbal threats and actual corporal punishment are resorted to.* Threats of loss of inheritance and shame are preferred techniques of controlling adolescents, but they are not excluded from physical beatings. Often a mother will project the threat of physical retaliation onto a stranger or onto an animal if the child is small enough. This serves to project the

*If a parent desires the child to come along or to hurry with something, they may first simply say "ki la" or put that there, then "mutong" or hurry, then "polakokala" or I am getting angry, and if the child does not respond after this the corporal punishment is resorted to. It should be noted that the order of events is quite different depending on individual circumstances.

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discipline outside the family and by doing so preserves the internal harmony of the family unit.

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

The other side of ridicule and shame, or praise and prestige, are equally crucial in the control of behavior. The granting of titles under the "prestige economy" allows the Nahnmwarki and important motivating and controlling device. Individual praise for acts of bravery, generosity, and skill are customary means of reinforcing behavior. Although it is accepted practice to humbly deny all public praise, this often serves to make the praise seem even more outstanding. A new American teacher in the community college related an experience that she had with this cultural trait. When she first began teaching she would praise one of the students and he would deny the praise. She would continue to praise him up and down as he profusely continued to depreciate

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Finally, as in every society known to mankind, some form of material benefit accrues to certain preferred behaviors. In Ponape, a high title person will receive a larger portion of food in the distribution at the feast, although traditionally he is also expected to contribute generously. Land inheritance and marital dowry are common entities used as a means of control. Lastly knowledge,* which indirectly relates to material gain and social status (payment for practicing magic or medicine or reknown for knowing legends or certain skills or rituals like the butchering of a dog) is an avenue of social control among the Ponapeans.

It is clear that all mechanisms of social control are related to and supportive of the ongoing social structure of Ponapean society. This society is centered in the institution of the matrilineal clan and actualized through the practice of competitive feasting.

In essence, the indigenous Ponapean teacher plays upon the student's curiosity, wonder, fear of the unknown, respect for elders, pride, desire to excel, powers of

*Knowledge is status in a communal society where limited material entities are shared by most people thus diminishing the ultimate worth of material goods.

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Thought Processes and Methods
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The Ponapean tends to make mental associations which are personal and affective, rather than abstract or defined in terms of cause-effect. He learns by listening, feeling, watching, or doing, not by reading. He stores no useless knowledge in symbols remote from contemporary usage. His educational emphasis is placed on a specific act of behavior in a concrete situation. Connections are of more significance and finality than causal in nature (Spindler, 1963). Classification, experimentation, and abstraction may occur, but for practical knowledge (i.e. totemic classification) not as an end in itself. The Ponapean has in a true sense internalized nature's values and norms. The structural aspect of his life remains permanent (natural environment) and undisturbed, while the functions or events are merely reconstructed to meet the predetermined ends. There is no reflective choice, only spontaneous, uncritical, and personal action. It is a matter of sacred over secular, or as Piaget (1932) stated, "egocentric logic" in which an intuitive jump is made from premise to conclusion in a "wholistic" leap of faith supported by personal and visual schemas of analogy and socially determined values. Thus in the forming of their

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opinions, emotional response takes the place of logical demonstration. Fixed values and limited needs (as determined by the ascriptive social structure) ascertain 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 central themes in the indigenous educational process. First is the fact that 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 when it comes to selective specialized knowledge (which differs from general knowledge related to daily survival). Because of this mode of transmission, surrounded by a deeply internalized respect for the wisdom of the aged, free thought and creative initiative are suppressed in favor of rote memorization and imitation. It must also be remembered that imitation is a unique learning skill that is itself learned through constant repetition. In other words, when discussing the educational process, one has to consider both the structure of the learning environment and also the structure of the learning style itself.

In Ponapean culture the question "why" is rarely directed at the idea of physical causation. Not only

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would this question affront the Ponapean norms of respect behavior, but it is also a culturally anti-social response. One story of an American science teacher's efforts to teach 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.

It is almost as if they perceive secondary causation as a useless expenditure of energy. The fact that it rains was sufficient, who needed to know any more.

It is frequently implied that pre-industrial peoples, such as the Ponapeans, do not have the capacity for the scientific method and processes of reflection and abstraction. Paul Radin (1927), Levi-Strauss (1970) and other noted scholars have presented sufficient evidence to the contrary. They demonstrate the existence of highly scientific modes of inquiry and thought among primitive people. But as Dewey (1916) himself pointed out, "Environmental deprivation (lack of stimuli) as experienced in the limited physical mobility of isolated primitive tribes

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It is also possible that the authoritarian nature of the Ponapean social structure which exhibits a lack of opportunities for making decisions in the formative years would have a great deal to do with this lack of development. In his study of indigenous education among the Pueblo Indians of the Southwest, F. C. Spencer (1914) noted the same developmental phenomena and referred to the overall education process of the Pueblo as one of "arrested development."

The road to becoming a Ponapean adult is long and arduous; control over one's life remains rather minimal as long as one's parents are living. Freedom of physical movement is great. Freedom of mental diversion is heresy.

The methods of persuasion common to Ponapean social interaction are quite supportive of the above logio-meaning processes. First there is the deference to position or rank. Position in the hierarchy can be employed to command direct obedience, as personal power is legitimized by the entire social structure. To deny someone this deference is to cast doubt upon the society itself. There is also the use of the accepted proverb, which timely expressed will often win an argument. Again, this is illustrative of the deference of individual logic to historically accepted statement as passed down for

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generations. To question the idiom is to affront the collective conscious. Finally, there is the subtle process of indirect logic, whereby one plays upon the pride, shame or conscious of the other to convince him of a certain need. Always when a favor is requested the reasons are given first, until the request, though still un verbalized becomes very evident. This is quite different from the Western style of presenting the fact or question first and then straining for reasons to support it.

With this picture of Ponapean thought and persuasive processes in mind let us now turn to the goals of the indigenous Ponapean education system.

Education for Permanence

Ponapean education is essentially social in character. Although it may tend to such phenomena as skill training and mental discipline, its primary purpose is the enhancement of social solidarity, that is, the preservation and transmission of the culture as it exists, "unchanged." In its aims, Ponapean education is distinctly unprogressive, serving to perpetuate existing conditions (continuity) rather than to induce an element of unrest and progress (discontinuity). This is not to denigrate all aspects of the process of primitive education such as the relating of thought, act, and function; the stress on learning through participation in real life

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experiences--learning by doing; the employment of intrinsic motivation inherent in the joy and meaningfulness of a learning activity and other methods 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 for some of their "progressive" concepts.

The major task of indigenous education is the inculcation of the values of the group and the perpetuation of those group values through the linkage of past tradition with present action and future aspiration. Human and material innovations are more likely to be adapted to the social structure, rather than the social structure being adapted to them.

Ponapean indigenous education is past-bound, conservative, and authoritarian. It educates to reproduce itself. Lineage becomes not only a biological construct but also an important educational concept, as the family is the central educational institution. Education is consensus, rather than truth oriented. Social harmony and cultural continuity become the overriding themes.

The Ponapean accepts his needs as fixed and pre-determined 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 analytical mind (thought system). His experiences and meanings

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Today, this indigenous education process is experiencing the greatest challenge to its survival, the American school. Inherent in this challenge is a threat to the life of Ponapean culture itself. Before delving into the structure of this countering system, let us proceed to briefly investigate the historical evolution of formal schooling on Ponape, in an endeavor to provide a deeper understanding of the objectives and meaning of this relatively new phenomenon in man's history.

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CHAPTER III

CROSS-CULTURAL CONTACT AND THE EVOLUTION OF FORMAL EDUCATION ON PONAPE

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 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, and up through the present American Trusteeship, foreigners have been concerned with "educating the natives." This process has implied not only the imparting of literary and technical skills, but also the transmutation of the indigenous culture and personality from that of a heathen into a Christian, from an economic collectivist into an individualist, and from an authoritarian to an egalitarian orientation. This process has transpired overtly and covertly, formally and informally over time and space (contact).

The predominant relationship in this meeting of cultures has been one of superordinate to subordinate.

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The foreigners have traditionally played the role of superordinate power, while the Ponapeans have performed the 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 this deflation of indigenous self-esteem was to provide a rationale for the self-inflicted inferiority of the host peoples (Illich, 1970).

Policies of parity and integration, although voiced by some of the warders, usually resulted in subtle domestication and assimilation of the indigenes. The initial potentialities of the contact situation, in terms of bi-cultural or transcultural evolution, have more often than not ended in deculturation and personal alienation of the indigenes and ego-enhancement of the aliens. It was rare indeed when the colonial power looked first into what the indigenes had to offer before embarking on a course of innovation cloaked in such terminology as "progress," "development," "assistance," and "modernization."

From subjective beings in harmony with their environment, the Ponapean people have been objectified and handed down as possessions from warder to colonial warder. They have gradually succumbed to the process of

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objectification and have emulated their alien warders, not through first hand participation as equals, but through observation and assimilation of alien mores. This process initiates the separation of self from object world and disrupts the basic cosmological tenet of unity with the environment that is exhibited by communal peoples. This subject-object split includes not only the objectification of the material world, but the objectification and dehumanization of people. Thus is begun the manipulation, exploitation and transformation of subordinate peoples into tools for the maintenance of the superordinate power (Friere, 1971).

School is a technological innovation of man created to institutionalize the contact relationship and to give it legitimacy and a structured guarantee of survival. Schooling is a "technique." It goes beyond the limited "hardware" concept into a broader definition of technology. Ultimately, it is not only a style of organizing and controlling behavior, but a method of instilling an entire way of thinking and perceiving the world (Ellul, 1960). As the extended family acted to insure the internalization of generational relationships and a unique way of looking at the world, so too did the innovation of formal schooling serve colonial regimes by establishing new relationships and inducing a new world view among the indigenous peoples. As Sol Tax noted (1945), the central

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educational question throughout the history of cross-cultural encounters has been, "Whose cultural tradition is to be transmitted."

Social, economic, and political expediencies help shape the way formal schools have evolved in the contact situation. History is brought to bear in order to induce inferiority and to provide a "scientific" rationale for the colonial relationship. As W.E.B. DuBois (1946) observed, "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 control of access to learning and knowledge is the surest way of holding a people in a position of servitude and maintaining a given power relationship (Turner, 1946). The selection of host country nationals for advanced education more often than not leads to their conversion to the colonial way of life, the formation of an elite corps for the warders, and the deprivation of the masses of their natural leaders. Education is used to inculcate obedience lest the whole colonial relationship be overthrown.

In demonstrating the connection between formal schooling and economic development in South East Asia, J. S. Furnivall (1943) stated, "Education, or rather instruction, is not preparation for the business of life,

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but preparation for a life of business." As agencies for incidental and informal education become incapable of training men for their increasingly complex environment, society gathers the children from learning in natural situations and assigns them to the schools.

The increasing differentiation of such societies through the introduction of the Western concept of work has led to an increased division of labour and formation of self-interested propertied classes. The schools have taken up the task of training the masses in the new skills and have served as a mechanism for sorting and selecting 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 processes of secondary socialization and acculturation. Now let us briefly investigate this phenomenon throughout Ponapean history.*

The Evolution of Formal Education on Ponape

As Ballendorf (1968) noted, "There have been four administrations, each bringing to the Micronesians its

*For a historical account of formal education in Micronesia read either Donald F. Smith's, "Education of the Micronesian with Emphasis on the Historical Development" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, The American University, 1968), or Elizabeth K. Anttila's, "A History of the People of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands and Their Education" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas, 1965).

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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, formal education has played a significant role.

Even before the first Western contact period in Ponapean history, legends state that during the migrations from the Asian sub-continent 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-cultures prior to Western contact, is a fact that often goes unacknowledged.

As early as 1595, Quiros, a Spanish explorer, recorded the first sight of Ponape by a Westerner, though it may also have been sighted in 1529 by Saavedra, who sailed from Truk to Kusaie. In 1827, O'Connell was shipwrecked on Ponape for a period of eleven years during which he worked as a mediator between the Ponapean chiefs and foreign visitors (Hambruch, 1910). Numerous explorers, whalers, and drifters made contact with the Ponapeans during the 1800's but there is no evidence of the introduction of formal Western education prior to the first missionary attempts in the latter part of the century.

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Hambruch (1910), in discussing the early drifter and whaler inhabitants of Ponape stated:

Through the influence 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.

A Boston Congregationalist organization, which had already Christianized Hawaii, arrived on Ponape in 1852. Hambruch's desire for the removal of the "wicked" whalers was soon to be realized.

The Ponapeans increasingly trusted the Protestant missionaries because they taught crafts, domestic science, and introduced new varieties of useful plants (Bascom, 1950). A girls' boarding school was begun for five students by an American woman missionary. Emphasis was on religious instruction (Antilla, 1965). However, work was abruptly stopped in the late 1880's 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 era and throughout the Spanish and German periods of hegemony were primarily concerned with spreading Christianity and "civilizing the heathen." Paramount to

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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 commented 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 state 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).

The irony of the altruistic efforts of the early missionaries was that in saving the people from "a life of sin" they countered some of the core values of Ponapean life. As Smith (1968) stated, "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, but also transformed the basic indigenous educational technique from a learner to a teacher (preacher) orientation as attention was directed toward finding neophytes rather than finding masters (Mead, 1943). Coupled with this superior righteousness was the

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During the 19th century the islands of Micronesia became involved in European colonial rivalries. Both Spain and Germany had vested interest in the area. The Spanish were interested in the propagation of Catholicism and their national prestige and the Germans desired the lucrative copra and shell resources. Near confrontation between these colonial powers resulted in Pope Leo XII mediating the situation in 1888. The Pope confirmed Spain's claim to the Carolines but allowed Germany the right to continue fishing and trade, 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 25,000,000 pesetas (Ballendorf, 1968).

During the Spanish and German reigns, from 1885 to 1914, little official attention was paid to formally educating the Ponapeans. This was left to the missionaries (Protestant and Catholic). The Spanish merely occupied the islands, protecting the honor of Church and State. The Germans were mainly concerned with trade, especially the production of copra. Only in the Marianas islands did the German government manifest interest in erecting formal

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schools. Although the Germans drafted plans for the introduction of formal public education on Ponape the idea was quickly discarded when World War I broke out.

In sum, formal education on Ponape prior to the Japanese occupation, consisted primarily of instruction in the language of the foreigners, and the religious endeavors of American, Spanish and German missionaries. Training of educators was along ecclesiastical rather than pedagogical lines (Smith, 1965).

In October, 1914, the Japanese navy took military possession of the Marshalls, the Carolines, and northern Mariana Islands. As a result of the 1919 Versailles Peace Conference concluding World War I, Japan was awarded her occupied Micronesian territory as a Class C Mandate under the League of Nations. They 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 one has to look first at the general colonial policy of the Japanese. Ballendorf (1968) summarized the policy as follows:

1. To develop the island 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 change.
4. To fortify the islands in preparation for war in the Pacific.

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A formal education system was rapidly installed in an attempt to realize the above goals, especially the Japanization of the native populace. As Fisher (1961) stated, these goals were to eventually result in a "politico-economic integration into the Japanese Empire and the advancement of the natives by civilizing them."

During the Japanese hegemony a dual school system was put into operation. Children of Japanese nationals attended "primary" schools modeled on those of the homeland, while indigenes attended "public" schools established for 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).

The schools stressed the Japanese oral language (approximately one half the curriculum), basic arithmetic, ethnics, manual arts and other subjects designed to supplement and support the Japanese economic endeavors. The program consisted of three years of elementary school, reaching fifty per cent of the eight to fourteen year old indigenes, 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

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offered at the district administrative center. Beyond that, a few students might aspire to the highest education in the mandate, the Woodworkers Apprentices School on Koror, Palau (Yanaihara, 1940). The extremely large number of Japanese colonists on Ponape (at one point outnumbering the native population), and their tremendous economic program included a multitude of non-formal and incidental educational structures to which the native population was peripherally exposed.

During his research in the islands, Yanaihara (1940) 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 over-emphasis 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, he collected the following response from a public school 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,

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Continuing his criticism of Japanese education, he stated,

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.

Many of the author's informants described how the Japanese schools were extremely regimented. A typical day went as follows: up at dawn for the long walk to school since 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 beatings or by 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 "harmonic fashion." 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 into language drill, followed

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by arithmetic and geography. As Fisher (1961) noted, instruction took the following course:

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.

Discipline was extremely rigid with incidents of physical beating being very common. A student stood at attention while addressing the teacher. At report time parents were invited into school to publically view their children's rating. This rote learning, authoritarian structure of the classroom, rigid discipline, and exercise of public shame fit well into 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, stated frankly their preference for the rigid control and teaching tactics employed by the Japanese.

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The Japanese school system reinforced the traditional methods of Ponapean indigenous education and was easily adapted to by the children.

Both the Japanese and the Missionary educational approaches were authoritarian systems which reinforced the nature of the Ponapean social structure.* They both used rote learning as a method of knowledge transmission, thus enhancing the indigenous way of learning through imitation. Although the missionaries introduced a guilt orientation as a means of social control, the Japanese reestablished the indigenous emphasis on shame (face). Neither the missionaries, the Germans, the Spanish, nor the Japanese allowed the Ponapeans to fully participate in the alien life space. Kolonia, the only town was virtually off limits to Ponapeans during Japanese times. This reduced the incidental effects of economic and technological innovation which was long in time duration but short on intensity.

G. P. Murdock (1948) reported that, at the end of World War II:

*The Japanese authoritarian 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 the work of Ruth Benedict, The Crysanthmym and the Sword, compare to indigenous Ponapean structure and process as described earlier.

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. . . the local cultures are everywhere still functional and still essentially aboriginal in character . . . the old subsistence agriculture has not been destroyed.

In essence the most significant effect that early missionary and Japanese formal schooling had on the Ponapeans was to provide them with a cultural mirror which reflected their subordinate status in the contact relationship. Thus began the process of structured inequality and institutional inferiority through participation in alien formal schools. This process was to be advanced under the American hegemony.

World War II activities, inclusive of bombing of the District Center of Kolonia, led to the termination of the formal Japanese school program as the Ponapeans were rapidly amassed to assist in the defense of the island. This period was marked by forced labor and other mistreatment 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.

The American era can be divided into the period of Naval rule and that of Civil rule (the Department of the Defense and the Department of Interior). The U.S. Navy occupied the island from 1944 to 1947 in a very

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loose manner, sometimes referred to as the "zoo keeper" theory of control with little effort at institutional contact being made. During this Naval occupation every effort was made to preserve as much of the native culture as possible. Wright (1947), the first deputy high commissioner, clearly expressed the naval policy toward education in the following passage:

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.

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 erect a system of elementary and intermediate schools established with the 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 industry (Department of Navy, 1950).

Little was done until 1951 when the above charge passed from the Department of Defense to the Department of the Interior by executive order number 10265. The United States educational policy under the U.N. charter agreement was as follows:

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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.

To those 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 early period of American administration, progress was very slow, marked by, "low budgets, mixed with a less-than-vigorous administration" (Ballendorf, 1968).

In 1961-62, drastic changes in policy occurred in the 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, were imported from the United States, and school construction boomed. Today, Ponape has over 26 elementary schools, one public high school, one teacher training institute, Micronesia's only community college, and numerous non-formal educational programs within its boundaries.

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 four Catholic

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elementary schools and one Catholic Trust Territory wide vocational high school. Other religious groups such as the Seventh Day Adventists have also inaugurated missionary educational efforts on the island.

Aftermath of Contact

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 strove for assimilation into an empire. In each instance education was utilized to control natural resources, to allocate knowledge, and to ultimately define reality for the Ponapeans.

The Ponapeans were impressed by the material and technological accomplishments of their foreign rulers, and quickly sought to obtain them. Indigenous education through the extended kinship unit was no longer sufficient to meet the new material aspirations modeled in the person and goods of the aliens. The new ways necessitated participation in the institution of formal school.

Through influence, coercion and instrumentalism, the Ponapeans historically relinquished their political control to foreign warders, and subsequently surrendered any complete control over the education of their children. Thus, the process of education was historically transformed from one in which the Ponapeans had full control

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(indigenous education) in the enculturative transmission of skills, values, and character, into an acculturative alien phenomenon, centered around the technological innovation of the formal school, and directed at "change."

The role of the present American educational structures in the historical process of cultural contact and the development of cultural character among the Ponapeans is the central concern of the remainder of this study.

As Charles S. Johnson (1943) stated during a symposium on education and the cultural process:

When people of different cultures come together, there is acculturation, in which there is 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 transformation of peoples who are more or less in conflict.

Having seen the evolution from indigenous education through pre-American contact and the introduction of formal school, we will now turn to the body of our study and examine at length the present American school system on Ponape.

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CHAPTER IV

SCHOOLS WITHOUT EDUCATION: THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS OF PONAPE

The Elementary School System

. . . In the first place the educator will need to consider the character structure of the people, those regularities in their behavior, which can be attributed to their having been reared in a common culture. These regularities can be conveniently described under the headings of motivation, incentives and values, on the one hand, and ways of thought on the other. Our educational systems are bound up almost inextricably with our own character structure, so that it seems natural to us to build an educational system on such concepts as competition, reward and punishment, graduated success and failure, etc. But in working within other cultural contexts it is necessary to discard these cultural limitations and study first what are the incentives under which an individual will study and learn, and what are the conditions which may make use of our methods definitely inappropriate . . . (from "Professional Problems of Education in Dependent Countries," 1946).

In 1962, President John F. Kennedy announced a program of upgrading education in Micronesia "to a level which has been taken for granted in the United States for decades."

The Accelerated Elementary School Construction Program

(AESCP) began shortly after the President's statement. He signed a bill permitting the raising of the Trust Territory budget from its former static figure of \$7,500,000 to \$15,000,000 for fiscal year 1963 and to \$17,500,000 for 1964. As a result, school construction boomed all over

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Micronesia, and today Ponape Island alone has 26 public elementary schools, one public high school, one teacher training center, and the two year Community College of Micronesia.* There are approximately 3,925 students enrolled in the Ponape public elementary schools and about 554 students at the public high school.

In the decade since Kennedy's pronouncement elementary school enrollment in Micronesia jumped from 15,119 in 1960 to 28,906 in 1970. At the secondary level the differential growth figures are even more astounding with a leap from 335 high school students in 1960 to 5,726 in 1970. The number of college educated persons in Micronesia has also witnessed tremendous growth with 117 persons graduating from college in 1960 and 595 by the year 1970 (Hezel and Reafofsnyder, 1972). The dollar input into education has not been far behind with approximately one-fifth of the Trust Territory budget presently being spent on formal schooling (Hezel, 1971). The Ponape Education Department, itself, has a projected increment of nearly fifty per cent in operational and administrative costs at all levels of education from fiscal year 1973 (Administrative operation--\$68,600; Elementary operation--\$1,070,000; Secondary operation--\$704,400) to fiscal year

*There are also five parochial elementary schools and one parochial territory wide high school on the island.

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1978 (Administrative--\$96,000; Elementary--\$1,629,000; Secondary--\$1,100,000) (Ponape District Education Office, 1972).

In a recent memo on the goals of elementary and secondary education in Micronesia, universal free education through 12th grade is the foregone conclusion: "To provide a public school program through the secondary level for all youth . . ." (Headquarters Education Department, 1972). By 1977-78 it is expected that with the addition of a second public high school on Ponape, approximately 80% of the school aged children will be accommodated at the high school level (Projections of Ponape District Education Office, 1972). That universal formal schooling is expected as a right by the young is clearly demonstrated by the following statement from a profile of educational attitudes, perceptions, and aspirations of young Micronesians which was administered by the Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory:*

. . . The present curriculum of the schools has evidently been very successful in imbuing young Micronesians with highly positive attitudes toward education. . . . Both on the individual verbal cues and the semantic differentials, Micronesians responded favorably to educational values (Broadbent, 1972).

* It should be noted that this study is limited by the fact that it was conducted among urban or district center students only. Nevertheless, it is significant that the semantic differential for "school" as a concept on the good-bad continuum showed 91% of the Ponapean students responding at the "good" extremity.

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There is a distinct difference between the rural or outer municipality elementary schools and the urban or District Center elementary schools on Ponape. As expressed by one Ponapean rural elementary school teacher,

The District Center schools are the show places 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. All of these specialists are stationed in the District Center (with the exception of some Peace Corps Volunteers) and many consider it an inconvenience to come out to our schools."

As one top administrator stated while discussing the concentration of American staff in the District Center:

The biggest problem with Americans out here is castle or empire building (see Appendix F, District Education Office Administration chart). We have to get out of this District Center syndrome. We need more staff mobility into the outer municipalities.

That the Ponapean parents recognize the differential quality of rural and urban elementary schools is illustrated by the common practice of sending a chosen family member (i.e., the "smartest") to Kolonia to live with relatives. This affords the child an increased opportunity of being selected for high school, as a greater number of District Center elementary school graduates manage to continue their education.

That the American administrators realize the short comings of the schools is shown in a memo (January 16,

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1969, Ponape Education Office) to the Deputy Commissioner of education:

The powers supreme in Washington, because of their remote proximity and dedication to budget slashing in their near ostrich-like stance seem impervious to the demands of education and the children it serves. Perhaps they need to walk the trails in Ponape through the forest in heavy downpours of rain, climb the mountains on slippery footworn paths, feel the sting of salt spray and rain and the burning sun while traveling in a small open boat and negotiate the precarious, often dangerous bridges, and be cold, wet, tired and thirsty; to visit our schools by experiencing logistical support problems and transportation and communication difficulties and to arrive and be dismayed by the shambles called a school that one faces at the end of the trail.

It is small wonder that the non-Micronesian stationed in Ponape prefer a separate contracted teacher and class for their dependent children's schooling for they are fully aware of the shortcomings of our educational enterprise. What is good enough for Ponapean children is evidently not adequate for their children. When do we begin closing the gap? Hopefully now!

The schools are patterned after Stateside models.

The medium of instruction is predominantly English, with some Ponapean being used in the first three grades. Most of the educational effort in the primary grades is devoted to language instruction and the inculcation of the routine of school as an alien social organization. Although elementary education is legally compulsory, the law is seldom enforced.

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The "suggested" school schedule is as follows:

Grades 3-8

English	20 minutes daily
Math	30 minutes daily
Vernacular	25 minutes daily
Handwriting	15 minutes daily
Spelling	15 minutes daily
Reading	40 minutes daily
English	20 minutes daily
Cook Island Reading	35 minutes daily
Social Studies and Science	45 minutes daily
Recess	20 minutes daily

(February 1972, Ponape District Education Office).

The curriculum in most schools tends to be localized, semi-formal, and determined by the strengths and biases of individual school personnel. The content, learning experiences, and teaching strategies are often adapted from the teachers' personal experiences and implemented through the resources available to them. In that most elementary teachers are high school graduates and their experiences are mainly with American teachers and with American materials, they attempt to formalize the curricula in their local schools around adaptation of American education.

As one school curriculum critic summarized:

Administrators and educators look with pride on their achievements so far in educating the Micronesians. Unfortunately, until recently, such education offered has been little more than a slightly modified metropolitan syllabus from a temperate climate--a syllabus designed for a particular group with specific needs that had been transplanted, with as few modifications as possible, on to a group of people whose needs, cognitive processes, language, social structure, culture, and climate were totally different. As it is, many youngsters who failed to perform efficiently might have been classified as failures (Chutaro, 1971).

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It is not uncommon to find a rural elementary school teacher copying something directly from a history text onto the blackboard and the children diligently copying the material off the board and into their notes. One teacher was found copying from his high school biology notebook in this fashion. One method used to teach an art lesson was that the best drawing was selected from the class and pasted on the blackboard for all to copy. Sometimes curriculum content is based on the teacher's church affiliations and experiences. The only fully organized curriculum being taught in rural schools is the Tate Series (a method of teaching English as a second language). And even this explicit curricula is being disregarded or mistaught in many of the rural schools. Although math, science and history materials are either developed or in the stages of being developed, there is little evidence of usage of these materials by the rural school teacher. As one teacher observed:

Out of six hours of a school 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 try and work them out. Other curricula are not really being taught out here, maybe because the teachers really don't know how to use them or just don't like them. There is terrible supervision here. The principal teaches and hardly ever checks on what is being taught. Few people come out from the education office and the district supervisor spends most of this time acting as a mailman between the school and the main office in Kolonia.

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With the curriculum being underdeveloped, misunderstood, and often irrelevant to the life of the students, the rural elementary school serves primarily as a social center for the community's children. Youngsters eat, play and entertain themselves at this daily meeting place. The United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) lunch program is often the central issue at school board meetings and administrative seminars, as the importance of food (feasting) in the indigenous culture is readily transferred to the school. The position of the school cook is almost as prestigious in the community as that of the principal.

Although there is a teacher training program in the District Center one educational consultant commented:

The problem of teachers is not simply one of knowledge but of pedagogical understanding and skill. The most characteristic form of teaching is for the teacher to read a passage from a text in English and translate it for those who didn't understand. The most common phrase in student-teacher dialogue is, "Sit down and be quiet." Teachers are neither trained nor equipped to channel the marvelous enthusiasm, openness and energy of Micronesian youngsters into constructive learning situations. It is almost as bad as Boston (Cook, 1970).

Not only are the teachers inadequately prepared to teach non-existent, experimental or culturally irrelevant materials, but there is also a high teacher absenteeism (often not reported to the office for fear of cultural reprisals). One rural elementary school observer states:

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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 disturbing other classes in the process. Finally the first two grades were dismissed to go home early (February 15, 1972).

It was later informally reported that this happens often, but there is little that can be done without making a cultural "faux pas," thus leading to negative community repercussions.

Most of the rural elementary schools are non-functional for all formal educational purposes. In most cases what is learned from informal opportunities for experience is more meaningful than what is learned from the attempts to teach formal curriculum, albeit it is questionable whether either the formal or informal curricula are serving the needs of the society.

The rural elementary schools (approximately 24 in number), as described in the preceding are more apt to be found as one gets further from the District Center. As implied, the two public elementary schools in Kolonia function more on a Stateside standard. But it should be noted that most of the students attending these schools are of outer island descent (non-Ponapean) a point which will be elaborated on in a later chapter.

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The elementary schools are geared to preparing eighth graders for secondary school and that is the all encompassing goal, "Schooling begetting more schooling." If these elementary schools are as formally non-functional as described then what actually transpires in such a social milieu? It is with this question that we now turn to investigate the informal aspects of elementary schooling on Ponape.

Peer Group Formation and School Subversion

Formal school attendance marks the breakdown of the previously unitary sphere of the child and adult worlds common to Ponapean indigenous education. The child is now separated into age-grade groupings in isolated physical settings called schools. In terms of the acquisition of a useful store of knowledge and skills, the elementary schools are virtually non-operative. Not only does the child learn very little that is relevant to his future in school, but by spending a majority of his daily hours at school he fails to learn the skills necessary for his home life. The only thing that eight years in elementary school prepares the child for is to go to high school. However, less than fifty per cent of the eighth grade graduates will be

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selected to continue on to high school this coming academic year.*

In this vacuum of meaningful education, the isolated, alien environment of the school, the children turn in to each other to begin to construct their own social unit. They move from the family play group in which there is an established hierarchy of age and sex to an age graded classroom where such structure is lacking and the task is to build a new social order. This order not only serves to give place and meaning to the individual class members but also provides the class with a means for uniting to combat the system. This social peer grouping, initially formulated to give security to its members and to do battle with the teachers, later turns on the family structure itself and becomes a threat to the wisdom and authority of the parental generation, a matter which develops to its heights in the high school years.

The development of the structure and organization of the peer group is a most 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

* In the past four years the percentages of eighth grade graduates continuing at the high school level in Ponape District were as follows: 1968-69--31%; 1969-70--26%; 1970-71--25%; 1971-72--47% (PICS selection coordinator, February, 1972).

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physical and social environment. Many teachers comment that these are the easiest grades to teach in the elementary school because the children obey the teacher as a parent. Even more important than this in explaining their passive manner is that they have not yet formed a unified base of power and mutual support against the teacher. In grades three and four the major mechanisms of control, ridicule and shame, become evident as the children begin to feel each other out for position and place in the ultimate group structure. When a child makes a mistake words like "kasaro," meaning you goofed, and "pwei pwei" meaning you are stupid are openly expressed as the class controls, sorts, and selects its leaders and followers in the peer group formation. In grades five through seven the ridicule takes stronger and sometimes cruel forms to the point where if a child gets a bad grade on a test he will immediately crumple his paper to avoid ridicule, while a child who has done well will subtly leave his paper out in the open, visible to the eyes of others (but in traditional Ponapean fashion there is no verbal boasting). Through overt ridicule, unlike the covert adult ridicule, shame and respect behavior are readily utilized to allocate roles and rank in the peer hierarchy. The strength of the ridicule decreases as one moves up through the grades but becomes more meaningful and harder to accept as the individuals become more

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conscious of his role and rank. By the closing days of elementary school open ridicule is unnecessary as the children have learned their places and roles in the over all peer group structure.

Although Ponapean childrens' drawings in the early grades are quite diversified, by grade seven the use of class-wide stereotypes are employed as a "safe" way of confronting a blank piece of paper without the fear that some facet of individual emotion or personality might be revealed to cause embarrassment. Stereotypic school work also serves to equalize the amount and degree of individual expression of difference (creativity) as the children strive to stay submerged within the group structure. By late seventh and eighth grades the patterns of deference behavior coupled with the decrease in public ridicule are indicative that the group structure is well formed. Individuals take on their specifically allotted roles as "smartest, dumbest, toughest, funniest, etc." Examples of this deference behavior and class control are numerous. One teacher observed:

In general, if the class thinks someone is smart they are willing to defer and to allow him to answer all the questions. Once he or she gives the right answer 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 seemed obliged to fill his designated role.

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Another teacher observed the following regarding the exercise of control:

Sometimes I stop the lesson until the class quiets down, if one or two continue to talk the rest of the class will quickly tell them to be quiet, and if I'm teaching something that is especially interesting to them they will make sure that everyone is quiet so that they can hear .

Still another commented on 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 "leasoumo" (pretentious) or "le mei" (boastful).

Reputation becomes very important in the role structure of the group and is continually tested. All members listen closely to all that is said. Once one says something, one is pressured by his peers to follow through in order to preserve his honor and status in the group. By the seventh and eighth grades, and even earlier in some elementary schools this peer group is fully formed and begins to play havoc with the formal school structural authority, that is, the teachers and principal. Numerous techniques of manipulating teacher behavior are used by the group. Classes will not generally volunteer information by raising their hands but will shout out the answers so that the teacher has difficulty discerning who really

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knows the answer. If an individual is asked to respond or to go to the blackboard, withdrawal or a frank "Ie kang" (I can't) will often be the response. Thus the child protects himself from the group and avoids the chance of either failing publically or answering correctly and thus being accused of siding with the enemy. If a student answers correctly he is often reproved by the group with a comment such as "Ma moieta men wai" or roughly translated, "Stop pretending to be an American." Thus the teacher has to accept group recitation.

When the teacher tries to force individual behavior he is actually bucking the peer group structure and the response is class silence and refusal until the teacher obeys the deference order and selects the "smart" student as predetermined by the class. As one teacher related:

Once I wrote a simple math problem on the board and asked for volunteers to go to the board to answer it. No one would approach the board until the smartest child in the class went up and worked out the problem.

The early years of watchful silence, and the middle grades of noisy critical role allotment, finally result in the group's solidarity in the later grades and their ability to manipulate and subvert the teacher through deference behavior and passive resistance. One teacher clearly described these changing stages in elementary school peer group formation as follows:

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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 make the sound. The eighth grade wouldn't make the sounds at all, saying, "I can't," until I finally had to change the lesson so that they had to name the sounds in group response while I quacked like a duck and barked like a dog.

The main thing that is informally learned by the children in these schools is how to cope with adult behavior as represented in the alien school environment. Here they begin to learn how to play the game according to the rules of institutional education. For those who also learn some English and math their new coping skills will be taken on to high school. For those terminees who return home these new social skills, if supported by peer loyalty, will initiate the breakdown in parental authority and stimulate cultural alienation. As one Ponapean parent summarized it:

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 to challenge everything we say to them.

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

Ohannessian (1967) observed a similar situation when studying the problems of teaching English to American Indians:

A number of teachers complained of the lack of interest, incentive, and motivation to learn English among their students. The few contacts of group members with students, however, did not always substantiate this. Patterns of behavior, such as passivity, shyness, apparent lack of interest, distaste for public competition, and reticence to excel in the classroom, may be attributed by teachers and other educators to lack of motivation. But this behavior may be at least partly rooted in other factors.

As eighth grade terminees, many of the students return home as peer group heroes, but community failures. The results of this will be discussed in the later section on youth marginality and formal education on Ponape.

It is evident that the peer group transfers many indigenous norms into the classroom while building its miniature society modeled on the status hierarchy of the adult culture. It is this cross-cultural event that we will now turn to investigate.

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Cultural Transference in the Schools

Ponapeans, like other peoples, do not approach the world through a vacuum, but filter it through their own unique experiential framework. When a child moves from his family into the school environment he transports his accumulated experiential baggage and attempts to fit his new experiences into the given compartments. This process of decoding and recoding through one's experiential bank is a frequently observable phenomenon in the formal school system of Ponape.

The initial transference act involves a reorientation to the physical structure confronted in the school building and the classroom. The Ponapean home life transpires in a free flowing physical environment of sleeping quarters, cook house, farm land, and porch steps. Little time is spent confined behind tables, in chairs, or even within walls. These structural entities are clearly lacking in contrast to a Western home. There is a general physical looseness, freedom of movement and spontaneity of action in the home environment. When the child enters school he is immediately confronted with the necessity to sit in an orderly fashion in rowed chairs and to request permission to perform normal physical actions. The transference of the home organizational behavior is permitted in most of the rural schools and children can be seen "roaming" about freely. The spontaneity and

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freedom of this transference phenomenon is quite bewildering to American observers, as one American teacher of a rural elementary school relates:

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. This reminds me of teaching in a Black school in Chicago.

A further dramatization of the above transference pattern is described by a teacher in the 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 events are transpiring and it doesn't even seem to bother him.

Note how this behavior (spontaneous, active, free) was labeled a discipline problem. Over the years the coping mechanism of passivity (described in the peer group subversion) becomes internalized into docile behavior. The spontaneity and activity transferred in the early grades is slowly desocialized through adaptation to the alien physical structure of the school.

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The cultural principles of shame, ridicule, and respect are transferred into the classroom as the peer group organizes and controls itself along the lines of the adult society. This is clearly honored by the Ponapean teachers, especially in the rural schools. In the Kolonia schools, and where Americans are teaching, the transference is generally intruded upon daily. Teachers not only censor peer ridicule but also proceed to absorb the groups' methods by the use of public shame and embarrassment. As one young American teacher related:

Ponapean principals and teachers go about as if they don't want to see any evil or mischief because they don't want to be placed in the embarrassing position of confronting a culprit. I made a real cultural mistake when first teaching out here. I made such a big issue about a student taking something that I actually forced the principal to kick him out of school, not realizing that it was just as hard for the principal as for the student who still had to face the community.

As the parents mentioned in many interviews, public shame frequently affects their childrens' school behavior. If a child has torn or dirty clothes he will refuse to attend school in order to avoid the embarrassing ridicule of his peers and sometimes even of the teacher. If a child is late for school he will often play hooky rather than make an embarrassing entrance. Inconspicuousness and submergence within the group to avoid public dishonor is the essential transferred behavior. The only way a teacher can avoid feeding this behavior and not embarrassing the child into reticent failure is to

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equalize the risk in public participation, i.e., make sure everyone gets a question, or allow for a private means of responding in class.

The students often accord the teacher parental respect in a direct transference during the early years of school. Later the peer group solidifies as an active challenge to both teacher and parent authority.

The teachers also transfer indigenous behavior to school. The Ponapean concept of knowledge as power to be held, and not freely distributed, is illustrated in the following occurrence in an elementary school:

One of the elementary 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 unspoken explanation was that the brighter students were approaching his level of competence and thus compelling him to guard his position of knowledge.

On another occasion a shop teacher reported a similar incident among students:

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.

One high school graduate who was extremely bright in mathematics was asked to teach math at the elementary school level. She refused, stating that she didn't want to teach all the math she knew because she didn't want the students to 'steal her knowledge.'

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The notion that knowledge is to be kept and controlled by certain families may have bearing on the fact that a number of rural schools are dominated by staff who are all from the same family.

The transference of indigenous sex roles is also frequent. The natural seating arrangement of a class will usually take the form of boys on one side of the room and girls on the other in reflection of the traditional feast house seating pattern. A teacher who forces the seating arrangement by some other criterion such as alphabetical order is inadvertently breaking cultural norms.

The dominant position of the male in Ponapean culture makes it most difficult for a female teacher to command respect in a classroom. As one American female teacher related:

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!

It is no surprise that female teachers are a scarce commodity at all levels of education in Ponape.

The brother-sister respect taboos are very evident in the classroom. If a brother and sister or male-female first cousins are in the same class there is continual deference behavior on the part of both as neither can freely answer or say what they think for fear of violating respect behavior. This sometimes affects the rest of the

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class and a depressed atmosphere ensues as all are very conscious of the existing relationship. One teacher told of students requesting to be removed from a class or have their sibling transferred because of the negative situation. In this instance 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 or the teacher.

The emphasis on male domination is clearly expressed in Ponapean children's art. When asked to draw either a man or a woman on their paper, all the boys drew muscular male figures, and the girls, with few exceptions also drew male figures.

The transference of the Ponapean situational ethic is commonly observed in the practice of "cheating." What is interpreted as cheating by the Westerner is often viewed as mutual assistance by the Ponapeans. As one teacher observed:

They seem to think nothing of cheating, almost like there is nothing wrong with it because they are sharing or helping each other.

Although not as common as other transference patterns, sometimes patterns of deference to titled children or children of noble lineage occurs. The following story exemplifies this phenomenon:

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I had a student in a class who I knew from previous years as being very bright, but he just didn't seem to be trying hard this year. When I asked him why, he merely remarked that the student next to him was much smarter because he came from a high titled family. The next day I arranged for the transfer of the high titled student. Over the following months the student with the lower title improved remarkably.

The question of why Ponapeans are competitive (se ie) in traditional life (i.e., the feast), but do not transfer this to school leads to a general problem, that is, the "medium" of communication in the classroom.* Some people attribute this lack of classroom competition to the fact that the Ponapeans are secure in their all important lands and have little need of school. 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 materials being taught in the classroom. All of these points may have bearing on the situation but the "medium" of communication can in large part explain this seeming lack of competition. Competition and achievement are expressed non-verbally in indigenous Ponapean culture. The exhibition of yams and other goods at feasts is a "show" rather than "tell" mode of expression, a non-verbal communication. In school the medium of communication is verbal and visual in

* Edward Hall's, The Silent Language and The Hidden Dimension, discuss in depth the many subtleties inherent in the process of cross-cultural communication.

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terms of spoken and written response, while in the culture the medium is much more tactile and concrete. The "grade" on a paper comes closest to allowing the Ponapean form of show competition and communication. A child with a high grade will "carelessly" leave his paper around for all to see. A child with a low grade will be quick to destroy his paper. This is a most acceptable means of competing as it fits with the non-verbal, show orientation of the indigenous culture. If the whole class does badly they are all willing to show their grades, as the individual conspicuousness of the results are buried in the equivocation of the entire group's failure. In the Japanese schools parents were brought to the school at the close of the term to publically view the posted ranking of their children. The effects of this, in terms of motivation and competition, were great as the medium was consistent with Ponapean communication, that is graphic in nature.

To publically verbalize knowledge in traditional Ponapean culture is to show off and to be culturally out of step. This is another reason why Ponapean children are very reluctant to respond verbally in class when asked a question. Their heads will bow and they will sink into their chairs. They are definitely replying, but more often than not the alien teacher is not reading the response.

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The following is a recorded observation of a lesson in an English class:

Three students were asked to go to the front of the room and read passages from a tri-part dialogue. They meandered up, dragging their heels. They all faced the blackboard, and proceeded to read their parts in a mumble. One had his hand partially over his mouth, another consistently looked downward. There was much nervous giggling and a constant drifting toward the corners of the room (March 10, 1972).

Much of the mismatch in classroom communication is interpreted by alien instructors, supervisors, and observers as "abnormal" behavior or written off as the beginning of a discipline problem. All the spontaneity enculturated at home is defined as a problem and a disadvantage rather than a cultural difference. The school demands regimen, discipline and silence. By the eighth grade this is what they get in the form of docile, passive peer group subversion.*

The indigenous patterns of interpersonal sensitivity and reciprocity are exemplified in many classroom situations. In the later elementary years students dislike correcting each others' papers for they dislike criticizing each other, as this can set the stage for retaliation. As one English teacher found:

*The writings of Jules Henry, "Cross-Cultural Outline for Education," and "American Schoolrooms: Learning the Nightmare;" Richard King, The School at Mopass; and Murray and Rosalie Wax, Formal Education on an American Indian Reservation, all discuss the interplay between the informal organization of the students and the formal organization of the staff in the schools.

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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 could accumulate the papers and generalize from their unidentifiable comments.

A humanistic and relativistic framework is transferred to the classroom as a manifestation of behavior socialized in the family organization. The "right" relations to people rather than the relation to the physical structure (school) are most important. It is not a matter of being in class x or seat y at time z, but of being with person a in situation b that really counts. The school is temporally bound and segmental in its approach to the world of man and nature. The Ponapean is humanly bound and one with his environment. The time and place he learns something is not nearly as important as the individual he learns it from and their relationship, for the process is not separate from the end. Students will refrain from raising a question or answering for fear of violating someone else's social space. The deference behavior described earlier is an example of the human orientation of Ponapean behavior in the classroom. It is the "right" (role) relation, place and rank in the social order that reigns supreme.

This leads us to the most important transfer phenomenon, that of learning style or approach to the world. The indigenous learning style of identification, prolonged observation, imitation, and participation, which is ingrained in the early childhood years is readily brought

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to the classroom. It is demonstrated in numerous ways. The teacher copying notes onto the board, and the child copying them off in exact fashion is an example of indigenous learning by imitation (or rote) in the classroom. That this is most successful for learning certain skills is hard to dispute, that it may be totally inadequate for learning cognitive processes necessary for freedom of choice in an increasingly complex environment is another matter.

The two children's drawings on the following page exemplify how imitative behavior is transferred from home to school. In Figure 1 the child was asked to draw himself working and learning at home. Note the spontaneous, diversified, but imitative activities. The child is doing, in real life situations, those things she has watched her parents do hundreds of times. In Figure 2 the child was asked to depict herself working and learning in school. The element of repetition is clearly present but now in the form of passive staring figures incapable of any real activity (note one leg and lack of arms).

As indicated in the first section of this chapter, the primary curriculum being taught in the Ponape elementary school is English. The structure of the Tate method of teaching English will now be discussed as related to the principle of transference of imitative, rote learning

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Figure 1.--Child's drawing: Learning/working at home.

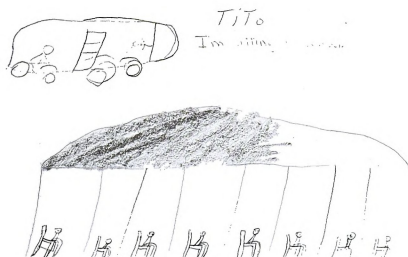


Figure 2.--Child's drawing: Learning/working in school.

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Language, Logic and Pedagogy

A majority of what is being formally taught in the elementary schools on Ponape is related to teaching of English as a second language. It is not the purpose of this section to discuss the necessity for teaching English nor to evaluate the present program being used on Ponape. This section will merely endeavor to describe the ongoing processes of teaching English and its socio-cultural implications. It is most difficult to deny the necessity of English for the advancement of world mobility and Micronesian unity. It is also preferable to leave the validity of the various techniques used to teach a second language to a paper dealing particularly with such matters.

In the elementary schools of Ponape the English language curriculum is divided into three components: oral English grades 1-8; reading and writing in the vernacular for grades 1-3; and reading and writing in English for grades 4-8.

The English instruction in the schools, as currently being taught, is very rote, repetitive and relies heavily on student imitation and mimicry. The teacher says something, the students repeat it. The teacher reads

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something, the children reread it. As one teacher asserted:

Teaching and learning English by the TESL 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.

This pedagogical process reinforces the indigenous imitative, rote style of learning, and the traditional Ponapean looking for an explanation from higher authority rather than from knowledge acquisition or critical dialogue.

The child not only learns English in this pedagogical interaction but the learning act itself is also internalized at the incidental level. The children learn how to speak some English, although this is somewhat questionable,* but they fail to learn how to think in a free, analytic manner commensurate with their newly acquired linguistic connection to the Western world.

Not only is the child given inadequate conceptual apparatus to accompany his new language skill, but he is taken away from his own language and thus fails to properly

* Standardized California Achievement Test scores show that a majority of Ponapean students are reading and writing English at least four grades below their current grade level.

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develop a facility for his native tongue. As one language expert noted:

How can we expect the child to talk and think in a foreign language if he has not first acquired these skills in his native tongue.

The failure to learn indigenous language skills can be very destructive to the continuity of a culture as represented in the communication between older and younger members of the society.

The cross-cultural equivalence of meaning and experience makes it exceptionally difficult to teach and learn the foreign language in the first place. This problem is best summarized by one English language expert on Ponape in the following passage:

There are tremendous problems in communication that make teaching English here most difficult. There are many conceptual differences that are difficult to recognize and have yet to be dealt with. It takes someone with special training and a great familiarity with both cultures to start to work on a problem like this. Right now we have no one like this on our staff. The Ponapeans have a different concept of reality. The Western world looks at the mirror of reality from one side and the non-Western world looks at the mirror from the other side. These sides are never directly translatable. They may be correlated, but it will make for many more misunderstandings if people who think they understand try to directly translate concepts from one culture to the other. For instance, the concept of a circle. We (Americans) mean a flat continuous line, but the Ponapeans include a sphere and a cylinder in the same definition of a circle. It may be best to teach math using their concept of a circle rather than to confuse the issue. Colors of the rainbow are another example. When we see the rainbow we see six colors, but when the Ponapeans see it they break it down into four color classifications.

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In this situation the different languages may serve to structure perceptions and world view differently.* Because of the way language is taught and because of the Ponapean respect for knowledge-authority** the students see no need to question the English concepts they learn. This often results in a confused situation when teacher and student are saying the same words but giving them totally different meanings.

As mentioned before, the Ponapean children readily internalize the rote structural aspects of learning English but often at the expense of understanding the actual English content. A majority of those competitively selected to enter high school perform far below grade level. There are a number of reasons for this. The Ponapean children use little English outside formal response patterns in an English lesson. They neither

* For an in depth treatment of language impact on thought processes see B. Whorf, Language Thought and Reality; Edward Sapir, "Culture, Language and Personality;" and Basil Bernstein, "Social Class and Linguistic Development."

** The Broadbent (1972) data on Micronesian student profiles found the following in terms of degree of authoritarianism across Micronesian cultures: "The gloom is intensified when you examine the central tendency data on the dimension of authoritarianism. A majority of the population agreed with the authoritarian response option on every item. Concurrence with the need to defer to authority reached a high of 80% on one item."

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use it among peers or with their families at home. The English taught is highly dysfunctional. It emphasizes conversation and social interaction that does not deal with the world of everyday Ponapean life. As one American teacher put it in an open message to the Director of Education and English Language coordinator:

I contend that for most students English classes are a waste of time. What functional value does English have for most Ponapeans? Can those students who terminate their formal education after eight years of elementary school (nearly 70%) raise better pigs or construct better buildings? No, the great majority of eighth grade graduates cannot handle spoken and written English at a functional level. They are functional illiterates.

Underlying the immediate adaptation to the authoritarian structure of the English language curriculum is the transference of conditioned patterns of respect behavior. To question a teacher is to break the traditional pattern of respect. The notion of interpersonal harmony rooted in mutual respect must be honored. To ask "why" is often to insult the other party. As one 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 publically wrong, but even more important is the act of being respectful. This is an historical thing, first with the Nahnmarkis, 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

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tell the class that he probably thought they were stupid because they did not ask questions. Now in retrospect . . . I think they would have been breaking tradition if they had spoken.

The final thing that foreign language instruction does is to threaten the development of a stable cultural character and to induce a feeling of inferiority in those who fail to learn. Young Ponapeans who fail to learn how to read and write in the ancestral language often turn against the traditional system in contempt and derision. Those who terminate their education at elementary school (often because of a lack of English proficiency) return to their communities as failures having shamed their families. As a concerned Micronesian stated:

Our primary education system has been to prepare children for secondary education. In some districts only a fraction of the graduates get there. The majority we now classify as failures, according to the Western standards, instead of saying that they have finished their schooling. The few that go on to secondary school feel that they have deserved a prize of high wages, comfortable employment in the district centers, and personal status in the community. It seems that primary education has been for the few who are intellectually stronger than their fellows. It creates a feeling of superiority among the 'passed' and leaves the majority 'failure,' with little or no hope. . . . They feel inferior and often produce a society of unhealthy minds, or juvenile delinquents.

And what of those who go to the secondary school? Perhaps they may come into conflict between a desire for respect because of their schooling and traditional respect for age, where the young have no place. Many of these youngsters then rebel; they leave for the towns, where employment is often not available, and where they develop into disgruntled delinquents living on their wits (Chutaro, 1971).

Fig. 2. ΔT , ΔT_1 , ΔT_2 , ΔT_3 .

For the majority* of Ponapean children this situation has become an increasing reality as education has been translated by the Ponapean elders as a "gold mine in the sky," yet better than fifty per cent of next years eighth grade graduates will not be able to continue schooling due to limited facilities at the high school. The irony of this situation is perplexing to most of the people. Its effects at the level of cultural character is something we will now turn to discuss.

Elementary School and Ponapean Character Development

The words used in the home were formed to deal with a different environment, and often there are no words in the parental language for the material things which surround them. Kin are separated from kin, and the depth of social perception which comes from listening to the tales of grandparents and watching one's own parents relations to their parents is all lost. The language of the only lullabies a mother knows employ symbols of which she herself has forgotten the meaning, and the children bring in from the streets words and phrases which are equally incomprehensible to her. There are deep gulfs between each individual and his past, between parents and children, and between people and the environment around them which they lack the equipment to interpret and invest with meaning--and these gulfs are so deep that they threaten to become internalized and result in split and disintegrated personalities (Professional Problems of Education in Dependent Countries, 1946).

* It was stated in the minutes of a Ponape district Education Department meeting that "Seventy-eight per cent of this years (1972) eighth grade graduates will not attend high school next year" (mimeo., Ponape District Education Office, November 9, 1971).

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A major result of the American school system on Ponape is the promotion of a cultural consciousness born of the distinction between Ponapean norms and school structural values. Like the prior mission and Japanese schools, the American elementary schools structurally teach cultural inferiority. The Japanese schools, however, had a lesser impact due to the shorter attendance span (three years) for internalization of alien norms. As one teacher of Micronesian students observed:

Our students cannot help but compare themselves to the "typical, average American" whom they regard as more knowledgeable, wealthier, more handsome, more resourceful, and better equipped to face the problems of modern life than themselves. "We are junk," they often remark, hoping that we will be able to convince them otherwise. When we rhapsodize on the glories of their past culture and the beauty of their islands, they think we must be kidding. Artfully designed sailing canoes and old handlooms count for nothing in this age of the jet plane and the department store. They want to know whether they can make it in this new world whose rules are set down by Princeton Testing Services and NASA. All too often they receive the answer they expect to hear, "Not quite, kid. You're a good fellow, but you're 35th percentile on the SAT test" (Hezel, 1971).

With subtle assaults on the Ponapean language and culture, the schools further the process of deculturation and assimilation of the young Ponapeans, selecting those who come closest to the alien norms (evaluated by various Western tests) to go on to high school for the final acculturative touches in a "total" institution. For those who fail to go on, at worst they have learned that they were failures, while at best they still have some of their culture. As one elderly Ponapean observed:

The schools are always teaching that your culture is superior to ours, that your language is better than ours and that your foods are more suitable than ours, and that local work like making copra is for inferior beings. Our children come out of your schools ashamed of their own parents and life ways . . . you breed cultural and personal inferiority in our children in so many subtle ways.

In addition to inducing feelings of cultural inferiority, the intensive schooling experience introduces the possibility of a self separate from the family. This self takes form in the new role of "student."* Through adaptation to the alien routine of formal schooling the previously unitary sphere of influence of the family is broken and the dislocation of the child's normal life sequence of enculturation occurs.

In the late elementary school years there emerges the beginning of a character type (school self) which competes with the character type established in the family. Although introduced at the elementary school level, this new self-consciousness is initially weak. It must face

* It might be noted that other cross-cultural researchers have alluded to the evolution of self-consciousness or alternative characterology directly resulting from participation over time and level of formality in the organizational structure of formal schooling. Greenfield and Bruner (1971) 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) 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 enormous influence of a peer group which in fact models itself on the traditional family collective orientation and hierarchical structure.

In the next chapter on the high school as a monocultural bureaucracy we will see how the peer group takes on ethnic formations in a further attempt to combat the alien systemic norms. It will further be demonstrated that the formalistic, all encompassing nature of the high school as a "total" institution acts to build on the introduced alternative ethos in acculturating and alienating the Ponapean student further from his traditional roots.

CHAPTER V

PICS: A MULTI-ETHNIC POPULATION IN A MONO-CULTURAL HIGH SCHOOL

Ponape Island Central High School

Ponape Island Central High School (PICS) is an American transplanted age-graded, certificate granting educational institution serving a culturally heterogeneous student body of approximately 554 Micronesians from several distinct island cultures.* Approximately half (255) 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 activities transpire within its organizational structure (Goffman, 1961).** Forty-eight per cent of the students

*The ethnic breakdown of the PICS student body as of Jan., 1972 was the following: Ponapeans, 48%; Pingelapese, 15%; Mokilese, 14%; Mortlockese, 7%; Nukuoran, 5%, Kapingamarangan, 4%; Ngatikese, 3%; Kusaien, 2% (PICS enrollment data, Jan., 1972).

**The concept of "total institution" used by Irving Goffman in his book, Asylums, is roughly defined as an institution which controls the basic civilian functions of the individual. It will be employed throughout this chapter as one sociological perspective on the school as an organization. For other applications of this perspective see Frank Besag's Sociological Perspectives in Education, Models for Analysis, and Edgar Friedenburg's The Vanishing Adolescent.

are ethnically Ponapean and approximately 62% of the students are male. The faculty and administration are composed of Americans and multi-ethnic Micronesians, with the Americans being predominant in number.*

The school is located on the main island of Ponape and is geographically part of the encompassing urban environment of Kolonia, the District administrative and commercial center for the varied island cultures constituting the Trust Territory District of Ponape. As discussed earlier, the United Nations Trust Territory of the Pacific (Micronesia) is formally dissected into six geopolitical districts under the administration of the United States Department of Interior.

The curriculum is similar to that found in the fundamental American academic high school, which includes an option of earning a vocational certificate. Ability grouping is done in English classes only, although the vocational certificate system manages to enact a "de facto" system of ability grouping throughout the school. The courses are similar to those in an American school system with the exception of the English language

*The ethnic breakdown of the PICS teachers as of Jan., 1972 was as follows: American, 66%; Philippine, 6%; Pingelapese, 6%; Ponapean, 6%; Yapese, 3%; Mokilese, 3%; Nukuoran, 3%; Ngatikese, 3%; Palauan, 3% (Ponape District Education Office personnel records, January, 1972).

curriculum and an additional senior history course in "Problems of Micronesia."

Although the high school is only one segment of a larger district educational matrix incorporating numerous elementary schools, a teacher training center, and a community college, the centrality of its location in the overall district system, and the large concentration of students, makes it the most significant unit of analysis in this study.

From this point on this section will focus on the school organizational structure as a network of social roles held together by psychological bonds resulting, in some instances, from adherence to the formal structure, in other instances from resistance to that very same structure, and primarily as a result of the interplay between adherence and resistance to the structure (Katz and Kahn, 1966).

The perspective is sociological in that it concerns characteristics of the school as a social 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 is concerned with the impact of schooling in the formation of cultural character, with particular reference to the Ponapean students, the major ethnic sub-group in the school.

School is a significant part of the whole 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 cultural character. What the Ponapean students learn about their culture and themselves derives in large part from the very nature of their experiences in the foreign school social structure. It is the intent of this section to examine the nature of that social structure and its role in character formation among the Ponapean students.

The "Stated" Goals of Education
in Micronesia

The 1947 United Nations Trusteeship agreement regarding the administration of the Pacific Islands of Micronesia charged the United States, as the administering body, with the responsibility to "promote the educational advancement of the inhabitants, and to this end take steps toward the establishment of a general system of elementary education, facilitate the vocational and cultural advancement of the population, and encourage qualified students to pursue higher education, including training on the professional level" (Article 6, U.N. Trust Agreement, 1947).

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public school system from elementary through high school, with advanced training in the trades and professions for those who can profit by further schooling" (Statement of Trust Territory Policy, High Commissioner, 1962).

These statements assume that the school should be a client-serving organization, that is it be a social organization vested with the function of technical (vocational) and moral (cultural) socialization of the young (Bidwell, 1965). The key issue then becomes one of cultural control rooted in self-determination, or again the central question arises as to whose culture is to be transmitted (Sol Tax, 1946).

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).

Only recently have the Micronesians addressed their grievances about the educational policy and existing patterns of education to the American administration. Following an extensive study of education throughout the entire territory, a special committee of the Congress of Micronesia, the indigenous populations' highest representative body in the Trust Territory Government, recommended the following: "Establishment of a system of

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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). This statement reflects a difference in America's "stated" mission and the perceived educational objectives of Micronesians.

As Corwin (1967) found when applying organizational theory to education, "In an effort to contend with conflict brought on by environmental 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, PICS high school clearly spelled out or visible for inspection. As one American educator who has been working in the District 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 vague and has little impact in the district.

PICS has an elaborate Student Handbook which clearly sets down the operational rules of conduct, including a code of ethics, but does not directly delineate any educational goals.

One can only deduce the "real" aims and objectives of the educational system by directly observing the school structure in process. To quote Bakke (1954), "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, we now turn our attention to the case analysis of Ponape Islands Central High School as a complex, monocultural (American) bureaucracy.

The Bureaucratic Structure of Ponape
Island Central High School (PICS)

PICS is a self-sustaining bureaucratic organization. As previously mentioned, the educational goals have never been operationally delineated. This is not atypical of school organizations as most educational goals tend to be ensconced in ambiguous, diffuse terms, presumably because educational outcomes are highly indeterminate beyond a minimal standard. The diffuseness

of goals actually helps maintain the interrelatedness of the school staff and student constituents (Bidwell, 1965). The "stated" Trust Territory educational goals have long been displaced in an endeavor to maintain the tense professional balance between administration, teachers, and students, that is, the gamemanship between the formal and informal aspects of the school organization. Thus, the keystone of organizational self-perpetuation is formed as the structure as a means, becomes an end in itself and routinization sets in. Let us take a closer look at the main elements of this structure.

Characteristics of the Coordination System

In order to fully understand the local coordination system at PICS it is necessary to examine the allocation of decision-making power in the broader territorial hierarchical structure. Presently, in the Trust Territory Government most top decision-making positions are controlled by foreign nationals (Americans). Decision-making is centralized at a headquarters on Saipan in the Mariana Islands.* All first order decisions are made by American administrators for all government functions: political, social, and economic. Second order decisions

*For an overview of the bureaucratic nature of the Trust Territory Department of Education, see The Trust Territory Educational Administration Organization chart in Appendix H.

are made by Americans at the district level in a central administration. 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, lines of communication are complicated and the District Director of Education has little policy making power. There is a Trust Territory Handbook of rules and regulations and his responsibility is to faithfully follow and enforce those guidelines. 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 insure that the system works smoothly.

A policy of decentralization has been started, but as one long time 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 to 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. At present the boards are relatively uninformed and have little experience in educational planning.* Rather than serving to decentralize and indigenize decision making and educational policy formation, they have deferred to the bureaucrats in power (i.e. District Director of Education) and more often than not have acted to approve other's policy making decisions.

The high school principal is directly responsible to the District Director of Education, and his power to initiate change is relinquished to his superior. As one proceeds down the organizational hierarchy one finds the vice-principal, counselor, teachers, and students each

*It should be acknowledged that the Northwest Regional Laboratories are currently under contract with the Trust Territory Department of Education to run workshops for the boards of education in the area of educational planning and policy.

with specific positions, spheres of influence, degrees of autonomy, power, and status.

The Administrator in the Authority System (District Director of Education, PICS principal, and PICS vice-principal)

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 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 somewhat different than 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 government structure and organization. This is illustrated by the following quote in 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 the 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 necessary for 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 to still 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?

The authority of the professional educator is compounded by the above variables and one finds either a rapid turnover among administrative personnel, or the establishment of a bureaucratic personality bent on preserving the system for personal instrumental ends.

As a result of these circumstances the administrator who stays on tends to fall back on his official position for status and legitimacy. He proceeds to become a custodial cog in the organizational wheel and seeks 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). His energies are directed at guaranteeing efficient, predictable and routinized operations throughout the school as an essential mechanism of defense for his own 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 rapidly bounce back to its traditional form.

In sum, both the lack of clear cut educational goals and the powerless nature of the administrators in policy making results in an increased emphasis on systems maintenance through an obsession with rule enforcement and correct procedures 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 cultures and Americans, serves to limit the possibility of an informal collegial power base formation. Ironically, the actual impact of heterogeneity on the staff is a press for clarity of the rules and routinization of procedures leading to a further reinforcement of the already strong bureaucratic structure.

Faculty meetings deal primarily with procedural matters. One teacher summarized:

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.

Alliance along professional lines are suppressed in favor of ethnic lines of informal unity among

the teaching staff. Many of the Micronesian teachers prefer to hang around the old dean's office (a Micronesian) rather than spending their free time among their alien colleagues in the formally designated teachers' room. When asked why this situation existed, one teacher commented:

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.

The legal-rational hierarchical power structure remains intact and the bureaucracy lives on, fed by the petty infighting which abetted the disdain for "real" educational goals. As one staff member observed:

It is ironic that the faculty is so concerned with such matters as a clean campus and even wants to initiate a clean-up program. This is a typical, anal, white middle class concern. Yet they fail to be that concerned with the purpose of the school itself and the effect they are having on the students.

In order to reconcile their position and status in the authority structure in the absence of a collegial/professional power base, the teachers turn to the tools of the bureaucracy as a means of personal defense and positional legitimacy. Standardization and specialization are central to boundary maintenance and status enhancement in any bureaucracy. As Sexton (1967) 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 test and texts; promotion based on marks; standard curriculum, especially in elementary school; and standard building plans.

The grading system, as established by the bureaucracy, is held out as the primary tool of standardization and teacher power. One student recognized the use of grading to control classroom behavior in the following quote from an article in the school newspaper (the Micro-Treasure):

It is a great happiness to write a letter describing what I feel. The main reason I am writing is about the free grades given out by some of the teachers. I know that getting A's is really possible for some students, but it is easier for some because of their sweet smile, kind mouth, or their behavior.

According to me, I don't think behavior is necessary for our knowledge. Suppose a calm student and a noisy student are in the same class. Sometimes the naughty student will paly around but he may learn the same amount as the calm student. Which of these students will get the good grades? The bad student or the good one? Some teachers give all the naughty students F's and all the calm students A's and B's. Is this fair? (Micro-Treasure, November 18, 1971).

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 low visiblity within the organization and the relative autonomy innate in the

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physical nature of separated classrooms, provides a shield for any personal lack of competence (Becker, 1968; Moeller, 1968). In responding to why they 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.

Another claimed:

There is not all the extra curricula to burden you like in an American high school. When you finish the work day here, you are finished!

It might also be noted that probationary appointees and teachers seeking promotion in the system are more likely to enforce the bureaucratic norms and impersonal rules rather than deviate or innovate (Anderson, 1968). Like his administrative superior, in the face of being powerless, the teacher opts for apathy or a maintenance of the status quo.

There exists, however, in the interpersonal nature of teaching, an intrinsic tendency toward debureaucratization. The teacher as a human being finds himself caught between the conflicting roles of maintaining his position of authority through a universalistic, standardized treatment of his students (i.e. grading), yet generating personalized, affective, particularistic feelings toward them as developing human beings. He faces the task of continuous integration and adjustment of conflicting role expectations

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from the depersonalized stance of the administration on the one hand and the personalized needs of the students on the other (Gordon, 1968). Not only is the bureaucracy continually having a socializing effect on him, but his ethnic colleagues and the students are also continually influencing him. The result, more often than not, is an apathetic neutrality founded in instrumental reasoning, which in the long run serves to support the bureaucratic nature of the school organization. Contrary to Gouldner's (1954) and Parson's (1947) belief that the fundamental Weberian concept of bureaucracy can be broken down to a rational-professional (colleague) aspect and a legal-bureaucratic (hierarchical) component, the school bureaucracy at PICS remains solidly based on a hierarchy of authority rooted in a legal-rational rule structure. Ethnic heterogeneity serves as a barrier to the formation of a colleague power base.

In the case of the teacher role conflict over the universalistic versus the particularistic treatment of students it might be further argued that universal treatment of students is preferable in the name of equal educational outcomes. This does not resolve the question of student alienation resulting from such impersonalized treatment.

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The Counselor in the
Authority System

The counselor has one of the most flexible, pervasive roles in the PICS bureaucracy. He is not considered part of the administration, although he spends time discussing school problems with administrative staff. He does not teach and therefore is not directly identified with the faculty, although he does mingle with the faculty in the teachers' room. 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 the counselor the task of informally communicating and arbitrating both positive and negative messages among the rival camps of administrators, students, and faculty. As summarized by the counselor himself:

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.

It should be noted that the vice principal's role in the school has traditionally revolved around physical plant operation and dealing with school disciplinary problems. To a large degree this has taken the negative burden of being identified with discipline off the

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counselor, although many systemic problems are defined as discipline problems and sent to him as individual social-psychological problems. He is then forced to assist in the translation of school rules and regulations, thus abetting the general bureaucratic reculturation process.

The counselor is a major source of information input for the student in terms of course requirements, occupational careers, and advanced educational opportunities. Although he has assistance in the form of counseling aid, the enormous load of over five hundred students imposes great limitations on his physical ability to adequately deal with all the students' concerns. He spends the good 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 in Ponape and most students have little understanding as to what it really means to be a plumber or an electronic engineer. Accompanying this problem is the enormous amount of paperwork necessary for application forms for grants, scholarships, and mere admission to institutions of higher learning, which are novel and difficult for the Ponapean students to do themselves. Parental assistance, as experienced in some socio-economic classes in the States, is lacking as this process of application is a completely new concept.

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Since there is no actual tracking system in the school the counselor does not officially act as "gate-keeper" to various educational and vocational opportunities, although he does have the job of sorting out the seniors into those who can apply for further academic training and those who "best" seek vocational outlets. He typically explains away inappropriate aspirations by past records. This sorting role would probably begin earlier but the disproportionate student-counselor ratio allows little time for working with freshmen, sophomores, and juniors on an intensive individual basis. Many of the underclassman seem to flounder about in their sophomore and junior years after being block scheduled in their freshman year, seeking advice from various faculty members, but usually taking an "easy" course or one which their best friend is also taking.

The flexibility of the counselor's position in the overall structure enhances his role as an innovator in the system. In this way the counselor has been able to counteract some of the acculturating power of the bureaucracy. One example of this 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" entrance of indigenous norms into the school in confrontation with the previously stressed monocultural norms of the alien

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bureaucracy. The students responded very well to the program. It was interesting to note that the administration played little part in the program. The indigenes brought into discuss education in the island traditions were received exceptionally well. The faculty presentations obtrusively brought the discussion back to the routine of the school and the necessity to "work hard and learn English."

Although innovative programs such as the above are quite challenging to the socializing strength of the bureaucracy, they are often too infrequent to have a lasting effect on the structured bureaucracy. The key point being, they are an occurrence, almost an intrusion, rather than a structured aspect of the overall system. Thus their long lasting effects are diminished in proportion to the existing structured programs of the monocultural school.

The Student in the Authority System

Like the family, the heterogeneous composition of the student body deriving from the mixture of several distinct island cultures acts as a constraint on student power as an informally organized collectivity in the general school organization. Instead, the student ethnic groups reinforce the bureaucracy as their energies are dissipated in an ethnic power struggle among themselves.

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Group solidarity remains only at the ethnic level as culture takes priority over student as a more generalized role or status.

This tendency toward ethnic groupings is readily observed in the territorial demarcations around the recreation-lunch room, in the seating patterns of the lunch room and the classroom, and in the dormitory life. In five random observations that were made in the lunch room, the recorded seating patterns clearly illustrated the strength of ethnic peer groupings, with secondary groupings revolving around sex, age and home municipality.

There were two territories distinctly demarcated by the groups. The Ponapeans tended to control the juke box area and the Kapingamarangans nested in a small walled structure off the counseling office. This is quite interesting in that group status within the school is graphically demonstrated since the Ponapeans are the majority ethnic group, whereas the Kapingas are a minority that is continually being put down by the other groups. That the Ponapean peer group is exceptionally strong is indicated by the following student comment in the school paper:

Mostly Ponapeans are with their own; Pingalapese, Kapingas, Mokilese, and Mortlockese 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 other is quite nonsense and full of

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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).

Faculty members have made numerous observations on the strength of ethnic peer groupings in the high school. As one teacher noted:

If I ask the students to work as teams or choose a partner to make something in shop, they will invariably align with members of their own ethnic group.

Another teacher commented:

When I asked the class to split up to work on various history projects in the Problems of Micronesia class, they always end up in self-selected ethnically homogeneous groups.

The student sub-cultural "we" feeling that Waller (1944) and Coleman (1962) allude to does not exist in such a large proportion at PICS. This is not to say that students as individuals or as ethnic groups do not act against the bureaucracy. As Pettigrew (1971) points out in his work on heterogeneous high schools, "Heterogeneous groupings are more conflict oriented, thus sometimes are more creative in their response set." However, student attempts to subvert the system typically take the form of docility, as learned in the elementary school, or as "giving the teacher what he wants" (Henry, 1960). In this manner the bureaucratic norm of passivity is subtly internalized. Other students play by the rules and suppress their individual needs of autonomy and activity by tolerating the system as an instrumental path to the

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money economy and material appendages of their foreign warders. The problem in both these instances of student reaction to the organization is that over time (years in school), these patterns of dependency, subordination, and passivity are likely to become internalized in the individual's character structure. In fact, the individual need structure may change through organizational/structural socialization (Argyris, 1957). Furthermore, to the degree that other societal institutions approximate the bureaucracy of the school, the individual will generalize these subtly internalized norms.

It is most certainly questionable as to what is actually learned in school (Dreebin, 1970). The so-called "hidden 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 through frequent visits home and co-curricula (ethnic) activity which serves to assist them in adapting to organizational pressures toward conformity to bureaucratic homogenizing norms. In this small way the students particularize and personalize their life within the American mono-cultural framework of the school bureaucracy (Bidwell, 1965). But as we shall soon see, even this form of subversion is utilized by the

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organization as a mechanism of control by which the students' personalizing tendencies are fused with the organization's forces of reculturation (Argyris, 1957). The result is deculturation and loosely organized reculturation. This process was introduced in the elementary school and insured in the rigid high school monocultural bureaucracy.

Mechanisms of Organizational Control

Disintegration (cultural) consists of two parts: (1) normatively meaningless events, a dislocation of the cohort's sequence of activity; and (2) subverted interpersonal (cultural) relationships, the social isolation of individuals. The first (elementary school) discoordinates the activities of the group, the second (high school) makes its sanctions ineffective (McHugh, 1966).

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 stated above, the co-curriculum provides outlets for student's energies and immediate interests within the framework of the formal school organization. While it assists the student in adapting to the system it also acts to keep him in the system by giving him just enough leeway to roam around but not enough to split. In essence, it is a co-optive mechanism similar to the tolerance of the informal ethnic grouping.

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Recruitment and training of staff is another major means of organizational control, since likemindedness and prior commitment to organizational goals are ascertained in the process. As 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.

Attrition, turnover, and in-organization socialization of staff also contribute to the affirmation of bureaucratic survival (Corwin, 1967).

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

Immediately following the selection (recruitment) of students, the deculturation process begins as parents rush out to buy school clothes or the informal uniform (typically black pants and white shirt for the boys and colorful but shorter dresses for the girls, sometimes shoes or sneakers), and the school memo comes out

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enumerating what goods a new dorm student will need and what he can't bring to his new home.

The opening day of school initiates the reculturation 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 (student handbook). In these early days, the orientation program, the more personal contact with members of the staff (home room teacher, counselor etc.) and the observation of previously acculturated seniors serve to begin the re-culturation of the new students.

The alien, irrelevant nature of the academically oriented curriculum further acts to acculturate the student. As one teacher stated:

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.

An administrator further noted:

We are sending approximately 20% of our high school graduates on to further education. The remaining 80% are on the job market. Right now

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our curriculum is 80% academic and 20% vocational. I would be happy if we could reverse that ratio.*

Although grades are a relatively insignificant matter in the elementary years when all attention centers on the PICS entrance test, upon entering high school the students discover that their behavior and production rate will be progressively judged and rated in a 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 achievement disrupts the student social structure and subsequently confirms organizational efficiency, predictability, and routinization of behavior. As Dreebin (1970) 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." As discussed earlier, loss of face or public failure is extremely important in Ponapean culture, and can be internally devastating to the individual's psychic make up.

Along with the grading process as a means of control the school initiates a "cumulative folder" on the student. This folder remains with the student all his

*There is a Ponape District Curriculum committee, but again the problem of competence, expertise, and overall goals have inhibited any rapid progress in the area of curriculum reform.

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life. It acts as an extension of school control into the greater society as it is continually referred to when the student seeks employment, further education, loans, etc.

Finally, the shared teacher norm of apathetic neutrality due to heterogeneous in-fighting and bureaucratic powerlessness, combined with the student norm of ethnic allegiance and docile tolerance of the system, and both groups' willingness to view the material benefits of staying in the system (instrumental rationalization) all serve to affirm the organization's reign of control.

Environmental Effects on the Organization

The school is not only client serving but also an agent of the public. It is both an arm of the government and responsible to the public constituency (Bidwell, 1965). 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 is in its embryonic stages of development, a mechanism of expression of public will through formal channels is absent. The culturally heterogeneous nature of the surrounding urban community of Kolonia further delimits the organized possibility of public influence on the school.

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Beyond the community divisions, the school is such an alien institution to the local populace that they often refuse to get involved by proclaiming their ignorance and personal lack of understanding of the whole educational process. The general attitude is to "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 communication are closed. Parents should be brought into the school and should be continually notified of their child's progress.

The fact that Kolonia is not only ethnically split, but socially and economically stratified is reflected in the prominent lack of concern and integration of community and school affairs. PICS serves the adult community in virtually no way unless one's children are in attendance. With the circumstances as such, school administrators can initiate school system 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 organization means absolute control of the school over the external environment. As was mentioned in the beginning of this paper, the Congress of Micronesia threatened that knowledge base with a study of its own. Whether the local

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populace will take it upon themselves to pursue this model in depth through the school board is another question.

Since all the fiscal support for the school system comes from the United States Government and not through local taxation, the local people have little recourse or control in terms of withholding funding. Thus the power of the purse resides within the school bureaucracy itself.

The professional standards of staff are readily displaced as a major concern through the recruitment process and the ensuing socialization into the bureaucracy. As alluded to earlier, faculty reasons for working at PICS are often motivated more by financial than professional concerns, therefore, collegiality built around a professional identity is subservient to acceptance of hierarchical authority built on survival within the system.

In sum, there is really little or no pressure exerted on the educational bureaucracy at PICS by the surrounding community of Kolonia. Rather, there exists a definite cultural separation of the community and the school, and within the heterogeneous composition of the community itself. The school bureaucratic boundaries remain entrenched as the intercultural conflict among the community ethnic groups detracts from the amount of criticism the school could receive if the community were united.

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Recapitulation of PICS as a
Mono-cultural Bureaucracy

First, the officially stated goals of technical and cultural advancement for the Trust Territory were displaced as the school (PICS) organizational norms of dependence, submissiveness, and docility became ends in themselves. At that juncture the organization was given a life of its own.

Secondly, the threats to bureaucratic control of environmental pressure, collegial authority among teachers, and an informal peer union among students all were diminished as public trust was non-existent and financial support was unnecessary; heterogeneous infighting and an opting for material rewards were prevalent among students and staff alike; and bureaucratic rule became the order of the day.

Finally, the bureaucratic life cycle entrenched itself through the controlling mechanisms of recruitment of both teachers and students based on the organizational norms of likemindedness and achievement, standardization and specialization at every turn of the organization, and the subtle structural socialization in the system based on the strict adherence to legal-rational rules and co-optive use of such phenomena as co-curricula activities and instrumental* reward. Thus PICS changes

*Max Weber in his Theory of Social and Economic Organization and Amitar Etzioni in his Modern Organizations

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the behavior of the multi-ethnic students and staff to conform to the mono-cultural norms of American-type bureaucracy.

Without question, the PICS bureaucracy is superbly efficient in producing "functional rationality" (Mannhiem, 1971) as a means of supporting this process. But the question still remains, what price is paid in terms of cultural development, a matter to which we will now turn.

Dimensions of Structural Alienation:
American School Norms, Ponapean
Family Values, and Cultural
Character Development

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).

The concept of role is proposed as the major means for linking the individual (Ponapean) and the organization (school). An organization can then be viewed as a number of roles integrated in a certain fashion. Uniting these concepts, Clark (1962) described the formal school organization as an officially contrived web of arrangements,

roughly utilize the notion of instrumentalism as one form of control in interpersonal relations.

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a system of rules and objectives defining the tasks, power, and procedures of the participants according to some officially approved pattern.

As Bakke and Argyris (1954) found, there are two behavioral processes transacting within the organizational structure:

1. The organization is trying to perpetuate and actualize itself by making agents (socializing) out of its individual participants (staff and students).
2. The individuals are trying to actualize themselves (personalize) by making an agent out of the organization, including its resources.

Since the American type high school structure and its heavily Americanized staff confronts a client society characterized by values and patterns of activity resultant from prior enculturation in the Ponapean traditional family, and supported by ethnic peer group socialization, at best the school becomes a battleground of inter-cultural/structural conflict, the internalized structure of the family versus the structural acculturative objectives of the school. The direct psychological result of this inter-cultural/structural socialization upon the student is role conflict and cultural disorientation leading to a sense of powerlessness and alienation (Merton, 1952). As Argyris (1957) suggests, the basic conflict results when the individual character is defined as moving in the direction of self-maintenance, self-expression, and self-realization, and the

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organization is pushing him in the direction of task specialization (dependency), unity of command (subordination), and limited span of control (submissiveness).

The individual Ponapean student may adapt externally to the behavioral, normative demands of the school social structure, but internally he may experience great unrest from the competing normative (value) forces espoused by the school staff and the family structure.

Whereas the family emphasizes ascription and limited achievement, the school stresses open achievement. While the family is particularistic and affective in treatment, the school tends toward standardized, universal, and impersonal treatment. Although the Ponapean family emphasizes authority and control the school talks of freedom and individualism while structurally 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. There "seemingly" exists a fundamental human and cultural incompatibility between the role of student and the needs and values of the person holding that role (the individual Ponapean). There is a further conflict between the espoused norms of the school and the actual structurally socialized norms.

As implied above, the individual Ponapean may be well able to adapt to the school bureaucracy by externally

pacing through the behavioral norms of docility, dependence, and subservience, but whether he can make the inner personality adjustment between his behavior in support of espoused school norms and his feelings (inner values) enculturated in the family is another matter. There are in fact three normative forces at work here. First the espoused, novel, norms of individualism, independence, and freedom verbalized by staff members, which raise aspirations for change in the students. Second and simultaneously functioning are the norms of the overriding bureaucratic structure of authority, dependence, and control which in fact are similar to and reinforce the third force or indigenous Ponapean norms.

There is constant talk of democracy, equality, and freedom, yet the very authoritarian structure of PICS denies the reality of any of these norms. The ambiguity of this situation results in an alienation derived from the confusing hope and aspiration for material goods and the values of freedom, individualism and independence, and the reality of a bureaucratic structure that in fact denies these tenets of change. The overt aspects of PICS teaches freedom and equality, while the covert bureaucratic structure induces control and authoritarianism. What the school does effectively teach is how to "functionally rationalize" the inconsistency of this dilemma between thought and act. Analytical reasoning, the necessary tool

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in the enactment of being free, is withheld and substituted for by an alienating "functional rationality" which enslaves the individual to the system. For full cultural freedom and self-realization as opposed to the compromise of functionally rationalizing one's outer behaviors, it is this author's belief that an authentic union between individual thought and action is mandatory. In terms of reaction patterns to this inter-systemic situation the Ponapean student has a number of alternatives: (1) Withdrawal--he can drop out or be pushed out of the school structure and return to the traditional family life with peace of mind provided he has not already internalized certain alien aspirations; (2) Conversion--he can abandon traditional life ways and move headlong into the school value structure, get more formal education, and one day become an agent of the new system (i.e. 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/rebel--he can remain in the system and battle it right to the end in numerous acts of defiance and rebellion, more often than not ending in category one as a "pushout"; or

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(5) Bi-culturality--he can transfer the indigenous notion of role segregation and situational ethics (public and private behavior) to the school, freely separating the family world from the school world and fulfilling role expectations in each situation commensurate with each value structure.

There are doubtless other patterns of reaction. The above patterns of youth transition can appear singly and in combination and they will typically have 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 bi-culturality, 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, systemic acceptance, understanding and adaptability of each system's symbolic and logio-meaning styles, and ultimately some 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

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repetoire, in particular that of the ability to "functionally rationalize."

In sum, the incongruity between the act and the thought, fact and 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 (Argyris, 1957). At PICS, the student is virtually an institutionalized person, especially if he boards. The bureaucratic norms of efficiency and effectiveness are ingrained. The student is low man in the hierarchy.

Whether the result of school on Ponape is a new cultural character through the inculcation of true reflective thinking and the fusion of the school as an agent of structural/cultural socialization with the Ponapean student as a personalizing force embodied in traditional family norms, is one matter. Whether functional rationality and incipient alienation results and becomes a societal norm in itself is another matter. Behavioral adaptation without commensurate mental adjustment (cognitive skills) can be humanly disasterous. Behavioral adaptation with functional rationalization is humanly alienating. The latter is a much slower, subtler manner of destruction. The problem is not one of the

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individual being able to show himself but one of the individual being able to think about and to be himself.

This chapter has been concerned with examining the high school as a unique system. Chapter VIII will proceed to give further evidence (data from intensive interviews) and theoretical analysis of the effects on the individual of participation in the school process and exposure to urbanization.

From "Stated" Bureaucratic Goals
to "Real" Human Outcomes

Changing people's habits, people's ideas, people's language, people's beliefs, people's emotional allegiances, involves a sort of deliberate violence to other people's developed personalities--a violence not to be found in the whole teacher-child relationship, which finds its prototype in the cherishing parent helping the young child to learn those things which are essential to his humanity (Margaret Mead, 1951).

When an organization becomes an end in itself instead of a means to a greater societal goal, it takes on the title of an institution (Clark, 1962). There is little doubt that Ponape Island Central High School has become an institution.

Waller (1932) viewed schools in general as centers for cultural diffusion and conflict. Parsons (1959) viewed schools primarily in terms of the processes of socialization, acculturation, and role allocation for the greater society. If the real goal of education in

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particular, and development in general, as described in the Trusteeship agreement for Micronesia, is to produce a nation that is both modern and free, then Micronesia's fate resides in the hands of democracy. To quote John Hanson (1966), "Democracy rests its case on its ability to harmonize the freedom and well-being of the individual with the strength of the society."

PICS is anything but democratic. Its hierarchical, punishment-centered, bureaucratic structure could hardly result in a free minded democratic citizenry. Its authoritarian, despotic nature is totally incompatible and antagonistic to any notion of individual well-being and self-realization. One can hardly socialize students in an autocratic organization and call it preparation for a "self-determining," independent society.

One might at first suggest that the mere transformation of PICS from a punishment-centered bureaucracy to a representative bureaucracy would contribute to the realization of a true democracy. As Dreebin (1970) claims:

If the contribution of schooling to democratic political life lies in pupils' acceptance of specific and universalistic norms (among other things), then ironically, it would appear that the more bureaucratic properties of school organization (i.e. those that contribute to pupils' capacities to form transient social relationships, submerge much of their cultural identity, and accept legitimacy of categorical treatment), are most relevant to the creation of a democratic polity.

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But the real point of inquiry is not that of differentiating types of bureaucracy and their respective relatedness to the promotion of democracy, but the very meaning of democracy itself and the ensuing structural alternatives to support that meaning.

As Besag (1970) found:

If the society is particularly interested in academic achievement and is technologically oriented, then the main purpose of the school is to impart knowledge to the young. This can be accomplished most efficiently if all the students are quiet (docile), if there is homogeneous grouping (monocultural treatment) of students on the basis of academic ability, if there are negative sanctions for failure, and so forth. In this type of society, the more total the school, the better. On the other hand, if the school strives to teach independence of thought and action rather than technology, then the school will allow as much freedom as possible to individual students, there will be little if any homogeneous grouping, and there will be fewer sanctions for failure in academic classes. The purposes of these two schools are quite different, so the method of training is also quite different.

The dualistic either/or (French Democracy based on equality versus British Democracy rooted in individual freedom) approach taken by Americans is a fundamental barrier to the realization of a democracy which integrates social order with ethnic, cultural, integrity in a pluralistic model founded not on the equal treatment of human beings in a system bent on realizing equal outcomes, but rather the maximization of alternatives such that individuals may be able to pursue with equal access and equal acceptance (tolerance) whatever they personally desire.

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Democracy is not a question of equality or freedom, but both equality and freedom. It is not a matter of equal treatment and equal outcomes, but equal access (to maximum alternatives) and equal tolerance of individual choice.

Ultimately one wonders if it is not too late for the Ponapeans (and Americans for that matter) to make such a choice. Has PICS and the other alien, bureaucratic institutions on Ponape gone too far in teaching what they teach best--dependency, subservience, and passivity. Indeed, PICS is a case study of what is really learned in an inter-cultural school, that is: "functional rationality," personal shame of one's cultural heritage, and a character structure which has internalized alienation as a cultural norm. Authority utilized to produce homogeneity, compliance, and conformity is profitable in terms of overall efficiency, but the cost of wasting man's diverse, heterogeneous potential for innovation, creativity, and self-realization is a price humanity can ill afford. One need only look to the annals of immigrant history and education in America to document this belief.

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CHAPTER VI

EDUCATION, ETHNICITY, AND SOCIAL

CLASS FORMATION

Indigenous Education and Social Stratification in a Prestige Economy

Using the term "education" in its broadest sense, the traditional Ponapean extended family unit most skillfully performed an enculturating and educational function for the prevailing normative social structure, as rooted in a "prestige" economic system. This social structure had clearly defined feudalistic stratas of inequality among the Ponapeans.

Traditionally, the Ponapeans exercised a system of prestige competition reminiscent in some ways of the potlatch of the American Indians of the Northwest Coast, but with a distinctive character deriving from the Ponapean pattern of modesty and respect behavior. Instead of the distribution and destruction of property that marks the potlatch, contributions of certain foods to community feasts were the means of achieving status in Ponapean society. This central festive procedure clearly distinguished Ponape's "prestige economy" from that of either a subsistence or a commercial economy (Bascom, 1948).

Success in prestige competition by producing either the largest yam or the oldest pitted breadfruit at a feast, was evidence not only of a man's ability, industry, and generosity, but also of his love and respect for his superiors within the elaborate rule of the title system. This system was representative of both class and caste, achieved and ascribed status. There were twenty-three matrilineal clans, hierarchically ordered within and among each other. One could move within a clan (class) by achieving a title at a feast, but movement among clans to the highest position (Nahnmwarki) in the ruling clan was hereditary or ascribed in nature. Albeit, one could marry across clans and raise the rank of one's child as matrilineally determined. Each of the five island sections or municipalities functioned under a similar but totally separate order of rule. Thus, within limits set for him by his clan membership (matrilineally determined) a Ponapean might achieve status or gain power. In essence, there existed a class system within a super-ordinate caste structure.

As discussed earlier, a pattern of modesty and respect is endorsed to avoid ridicule for pretentious behavior and to prevent losing face at future feasts when one's yam would not be the largest. After recognition (achieved status) has been pronounced in the form of titles at each feast, the food is distributed according to rank (title) and taken home. This overproduction of

food (yam competition) has traditionally served as a system of structuring inequality based on surplus distribution (Lenski, 1966). It has also led to the Ponapean's interest in agriculture and devout attachment to his land. As Bascom (1948) points out, "Competition among the Ponapeans is not necessarily associated with aggressive behavior, yet it is coupled with a system of winning prestige and status which is almost as competitive as that of the 'Dionysian Kwakiutl.'"

Traditional authority was connected in the overall clan structure and enculturated through the life about and participation in the feast (i.e., the feast as a school). Yet definite legal rational modes of authority were exemplified in the title system within clans. In both situations, the very structure and the interaction of the kinship system guaranteed the socialization of Ponapean youth.

Indigenous Education and Social
Stratification in a Commercial
Economy

Since the early days of foreign hegemony (German and Japanese in particular), other island peoples in the neighboring islands of Ponape District have either been moved or have voluntarily migrated to the main island of Ponape. These outer-islanders (Mokilese, Pingelapese, Kusaien, Ngatikese, Nukuorans, Kapingamarangies, and Mortlockese) are in most cases entirely distinct cultural

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collectivities taking the role of minority cultures on the island of Ponape (see Appendix I for a percentage ethnic breakdown of the population on Ponape). Thus, today Ponape can be considered one section (island district) of a non-natural state (dependent Trust Territory) containing three socio-cultural subdivisions: first, the majority group or landed Ponapeans; second, the several minority outer island sub-groups; and third, the super-ordinate class of Americans.

The demography of the island, coupled with the impact of participation in American formal schooling and other non-school institutional arrangements tells an interesting tale. A majority of the land on Ponape or approximately 65% "belongs" to the American government, it is in large degree unoccupied with the exception of the District Center of Kolonia which has been occupied in ghetto fashion by the several outer-island cultures (there are also a few resettled minority enclaves around the island). Two per cent of the land is owned by a German family of traders who have legally maintained rights over the years, including during Japanese occupation. The remaining 30% of the land is owned by the Ponapeans, who live mainly around the shores of the island. One Ponapean in particular owns about 5% of the land as a result of his ancestry being educated formally and informally by the Germans and then returning to "swindle and exchange"

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everything from glass bottles to rusty nails (as the story goes) for the land.

The Ponapeans have remained on the land so valued in their cultural heritage. They have seen little use for the formal schooling of the Americans and have felt little urge to migrate to the District Center high school, but things are changing--a matter which will be discussed later in the chapter. On the other hand, the outer island cultures, particularly the earlier immigrants (Mokilese and Pingelapese), have left crowded atolls, where land is scarce, and have come to the main island to find the land either in the hands of the American officials or the land conscious Ponapeans. The Americans, like the preceeding foreign overseers required artisans, house-servants, and other middle men to conduct their business with the masses (in this case the Ponapeans).^{*} The outer-island immigrants immediately filled the vacuum of jobs opened by the American presence (artisans, clerks, low level officials, etc.). But in order to perform these tasks adequately they needed training. So the formal school

^{*} Interestingly enough during the Japanese administration when there were few outer island emigrants on Ponape, the Japanese had to import Koreans and Okinawans to perform tasks that the landed Ponapeans refused to undertake. Of course, during the war the Ponapeans were forced into such roles under the rigid arm of the Japanese military regime.

system coupled with informal apprenticeships provided the main avenue of mobility through training.

As discussed in Chapter V, the purpose and goals of the school system have been consistently curtailed in extreme ambiguity. The American Naval Administration did publish a document attesting to the following stated purpose of formal schooling on Ponape:

To benefit the many and assure progressive development of 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 industry (U.S. Department of Navy, 1950).

Yet, there exists a subtle absurdity in this statement when examined in light of the over-production of food demonstrated in our earlier discussion of the traditional Ponapean economy, not to mention their elaborate titular system of government which proved more than adequate for centuries. The United Nations trusteeship agreement further stipulated that the islands were to be prepared for "Social, economic and educational advancement, and political self-determination" (Article 6, Trust Agreement). This at least indicated the possible role of education in "nation building."

The majority of Ponapeans, having defined and based their power on the prestige economy of the land, isolated themselves from the proceedings of the District Center and its minority outer-island immigrant enclaves. The

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outer-islanders were without land and therefore power by Ponapean (majority) definition. They resorted to the American or super-ordinate definition of power based on the commercial system of market trade supported by a bureaucracy of service positions. One's rank in this system is realized in proportion to one's participation in schools, where people learn how to do, or at least to behave, like the super-ordinate rulers. Thus the outer-islanders flocked to the schools.

The schools acted to acculturate the landless immigrants, giving them access to positions of power defined and controlled by the super-ordinate American rulers. It alienated the landed Ponapeans who attended the schools and found themselves caught between the value system of inherited access to land and that of the schooled access to the commercial economy.

So we have a system in which the majority of Ponapeans attend school up to the eighth grade and then return to the land which in reality they have never left because most schools are local and quite disfunctional by American standards. Some manage to advance to the high school level, if they have the "qualifications" to be selected.

Although Ponapeans make up sixty-three per cent of the overall island population, they compose only forty-eight per cent of the PICS student population. The larger

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minority groups, the Mortlockese, Pingelapese, and Mokilese respectively make up 12, 11 and 6 per cent of the overall island population and 8, 15 and 14 per cent of the PICS student population. There is clearly a disproportional ethnic student representation at the "selective" high school level (PICS enrollment records, January, 1972). Most Ponapean students who do get selected disappear over the four years of school, as evidenced by data which shows that Ponapean students over the past four years are 52% of the PICS dropouts (see Appendix K). If one were to investigate the ethnic breakdown of the three primary local institutions catering to high school dropouts and eighth grade terminees (that is the jail, the Neighborhood Youth Corps, and the Ponape Automotive and Marine Corps) one would find that Ponapeans compose approximately 79% of the inmates at the jail, 62% of the neighborhood youth corps trainees, and 70% of the PAMI trainees and employees (see Appendices L, M, and N).

This disproportion is also seen in the lists of those who go on to college or advanced training, with the Ponapeans making up only 30% while some of the outer islanders (Pingelapese, Mokilese, etc.) have a disproportionately larger share (see Appendix O).

Although Ponapeans are proportionately represented in the general district government employee rolls, they often find themselves in the lower paying jobs (see

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Appendix P). When dealing with the separate pay scale of employees in the Department of Education we find that the Ponapeans only represent 55% of the total employees, while other groups such as the Pingelapese (15%) and Mokilese (10%) are proportionately represented (see Appendix Q). Yet when one looks to the less prestigious department of Agriculture we find that the Ponapeans make up 80% of the employees (see Appendix R). This may be understood on the basis of the fact that they are the landed class.

If the goal of the formal school on Ponape is total assimilation either into an independent Micronesian culture or into an American culture (melting pot) based on the democratic principle of equality, then it has to date been a failure. Further, to the degree that any sub-cultural group considers mobility in fact unnecessary it will not be sought. Equally important, to the degree that a subordinate group maintains a self-sufficient culture and shares only a minimum of common understanding with the super-ordinate structure, the society cannot be termed "plural" and mobility will be sought only within the group. Movement to the culturally alien super-ordinate group will neither be desired nor pursued.

Under these circumstances the school has little effect on the Ponapean system of status, since mobility between cultural groups, however accomplished, is not yet an important feature of the society (Becker, 1955).

However, the commercial economy of the District Center is beginning to pervade the traditional Ponapean social-economic structure. The District Center economy, in its growth process is having a converting and defining effect on the rural areas. As the products of the commercial economy (technology and goods) extend to the rural sector certain expectations are conveyed in the form of "felt" needs and aspirations which convert the rural Ponapean sector to the commercial value system of the District Center. A self-fulfilling prophesy takes place as the District Center defines the rural areas as "poverty stricken" and in dire need. The rural areas then identify with and become that definition. The rural areas are not only told that they are "deprived" in terms of material goods, but are soon categorized as "culturally" deprived too. This process has not yet been fully actualized on Ponape, but one can be assured that the wheels of "progress" are heading in that direction, and that the schools are abetting the achievement of this end. Kenneth Clark (1963) attests to the role of the school alluded to above in the following quote concerning inter-cultural education in America:

The term cultural deprivation masks the fact that these are human beings who are deliberately and chronically victimized by the larger society in general, and by educational institutions specifically.

Having established this broad overview, we will now turn to the more localized institutions and investigate their part in the stratification process.

Local Structure and Social Stratification:
Community, School and Family

The Community and the
Elementary Schools

Natalie Rogoff (1961) and other scholars have pointed to the importance of community composition and structure in school attainment and social class formation. On Ponape, it is significant to distinguish between the elementary school system and the high school, since they are located in different ethnic communities and function in different manners.

The elementary schools are scattered about the island serving the communities they exist in. These are predominantly Ponapean closed ethnic communities, thus making the school composition culturally homogeneous in nature (students and staff). The two District Center elementary schools are pluralistic in that they serve the outer-islanders and a few Ponapeans. The high school, being the only one on the island and existing in the District Center has a pluralistic student body, with a staff dominated by Americans and outer-islanders. There are few Ponapean staff members in either the District Center elementary schools or at the high school. To illustrate the strength of alien input one merely need

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look at the ethnic distribution of the PICS faculty (see Appendix S), where 65% of the staff are American and a mere 6% Ponapeans. In short, ethnic communities exhibit strict ethnocentrism in total school composition (students and staff). This ecological situation in effect represents a form of "de facto" apartheid. Only in the District Center school is there any semblance of heterogeneity in school composition, yet the Ponapeans are nearly absent in staff composition in these schools.

What does this school demographic picture mean in terms of social stratification? Sexton (1967) has demonstrated the tremendous inequality of funds, staff, etc., as distributed in different geographic areas of the United States and its concomitant effect on the quality of education. The U.S. Civil Rights Commission Racial Isolation Report (1967) further found social class composition of schools (homogeneity) was the single most important factor affecting student performance and attitudes (in terms of class mobility). On these counts, the rural schools on Ponape (predominantly Ponapean in composition) are barely functioning. The facilities are the worst of any schools on the island. The teachers are the least trained. And the problems in these schools are usually placed under the category of either a communication and/or a transportation problem by the American administrators.

To illustrate this we may compare the largest rural, predominantly Ponapean school, Nan Uh, with the multi-ethnic District Center Kolonia Elementary school. It was found that in 1968, only 24% of the Nan Uh graduates were chosen to attend PICS while 43% of the Kolonia school graduates were selected. These figures are not dissimilar to those of other years. As alluded to earlier, it is no wonder that rural Ponapean parents send their brightest children into Kolonia to live with relatives and attend elementary school as they well realize the differential potential in terms of continuing education. The rural-urban dimension is also clear in English language test results which even after four years of high school show a clear distinction between the performance of the urban and rural students. A random sample of student test scores and grade point averages of seniors revealed that the urban students consistently performed higher on all measures of academic achievement (see Appendix T).

The paradox of these circumstances rests in the dual valuation (Ponapean vs. American) of the need, purpose, and function of the schools.

As previously mentioned, the Ponapeans, for the most part, do not comprehend the role of the school in terms of occupational mobility functioning in a commercial economy. They view the school in terms of their traditional prestige economic framework, as virtually useless. The author

personally recollects the first day of a meeting of all elementary school principals on the island being devoted solely to the questions of USDA rice distribution and the hiring of school cooks. Some principals were considering switching to the position of school cook, a position of both community status and power. Naturally, such a problem was viewed with disbelief by those alien administrators ignorant of even the possibility of a second value system in existence. "The absurdity in wanting to relinquish the position of principal to become a school cook!"

From an American vantage point, the rural Ponapean schools are discriminatory and delimiting to the movement of Ponapeans either into or up the commercial route being established in the District Center. This is beginning to be felt enigmatically as the rural Ponapeans acquire new material aspirations, access to which is connected to participation in a school.

Meanwhile, the District Center schools are reaping the benefits of tremendous material input, an abundance of teacher trainees from the local teacher training center and the Micronesian Community College, plus a superfluous number of American supervisory staff. Again, the composition of these schools is essentially outer-islanders (heterogeneous).

Although the Ponapean students are in the majority in terms of raw numbers, at the high school, the staff and

teachers are Americans and outer islanders, and the dropouts, failures, and pushouts are largely Ponapeans.

In sum, the entire school system as it stands represents a well hidden form of structured inequality for Ponapeans when functionally assessed from an American commercial economic standpoint.

The Multi-Ethnic High School

We will now turn our discussion to the multi-ethnic high school. This is where the greatest interaction of Americans, Ponapeans, and outer-islanders transpires at both the student and staff levels. Here, we may gain insight into what happens to the Ponapean youth who escape the traditional system.

The very structure of the school socializes its members into neatly packaged life styles or social strata. First, the English ability grouping. Although the high school has no distinct tracking system, it does have a definite system of English ability grouping that is inclusive of all four years of high school. The freshmen are grouped by tests* into four groups (1-4) and the remainder of the school is put into four more groups (5-8). The

* The tests employed for grouping in English have varied over the years from the LADO to the Michigan Test of English Language Proficiency to the new American Research Institute tests especially devised for Micro-nesian students or a combination of these. The validity of these in terms of cross-cultural equivalence has been questioned.

eighth group is the highest. Everyone gets the same daily amount of English, one oral class and one reading-writing class. Although the ability groups are composed for the purpose of individual treatment and compensatory efforts, in fact they result in a systematic segregating of students by both ethnic group and socio-economic class (Brookover, 1969). The system generally results in rural Ponapeans being in the lower groups and remaining there throughout their entire high school education. In analyzing senior records it was found that of those Ponapeans who were in the two lowest ability groups Freshmen year (Groups I and II) 71% (Group I 43%, Group II 28%) found themselves in the lowest Senior ability group (Group VI). This indicates that better than two-thirds of those grouped low remained low over the four year period (see Appendix U).

The grading system further organizes and structures the ethnic group members as individuals in preparation for generalizing the task of competing for grades into competing in the economic market place of the commercial system. The Ponapeans find this individualistic, open competition for grades culturally distasteful. The outer-islanders, in contrast, pivot around grade-achievement as a common value which acts to legitimize the economic and educational status differentiation inherent in the system. A disproportionate number of Ponapeans appear on the Honors list as evidenced by the fact that the cumulative ethnic breakdown of honor roll students over the last four years shows

that the Ponapeans have had on the average 33% of the honor role students, while the Mokilese and Pingelapese have had 26% and 24% respectively.

It is ironic that in the "great American classroom" where equality is to be realized through universal participation, individualism is promoted primarily in relation to its market economy generalization.

The age-grade process is in itself a segregating, status phenomena based on sex, peer-ethnic group, and teacher expectation. Distinctions are not only made among students, but between students and staff as subordinate and super-ordinate groups. As a member of a class, the individual may achieve the status of a pupil, but he seldom calls attention to himself as a person except through deviant behavior. In this light most PICS faculty members agreed that the Ponapeans in general and the rural Ponapeans from Kitti, in particular, had a definite ethnic reputation for being the fighters, trouble-makers and general discipline problems in the school. As one teacher remarked:

The Ponapean students have a definite reputation at PICS among the teachers as being the biggest problems in class. You know, talking back or walking out of class. You hear teachers say, "Oh! He's a Ponapean, he won't last long at PICS," or "Those kids from Kitti are always fighting."

The age-grade enhances the alienation process of education as self-realization in human rather than economic terms is held in abeyance to the task of inculcating group

conformity (Karaceus, 1965). The age-grade is also a slow, progressive means of inducing a respect for authority (superordinate) in the new value system. Thus, the alien ruling force gains additional legitimacy through the school process.

A system of control (sanctioning) is actuated by the "social distance" inherent in the age-grade and teacher-student relationships. This structural arrangement with the staff in command promotes the control and socialization of desired norms (in this case American) through the very behavioral patterns of the teachers (Deeben, 1970). The teachers serve as lieutenants of the super-ordinate power structure. They exercise the power bestowed upon them to solicit expectations and stereotype ethnic groups. They consistently fulfill a prophecy of doom for those students, particularly the Ponapeans, who "Don't fit the bill" (King, 1967).

The outer-islanders lean toward acceptance of the system (since it is they who benefit most from it) but the Ponapeans usually respond with docility or deviance as evidenced by their high dropout and suspension rate. Social classification presides over self-realization as the Ponapean students are labeled "Vocationally oriented or trouble makers unfit for school." In either case, they are classified on the lower rung of the Western occupational value scale. The English ability grouping operates to

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readily "cool-out" Ponapean aspirations as counselors and staff daily convince them that they are better off in other areas (Clark, 1960).

The schools also play a significant role in the process of political elite recruitment on Ponape. As Hughes (1969) found, the factors leading to the choice of non-traditional political leadership such as the role of Congressman, were based on non-traditional norms of educational level, English speaking ability and travel experiences. He further found that the occupations of the legislatures were somewhat varied but that working in education predominated. "Eight are teachers, four are medical personnel, four in other positions with the American Administration, and three were with Cooperative Companies" (Hughes, 1971). It is no surprise that only two of the five Congress of Micronesia legislators from Ponape District are Ponapean, while the remainder are outer-islanders.

Elite formation is not only evident in political recruitment, but also in the changing patterns of land accumulation and ownership. In a land evaluation study published in 1970 by Don Cowell, a list of recorded land transactions on Ponape was assembled for a period covering ten years. Not only were the higher educated doctors, politicians, and non-Ponapeans in general the prominent purchasers in terms of total acreage reallocated by sale,

but the Land Management officer himself and his brother were also quite active in the purchasing of Ponapean land. This may very well be an omen for the future as more Ponapeans are converted to the commercial economy of the District Center, sell their lands and migrate to the alien defined "good life" of Kolonia. Only later will they become victims of rented urban slums.

In Ponape, as in America (see Hollingshead, 1949), a strong case can be made for the high correlation between education and social class. But this is true only from an American perspective (value system). For the American commercial-economic social class formation realized by participation in formal schooling has nothing to do with social class in an economy based on yam production and clan membership. The necessity, function, and role of the formal school looks much different when the question is raised: whose values, based upon whose meaning, and whose choice? (Steinberg, 1965).

The Family

Joseph Kahl (1953) and Fred Strodsbeck (1958) have both discussed the impact of family structure on the aspirations and success of students. Kahl found that family expectation played a major part in the educational interest and achievement of students, noting that low family expectations accounted for low student aspiration

and school achievement. Strodbeck found that the student values toward schooling were directly related to the authority relationship and level of family integration. School success was more highly correlated with greater loyalty to the community or ethnic group rather than the immediate family. Both these findings help explain the low level of school achievement and involvement by Ponapean youth in comparison to the outer-islanders.

The traditional Ponapean family has in the past seen little cultural relevance in the school, particularly in relation to their prestige economy. It is an alien institution which threatens to take their children away from the land where they are most needed to help with the work. They see the school, especially the high school, as disrupting allegiance and respect for the family and traditional customs, "Tiak en sop" (which literally translates, the way of the land). In order to preserve their cultural ways some neither expect nor encourage their children to attend school (a matter we will discuss in detail in the following chapter on adult views). This low family expectation toward schooling is reflected in the indifferent attitude and low educational aspirations of Ponapean youth.

In contrast, the outer-islanders have left extended family roots behind in their migration and have formed larger, communal, ethnic loyalties on Ponape which are

reinforced by the ghetto life of the District Center. Locked out of the traditional Ponapean prestige economy, they have turned to the American commercial economy for their definition of economic, social and political reality on the island. Realizing that status in this system is equated with income as enhanced via participation in the formal schools, they have placed high priority on the school experience. When an outer-islander fails or drops out of school he loses face. When a Ponapean does the same, he is outwardly shamed but privately welcomed back to the land.

From Subsistence Patterns
to Power Systems

What has developed on Ponape is two distinct power systems ensconced in two divergent economic structures. First, the American super-ordinate power system based on a commercial economy in which formal schooling plays a decisive role in the stratifying process, with the majority of the immigrant outer-islanders accepting this system. Second, the traditional Ponapean power structure (separate but gradually being defined into a sub-ordinate status) rooted in the prestige landed economy in which formal schooling is disfunctional, and in which stratification occurs through an elaborate title system. These juxtaposed power-economic systems represent two very different value-need orientations, with two unique

definitions of "social reality," and with two separate socialization and stratifying mechanisms (school versus family).

The crux of the problem for the Ponapeans resides in the transitional nature of the above situation. As technology and goods from the American sector pervade the Ponapean system, new aspirations in the form of felt needs are implanted. The school is used as a manipulative institution for the inculcation and realization of those new needs, but at the risk of cultural disintegration. The Ponapeans have not yet internalized the new needs in the same degree as the outer-islanders, and have not relied heavily on formal schooling. But as the Ponapean is subtly enculturated into the traditional system through the very structure and interaction of the extended family and activities of the feast, he is similarly covertly acculturated at different levels (see p. 261) into the American system by the nature and intensity of his contact with the District Center and the high school socio-economic structures. In this process of diffusion and contact he gains his taste for the ends of the American system, but still cannot make the connection to the means. He aspires but doesn't fully comprehend or realize. The school not only introduces but efficiently moves to "cool-out" these informally obtained aspirations through high school ability

grouping and the differential (urban-rural) quality of the elementary schools. If he stays in school he is either co-opted by the structured inequality or made marginal by the whole process, sometimes both. In either case low job status or disassociation from the traditional prestige economy is more often than not the fate of the young schooled Ponapean.

As discussed in Chapter V and later in Chapter VIII, there are a number of evolving patterns of youth in cultural transition on Ponape. Although marginality is the most prominent status of schooled Ponapeans, this is not to imply that they are not moving toward a new "fused" cultural character; moving toward some form of bi-cultural status, or a combination of these. Actual patterns of youth in transition will be discussed in detail at the close of Chapter VIII after the student interviews.

In the midst of all this the super-ordinate rulers are fulfilling the U.N. obligation by preparing these peoples for self-determination and nationhood, with the school being the central bearer of this task. The obvious question is whose determination? Based on whose values? Or in short, education for whom and in preparation for what?

In the summer of 1970 the American government was initiating a commission to study the growing problem of

juvenile delinquency among the islands, while simultaneously embarking on a massive expansion of the present education system. One would almost think that the schools had nothing to do with the creation of the problem itself.

CHAPTER VII

"GO, BUT DON'T CHANGE": AN

ADULT VIEW OF SCHOOL

Adult Expectations of School Outcomes

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 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).

Ponapean adults view formal schooling as an avenue of access to three things: to the Western occupational rolls in terms of government employment, to the concomitant financial and material benefits for the family, and to the attached status. When asked what benefits participation in formal school has, nearly all the parents responded in terms of increasing chances for employment with the government and the increased material goods. As one 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 at PICS are beginning to stress the necessity of continuing education or be labeled a failure by self and community. As one educator observed:

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 somewhat 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 as students purchase shoes for the first time, and parents flock to the auditorium to bear witness to the ceremonies.

Often at a feast, during the distribution of the foods by title, one will hear, "Um sompatog" (for the teacher). Thus, the status of the role of teacher is

recognized almost as a part of the traditional title system. It is not uncommon to hear adult Ponapeans address younger college graduates as "degree lout" 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 further illustrate the importance Ponapean adults are beginning to place on school:

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.

Parents were asked if they thought Ponapeans who had much formal education were happier or unhappier than those who didn't. There was a difference in response between rural and urban parents. The majority of rural parents emphasized an increased happiness as a result of further education, although most of them had little if any formal schooling. A typical rural parent stated:

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 higher educational exposure, felt that the more education one had the more unhappy one was. As one urban parent claimed:

Some of those who have gone on to school can't find jobs and are worse off. They hang around the District Center and drink, fight and cause trouble.

Another stated:

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 urbanite dealing with his own personal plight as a result of his college training related:

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 education. Those parents, usually urban, who had greater exposure to formal schooling generally pointed to the difficulties in initial adjustment, although they did feel that roles could be

segregated (i.e. traditional situational ethics), over time. As one Ponapean said:

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 tiak (customs), but many are ashamed to participate. Some forget that they are Ponapeans and are really just like the rest of us.

A Ponapean mother stated:

I think that it is possible to be an educated man and a good Ponapean. My husband says that when he comes home from school he still wants to practice all the traditional ways. All are not like him. Some come home and are just like Americans. They make little effort to get back to traditional ways.

One formally educated urban parent summarized it 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 parent noted the following:

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 Nahnmwarkis who has the dual role of traditional chief and elected chief magistrate was asked how he handles this cross-cultural situation. 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 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.*

The foregoing demonstrates how the adult Ponapean perceives the outcomes of the institution of schooling. What he expects of the child and the teachers is another matter.

Adult Expectation of Student and Teacher Behavior

Get an education, but don't change; go out into the larger world but don't become a part of it; grow, but remain within the image of the house-plant. . . . In short, maintain that difficult balance of conflicts which is the second-generation's lifestyle (Gambino, 1972).

The Ponapean parents were asked how they thought their children should behave in school; there was consensus among them that the children were expected (and in some cases told) to respect and obey the teacher as a

*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 pants, socks and shoes. During the interview, in the traditional feast house with sakau being pounded in the background, he gradually removed his Western clothes in preparation for the resumption of his traditional role.

parental figure. Furthermore, the children were to study hard in order 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 (insenoki), obey the teacher and don't make trouble.

They must try to be successful, obey and respect the teacher.

In addition, several parents made refernece to the demand that their children, "Learn the new ways, but don't lose the old customs." As one parent reported:

I tell my children to obey and respect the teacher, to learn something new, but to keep the old in mind.

The teachers are expected to treat the children as if they were their own. That is, maintain a strict code of respect and utilize corporal punishment if necessary to guarantee obedient behavior. If the teacher fails to do this he is negatively compared to the strict disciplinarian approach of the Japanese teacher which the parents themselves experienced. As one parent stated:

The teachers today are too free (salodok) 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."

Another parent said:

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 when they were naughty and call in the parents. 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. Most of them have had three years of Japanese formal education, or none at all, and have very few experiences relating to the occurrences of the present day schools. When asked if they thought that (other)* parents really understand what goes on in school, most replied with an emphatic no. As one college educated parent stated:

About 75% of the parents really don't understand what goes on in school. They trust the teachers with an almost blind acceptance. Ten years from now, perhaps it will be different.

Another parent responded:

Most Ponapeans just don't understand what school is all about. School is like a "marar mar" (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.

Yet another parent commented:

Most parents don't understand the purpose of school. Some encourage their children to attend for the prestige and material rewards, while

*Because of the third party, non-confrontation, indirect method of communication innate to Ponapean culture, it is easier to get a true, fuller response if the question is worded such that the response can be projected (attributed) to a third party.

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 Kittu.

This lack of understanding leads to a placing of responsibility upon the school staff and alien administrators. The impact this has in terms of community involvement and control can be devastating as will be discussed later in this chapter. When questions were directed to the parents concerning the school, the immediate 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, the majority pointed to English and math. 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 was the response, as complete faith in the teacher was reaffirmed. Finally when asked if they help their children with homework, the majority responded by saying no, indicating 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 high contact level in terms of their own formal and informal education.

The discrepancy of understanding between rural and urban parents 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 understanding of the Western innovations of formal schooling and wide occupational diversification depend primarily upon the degree of exposure to each of these phenomena. The answers made it quite clear that the urban-rural dimension and the level of formal schooling became significant variables in creating the different parental responses.

Conflicting Results: The Initiation
of Generational Conflict and
Familiar 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).

Freedom and control, emphasis on the individual or the group, independence versus dependence, authoritarian versus egalitarian, ascription versus achievement and ultimately mass treatment in objectification of people versus an individualized subjectification of human beings all are major lines of generational conflict currently evolving on Ponape.

When parents make the distinction between what is learned in school in terms of content and what is learned in terms of "tiak" or behavior, they then have quite a bit of criticism to place upon the school. The most central thing that parents point to is the lack of control in the schools. Traditionally one does not gain "salodok" or freedom of decision independent of one's parents until late in life. As one parent stated:

The main problem in school is that there is too much "salodok" or freedom to do whatever one wants. This means they can do both right and wrong. Before, only the head of a family or the Nahnmwarki had this freedom.

A local Ponapean judge related the following experience:

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.

An elderly rural parent had the following to say on the matter:

This American word freedom came to us without any explanation as to its real meaning. We have a word (inseni) 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 "inseni" while the older Ponapeans interpret the word to mean "salodok" or freedom with familiar responsibilities.

It seems that while the adult Ponapeans are pursuing a Skinnerian* view concerned with more effective means of structuring and inserting control, the younger, formally educated Ponapeans are being imbued with a Romantic sense of freedom. There is very little middle ground between these two interpretations.

In terms of concrete behaviors parents immediately decry disrespectful behavior and the growing independence from family life. As one parent noted: "I encouraged my child to go to school. Now he is so educated he has become independent of me." As another parent commented:

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,

*See any of Skinner's major works: Walden Two, Contingencies of Reinforcement, or Beyond Freedom and Dignity, for an in-depth account of his concerns with control.

stealing, drinking, and staying out all hours of the night. They act so proud and independent-- "akalapalap." 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.

Yet another parent noted:

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 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." As one parent said, "They are now addressing their elders by 'Hey!' instead of 'Mime' (sir)." One mother commented.

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 related to the young people's refusal to work the land. Generally, they are accused of being lazy and desiring white collar work only. Their role models are the bureaucratic officials, senators

*Margaret Mead's recent publication on the generation gap, Culture and Commitment, covers this changing relation of knowledge flow over time between parents, peers and children.

and desk people in the District Center. As one Ponapean summarized it:

Those who are educated and cannot find a job come back to the land and are lazy. Ponapeans are traditionally "porosek" (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 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 "tiak" (traditional customs) are "kapong" (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 "nas" (feast house).

An educator 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.

The parental criticisms are near endless in terms of short dresses, public show of affection, drinking and smoking. The parents list three basic causes for the growing disrespect and cultural denigration: the evil environment of the District Center with its movies, bars, and cars;

the strong influence of peer group pressure; and the physical isolation from the family endemic to the high school being in the District Center. 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 "waou" (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 authoritarian Ponapean social structure. But in this system respect only goes in a vertical path from lower to higher rank. The young now seek a respect rooted in a horizontal pattern or one based on the principle of equality. The authoritarian-parental view is encompassed in the following comment on the notion of respect:

You must have respect in the schools. Religious schools are even better than the public schools for this. I want to put respect 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 "souponi" (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!

Many parents, however, seem to be suffering from the same changes they blame their children for. Feasts are getting more Western by the day. People give money instead of yams to the chiefs. The chiefs sell goods that are given to them to the very people who were the givers

as petty capitalism invades the old system of distribution. As one informant observed: "It is not so much a problem with the young neglecting the culture as the old themselves." The parents seem quick to blame the young for their own shortcomings. Parental hypocrisy and abuse of indigenous culture is illustrated in the following story told by an American informant 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 "tiak" 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 such examples of program abuses around the island. In one case the Community Action Agency Women's Interest Group was sponsoring sewing classes in various communities and initiating 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 died away. The same



Agency has a mobile education program. One of its notable aspects is its sparse attendance during the day, but at night when the films are shown the crowds flock. It seems that if nothing else, these programs serve to build dependence and expectancies of the people upon the government services, thus turning over any innate sense of control and personal self-reliance to the government. Let us now turn to this matter.

Historical Dependence, Loss of Control, and
the Lack of 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? (Hezel, 1971).

The building of a dependent relationship between the Ponapeans and the Americans transpires in all walks of life on Ponape, but especially so in education. As mentioned earlier in the text, most Ponapeans relinquished their 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 illustrated by the following parental 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.

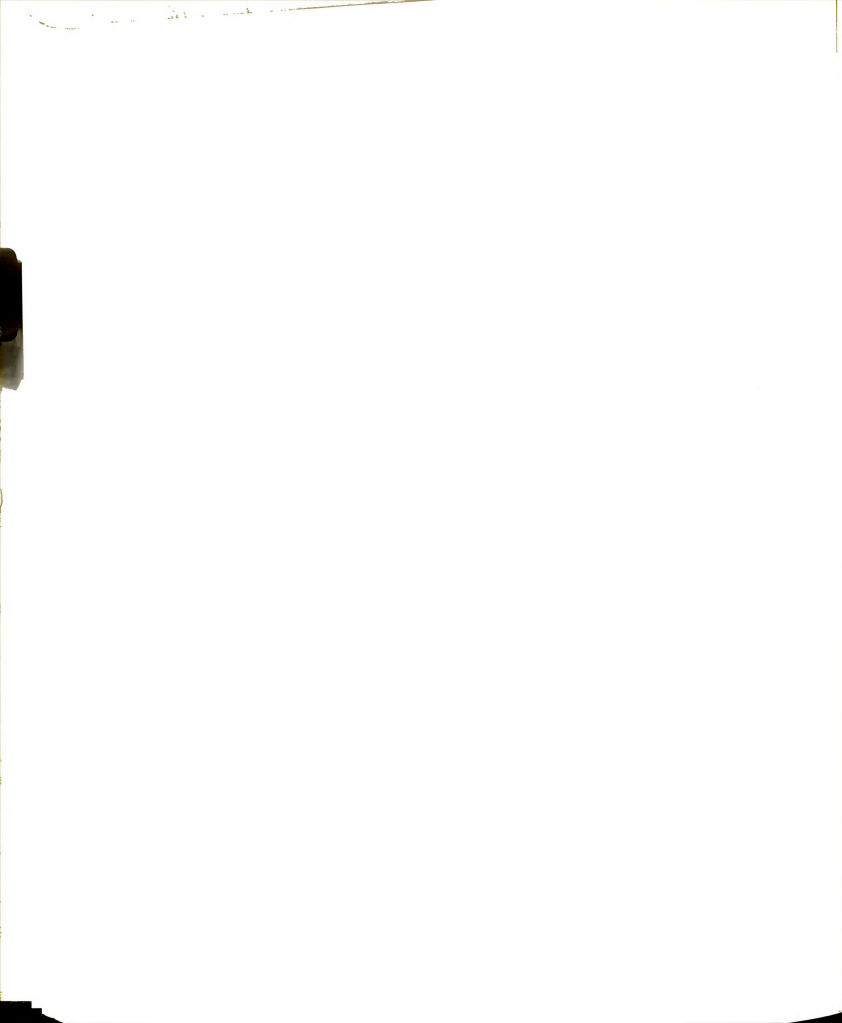
Inferiority ties neatly into the overall picture as one parent commented:

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.

Once more the United States Department of Agriculture surplus rice program abetts the 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 (Observation, March, 1972).

In a situation like this, who loses but the children. Instead of the government food being used to assist the community, the community feels imposed upon if asked to assist in the feeding of their own children. The



parents not only accept the government hand out, 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 this as a government responsibility."

The internalization of expectation of such a "give-away" program has only served in the long run to make the people more dependent on the government. As one Ponapean educator summarized:

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 awe struck. 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 really 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 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 in the following passage:



The solutions are hard. One cannot freely discuss one's 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 the total responsibility of the teacher. When asked if they had any suggestions for changing the schools, they had little if anything to say. When they did offer criticism it typically dealt with the moral training of the child and the installation of traditional forms in the school, such as the teaching of legends and indigenous skills.

As one formally educated parent stated:

We want "tiak" 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.

As indicated earlier, the school boards at the district, and even more so at the community level, are hardly functioning and are in dire need of consultation and information input as to what formal school is all about. As one parent suggested:

Parents are curious, but don't really have any way of finding out what school is for. The school board and the education office are not in tune. I don't know whether this is the responsibility of the principal or the education office.

The coordination and cooperation throughout all levels of the education system from education offices to local school boards to the principals and ultimately to the people is in disarray. This is demonstrated by the following local problem related by a municipal chief:

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 these local boards in order to get to the people. I am the chief of this municipality and I wasn't 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.

The problems endemic to dependence and local control are not merely ones of coordination and cooperation, but are cultural in nature, with communication being at the root of it all. The lack of parental understanding and exposure to the formal educational system is clearly related to their lack of control and involvement in the overall political, social and economic system. The fact that Ponape is functioning on a false economy rooted in a service-consumer orientation funded almost totally by the American government has been established by several economic reports done on Ponape. As one Senator succinctly stated: "America is buying Micronesia in



small down payments with each yearly increment in the budget." Since it is the purpose of this study to focus on education, we will leave the details of the inculcation of a welfare society in Micronesia to those more economically oriented.

When one socio-cultural group is led to depend on the offering and "false generosity" of another group, they typically relinquish their ability to control their own affairs and fail to exemplify any form of self-reliance (Friere, 1970). The social-psychological result of this dependent relationship is the inferior stance taken by the subordinate group. This in turn exposes their culture to numerous assaults and ready assimilation into the superordinate group. The existing dependent patterns in American society and those evolving on Ponape are illustrative of this pattern and are a matter of grave concern.

Freedom, Education 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 (Ponapean Chief, February, 1972).

The juxtaposition between freedom and control, authoritarianism and egalitarianism inevitably comes down to the educational processes of rote, obedient



memorization versus critical, independent thinking.

Authoritarianism is the repression of independent thought through rigid control, while egalitarianism is an empty slogan when not accompanied by the ability to exercise one's freedom through reflective consideration of alternatives. The indigenous education system on Ponape demonstrates the former, while the American schools insure the latter. As one alien educator acknowledged:

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 schools 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 freedom. During one social studies curriculum meeting, the Micronesians present were against the consultants putting anything in the curriculum that would emphasize independent thinking, and the Americans present deferred to this decision. A stated goal of one of the science textbooks is "The teaching of respect." That the older parents support this stance is evident in the following statement by a young parent:

When children go to school they respect their parents, but soon learn to be disrespectful of old things. For example parents believe in magic



and sorcery, but the children learn that much of this is superstition when they study science. My mother says that a child is sick because someone has put a curse on the family. She gets made when I tell her that the child merely has the flu.

To live in a free, democratic society, one must not only be free to choose, but must also be capable of making a choice. As it seems now, education in both its indigenous and alien forms is not meeting this challenge.

As it now stands, confusion and alienation, rather than reflective thinking and liberation are the major results of the formal education process. This occurs as the young are separated from the authoritarian life, yet not fully prepared to participate in any new cultural mode based on freedom. They are taught in the schools that the old ways are outmoded and inferior to the new, but they are not given the cognitive tools to deal with the new. Thus imbued with new aspirations of freedom and equality and separated from the old ways of respect and authority they are unable to realize their aspirations in either realm. They are caught between the criticisms of the parental generation on the one hand and rejected by the alien warders on the other. The result is a sinking into a cultural limbo marked by personal and cultural marginality. It is these young people and the role of education in their personal plight that we will now turn our attention to.



CHAPTER VIII

"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 "Seebees Style." These teenagers were really groovy. They knew how to show the new style (Micro-treasure, Sept. 23, 1970).

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

This chapter will compare four groups of young, schooled Ponapeans. Group one consists of eighth grade terminees who were reared in rural Ponape and who attended an outer municipality elementary school; group two consists of eighth grade terminees 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 who attended school in the outer municipalities, but who have been residing in the District Center while attending high school; and

group four consists of high school seniors who were reared and who went to school in the District Center environment.

The interview questions fall into four broad categories: First, feelings about outgroup (alien) peoples (see questions 2, 3, 5, 6, and 15 in Appendix D); second, feelings about traditional (in-group) customs (see questions 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, and 16 in Appendix D); third, feelings about the comparative institutions of schooling and government as they exist in the Ponapean and American contexts (see questions 13, 14, and 16 in Appendix D); and fourth, a general discussion of the level of cultural contact, feelings about the old and new ways (cultural change) and personal loyalties (see questions 1, 4, 17 and the contact measure in Appendix D).

The responses of each student group will be treated separately in the four interview categories and then summarized in relation to group patterns of cultural position.

The Rural Eighth Grade Terminees,
Youth in Cultural Captivity

Numerically this group is the largest, as better than fifty per cent of Ponapean children fail to continue their formal education beyond the eighth grade and the majority of these are rural students. Both the dysfunctionality of the rural elementary schools and the proximity and influence of family life continue to keep the majority of these youth tied to the traditional Ponapean culture.

When asked what they thought about Ponapeans marrying outside the group, most rural terminees indicated that it was acceptable for others but not for themselves. As one youth summarized, "It is bad because such a thing forces you out of the Ponapean way of living and causes you 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 one youth stated:

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.

These youths stated that they had very little interpersonal contact with non-Ponapeans in terms of sports, work or friendship. 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 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 stated:

I would hire Ponapeans first because they could 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 many 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 two 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.

Moving to questions pertaining to ingroup feelings and orientation toward traditional Ponapean life style (tiak en sop), the strong cultural bonds of rural terminees became even more evident. Their relation to the land, the life blood of Ponapean customs, proved most important. When asked if they would trade their land for an equivalent piece in any location of their choice, all unequivocally responded in the negative. As one individual said:

*Applying the indirect Ponapean system of communication, a researcher gets greater response by asking a number of questions around a theme and building up to the point.

"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 (salii) whenever they had money to buy it (which was infrequently), they still preferred eating Ponapean foods. The purchasing of the "salii" merely saved the efforts of a day fishing or the waste of an entire pig or fowl since food preservation is still primitive.

Although beer is consumed monthly 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 Ponapean status, the youth were asked if they deemed it more important to have much money, many yams, or both. Again, responding in a pragmatic note, most made a distinction based on where they lived. If living in Kolonia, they would need more money, if living in the outer municipalities they would need more yams. Most preferred yams although they would like both. As one stated:

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

Another youth continued:

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 youth responded the opposite to this, saying that if they have a lot of money they can buy yams anytime.)

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 thus shame themselves in the process. As one rural youth noted:

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 most claimed that they still attended feasts often, but had some bad feelings about the amount of work 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 "tiak" 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 said they liked speaking English, when questioned further they claimed that they only use 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 with the due respect behavior. As the following respondent acknowledged:

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, or a type of "cargo" clearly carried over to their children. Although they felt that they learned different things at home, the rural terminees for the most part were convinced that they learned more when in school and they wished they could have gone on. As one student stated:

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.

Another commented:

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 "maurine" (enlightened) if I had stayed.

Most students prefer school to the hard work of the land and frequently made reference to this point. In sum, the majority supported school as being a good thing, and agreed that they would encourage their children to go on as high as possible in school.

Most rural terminees favored the Nahnmwarki system of government to the American electoral system but pleaded ignorance of the American processes. The following comments best convey the groups' feeling:

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 Nahnmwarki system is good because he tells the people what to do and the people can help him. Some of the younger people do not want to honor him because they don't want "tiak en Ponpei." When they go to PICS it makes them change their minds about what they want.

It should be noted that in two of the rural municipalities the Nahnmwarki has also been elected chief magistrate which tends to obliterate any systemic conflict for the people. In the other Ponapean rural areas the electoral system is at a low point; at best it receives a lot of lip service.

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 the "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."

As a group the rural eighth grade terminees have had very little contact with any alien culture. They have lived in the rural areas most of their lives, attend movies sporadically, rarely listen to the radio news, and are barely literate. They have had few if any Western jobs, have neither spent time in the hospital nor the jail, 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 manliness, possession of land, yams, wife and children.

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

We must keep all the "tiak." 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. "Tiak en sohp" 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 at what geo-cultural level they identified, half said their local municipality, while the

remainder said "Ponape." None made any reference to belonging to an alien culture or to Micronesia as an 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 non-functionality of the rural elementary schools, and the relatively strong daily influence of the family all serve to insure the traditional conformist 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 most of urban elementary school students continue, rather than terminate, their formal education. Those who do terminate at the eighth grade seem either to leave the island completely or remain in the urban environment. Their attitudes are strongly affected by this urban environment.

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 "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.

Most of the group were not familiar with Ponapeans who had changed their names to American names. Many approved of doing this for very utilitarian reasons, as the following statements indicate:

Yea, I think it is okay to change your name because so many 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 terminees had non-Ponapean friends and thought that 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 indicated 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 achievement overriding ascription and a general openness to out-group persons. While recounting how they felt about outsiders coming to Ponape, better than half of the group indicated that they approved of aliens coming and staying on Ponape. They believed that they could learn from the outsiders and could earn the money and goods outsiders brought in. As two of the terminees suggested:

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 had a traditional, pragmatic line of reasoning.

When looking at in-group attitudes toward the traditional culture some distinct divergences from the "tiak en sohp" begin to become apparent. Although the majority agreed that land was sacred and was not to be sold or traded, the total support of this view that existed among the rural terminees was absent. One diffident student stated:

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 commented:

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.

A new emphasis on materialism and the 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 and 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. As 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 depend on where they were living. They said that they would like both if possible. If forced to choose, unlike their rural counterparts, they preferred the money to the yams. The plurality also indicated 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 comments give 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. (Note the rural terminees in juxtaposition would sell their yams for money.)

Money can buy American things but when it comes to "tiak" I need yams, therefore I want both. It is okay to buy yams if you are buying them to replant, but if you are buying them to eat they will ridicule you.

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

Influence of the traditional culture is still felt, but money is preferred by a plurality of this group.

When asked about the traditional feasts all agreed that feasts were good for those living outside Kolonia, but felt that the distribution of foods was unjust. They were more verbal about this and less willing to offer excuses than the rural terminees. As one urban terminee said in compendium:

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.

Another added:

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.

Still another commented:



It is hard to go to feasts when you live in Kolonia. It is more important to go to feasts if you live outside Kolonia. My family has a store and can't always work the land to get food, so we have to buy food for the feasts and this is a lot of money to spend.

Although this group found the inequality of food distribution difficult to accept, they retained a basic respect for the custom itself and referred to the fact that it was good as long as it remained in the rural areas. In one particular interview this conflict came out into the open. The urban terminnee began by expressing the fact that he felt that feasts were good and the distribution of foods at feasts was all right. When asked how he liked American feasts (parties), he pointed to the fact that they were also good "Because all could equally get enough to eat." When the conflicting statements were pointed out to him, he laughed saying, "I didn't expect you to ask the second question. 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 terminnee, a youth in transition. They have respect for ingroup culture but aspirations to the outgroup culture. This conflict is handled primarily by the use of displacement and projection.

In talking about language usage and preference, all urban terminnees acknowledged their daily use of the English language. Similar to the displacement attitudinal responses given concerning feasting, the Ponapean language and the high language in particular, were viewed as good things if



one lived in the outer areas or had a high title. The following urban terminee statement best encompassed the group's attitude:

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 rather 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. It is still important to speak the high language if you are talking to a Nahnmwarki or are at a feast.

When asked to give their feeling 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 and the rural people should bother preserving it. The following urban terminee comments express these feelings:

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.

Once more in this group schooling surfaced, to give hope to all. Unlike the rural terminees, the urbanites have little if anything good to say about the things one can learn at home. They thought that in school and in school alone all learning takes place. Further, they saw school as freeing one from laborious tasks, enabling one to get a job and to make much money. The realities of this situation were beginning to break through as one 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 and the 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 what a real Ponapean is like, even with their tremendous exposure to the Western models, they still believe that a Ponapean should be respectful, work hard and have the traditional

"dip sou" (yams, sakau, and pigs). Although they verbalize this, most of them do not have these things and so project that at least rural Ponapeans should have them.

That this group is attempting to bridge the cultural gap is implicit in many of their responses. They are more knowledgeable about Western customs and basically disagreed with their rural brothers in that they prefer a combination of cultures rather than the unquestioning acceptance of Ponapean "tiak." The following three statements outline their position:

I want to keep most of the Ponapean customs because I am a Ponapean. But there are some I don't want to keep. I like American ways a little but I think that the Ponapeans don't understand them and carry them too far.

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, but yet I want to wear long hair and Western clothes. I guess I'm really confused.

Their attempt to combine values from both cultures is most evident. They admire the maintenance of respect and family on the one hand but seek equality, justice, and materialism on the other. The resounding note is one of transition. The fact that they are in movement toward American norms, yet have one foot in the Ponapean culture

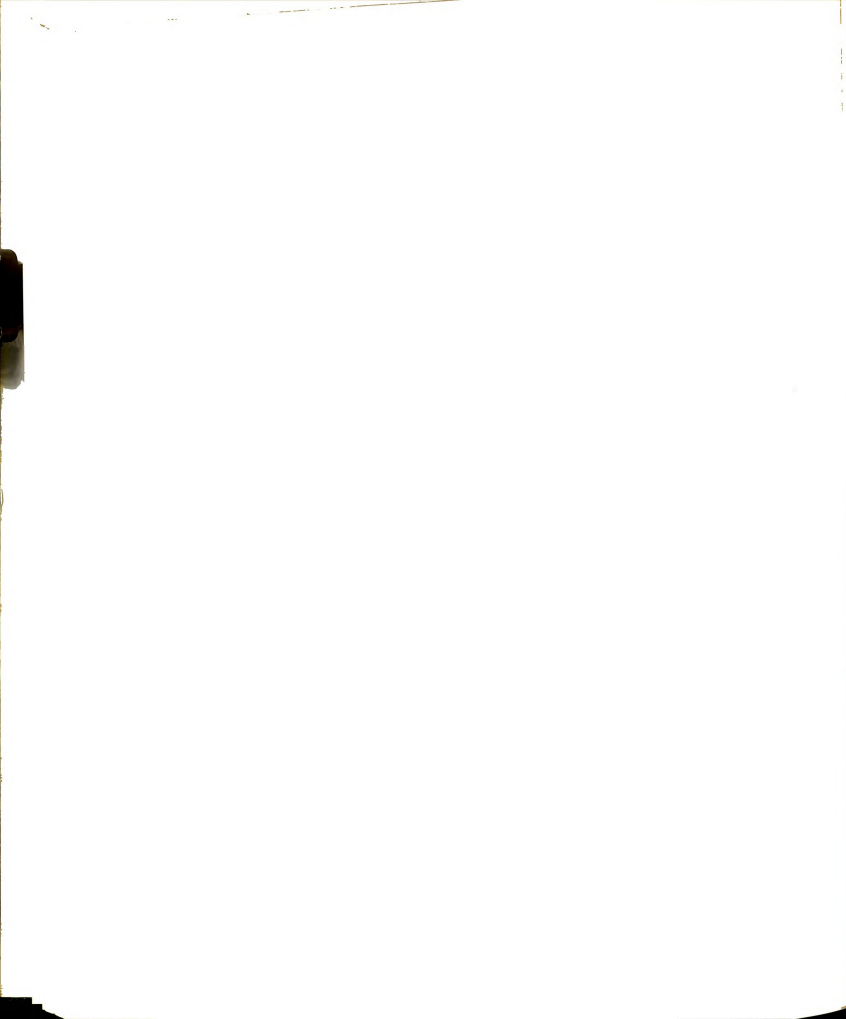
is illustrated by the responses they gave to what their geo-cultural identity was. Whereas the majority of the rural terminees identified with local areas (municipalities), most urban terminees choose Ponape itself as a locus of identity. As one urban eighth grade terminee said in synopsis:

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 effects on the cultural character. Now we will turn to the effects of maximal educational and minimal environmental exposure on the rural graduating seniors at PICS.

The Rural Seniors: Home is Where
the Heart Is

Although the urban eighth grade terminees were more willing to speak out than the rural terminees, the rural seniors are even much more verbal and open about criticizing traditional ways. Like the rural terminees, they thought that marriage outside the group (Ponapean) was good 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.

Maybe intermarriage is good, but it usually breaks up the family. As for me, no.

Here we see the attempt to project new values onto others while the individual remains safe in the traditional culture.

When questioned as to how they felt about Ponapeans changing either names to American names, most disfavored the idea, but responded in the traditional fashion by stressing that if it was useful to do this for some instrumental end then it was acceptable. One typical response was, "It is good if a Ponapean wants to change his name so that it will be easier to say and others can understand it better."

Although most of these students felt 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 Kittis seniors (from the most rural municipality) were an example of this ethnic cliquishness at PICS. The reasons for having

non-Ponapean friends was rationalized and 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. This is going to be necessary if we unite Micronesia.

This group was divided on whether they would hire a Ponapean or 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 responded:

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 outgroup orientation concerned the groups' feelings toward aliens coming to Ponape. Here a very negative response is tempered by mention of the 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.

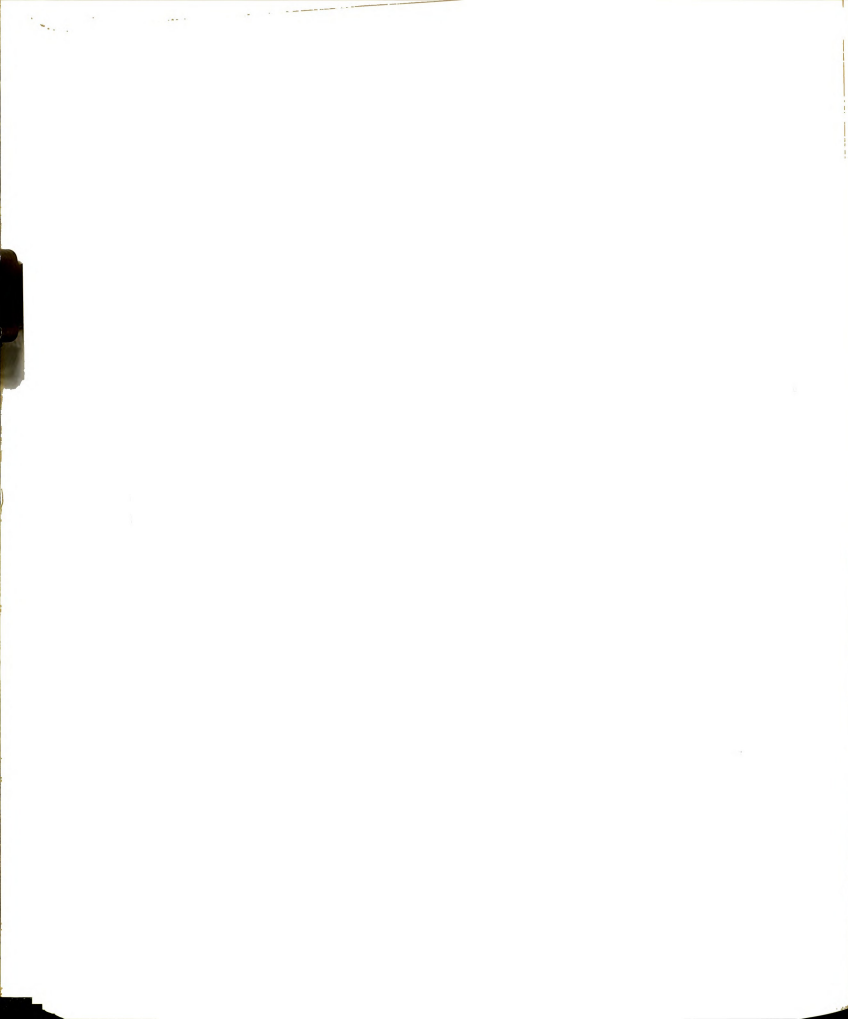
Seeing the advantages of reaching out, but unwilling to relinquish the traditional culture, many of these rural students suffer within themselves.

When it comes to ingroup feelings concerning the traditional culture, the "tiak en sohp" is still a definite referent point for many of the rural seniors. In fact, they are very much into the finer nuances of the culture and have well thought out reasons for its preservation. All the rural seniors stated that they would not sell their lands, but, while citing the family as the major reason, they also pointed to the importance of land in terms of survival. As one rural senior noted:

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 motor boat instead of food and when you die they will have to bury you in the ocean because you have no land.

Another responded:

I wouldn't trade my land on Ponape because I need it to grow food for my family and in America I wouldn't want land because you have to pay taxes on it.

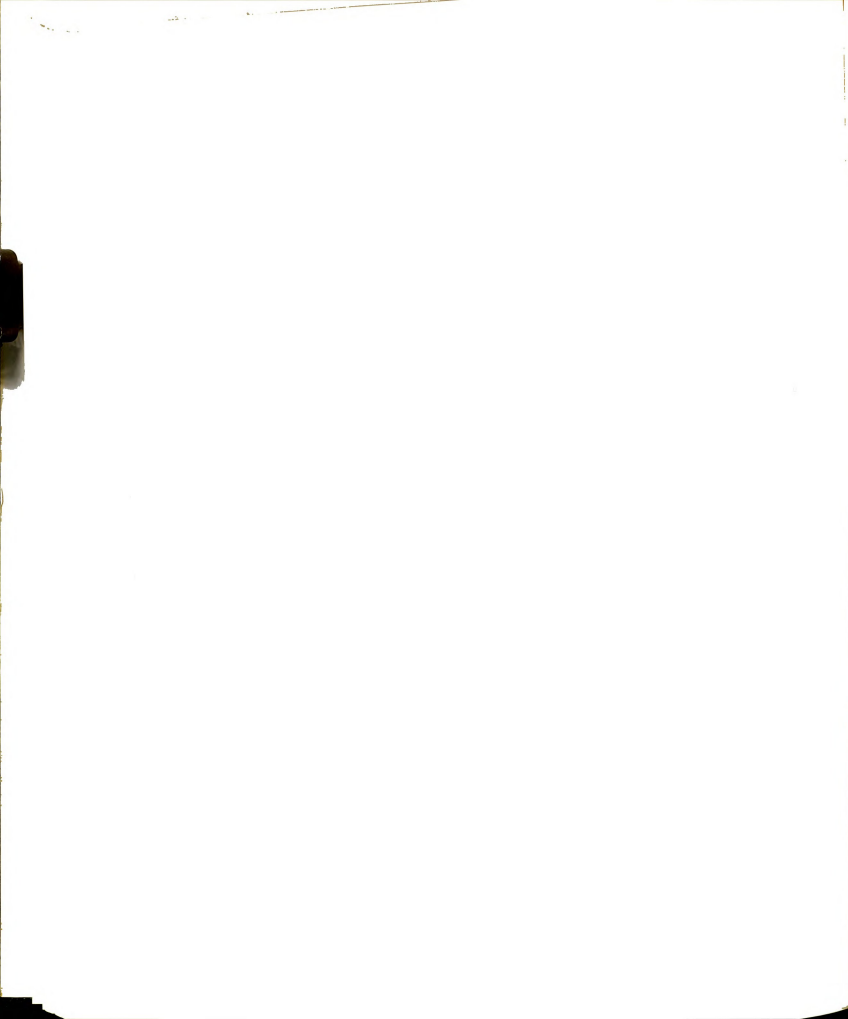


Although the group eats a lot of canned Western foods at the school cafeteria, their preference for traditional foods was well established in the interviews. It is a common practice for their parents to send them Ponapean food or to see that they return from home with a basket full of food. When discussing drinking habits, the majority of the students claimed that they liked beer and sakau equally and that what they drank depended on if they had money or where they were. As 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 rural seniors responded in a fashion parallel to the other groups. They stated that generally the use of medicine depended upon its availability and the type of illness. That they still firmly believe in magic and spiritual sickness (sounmwahu en eni) was exhibited in the following rural senior comments:

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.

When I'm in the outer municipalities I use Ponapean medicine because that is what is out there. When I'm in the District Center I go to the hospital.



On the subject of the importance of yams versus money, the rural seniors took the middle of the road, stressing the need for both depending on where they lived. When asked if they would buy yams in the market they responded in traditional fashion by acknowledging how un-Ponapean such behavior would be. The following assertion 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 your own. 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 in half on the issue of traditional feasts. Those who still preferred the feasts stressed the qualities of family reunion, the respect due elders, and preservation of the culture. Those who disliked the feasts pointed to the waste of time and food and the unequal distribution of the foodstuffs. The next two divergent responses capture 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 disoriented by the situation. They realized

that they were reaching for a new thing called equality, but knew they were losing something old and irreplaceable in the process.

In relation to the usage of English and the high language, the entire group advocated keeping the high language on which the traditional values of honor and respect are based. They also acknowledged the added value of being able to speak English in terms of acquiring jobs and communicating interculturally. One student comment particularly summarized the groups' 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 Nahnmwarki or participate in sakau with the other young men.

The need to be accepted in the traditional system and to somehow make 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, point to the flaws in this system and named the Nahnmwarki as a particular villain:

The Nahnmwarki 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 peoples' labours." Most valued the respect and honor in the title system in its traditional form, but could not restrain from criticizing the unequal distribution of foods by title. Again their current environment, the American high school, was teaching them something quite different from their traditional belief system. In this case the change in attitude was provoked by a change in behavior which was difficult to reconcile with their strong emotional attachment to their homes. One student pointed to the status value of titles:

Maybe we should keep the title system because it is a kind of decoration to our culture. If you have a title you are a man and at least someone recognizes you in the community.

The majority of the rural seniors liked 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 where they lived. In the outer

areas they would like the high title, but in Kolonia they preferred the government job.

As in the previous groups, school was a highly regarded institution. The rural seniors separated school learning from home learning and they seemed quite concerned about the important cultural things they should learn at home. One student related the following:

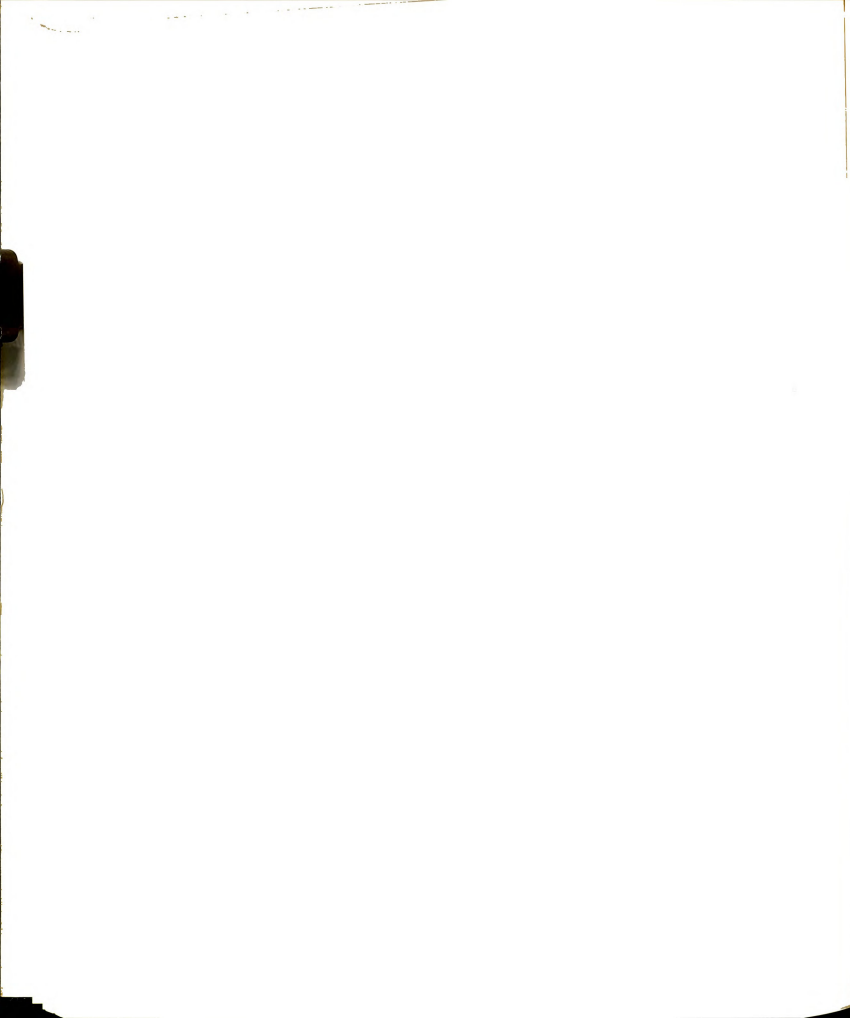
At home they taught me many things not taught at school, like how to behave before high titles and never to steal. At home I was allowed to touch and use everything I saw but if I did this once I came to school people would say I was stealing.

Another rural senior commented:

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

One student's comment in particular demonstrated the ambiguity and concern that arises from comparing the home learning experience to the school learning experience:

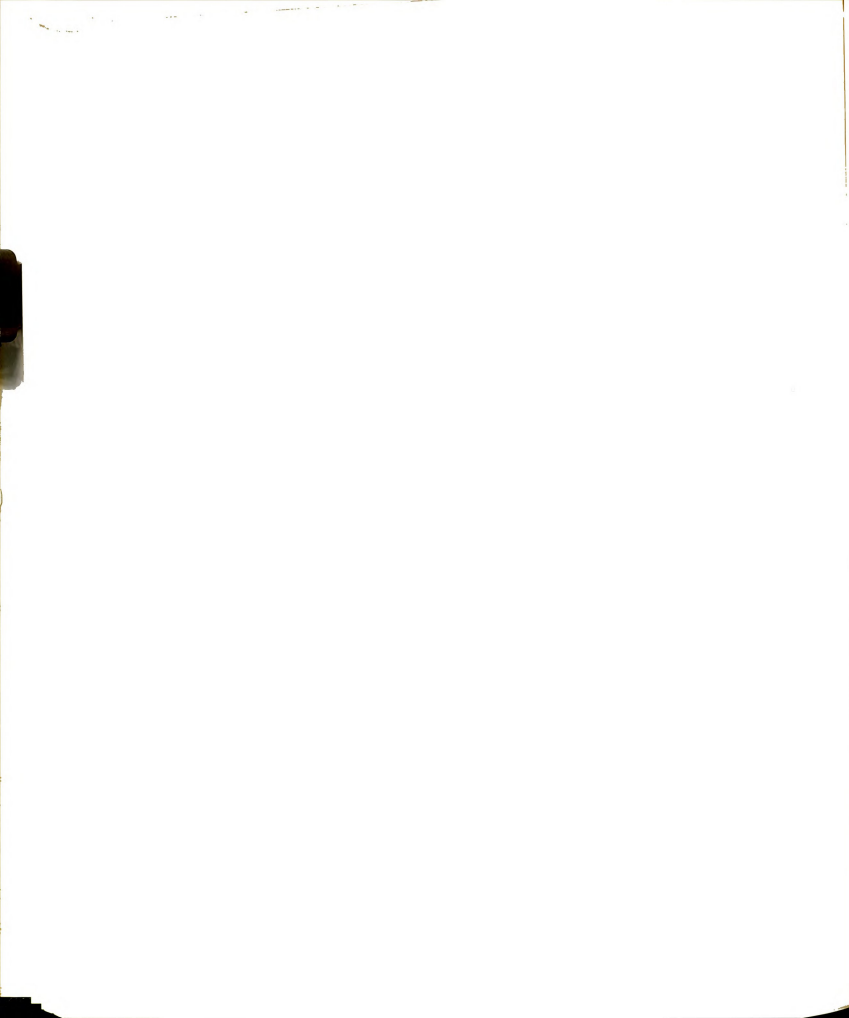
If I didn't come to school I wouldn't have learned the new things and met many people from other areas of the island. These are the good things about school. But there are also some bad things. Now I don't like to work the land because it had been so long since I worked. I dress and act differently from 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 and 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 pinched between two cultures. They daily see and live with the worth of a new culture at PICS and in Kolonia yet quixotically 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 had 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 work experiences of the urban terminees, they had the additional skill of high literacy level which they used more often. They were also much more mobile, some even having travelled off the island to other parts of Micronesia.

Like the rural terminees they could freely elaborate on what it meant to be a "real" Ponapean, listing pigs, sakau, a wife and children as necessary. When asked how they felt about keeping Ponapean customs or about adopting new American customs, the majority indicated that although they thought certain American customs were good, that it was necessary to keep some Ponapean customs. The following comments best illustrate this 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.

It is important to maintain customs because it is necessary for our way of life. It is something very hard to explain but other customs would change our way of life.

Deep down this group still views themselves as Ponapeans, but Ponapeans who are moving in new ways, as the following two rural seniors stated:

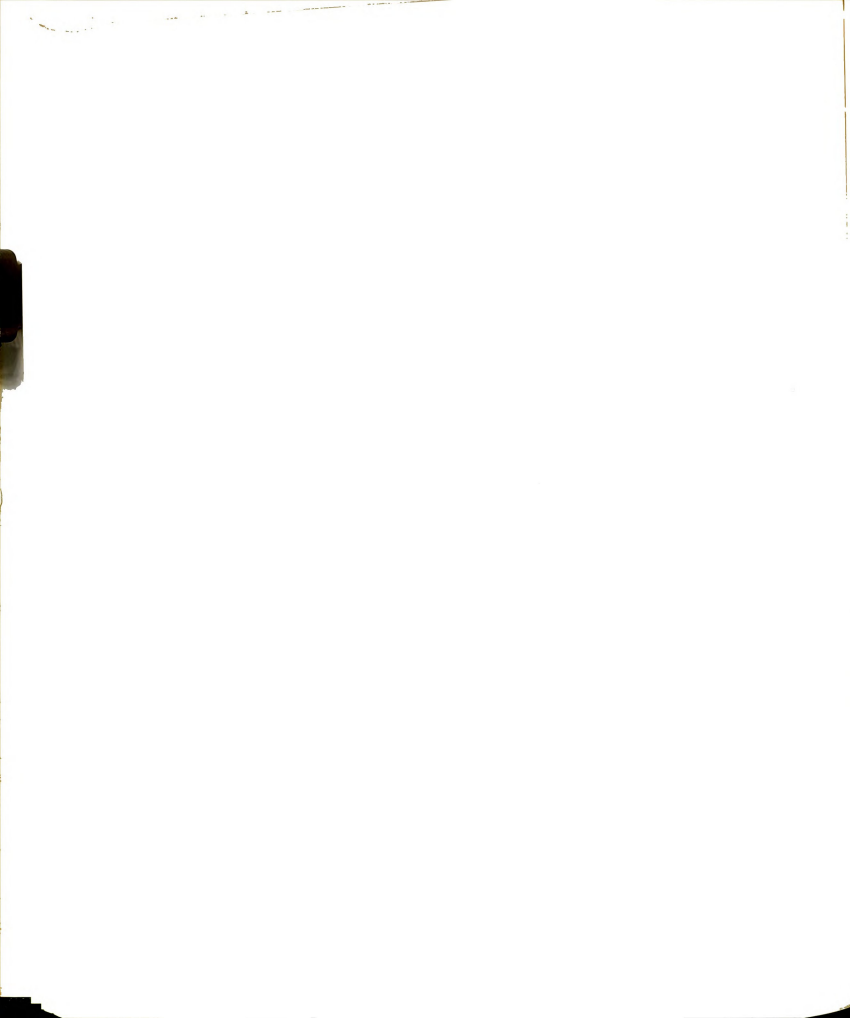
I am Ponapean, but not in the traditional way because I went away from the village and went to school.

Maybe I am a little more than in the middle of Ponapean characteristics.

Trajected into the alien culture, living at PICS and surrounded by the urban environs of Kolonia, the rural seniors still maintain a strong inclination toward the traditional Ponapean realm. They are probably the most personally alienated of our four groups under study, a matter which will be discussed in the concluding section of this chapter. Now, we turn to our last group, the Urban Seniors.

The Urban Seniors: There is No Going Back 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

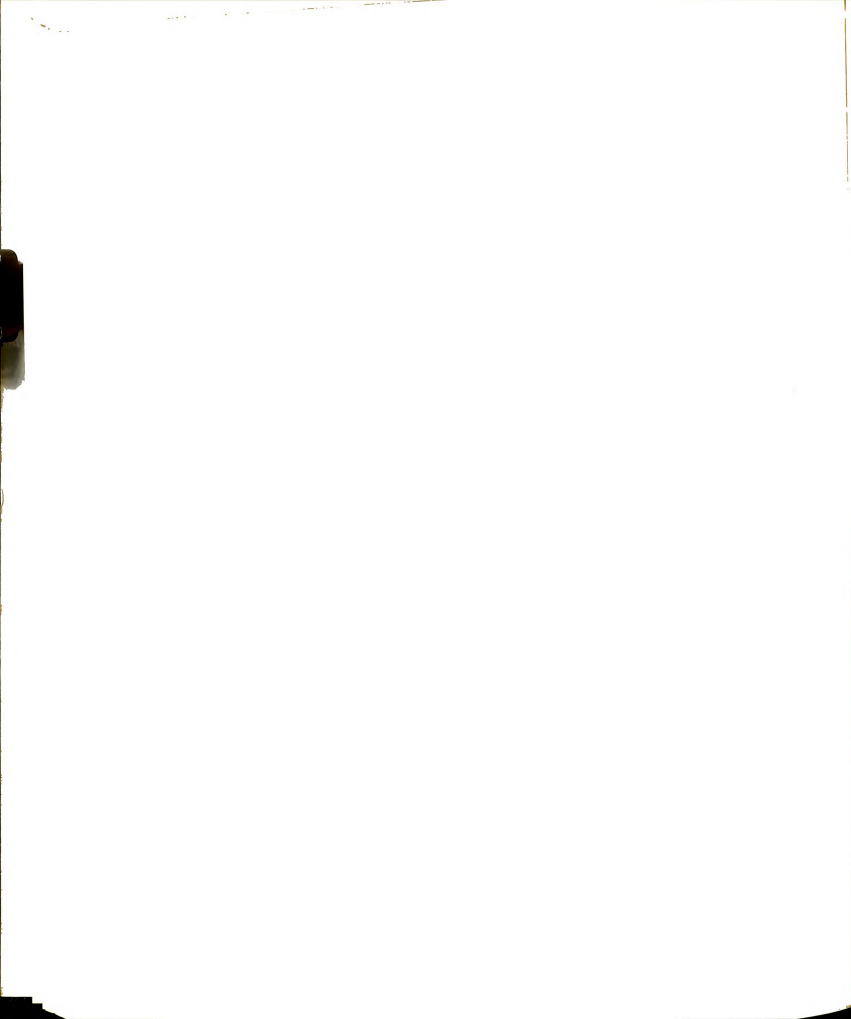


aspirational and referent point. Virtually the entire group agreed that marrying out of the Ponapean ethnic group was a favorable act and that they themselves would gladly do so if the opportunity arose. When it came to changing their names to American names most of them also viewed this as a favorable idea. It seemed as though marrying out and changing one's name were two ways of gaining status and identifying oneself with outgroup peoples, the Americans in particular.

The entire group had non-Ponapean acquaintances and considered themselves quite cosmopolitan individuals. 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 favored hiring qualified persons over Ponapeans who were less qualified, and that they would take the higher paying job over the possibility of working with Ponapeans at less pay. In fact they were quite 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.

Concerning outsiders, the group was very positive and felt that it was good for outsiders (Americans in particular) to come and stay on Ponape.



The real indication that this group had left the traditional culture far behind is demonstrated in their responses toward the traditional culture.

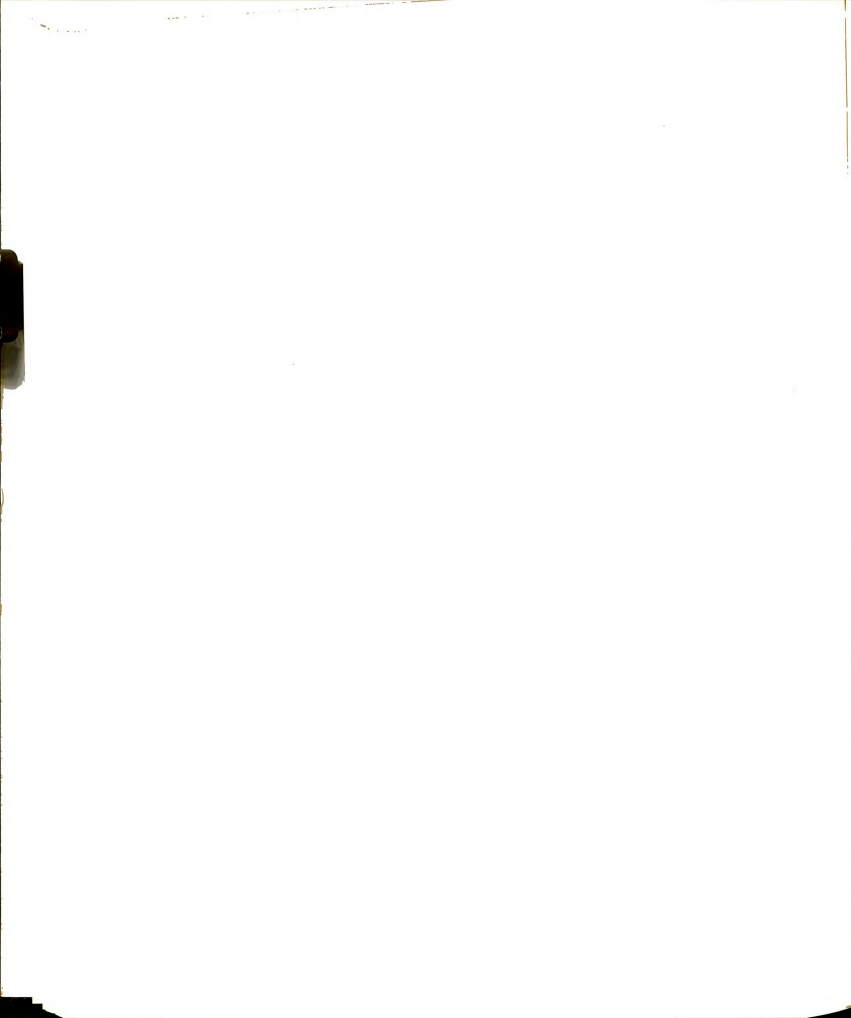
With all the new attitudes that this group expressed, they still felt that land was a sacred thing and not to be freely given up, sold or traded. Beyond this point of agreement with the traditional norms there began great verbal disparity and denigration of the traditional culture. First, they openly 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 preferences 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 note:

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.

Sometimes Ponapean medicine is especially good for cuts and curses, but I usually go to the hospital because my uncle is a dentist and he makes me. If that doesn't work then I go to Ponapean medicine.

Half of the urban seniors felt that it was still important to have both yams and money, while the remaining half 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 in Kolonia because I can buy both local foods and imported foods.

I prefer money because I can buy food, pants, shoes etc. I really don't like to eat yams that much.

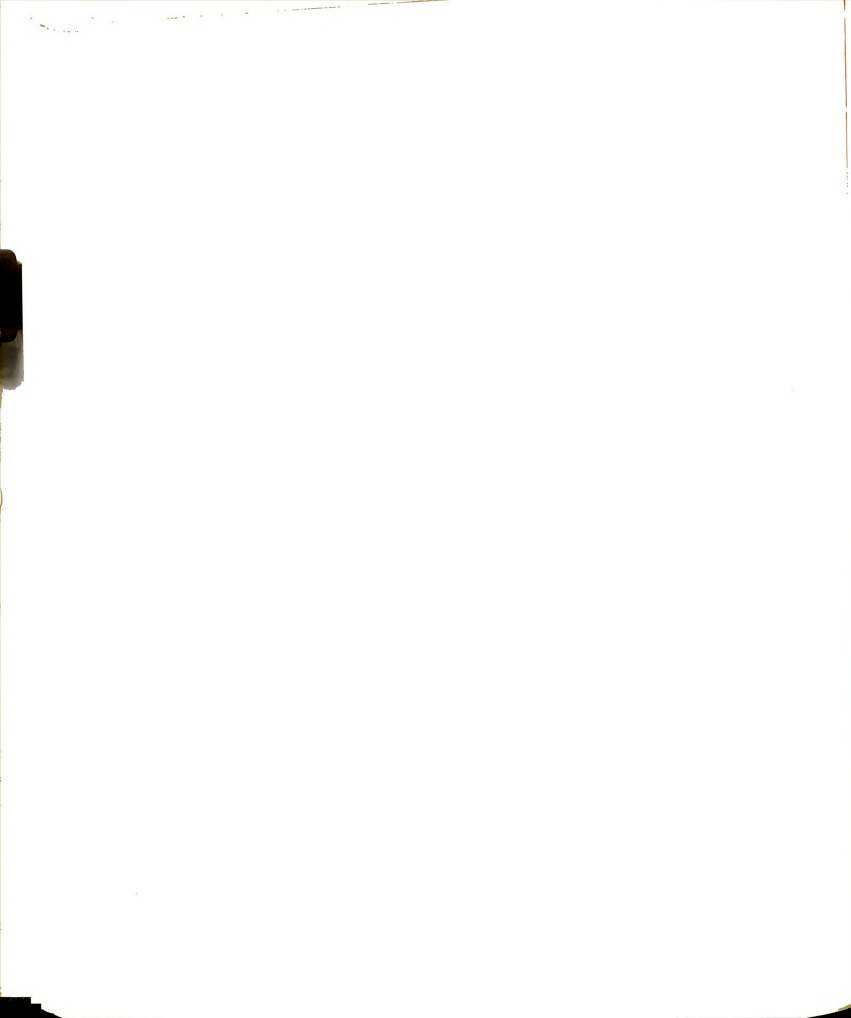
When asked if they would be ashamed to buy yams in the public market, the majority of the group said no, indicating that if one had no land or no time to grow yams yet wanted to eat them, they would have to buy them.

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

I never go to the feasts because I don't like just watching these 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 the above criticisms of the traditional feast one sees analysis based on the Western norms of time, equality, and conservation of goods and money. It is also evident that the students' families, most of whom are government employees, have a low level of participation in such traditional events and set a model for their young. It should be further noted that many of these students come from families with low titles that are truly peripheral to the native polity. Often 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 Nahnmwarkis.

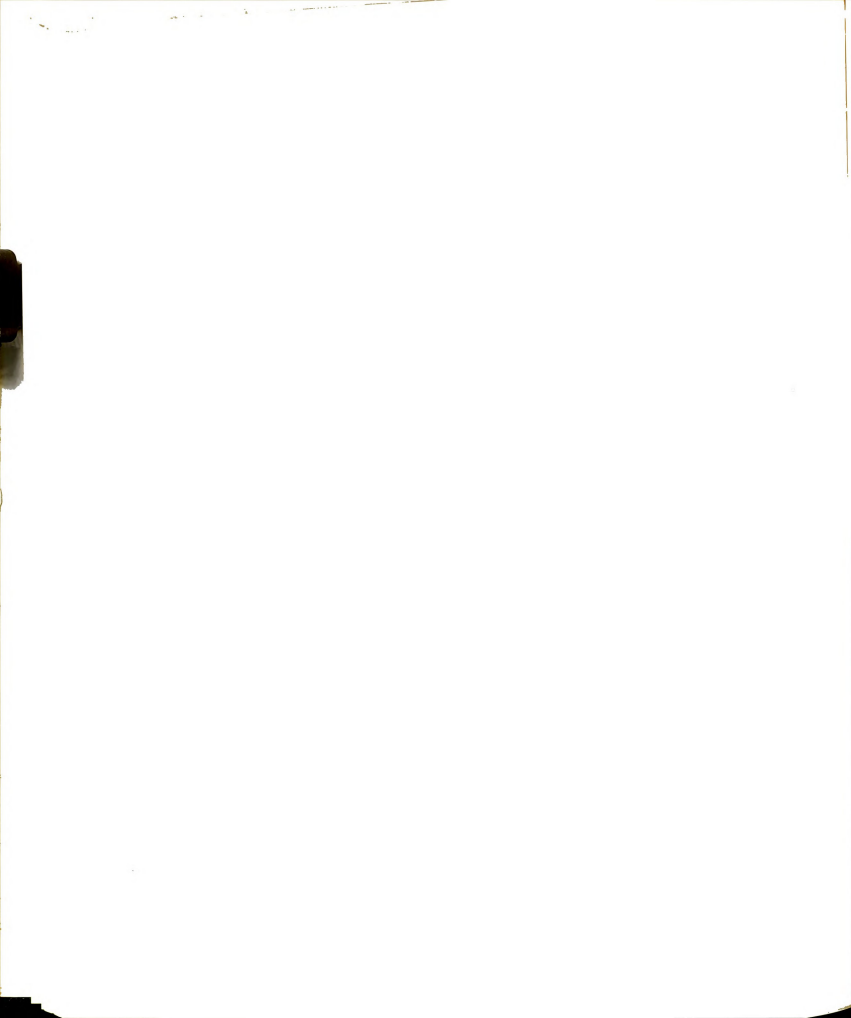
When questioned as to how they felt about speaking the traditional high language and English, most described the high language as being rather useless while stressing the necessity of learning English for broader communication. As one student commented:

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 viability of the high language the following student responses speak 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.

The high language is not important because it is only used at the feasts and no where else.



As is apparent, the urban seniors are more than ready to criticize the traditional culture in alien terms that they personally use as a new normative framework.

Their reaction to the institutions of school and government are even more demonstrative of this orientation. Like the urban terminées, the urban seniors rarely mention what they have learned at home. All learning seems to be geared to the schools. As one urban senior stated:

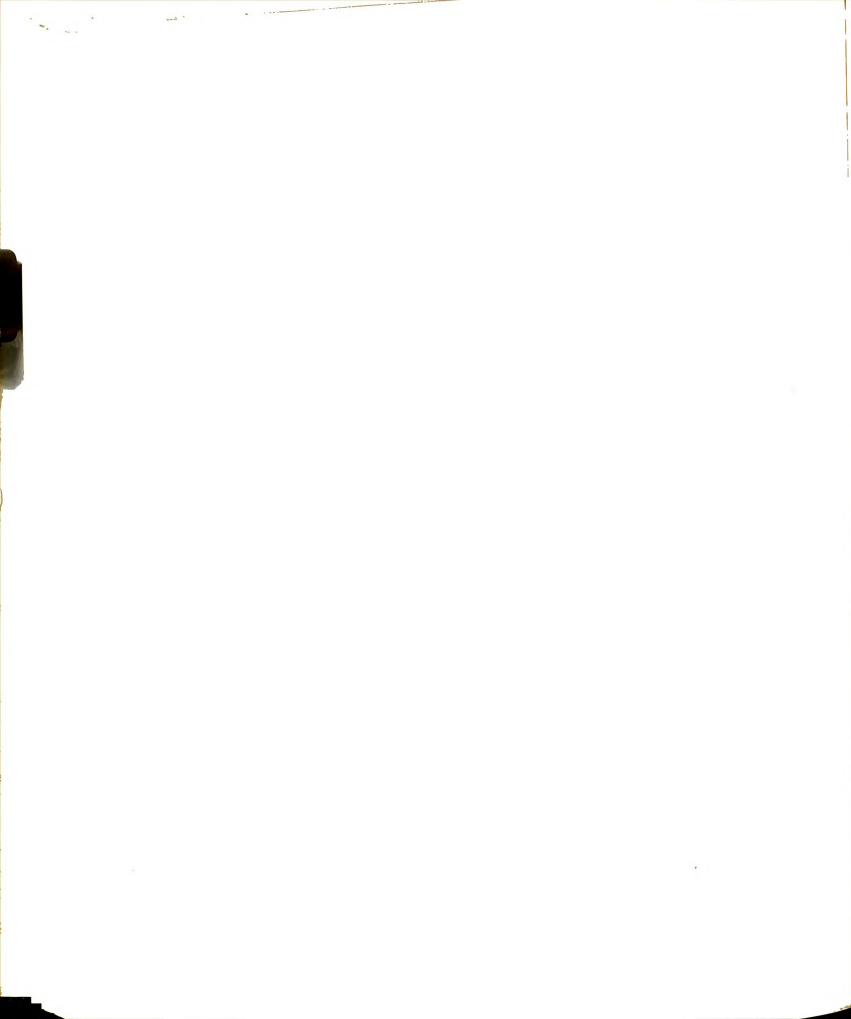
When I first went to school I didn't like it, but now it has become a habit. When I started learning I wanted to learn more and more, and I now feel like learning many new things.

Another urban senior added:

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 manners. School doesn't teach bad things.

Note how this group continually referred to money, material entities, and the process of consumerism. School for them can do no wrong, it can only aid the realization of out-group aspirations.

Although some affirmed the benefits of the Nahnmwarki system of government in terms of the maintenance of 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. As one student noted:



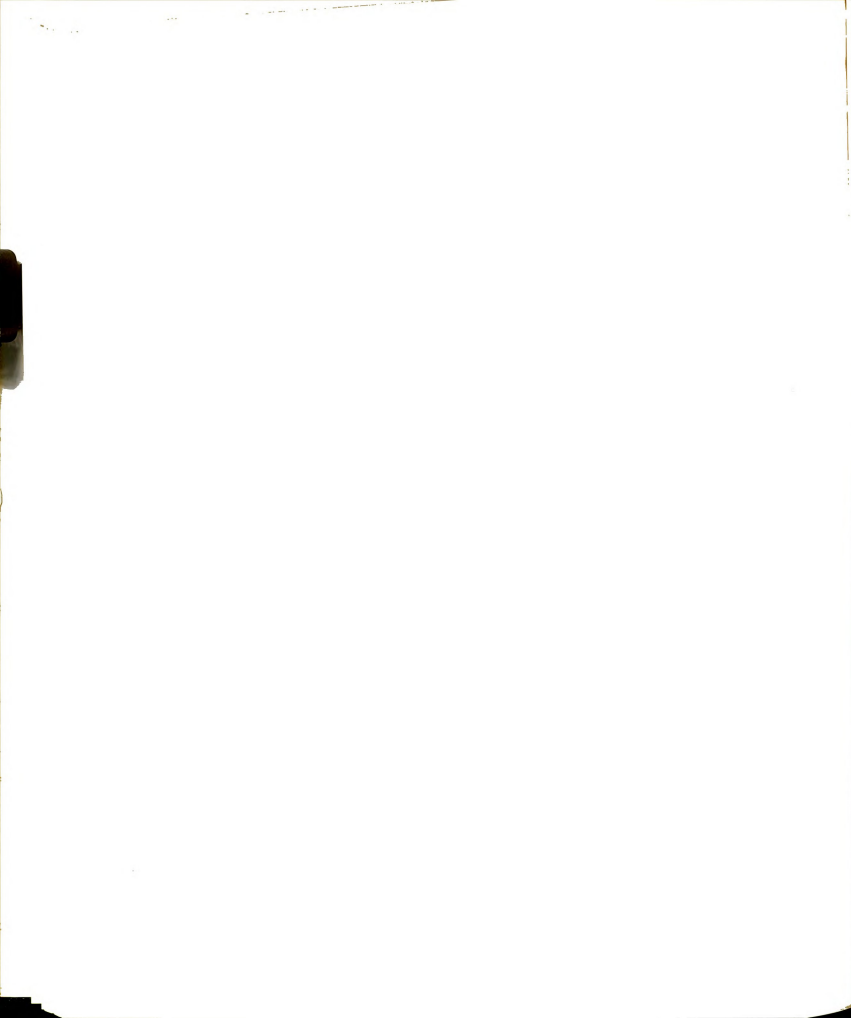
I don't like the Nahnmwarki's rule because he abuses the title system and exploits the people. Many people bring him food and return from the feast with nothing. The older people follow the Nahnmwarki, but not the young. Perhaps the young like the American style of things too much.

Another urban senior stated in a similar vain:

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 injustices of the system. The American system of government is good because it is fair to both young and old.

The urban seniors clearly have the highest level of interpersonal and institutional contact with alien norms of any group under observation, and are the most articulate and critical about their likes and dislikes. Many of them have held salaried jobs, some have traveled outside Ponape Island, and all have had tremendous exposure to mass media in literature, radio and motion pictures. Their parents generally are in government employment and are educated themselves. When asked to describe what a real Ponapean is like, it was interesting to note the negativity of their responses. As 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 the



Nahnmwarkis' rule among other things should be totally discarded in deference to American ways of doing things.

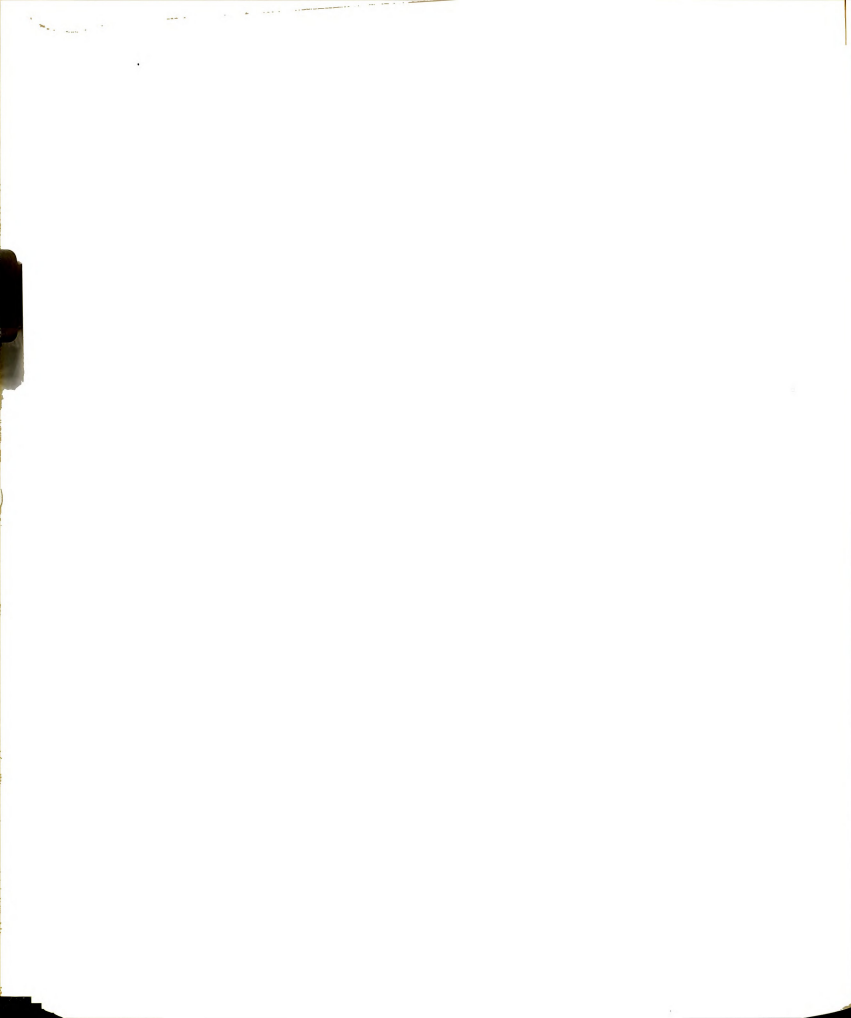
As one urban senior said:

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. I like the American system of housing, education, trading and the styles of dress.

Another student accurately conveyed the movement and identification patterns of the group in the following observation:

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 other reasons). We should get rid of the feasts because they are bad, costly and wasteful. I think all American customs are good to have.

When asked how they perceived their deeper 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 seemed to have limited contact with the traditional culture and typically used critical terminology when discussing it. While they aspired to American culture they really couldn't fully comprehend it beyond its material manifestations. That a new concept of time, concern over conservation of goods, equality, freedom, and consumerism were all subtly within their new identificative framework was demonstrated throughout their interviews.

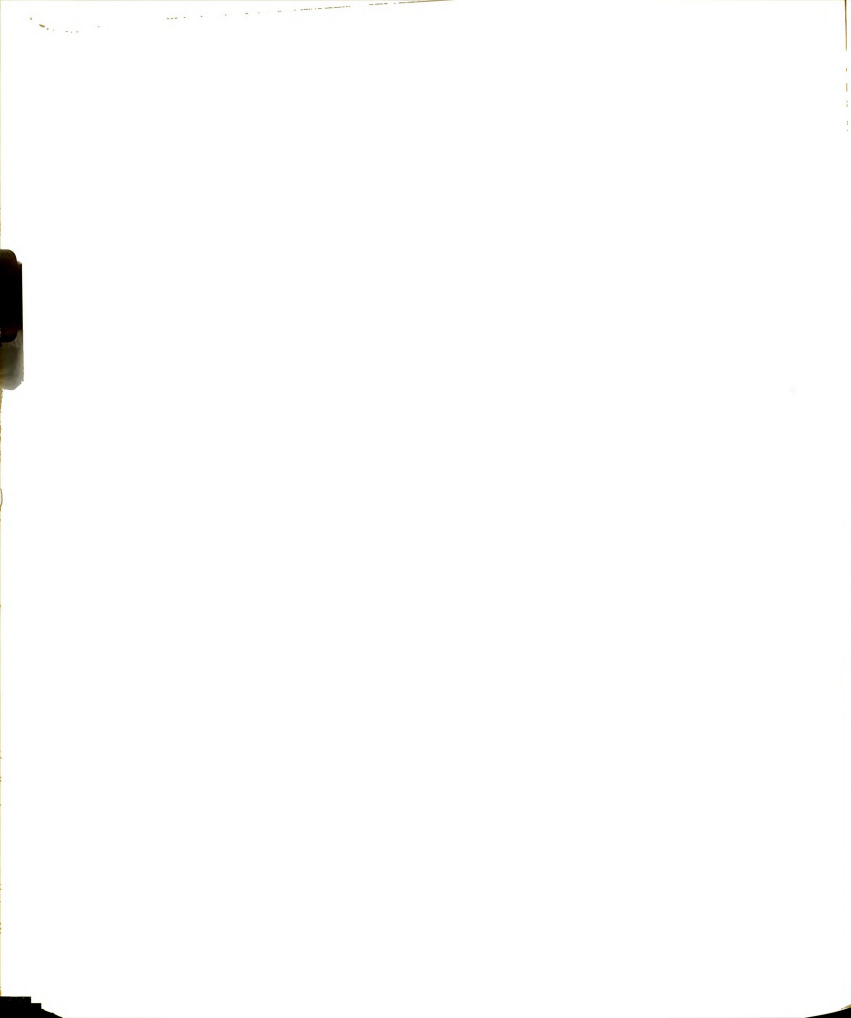


Having tried to let each group speak for themselves on a number of cross-cultural issues, let us now proceed to survey the groups in a more general comparative analysis of our findings.

Schooling, Urbanization, and Youth
Marginality

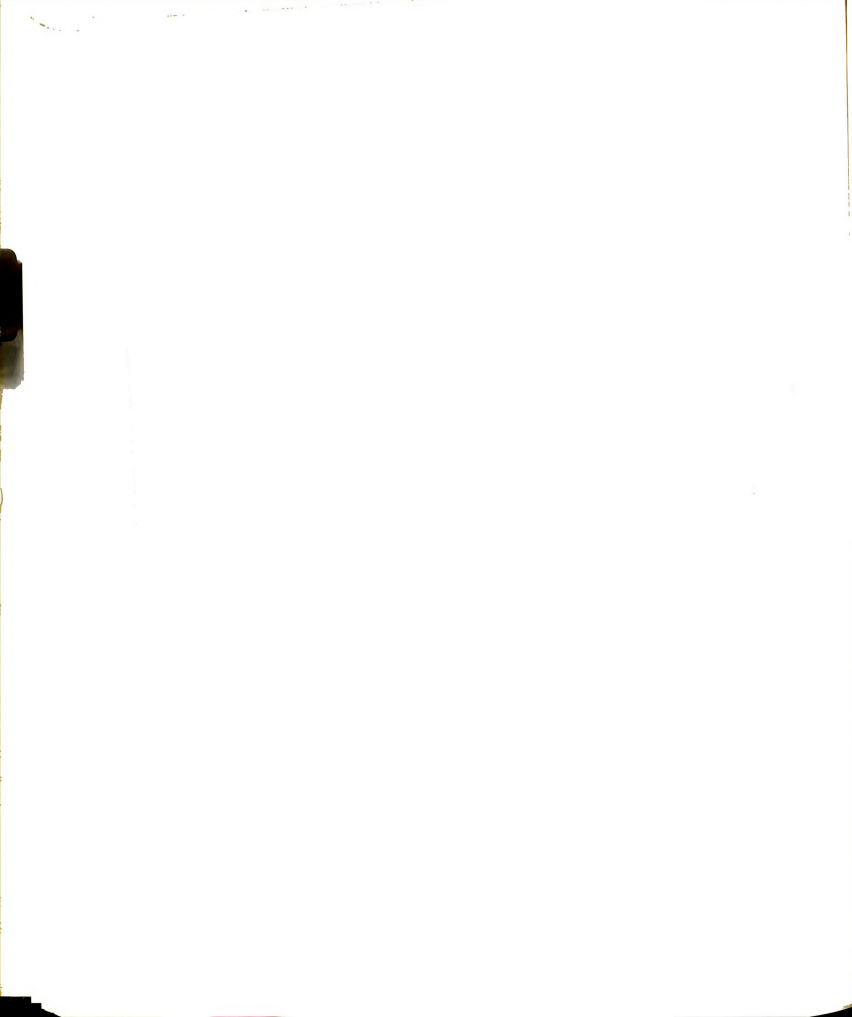
Where alien people have been dominant as administrators, school teachers, and other agents of authority, and where the traditional economy has been undermined or replaced, such acculturation has taken place as a result of the interaction, in particular social situations, of individuals who carry the two cultures, with consequent alterations in their definitions of these 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).

There are at least four distinct socio-cultural patterns of change corresponding to the four groups under observation. Let us begin with the rural terminees. The rural eighth grade terminees can be readily classified as "conformist" to the traditional Ponapean normative system. Their physical isolation from the intensive influences of the urban center, the non-functionality of the rural elementary schools, and the over-powering influence of their families, peers and residential groups all serve to reinforce a physical and mental location in the traditional culture and an orientation toward a traditional life style. In referent terms, their membership group is in fact the traditional culture and their identification group is



likewise the traditional Ponapean culture. They are relatively unaffected by schooling and urbanization, and seem happy 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 they typically turn, as their fathers before them, to the land.

The urban terminees are transitional youth. They are physically separated from the traditional Ponapean culture and have their referent values and aspirations mainly in the American culture, but are unknowledgeable and uncertain about both systems. They openly project favorable attitudes toward the traditional culture onto rural peoples, while they themselves have insecure feelings of rejection from the American culture. In a sense they are without a membership group although they clearly identify and aspire to the norms of the dominant American culture of the urban center. Since the educational differences of the rural and urban terminees in terms of formal schooling are not significantly large, one would have to assume that the urban impact made the meaningful difference in identification group for the urban terminees. The fact that the urban terminees were on the same identificative plane as the urban seniors (in terms of American



values), but feel less outgroup acceptance may indicate that although schooling seemed insignificant at the elementary level, it made a definite difference at the higher grades in terms of outgroup acceptance and personal feelings of legitimacy and success in the dominant alien system (Doob, 1957).

The rural seniors are probably the most marginal of the four groups in that they are typically boarding students in the "total" alien institution of PICS, yet reared in rural areas they show strong identification with traditional Ponapean norms. They are members of the alien monocultural (American) high school yet lean toward traditional ways. In behavior they are outgroup oriented, while in attitude they are ingroup bent. To maintain this tense balance they do not change themselves to become Americans, but instead they learn to segregate roles and adjust to the American culture. They fall back on the pragmatic "situational ethic" fundamental to the traditional Ponapean cultural character in an endeavor to remain in harmony and to adapt to their environment. Bruner (1956) 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 he becomes a threat to and loses legitimacy in his original group. As the individual moves away from the

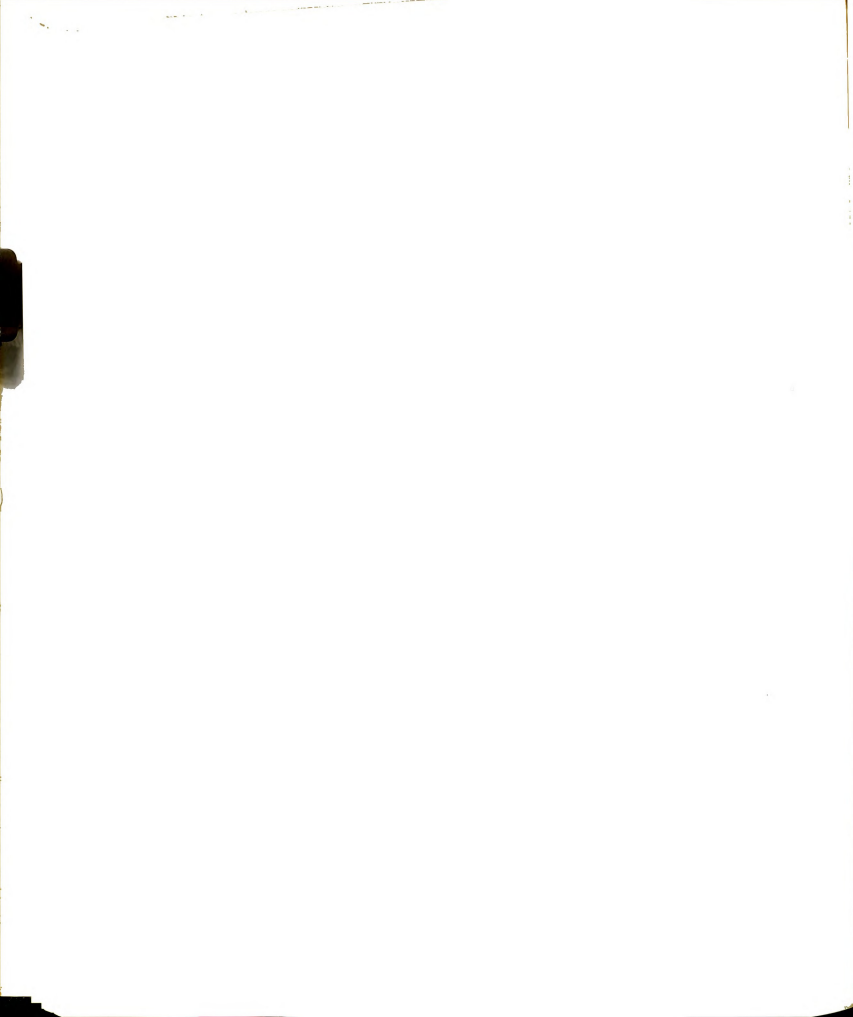
original identification group to live in another membership group (PICS) he becomes increasingly alienated from the identification group (Ponapean culture). Thus the plight of the rural senior is that he is marginal to both his native culture and to the alien culture, but views the problem as being within himself. Often people in this situation will be at the forefront of revitalization movements. On this count 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 wary of rejection by the traditional identitive culture. Thus maintenance of social distance from the alien culture, and projection of alien ideas onto urban Ponapeans becomes the order of the day.

Our final group, the urban seniors not only find themselves fully identifying with the dominant alien culture, but also view themselves as members of the alien society through the combination of attendance at PICS and having been in an urban life space from birth. They are relatively dissatisfied with the traditional Ponapean culture and perceive 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 communication with

traditional norms. Most of this group already have a foothold in the alien culture with parental role models as government employees. At the same time they have relatively low status in the traditional culture as a result of the general cultural non-participation of their parents.

There is a distinction between this group, which embraces the norms of the dominant culture and makes it an identification group, and the urban terminees who show similar commitment to the alien group but remain alienated from it. This difference seems to rest on the urban senior's ability to gain acceptance into the alien system as abetted through participation in the formal school. Thus, urbanization in itself, although conceivably being a necessary element, is not sufficient for a complete change in cultural systemic character. Instead, it would seem that the honorific effect of gaining status through participation in formal schooling at higher levels must accompany the influence of the urban environment for one to fully realize a change in characterology. In the case of the urban senior in comparison to the rural senior it would seem that whereas the latter views adjustment in terms of change in self (role segregation), the former advocates systemic or cultural transformation.

The following chart graphically illustrates the differential patterns of the four samples:



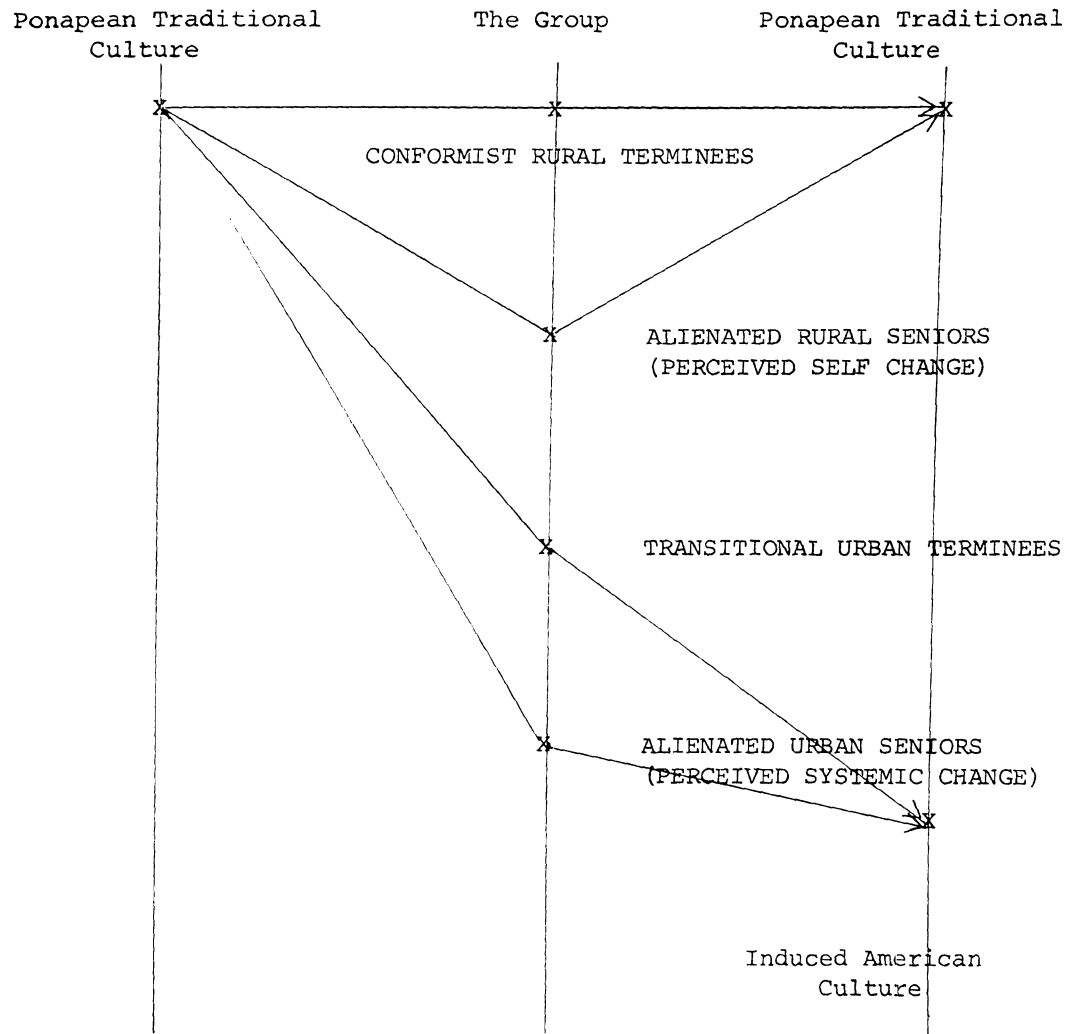
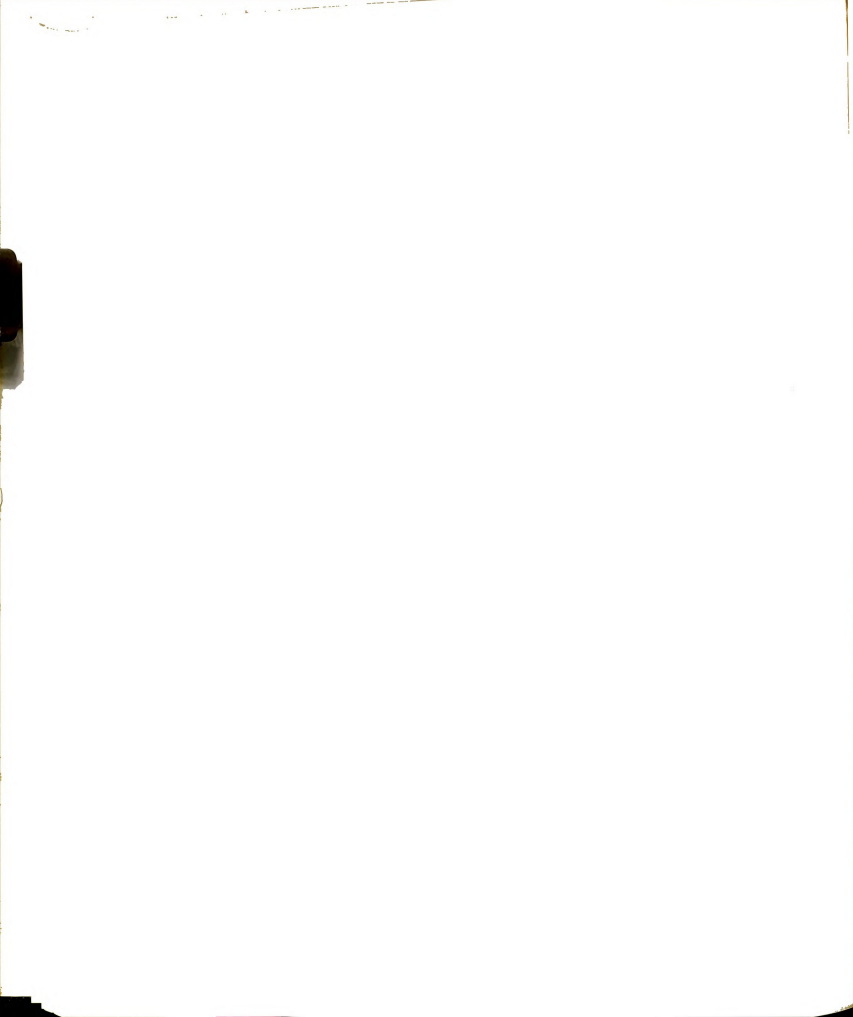


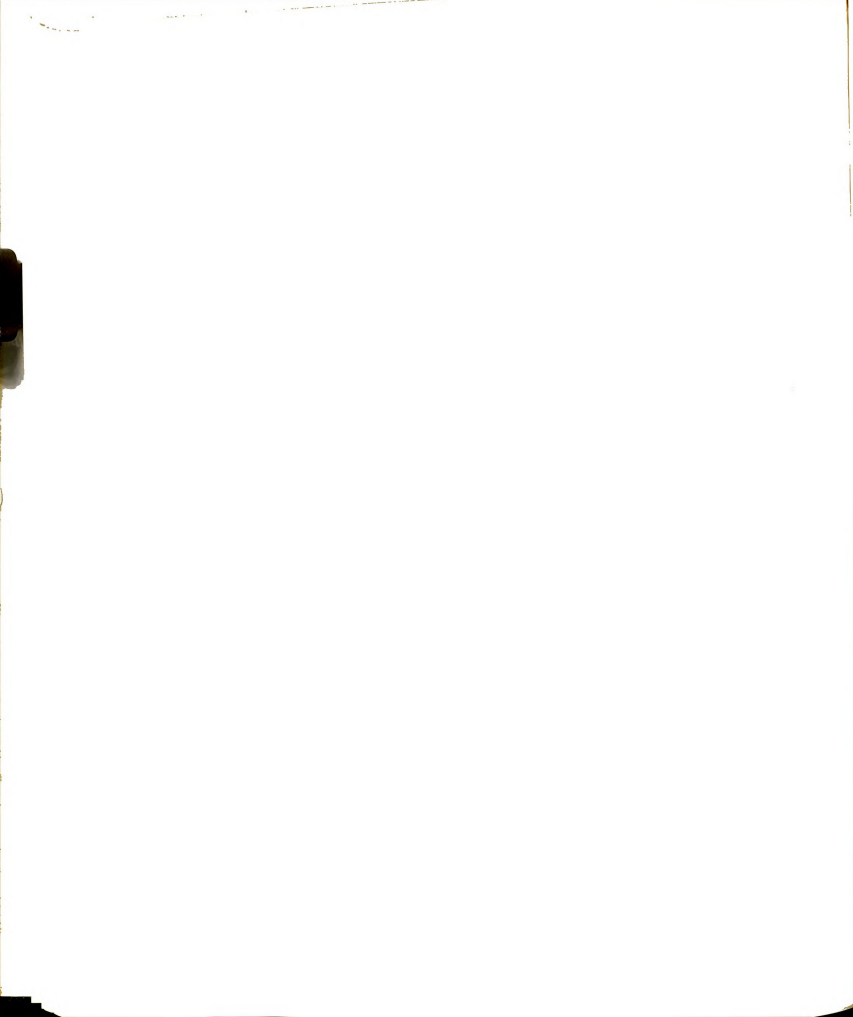
Figure 3.--Evolving patterns of youth marginality and cultural character transformation on Ponape.

As Goodenough (1961) 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 picking up new symbols and new



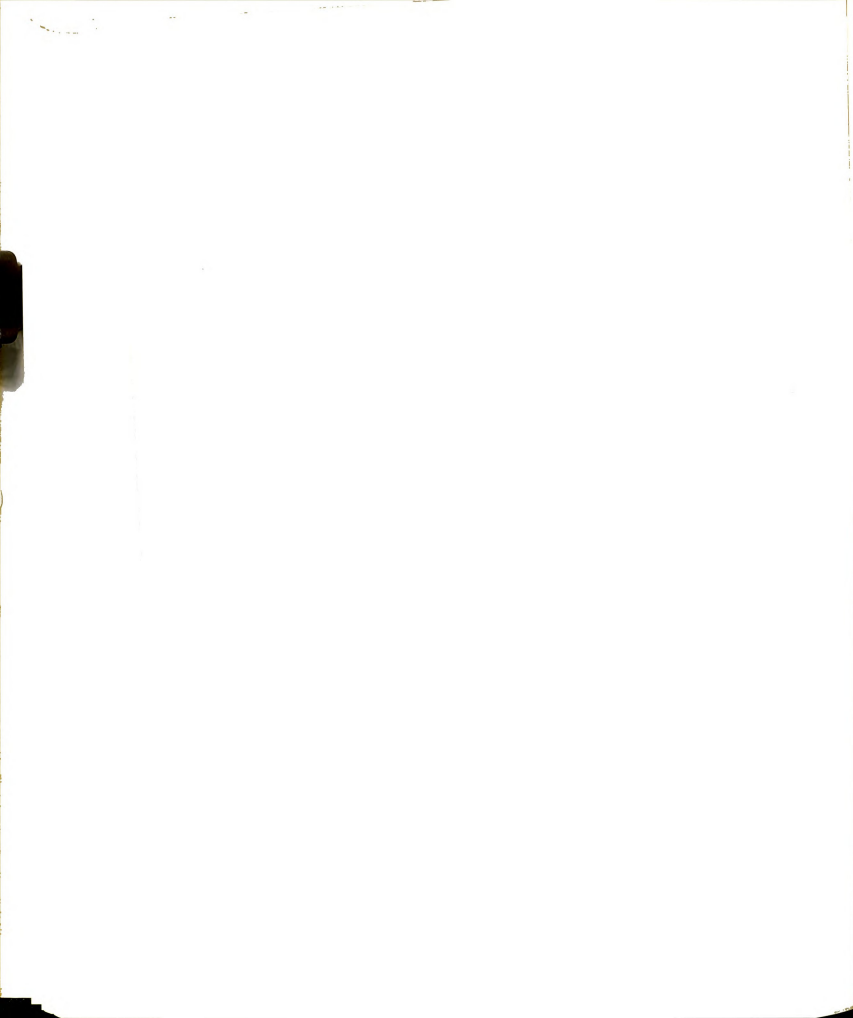
meanings at rates proportional to their level of formal schooling and exposure to the alien urban environment of Kolonia. The new symbols and meanings ultimately portend the forming of a new cultural character (identity). It would seem that personal commitment to the system, acceptance by the system, the adaption to the systemic cognitive style, and some incidence of success in the system will determine their degree of marginality to, or integration in the 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 fully 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 alienated from the American system. The urban terminees, having minimal exposure to formal schooling and near total time in the urban system; express commitment to the alien American system but lack the comprehension, acceptance and experience of any success in that system. They are at best marginal people in transition between systems. The rural seniors have 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 seeing certain benefits in the novel American system.



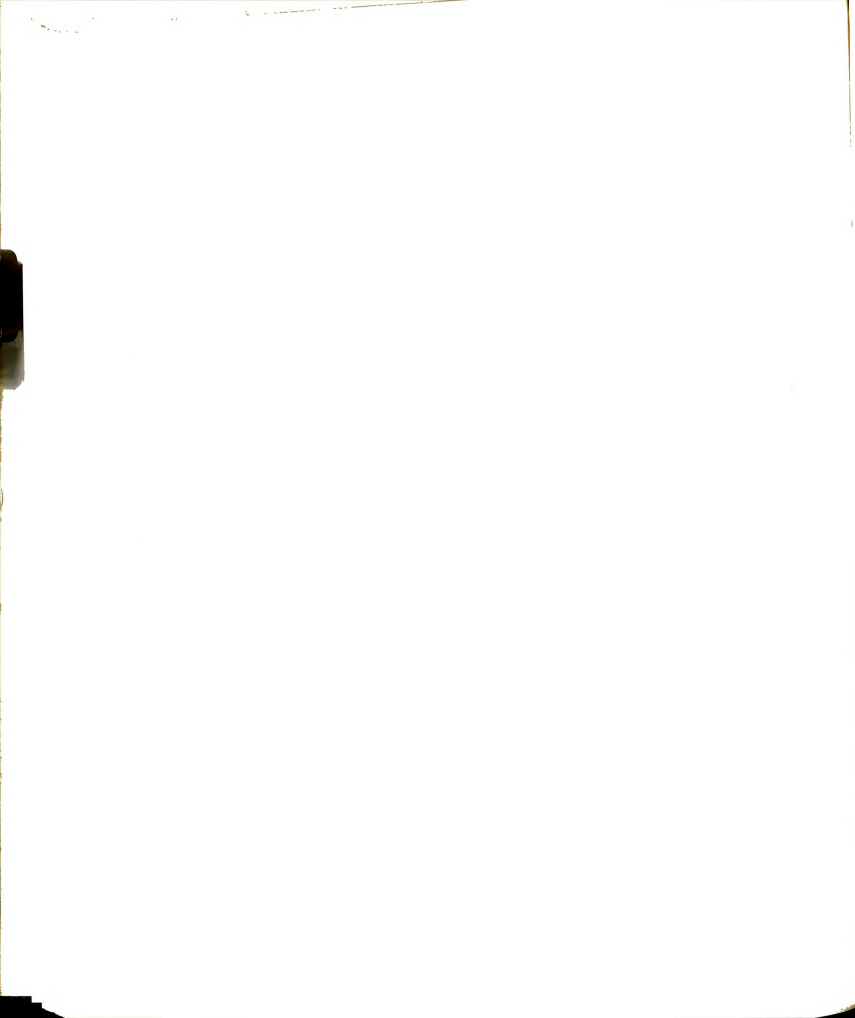
Through schooling and isolation from family they are losing acceptance in the traditional group and are gaining acceptance in the new system. They fully comprehend the traditional culture, but lack the ability to critically weigh alternatives and understand the intricate meanings of the new symbolic system. They endeavor to accommodate the conflict through the application of role segregation, but as boarding students the effects of the "total" institutional nature of the high school makes it increasingly difficult to balance the old symbols with the new. The result for the rural senior is a growing marginality and alienation of one caught between traditional and alien systems. It would seem that two factors (1) time in the system, and (2) comprehension of the system (adaptability of systemic mental style as well as behavior) would determine their ability to be bi-cultural or bi-systemic. Finally, the urban seniors, who have had maximum exposure to both formal schooling and urban life, who fully identify with the American system, have high acceptance and success in the alien system and have a high level of mental comprehension of that system (while experiencing the reverse in the traditional system), are part of the American system yet totally alienated from the traditional Ponapean system.

There are at least three types of marginality implicit among the response patterns of the four research samples. First, and perhaps most acute is the case of the



rural seniors, that is, continuing identification with a group in which they are gradually losing acceptance while behaviorally participating in the alien membership group of high school and the District Center. Second, is the plight of the urban terminees, that is, marginality resulting from the lack of either a solid membership or identification group acceptance. Finally, the urban seniors, who have negative valuation of the group in which they are ethnically a member, while identifying, acting, and striving for total membership in an alien group.

Whether serious consideration has been given to the task of forging a new cultural character, or whether marginality and alienation themselves are becoming new normative character traits among the Ponapean youth is a matter we will address in the concluding chapter.



CHAPTER IX

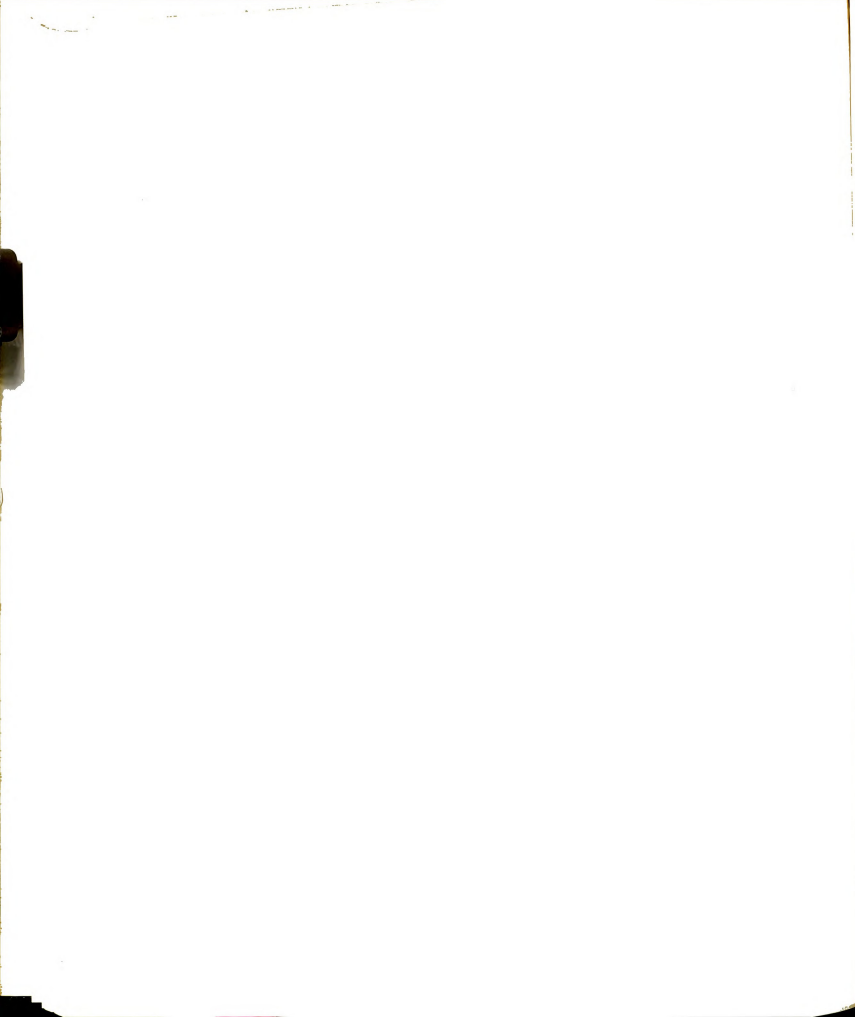
EDUCATION AND CULTURAL AWARENESS:

TOWARD A NEW PONAPEAN MAN

The Americanization of Ponape

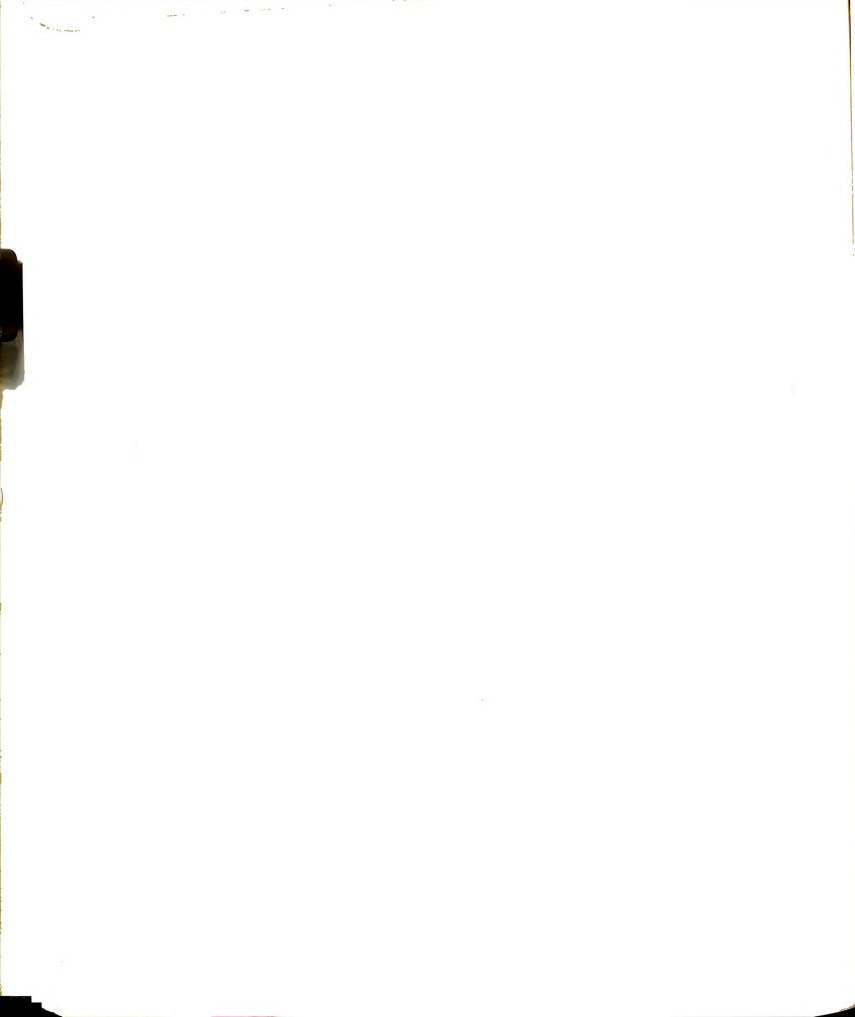
In my dream, I was stunned by the gradual manner in which so many great changes took place. Over the years we had taken small, easy steps up the ladder of progress. We had associated ourselves with the United States because we were eager for the material gains we would get at hardly any cost to us. And 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 (Micronesian Congressman, Charles Dominick, August, 1970).

American education has been more than an attempt at increasing literacy and vocational skills among the Ponapeans. It has also contributed to humanistic expectations of a better life and a higher standard of living and abstract ideas 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 transferred and applied in an Micronesian setting. It uses strictly an American perspective on reality, "the good life," and the means to accomplish it. For the Ponapean, American education is the panacea, the solemn



answer to all problems, and they now seek it religiously. Its irrelevance to Ponapean life, customs, beliefs and manners, and its lack of ability to adapt to Ponapean social structure, styles of learning, and reward systems has planted a seed of dissociation which has yet to be reconciled. The American dream is becoming a rampant nightmare for the Ponapeans.

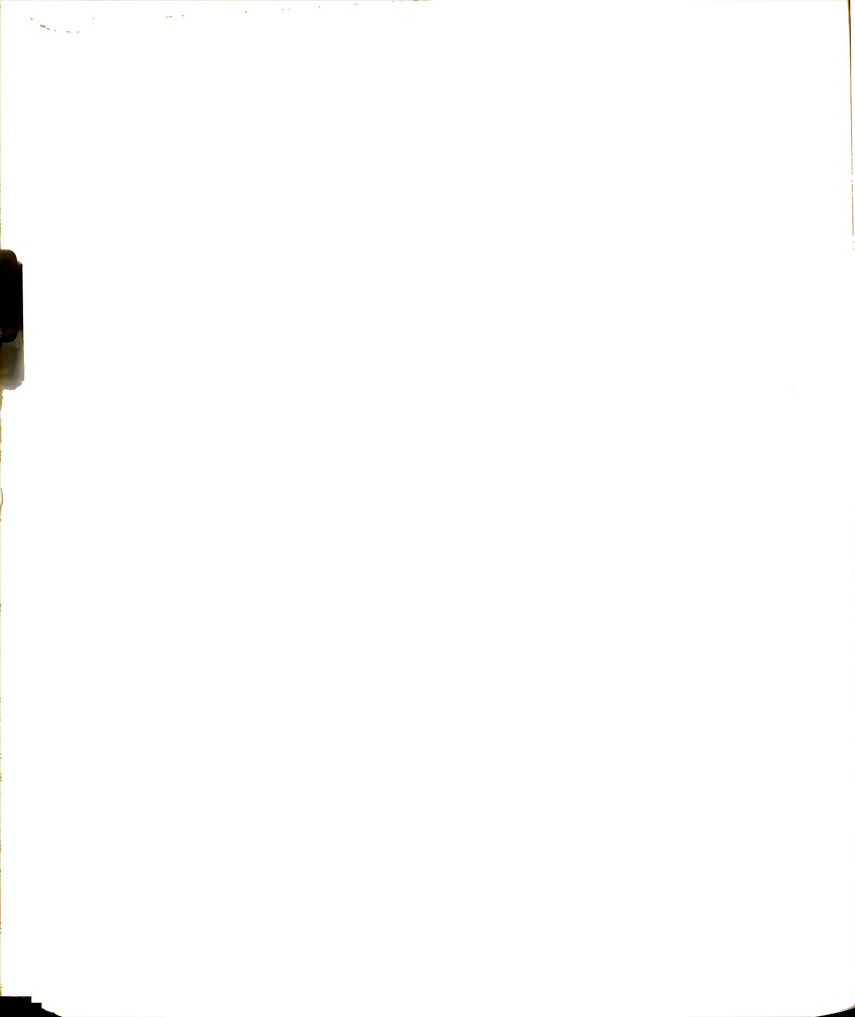
The nature of the present formal education system on Ponape fosters a dissociative process characteristic of rapid acculturation and the introduction of new disparities (Burke and Diamond, 1966). The transplanted boarding school concept of both the missions and the American government has resulted in 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. This abets nationalism at the expense of cultural alienation and discontinuity of traditional patterns. Boarding schools located in the urban area have led to students remaining in this area in search of employment and the "good life" as defined through the education progress. This rural-urban flow not only leads to the isolated neglect of rural areas in the process of development, but also burdens the urban areas with unemployed youth whose rising expectations, as a result of formal education, are quickly transformed into rising frustration. When



Ponapean economic conditions cannot produce the better life which is promised in the educational process, disillusionment, alienation and marginality of youth set in (Hanson, 1966).

The increasing unemployment represents but one aspect, the externally visual one, of the growing marginal status of Ponapean youth. A far deeper implication of a marginal state in which no social ties exist, or in which one is attached to two or more groups of cultures with a weak commitment or sense of belonging to any, occurs when one is overtaken by the psychological syndrome of anomie (normlessness); heightened anxiety, alienation, and feelings of inferiority (McQueen, 1968). This is a position of role confusion and conflict, status inferiority, and identity crisis. All this occurs within the context of a dual socialization process (the family and the school) which threatens to be a multiple socialization process with the onslaught of urbanization. This process adheres to no sense of continuity, no form of integration, nor any search for ultimates.

As rote learning has been propagated in the family, it performs for all with similar unquestioning passion in the pursuit of the "good life" as dictated by the American warders through the medium of formal school. Formal schooling neither adapts the individual to the new

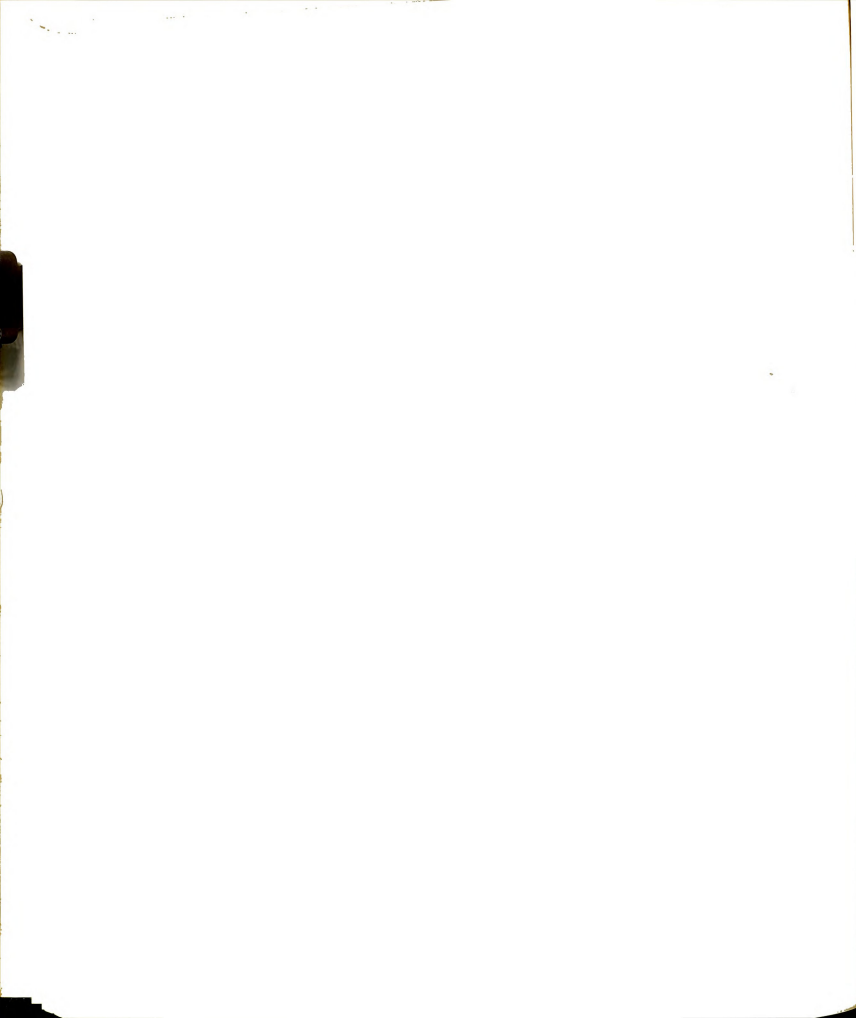


culture nor maintains continuity with the old culture (Bowden, 1968).

Schooled Ponapean youth are the essential victims of marginality. Products of formal education, caught between traditional Ponapean beliefs and new American aspirations, they have found the transition to adulthood illusive, and a sense of cultural identity unresolved.

Inter-Systemic Dissociation--When the
American School Faces the
Ponapean Family

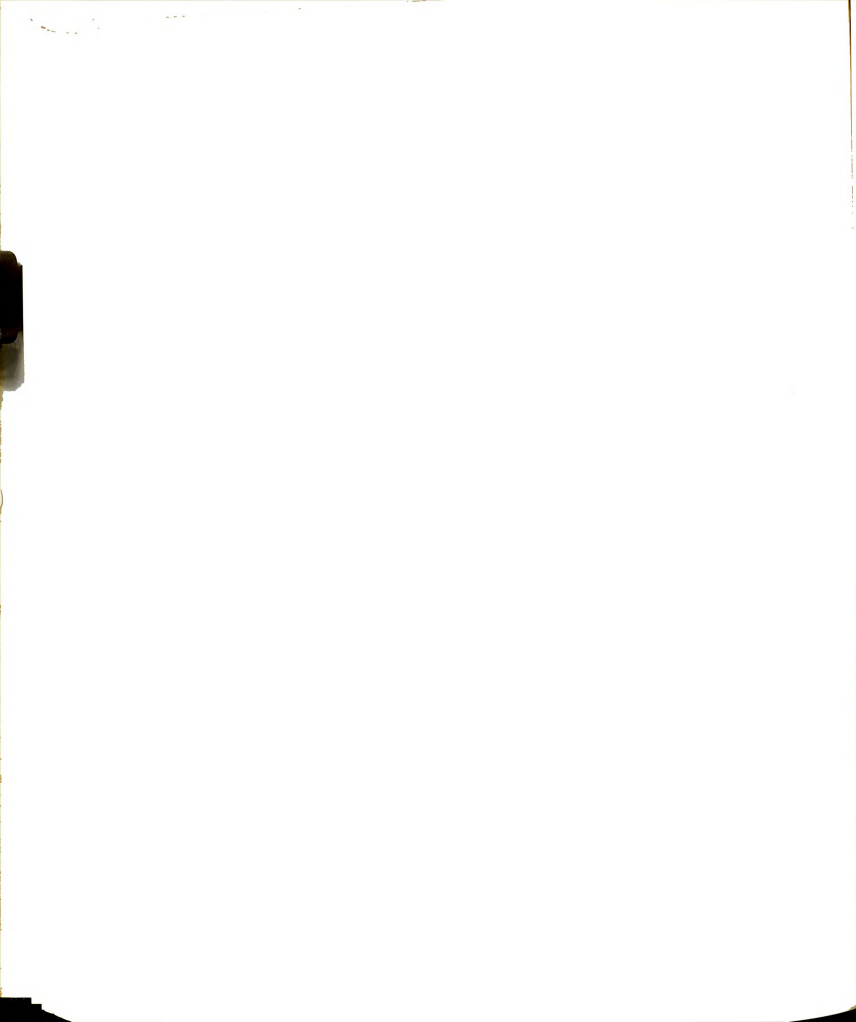
The discontinuity between the juxtaposed socializing agents of the American school and the Ponapean family preconditions the movement of the Ponapean student away from his traditional roots. The rise of urbanization and electronic media via the radio and the local movie further raises his aspirations and his predisposition to change. Like the education process, the media and urban environment fail to impute the basic analytical thinking necessary for the attainment of the newly created needs. The media and urban environment thus join the formal school system as additional disjunctive modes in the socialization of Ponapean youth. As these Ponapean and American systems of socialization interact in an unbalanced onslaught on the Ponapean cultural character they produce the occurrence of "culture lag" in which certain physical changes are not complimented by concomittant cognitive



transformations (Levine, 1968). Thus, marginality increases with the corresponding growth of inter-systemic dissociation.

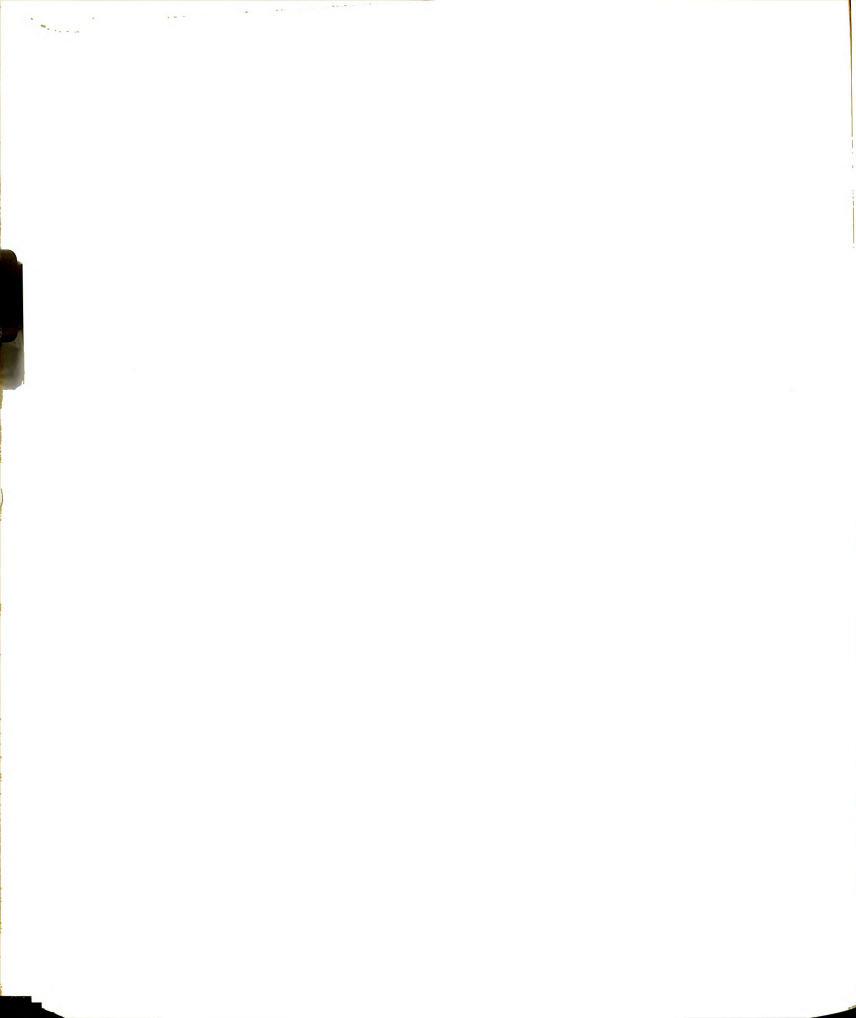
From a firm sense of cultural character embedded in the traditional family and a position of role circumspection, the Ponapean proceeds to role spread, role conflict, and a fragmentation of traditional character. This change occurs across a newly emergent cultural awareness in the larger context of inter-cultural conflict.

The confusion and conflict of roles resulting from the awareness of a new cultural model invariably relates to a decision-making process which in large part demands an analytical mental set or cognitive style which has yet to be assimilated by the Ponapean. If he cannot make a decision as to appropriate behavior, and is caught between multiple-roles and multi-systemic influences, then it is possible that he will be marginal to any one role or system and experience a basic cultural characterological crisis. This condition of marginality: normlessness, powerlessness, and alienation (Merton, 1949; Seeman, 1962) may in effect serve as a pre-set to characterological change for the individual. It is at this period that the individual is most prepared for change or innovation (Rogers, 1967). But the form that this change takes, be it adaptive or deviant, is very much dependent on how the individual perceives the support



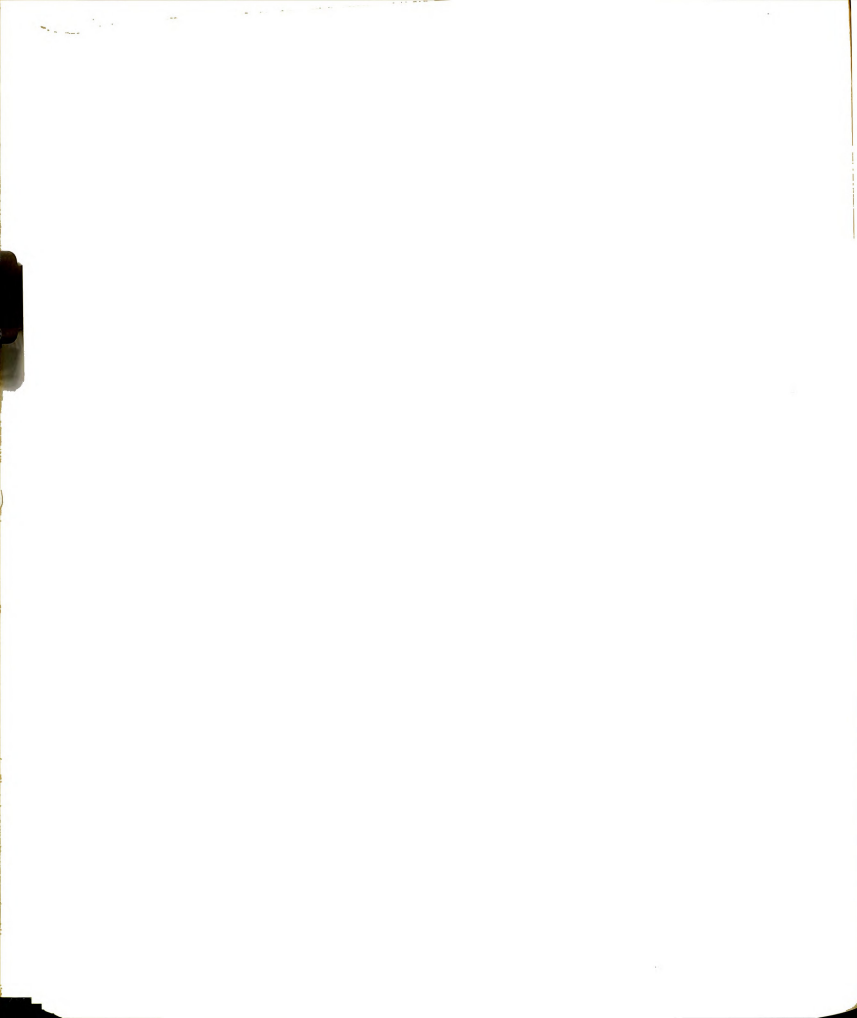
or like-mindedness about him and whether he has the cognitive, analytical mental style necessary to help him balance these incongruencies and alternative paths in a meaningful fashion.

Thus, the marginality caused by the disassociativeness of differing socio-cultural systems in the life of the Ponapean in actuality pre-disposes him to a change orientation, but his ability to cope with and meaningfully comprehend the situation is hindered by his lack of analytical cognitive skills. His new-found cultural awareness (social self) and relative behavioral changes only act to increase his aspirations (felt needs) in a context of autonomous choice which he can neither understand nor tolerate. The formal school has served well in its informal structural aspects to lead the Ponapean away from traditional culture to American cultural norms. The school has done this by relatively alienating him from his traditional roots, perplexing him with the possibility of a new cultural characterology, and pre-disposing him to change. In its formalized purpose, that of developing the analytic thought processes commensurate with free choice, the school has failed to give him any meaningful way to deal with his new-found alternative cultural identity and socio-cultural referent system (Brody, 1969).



The work of Rosalie Cohen (1968, 1969) and others implies that participation in formal organizations such as school not only socializes attitudes, beliefs, and aspirational norms (Dreeben, 1971), but also structures patterns of analytical thought. When applying these findings to the Ponapean situation it would seem that although normative aspirations have been structurally acquired by the end of the senior year, an analytical approach to the world is not sufficiently attained. Instead, a marginal, alienating status ensues in the vacuum created between internalized alien norms and applied indigenous (non-appropriate) relational cognitive style. This is not to dispute the contribution of Dr. Cohen, but only to suggest that such variables as time in system and intensity (totalness) of system may play a large part in the structural socialization of an alien cognitive style as well as the adoption of alien norms. Although it is not within the scope or methodological framework of this study, further research on this matter is definitely needed.

The above concern relates to the generality of the principle role segregation and a "situational ethnic" from the traditional Ponapean culture to the alien American culture. As previously mentioned (Chapter VIII), it would seem that time in system and ability to adopt each system's cognitive style (relational vs. analytical)

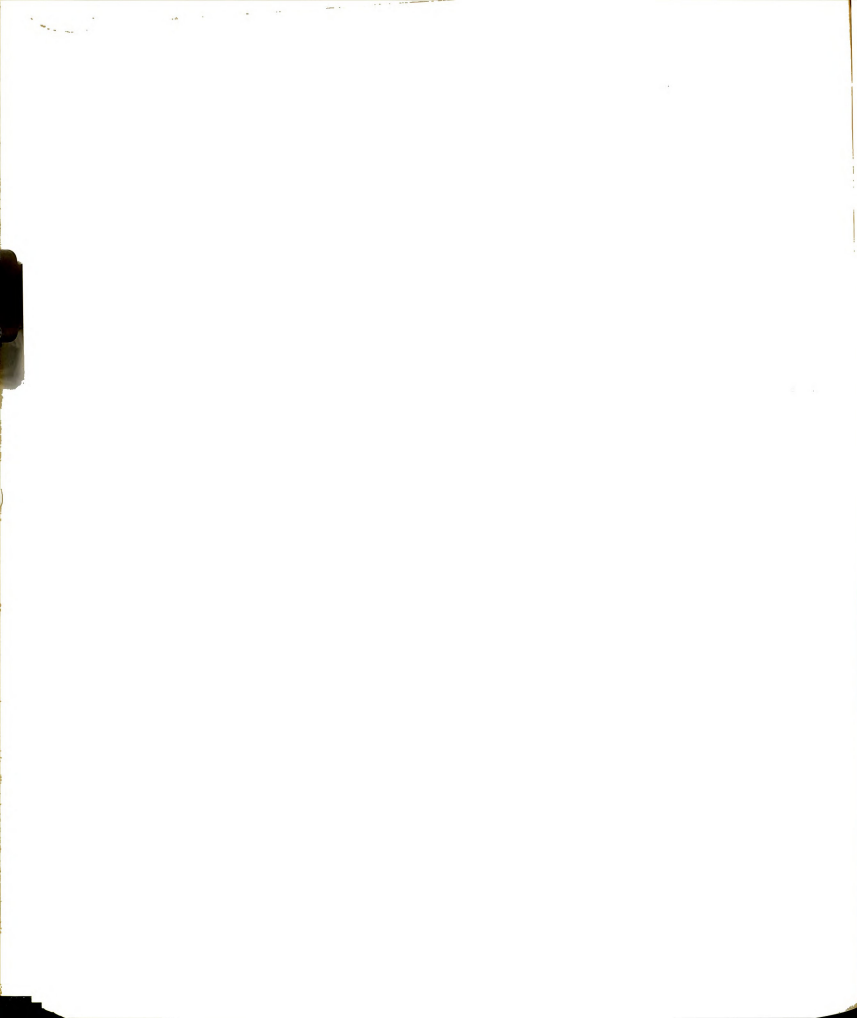


would be significant variables in determining whether an individual could obtain a bi-cultural status. Again, further research is needed on the conditions under which bi-culturally can effectively transpire without cultural conflict and marginality.

The Formal School: The Social Environment
and the Mental Process

It is important to differentiate between the school as an alien structural system, and the notion of education as a pedagogical process (learning styles, reward systems, and thought processes).

The Ponapean youth enters the school culture with a number of learned beliefs, mental processes, and behavioral patterns which make up his perceptual apparatus and world view, all of which have been socialized and reinforced in one socio-cultural system, the traditional family. His roles are limited and ascriptive in nature. His primary means of communication is oral and relational. He is illiterate. He learns basically through identification, observation, imitation and participation. He is intrinsically motivated to be one with the world. His sense of personal self is deeply submerged in the mystical and the sacred, and his social self is buried in the collective cultural character. He emotionally relates to the world, and views it as an irrational entity. His

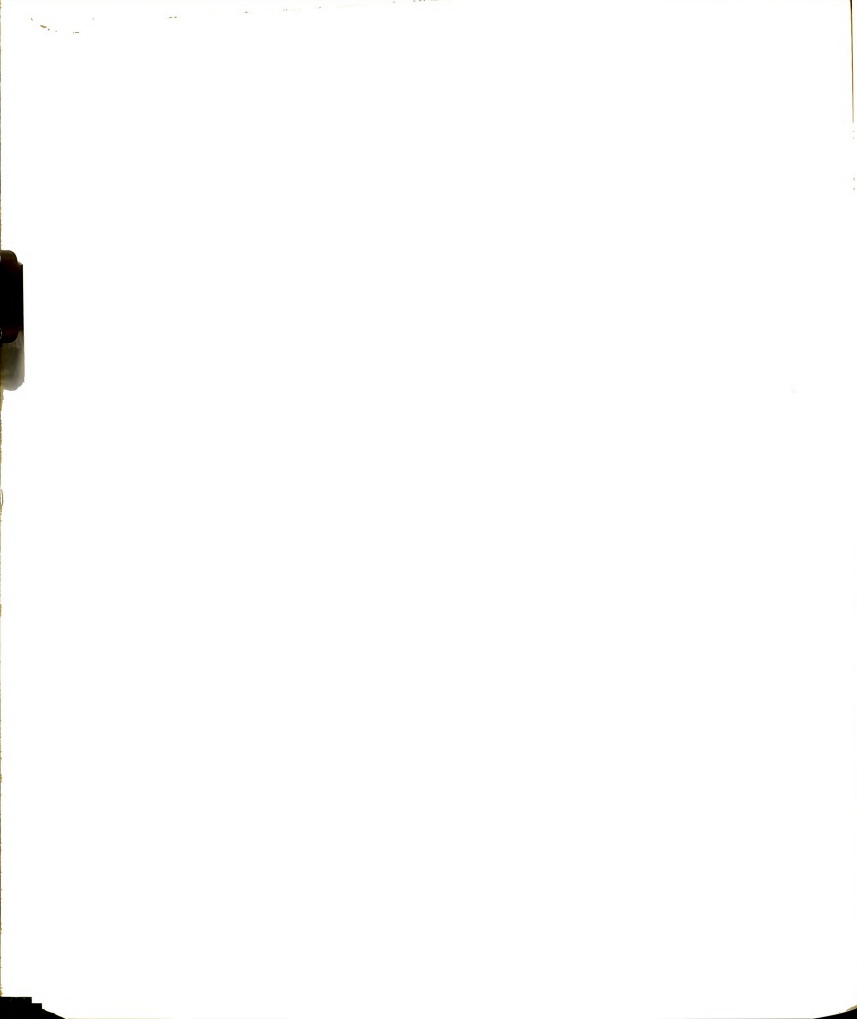


most cherished dreams reside in the emulation of his forebearers, and his sense of the future is now (Mead, 1970).

He brings these embedded patterns to a secondary and novel socializing system, the formal school. There, his traditionally learned beliefs about the world and himself, and his way of enacting those beliefs are put to the test of change. Whereas the family stressed a collective self hidden in the context of role circumscription, the school presents many divergent selves in a multi-role environment. While the family emphasized ascription, the school encourages open achievement. The family had an emotional, relational world perspective laden in a mystical trust and faith in the unknown, while the school perceives the world in a rational, factual manner functioning under the premise of informed skepticism and scientific methodology. In the family the reward system was implicit and emotionally laden, while the school talks of tests, grades, and achievement, which are later to result in a job and a place in the modern (new) world. In the family learning occurs through concrete action, while in the school, learning is supposed to take place through some abstract process called literacy. Clearly, the traditional student (as socialized in the family) stands at odds with his new social system (the school) from their first meeting.

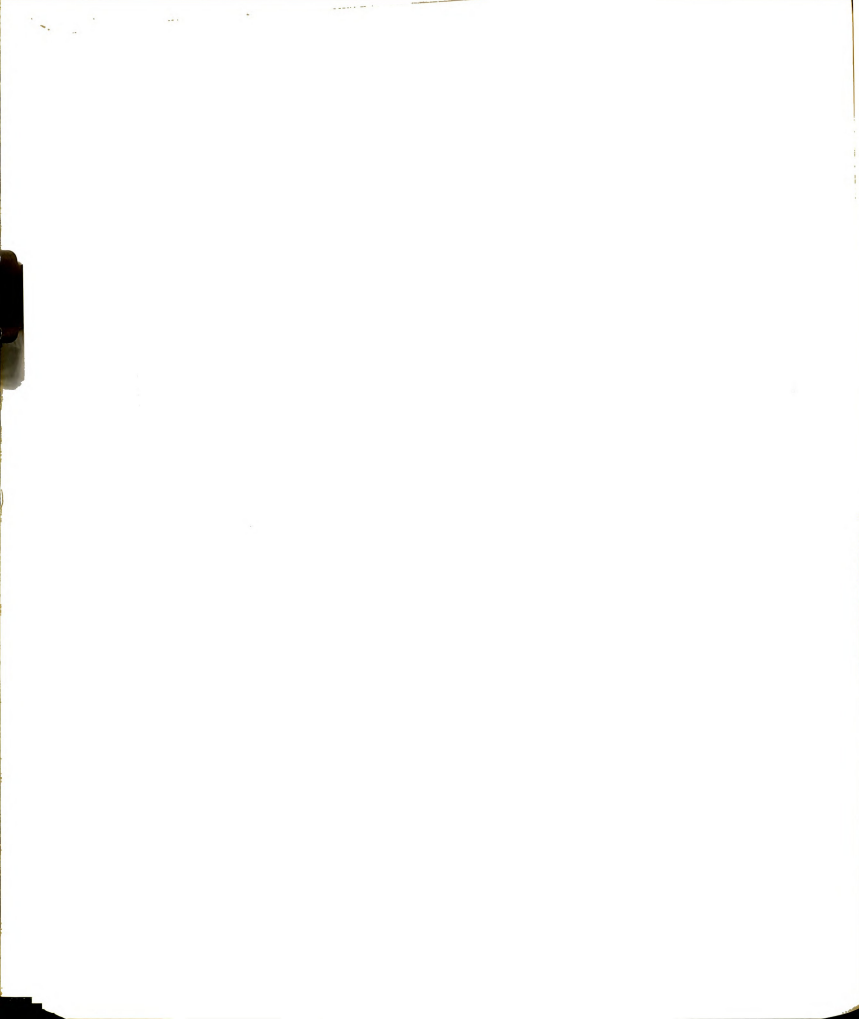
At most, the effect of schooling is a kind of threshold phenomenon, resulting in an acquisition of basic literacy skills in a Western language, coupled with the environmental (structural) concomitants of the school setting itself (Jahoda, 1968). The mere contact with the alien social structure and personal role models (foreign teachers) of the new social system has tremendous effect on the traditional Ponapeans. The idea of the peer group begins to evolve with the encouragement of acting out and publicly responding in the classroom situation. The alien model of Western dress and behavior is readily imitated and aspired to by the Ponapean youth. The classroom provoked the enhancement of a social, public self, while the alien teacher set aspirations for that new self. With that new awareness of self comes a changing world view. The school as a physical-social institution is providing alternative ways of behavior, new desires, new dreams, and a new found sense of individualism for the traditional Ponapean. The process of change is in the making for the previously static Ponapean culture.

The Ponapean attends the American school, imitates the American ways, and aspires to the American model and definition of the world. But the schools, in their overwhelming success in converting the Ponapean to American aspirations and the pursuit of American ends, fail in conveying the cognitive means necessary to obtain



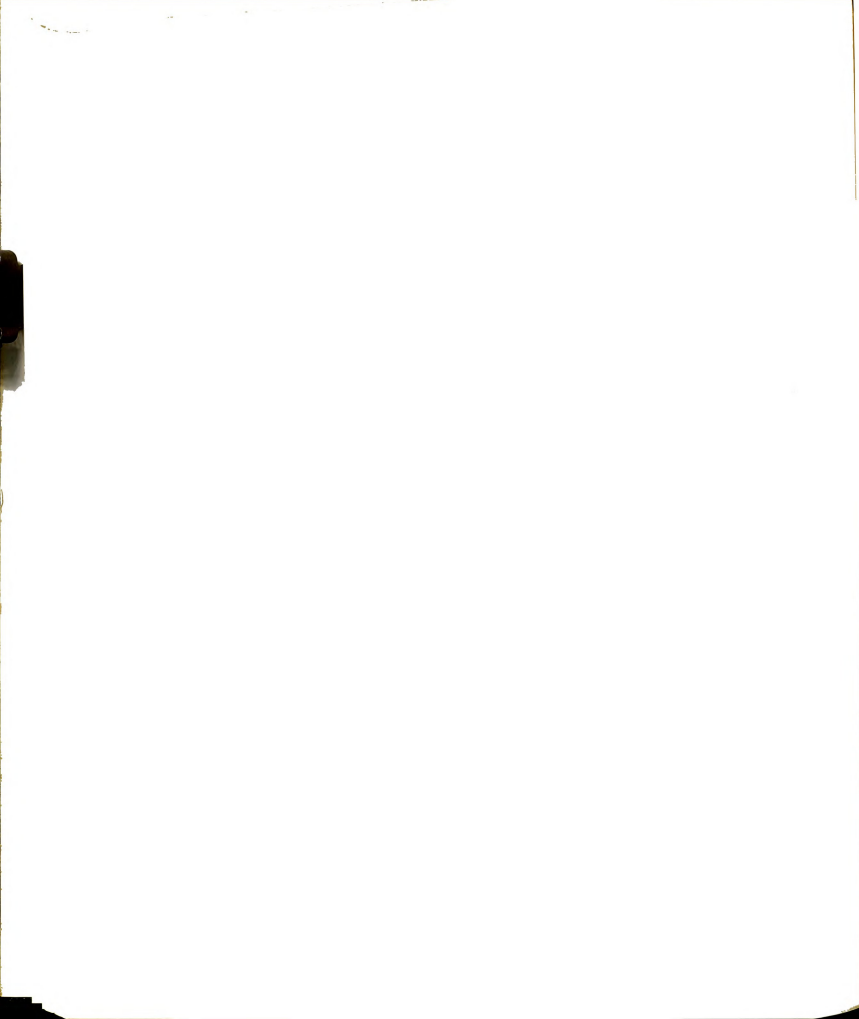
those ends. The social goals are engulfed, but the mental processes are not. It is easy to acquire the ends, because they are material and can be visually encompassed through the traditional learning style of observation and imitation. The means to those same ends entail a thought process, a logic, a mental approach to the world different than the students have ever known. In short, the school transmits substantive affects, and neglects structures and processes of analytical reasoning (Barbichon, 1968). As Clifford Geertz (Eisenstadt, 1968) has so aptly stated, "There occurs a basic disjunction, a discontinuity between the form of integration existing in the new social structural (analytical) dimension and the form of integration existing in the old cultural (relational-Gestaltic) dimension--a discontinuity which leads to social and cultural conflict." Ponapean youth acquire the aspirations, but not the tools.*

*Rosalie Cohen et al. (1969) in her article on "Conceptual Styles, Culture Conflict, and Nonverbal Tests of Intelligence," has determined that "In general, intelligence tests are weighted toward information components; achievement tests are weighted somewhat on 'logical' skills, that is, on skills of analytic abstraction and field articulation." She goes on to define cognitive style as "methods of selecting and processing information" and to further breakdown cognitive styles into two fundamental types--relational or that which relies on the total picture and stressing the relation of parts, i.e. seeing the forest but not the trees, and analytical or that which emphasizes the parts or segmentalization of the entire picture, i.e. seeing the trees rather than the forest. That Ponapeans fail to obtain high levels of analytical cognitive processes is evident in their senior year achievement test



The effects of schooling and urbanization combine to structurally introduce values of equality, freedom, conservation of time and goods, individualism, and consumerism for many schooled Ponapean youth (along with the aspirations for general material enhancement). Other Ponapean youth with less schooling and lower exposure to the urban environment, have internalized the material aspirations of the alien culture, but have yet fully to dispose of their deeply conditioned traditional beliefs and attitudes of authoritarianism, control, ascription and timelessness. As a result, both groups have readily obtained the superficial aspirations of a new social system through their traditional learning styles and direct participation in that new system. They continue, however, to find the thought processes and meanings commensurate with that new system hidden, elusive, and incomprehensible. The school as a viable social system has conveyed the affects of an alternative life style through its structural injunction in the life of the Ponapean student, but it has done little to teach the means to those affects through the process of education. As Lerner (1958) stated, "For a traditional man to be

scores. In applying standardized achievement tests that supposedly measure achievement and thus analytical thinking, the Ponapeans at PICS continually score extremely low and show little improvement over a period of four years in high school (Standardized California Achievement Test Scores, Dept. of Ed. Trust Territory, 1970).



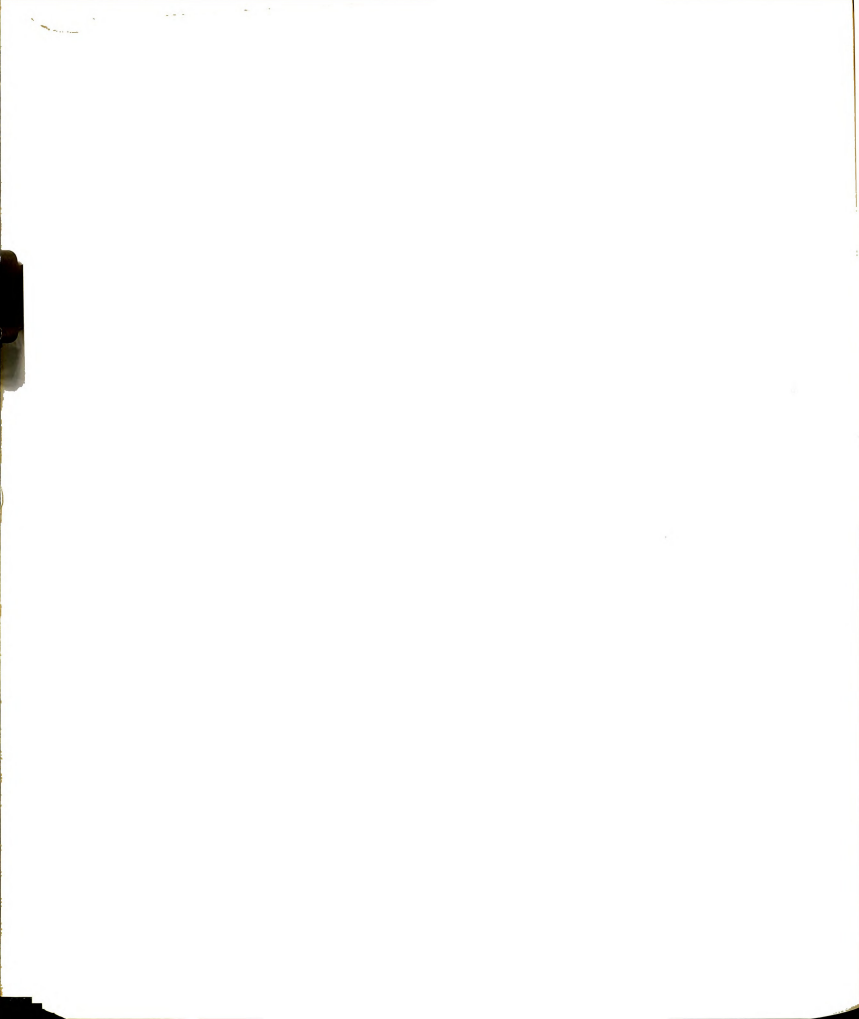
fully modern he must be infused with a rationalist and positivist spirit." Inkeles and others (Weiner, 1966) have also suggested the importance of a notion of rationality, calculability, or scientific approach to an increasingly complex world as a necessary part of the modernizing process. The formal school in Ponape has failed on this count.

Thus the formal school, as an institution for cultural change, must do more than teach students to read and write, and imbue them with aspirations of a new life style. It must also invest them with reflective, analytical thinking, the new logic processes necessary to give meaning to and comprehension of the many alternative choices in the movement away from traditional life. It must equip them with the life opportunities and mental tools to exercise their new found freedom in the formation of a new Ponapean character.

Formal Education and the Actualization of
Change: Cultural Awareness, Rational
Thought, and Change-Ability 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).

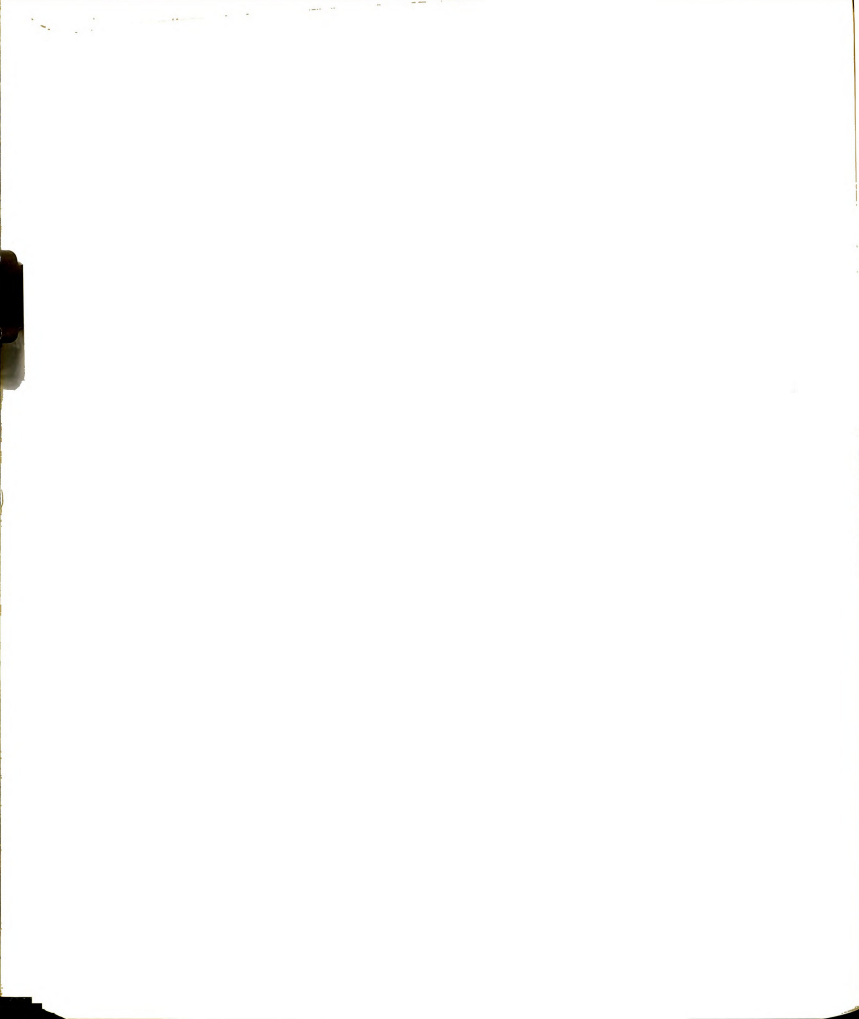
Education should not be considered as a mere response to social change (Havinghurst, 1968). Education



should not only include the 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 (structural differentiation and increased role spread) the notion of rationality or a calculus for choice is an essential attribute for personal adaption and innovation (Eisenstadt, 1968). The school as a major socialization agent can play a large part in the transmission of these thought processes, but is this what in fact is happening in the Ponapean schools?

We must first acknowledge 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). A myth is essentially a rationalization of an institutionalized belief (felt need) which manifests itself in the form of ritualistic acceptance (Monro, 1950).

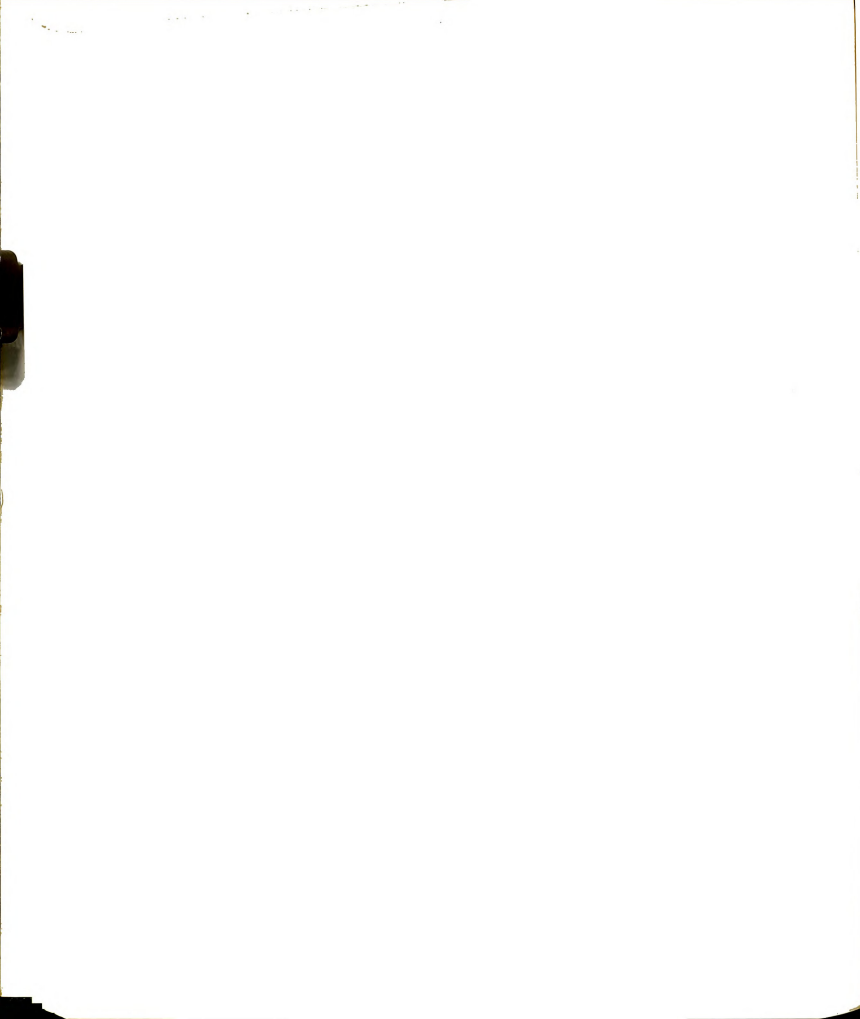
Formal education systems are the major myth makers and perpetuators in their strict adherence to "schooling." It contributes to the notion of social class differences



(social stratification) and individual differences (condoned discrimination). It perpetuates the belief that all learning comes as a result of teaching within four walls. Most pre-industrial societies have 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 the product of unhampered participation in a meaningful setting, relevant to real life tasks. As Ivan Illich (1970) has observed, "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 the American ghetto areas or developing nations like Micronesia, schooling or the lack of schooling (failure or non-attendance) connotes the rationale for an inferior state of being. To again quote Illich (1970),

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).

Education differs from schooling in that it is an act of aesthetic perception (awareness) of reality and the



capacity for aesthetic judgment (critical reflection and choice) upon that perceived reality. Education is not the incarceration of men's minds in walls of obscurity and paradigms of verbal self-justification, but the awakening of cultural awareness to new levels of perception. It is also the liberation of man's creative faculties amidst the field of maximum life choices in the service of individual self-actualization and social justice for mankind.

The modern American has lost a balanced sensory relationship to reality (McLuhan, 1966) through structural and social engineering. He has mastered, but divorced himself from physical and social reality and relinquished his freedom to choose and his powers of aesthetic judgment (critical reflection). As Paulo Freire (1970) has so astutely noted, "Though street signs are not evil in themselves, and are necessary in cosmopolitan cities, they are among thousands of directional signals in a technological society which introjected by men, hinder their capacity for critical thinking." This is the same process that is now being transplanted to Ponape.

Presently, students in Ponape as well as in America are engaged in a process of learning form rather than meaning, content rather than substance, information rather than thinking. Schools act to either co-opt or dissociate

youth, either way resulting in personal and cultural alienation.

Historically, one might question whether formal school systems have ever imbued the majority of students with the capacity to think critically. Most people take it for granted that people are born rational and that learning to think critically is a mere matter of physical attendance in school. Might it not be the case that man is born with the potential for rational thought, but that society has transmitted its ends and the psychological ability to rationalize those ends, rather than rationally considering them as alternatives along a broader continuum of choice. Thus rationalization as opposed to rational thinking becomes the major pseudo-coping mechanism, or as psychologists would say "defense mechanism." The formal school does not teach the individual to critically view the world but rather to rationalize its existence and everything in it, including his own behavior. Decision making is left to those who know best; the governing powers.

Our options are clear. Either we continue to perpetuate the belief in institutional learning 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 either continue to instruct people on how to

tolerate dissonance through repression or we assist them in acting upon dissonance through liberation. For as Alvin Toffler (1970) 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 judgments, who can weave their way through novel environments, who are quick to spot new relationships in the rapidly changing reality.

Youth wants education, not schooling. They neither want nor need to be mothered, certified, or indoctrinated. The schools' undermining of social goals with levels of alienated consumption is outrageous. "There is no reason for us to continue the medieval tradition in which men are prepared for the 'secular world' by incarceration in a sacred precinct, be it monastery, synagogue, or school" (Illich, 1970).

The process of education or cultural transmission and renewal is one of liberation from idolatrous thinking; a widening of awareness, of imaginative, creative vision of maximum life chances; and the equal access to and rational capacity for choice from those life chances. It is the author's personal belief that the essence of cultural contact, transmission and renewal, as portrayed in this text is the primary concern of education, and as Margaret Mead (1943) stated, "Not until the dogma of superiority or 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."

Structural Innovations in Education and
the Fusing of Cultures: Recommenda-
tions for Future Research

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 DeLamater, 1968).

Most educational research in Micronesia has been initiated in the name of relevancy and has proceeded to expend tremendous energy on irrelevant matters. As one researcher said, "All we have done out here is give packaged solutions. We have never identified any real problems." This exploratory case study has endeavored to reverse this process and first identify local problems within a socio-cultural theoretical framework. It has attempted to describe the problem of growing youth marginality, and the changing Ponapean cultural character as related to the American school system.

Two suggestions have already been implied in the presentation of the problem, that is, the need for the development of critical reflective mental processes and cultural awareness in an endeavor to choose and fuse the best of cultural alternatives in the context of change.

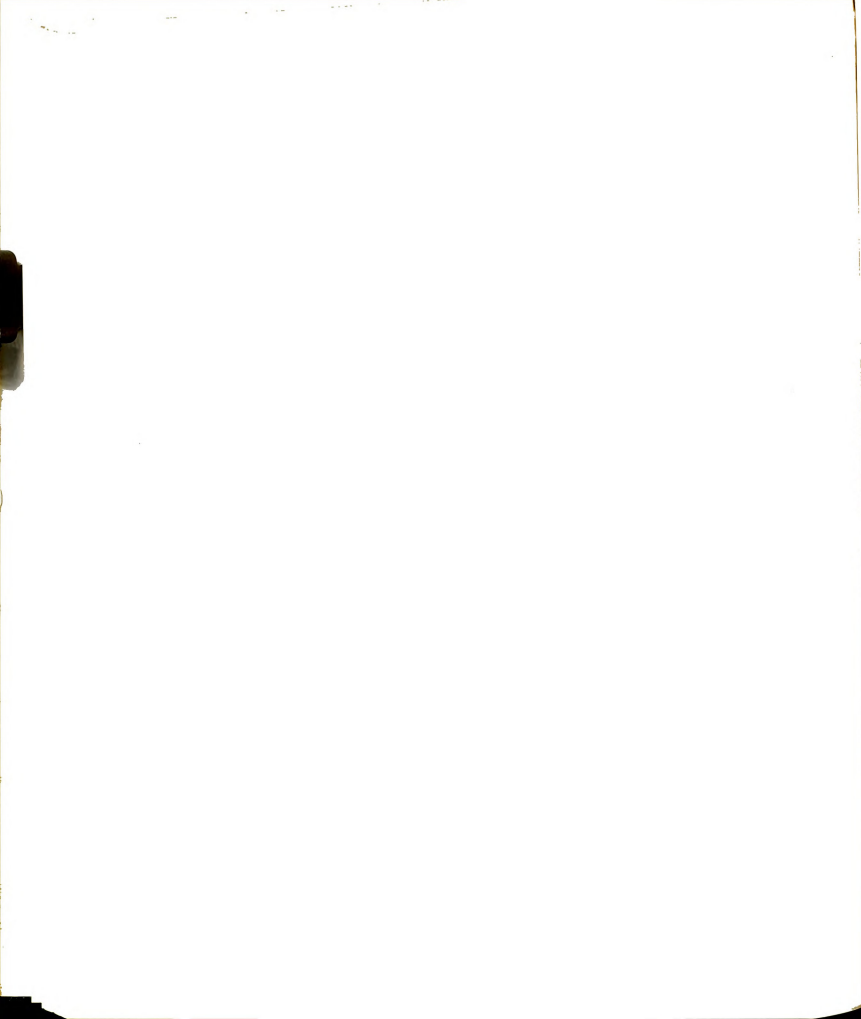
Spelling out the need for these things and actually designing and implementing a program to actuate them are two quite encompassing matters unto themselves. Clearly research is needed in the design and implementation of programs to obviate the above problems.

In order to promote critical reflective thought and to fuse cultures, an entire structural revolution in education may be necessary. Significant educational change might mean the introduction of structures in competition with the very notion of formal schools. Reordering the structure within the school has often only served to provide superficial movement without real change. 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 formal schooling.

The concept of non-formal/out of school educational structures has great potentialities in terms of alternative technological useage and ensuing structural change. Instruction and knowledge are readily available outside both the school and the household through the mass media, travel, and personal contacts, to mention a few. Perhaps the greatest teacher of them all is the street. Study groups, tutorials, or mass media instruction can all transpire independent of the traditional classroom structure.

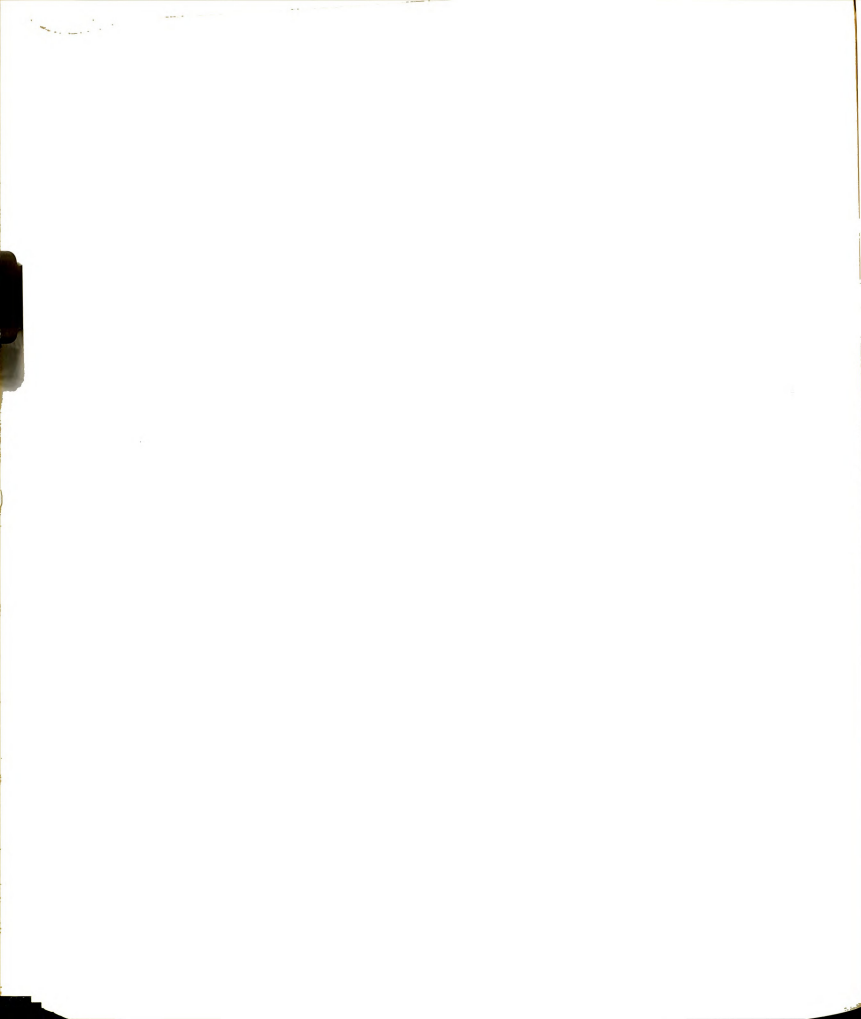
Already several non-school programs are evolving on Ponape. The "Pwihn Pula Pul" or young men's group in Wone, Kitti, has been a success in terms of giving marginal youth a chance to work and to belong. If funds and skilled personnel were to be provided in support of this group's efforts a viable alternative educational program would be in operation within a traditional context. But to put these youth in a vocational school is to miss the importance of the traditional learning environment as a fusing mechanism for indigenous and modern skills. The Nett Cultural Center is another natural, indigenous non-school educational project in which young people from Nett municipality get training from elders in their traditional skills and cultural history. Here again is a natural place for the fusing of cultures as the new can be readily interpreted in the context of the old. This way some semblance of cultural continuity can be maintained to confront the growing cultural alienation and marginality of youth.

It is highly unrealistic to think that formal schooling will disappear in the face of such structural alternatives, or even that it need be eliminated. Formal and non-formal modes of education serve two very distinct and complimentary functions. Non-formal education seems to be best at skill training and cultural transmission (cultural continuity), while formal education appears to



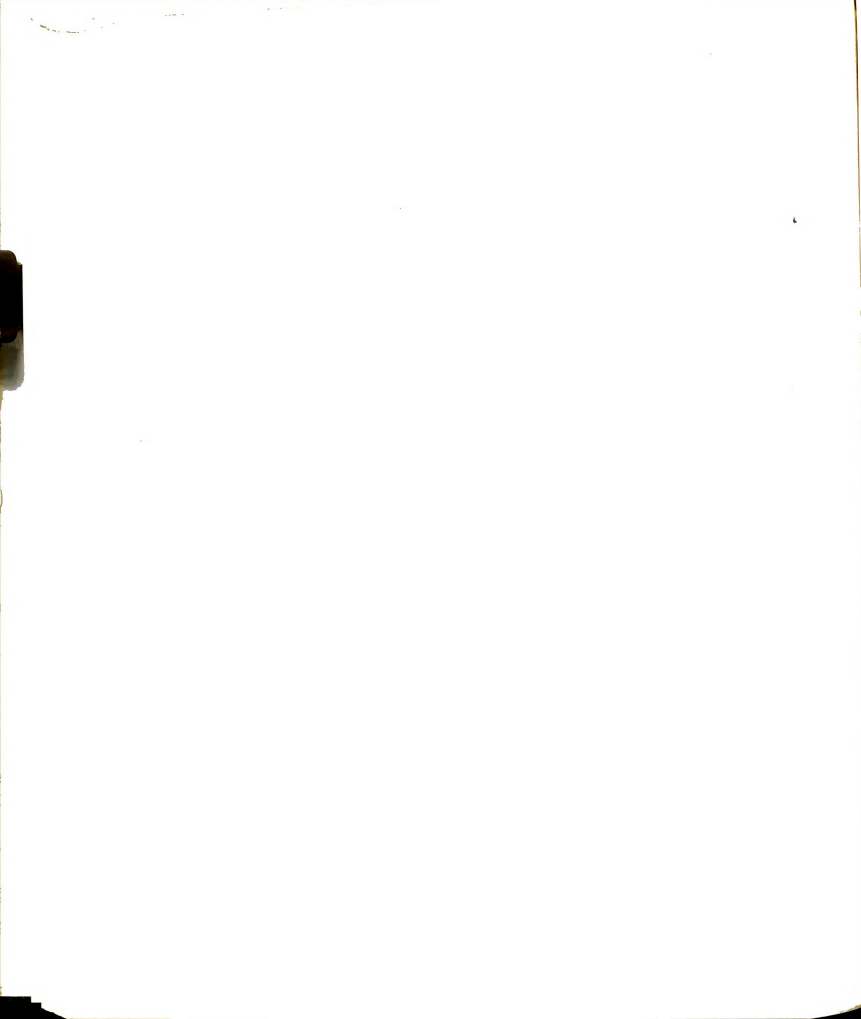
be best at cognitive training and cultural renewal (discontinuity and change). In this way the fusing of cultures in effect becomes the fusing of educational systems of non-formal and formalized (schooled) modes. Historically traditional Ponapean indigenous education fell totally in the non-formal sphere of skill training and cultural transmission, while the modern American school stresses cognitive development and cultural renewal. To stress one approach to the detriment of the other is to miss the point of education. Both are necessary in a symbiotic relationship. Research is necessary to facilitate the potential of interface setups serving both functions.

In the light of this need, let us now look at the experimentation in education going on in Tanzania, under the leadership of Julius Nyerere (1968). His scheme of freedom, socialism, and education for self-reliance, could very well be one of the most significant models for educational change and the fusion of cultures in existence today. The essence of this scheme is integration and continuity. He has managed to look at the process of education and character development in the context of socialization; political, economic and cultural. Other nations have been disjunctive in their approaches to development, only looking at one particular aspect of an entangled problem, typically to the detriment of another aspect of the same problem. Nyerere, however,



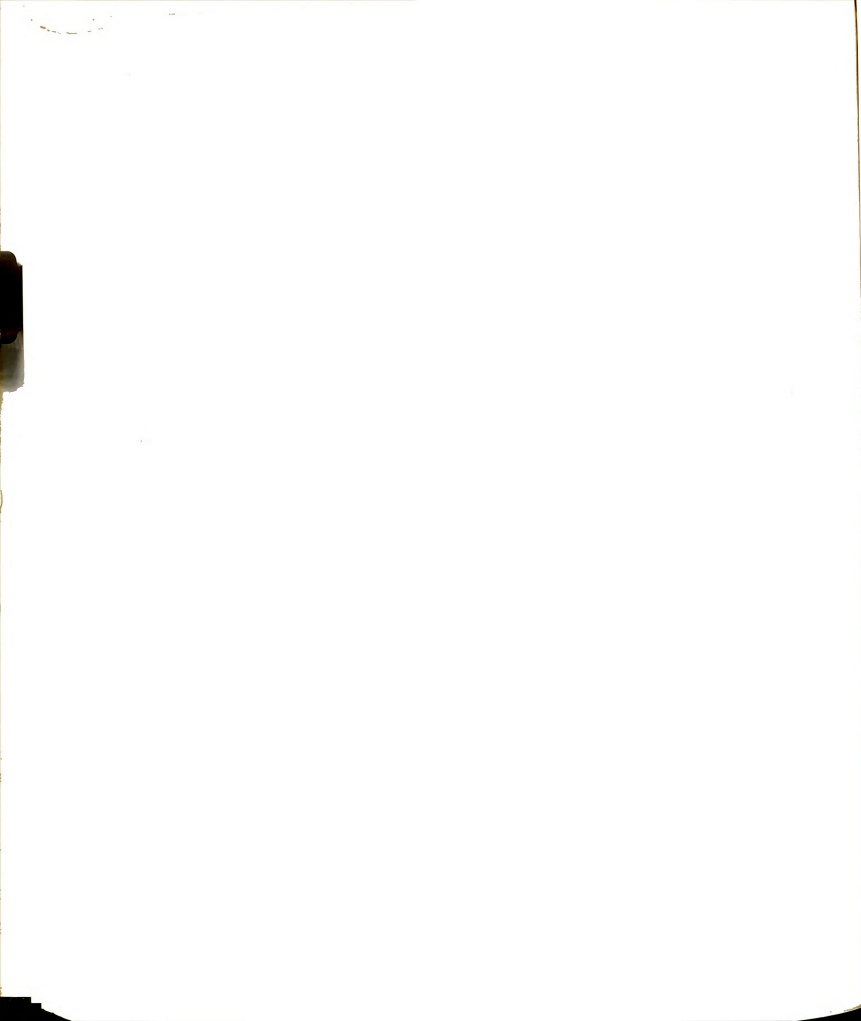
has not exchanged one myth for another (formal education for non-formal education), but has attempted to remove himself from the aura of alien imposed solutions and has chosen to look at reality as represented in his unique country. Hence, he has tried to reconstruct the formal education system, while simultaneously profiting from experimentation with locally functional forms of non-formal education. He has pushed the school starting age back some three years to allow for a more complete enculturation into indigenous culture at home, and has selected the emphasis on formal education to be placed at the primary level from grades one to eight. He has broken the colonial dependence relationship and has made educational institutions forego government funds to operate on a self-reliant basis. He has attempted to bind the community with the school in a contiguous relationship of mutual aid and growth.

Education is viewed as a terminal and complete (functional) process for the majority of primary school graduates. The funds typically spent in attempting to universalize education at both the primary and secondary levels are re-invested solely in qualitative primary education and in the economy itself via manpower and youth mobilization schemes (non-formal education). This hopefully results in increased job opportunities for school leavers and other marginal youth. Moreover, if

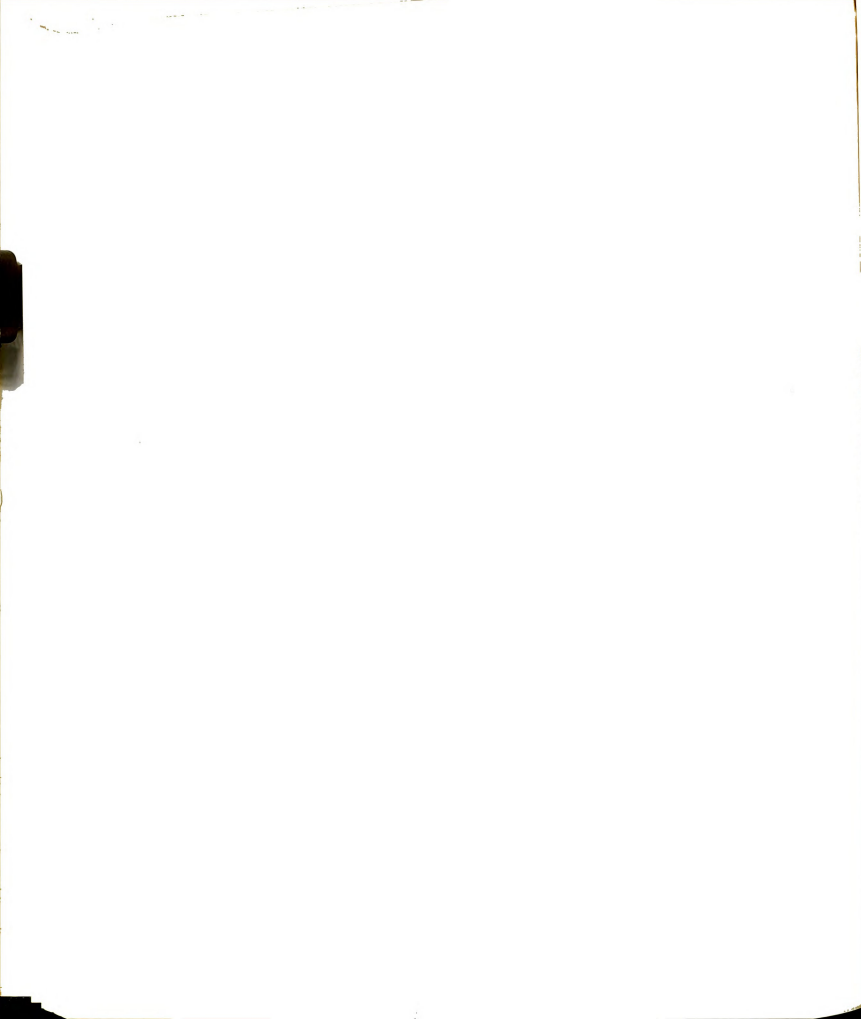


the schools are self-reliant in terms of financial support, and socially continuous with the traditional community, not only are more funds previously spent on education now available for re-investment into the economy (infrastructure, water projects and other areas of development), but a secondary social-psychological purpose of uniting two formerly diverse socializing agents, the traditional family and the re-constructed school can occur. This might inspire some continuity in the institutional and cultural development of youth, thus directly confronting the problem of youth marginality, formal education and culture character development. It should further be noted that universal primary education would certainly be a realistic goal under a system of self-reliant, community related schools at a minimal expense to the government. The problem as to whether there is a sufficient quality of leadership available in Ponape to carry out such a program and to insure the type of qualitative changes inherent in reconstructing the primary schools is uncertain at this time.

If the reconstructed primary schools are concerned with rudimentary problems of developing an enquiring mind and implementing a style of learning to cope with the growing world complexities, along with functional skill training, then where is the specialized training for changing economic tasks and leadership to be had? Clearly,



a de-emphasized secondary school and a university system will remain for the development of leadership and highly specialized (technical) skills, with the selection of the participants at varying levels of education and training remaining highly problematic (another area which needs research). The secondary part of the solution to the problem of youth marginality in Ponape is perhaps to be found in the many models of non-formal education (youth schemes, training camps, animation plans, re-settlement schemes and others) which are being tried in other countries. Programs like this must be designed, implemented, and evaluated in the local context. If this type of specialized skill training, which if utilized properly has great potential for stimulating the economy and consequently increasing work opportunities, were to complement the re-constructed quality primary schools already recommended, then an important breakthrough in the integration of education, economic and cultural development would be possible. The crucial aspects of non-formal education are that it maintains continuity with the traditional features of Ponapean society, while it serves to socialize youth into occupational roles and contributes to economic development. The essential point to acknowledge is that there can be some semblance of synthesis between previously disjunctive socializing institutions of the family, the formal school, and the world of work through the



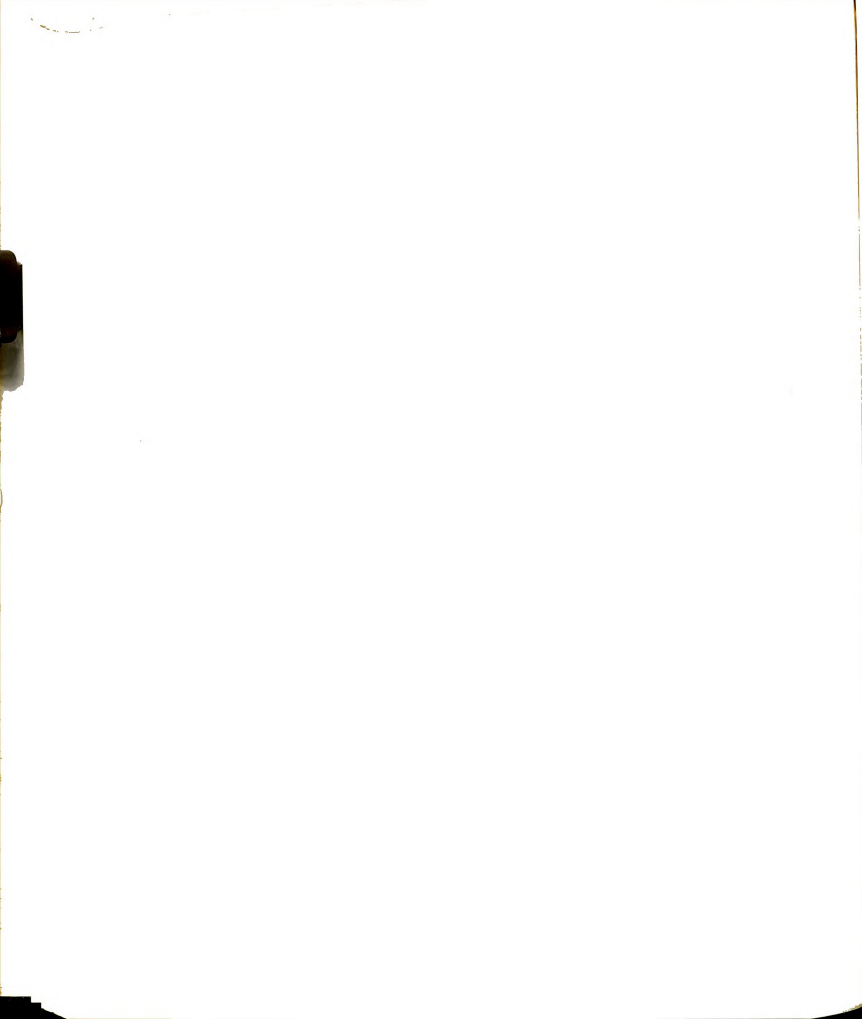
incorporation of a new integrated and interactive pattern of the family, the community school, and communal work schemes. These unifying principles go to the heart of the problem of youth marginality, and culture change by synthesizing the multi-socialization agents that formerly served only to alienate. With linkages established, a sense of integration of self with the world can increase in the wake of an era of marginality and discontinuity.

This is merely one possible solution that is being tried under conditions similar to those on Ponape. Whether this is the best, or only solution is a matter requiring much further research.

Summary of Major Conclusions and Recommendations

In attempting to address this text to the role of education in the development of cultural character among the Ponapeans of Micronesia and specifically looking at the role of the formal American schools and the exposure to urban life in this process, we have found it necessary to forge into a number of tangential areas which have not only exposed some answers to our original concerns, but have raised a number of new questions. Let us first deal with some of the general conclusions:

1. It would appear that indigenous education among the Ponapeans is primarily concerned with pragmatic technical and moral training in an endeavor to preserve

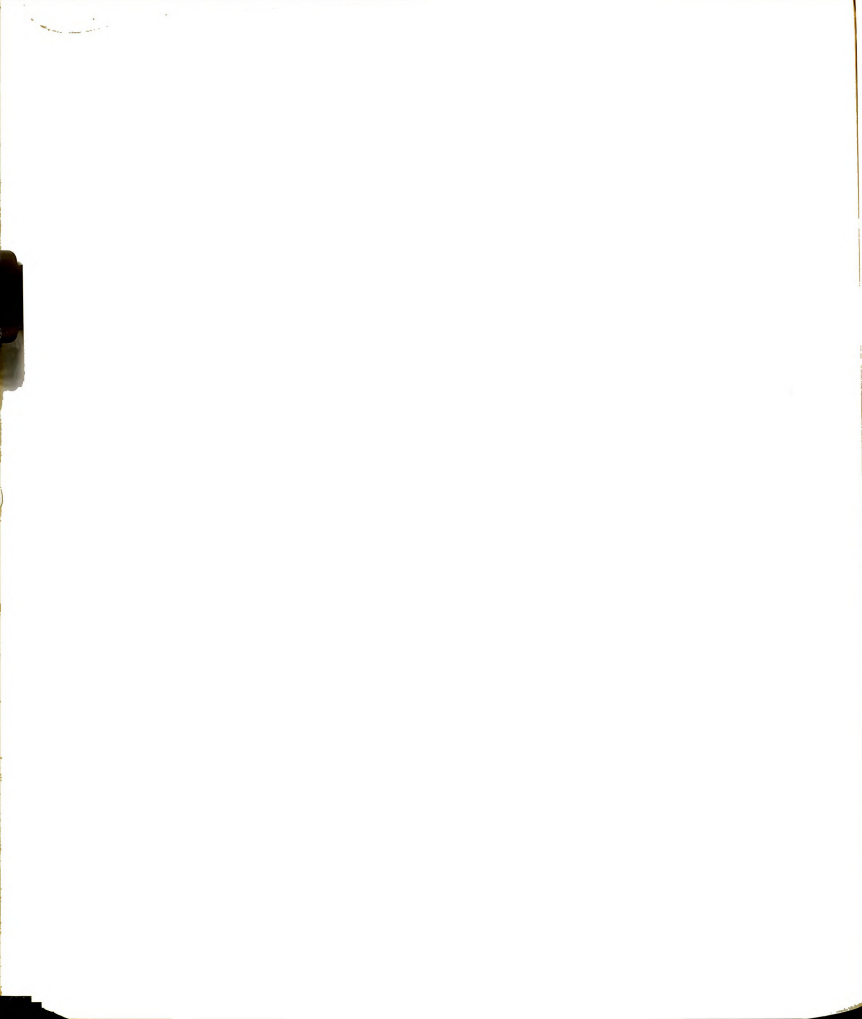


and transmit the Ponapean culture. In this light, there is little room for the development of a character type separate from the collective. Although the notion of a privatized self may exist, it is repressed and hidden from public view.

2. The major effect of cultural contact and formal schooling prior to the American school system was to reinforce the covert indigenous social structure and rote, relational mental set, and to give the Ponapeans a warped cultural mirror which reflects cultural inferiority rather than cultural differences.

3. The American elementary schools, although virtually non-functional outside the District Center, have acted to perpetuate this mirror of inferiority. They also break the unitary sphere of influence of the family (over 8 years in school) and introduce the notion of a self (school character) separate from the traditional Ponapean collective. This school self is controlled by a peer group formation which transfers and reflects the dominant values of the traditional culture.

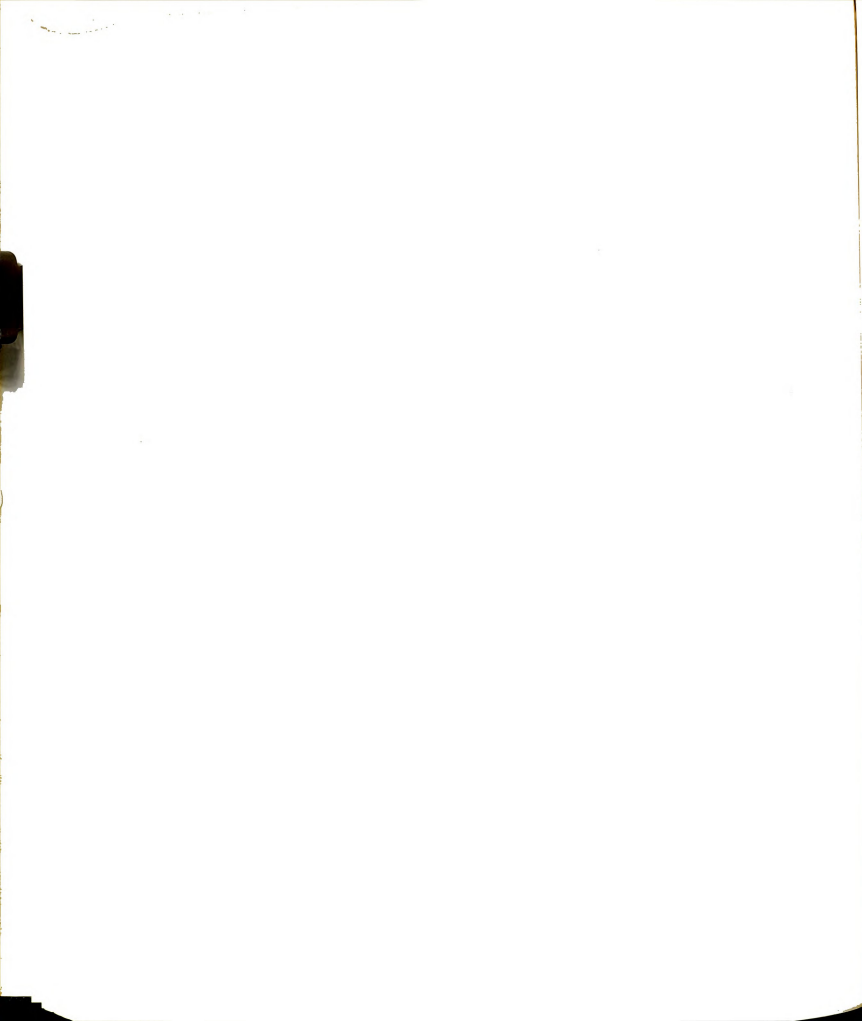
4. The major impact of the high school years and the urban exposure has been to induce the alien norms and aspirations of freedom, equality, conservation of time and goods, individualism and consumerism, while bureaucratically reinforcing traditional patterns of hierarchical authority, submissiveness, and a rote cognitive style. The ideals



of freedom and equality have not been matched by either an exposure to a field of maximum alternatives nor the ability to analytically weigh alternatives and consequences to make a rational choice. This gap between alien aspirations and traditional cognitive style has promoted marginality in direct proportion to exposure to urban life and participation in formal schooling. It seems that although urbanization is a necessary variable in the degree of systemic marginality, both the amount of urban exposure and the level of formal schooling combine to determine movement from traditional Ponapean to alien American systems.

5. Ponapean society is presently moving from a feudal to a class system. Exposure to formal schooling is playing a significant part in the selection and allocation of new class status, with the majority of the landed Ponapeans being channeled into lower socio-economic class status as a result of their disproportionately small participation in the formal school.

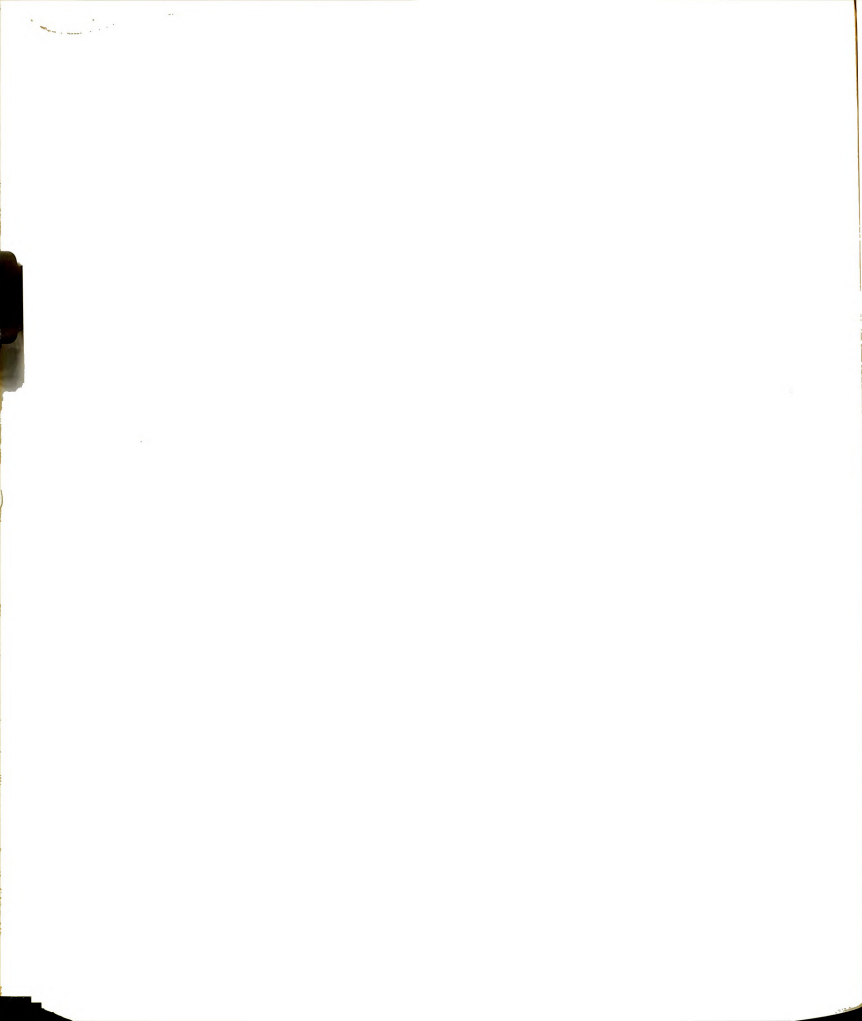
6. As material goods and accompanying aspirations flow out to the rural areas Ponapean parents are beginning to see the connection between their children's participation in formal school and the overall family honorific and material enhancement. Although they decry the growing generational conflict and the lack of respect of their young they still view formal school as the panacea for all their problems. They fail to see the relationship



between formal school and a change in traditional character traits. In general, those parents who work in government positions, who live in the District Center and who have high levels of formal education are more knowledgeable, interested and anxious to actively participate in the formal education of their children.

7. Time in system, commitment to system, acceptance by system, cognitive style adaptability (relational vs. analytical) and incidence of success in the system are the key elements determining whether the Ponapean youth are marginal to a single system or are able to perform bi-culturally.

There are at least four "ideal type" response patterns inherent in our samples. First is the "conformist" pattern of the rural terminees whose membership and identification still reside in the traditional sphere. Second and perhaps most marginal, is the case of the rural seniors, that is, continuing identification with a group in which they are gradually losing acceptance while behaviorally participating in the alien membership group of high school and the District Center. Third, is the plight of the urban terminees, that is, marginality resulting from the lack of either a solid membership or identification group acceptance. Finally, the urban seniors, who have negative valuation of the group in which they are ethnically a



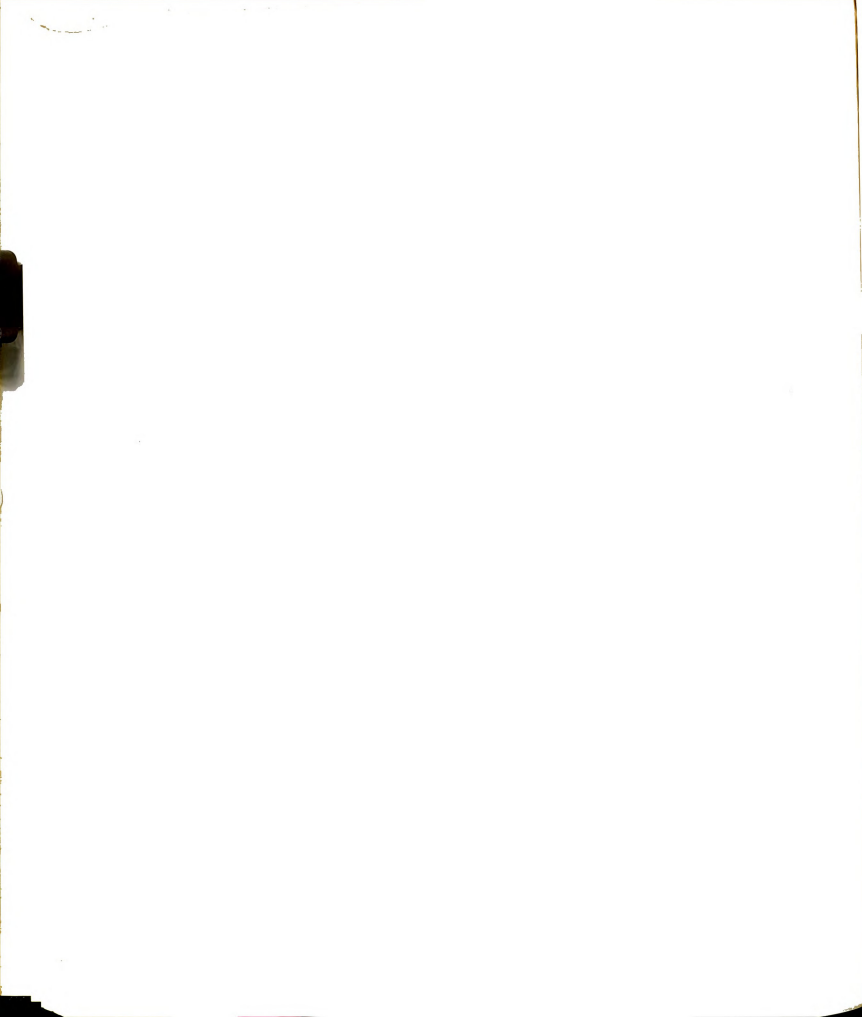
member, while identifying, acting, and striving for total membership in an alien group.

8. The American formal school system in its failure to teach rational critical thinking, while structurally reinforcing an indigenous rote relational cognitive style and transmitting alien values of freedom and equality, has promulgated a status of marginality for most schooled Ponapean youth rather than performing the liberating function necessary for free choice or for fusion of cultures in the formation of a new cultural character.

The following are recommendations for field methodology, program design, and priority areas for future research:

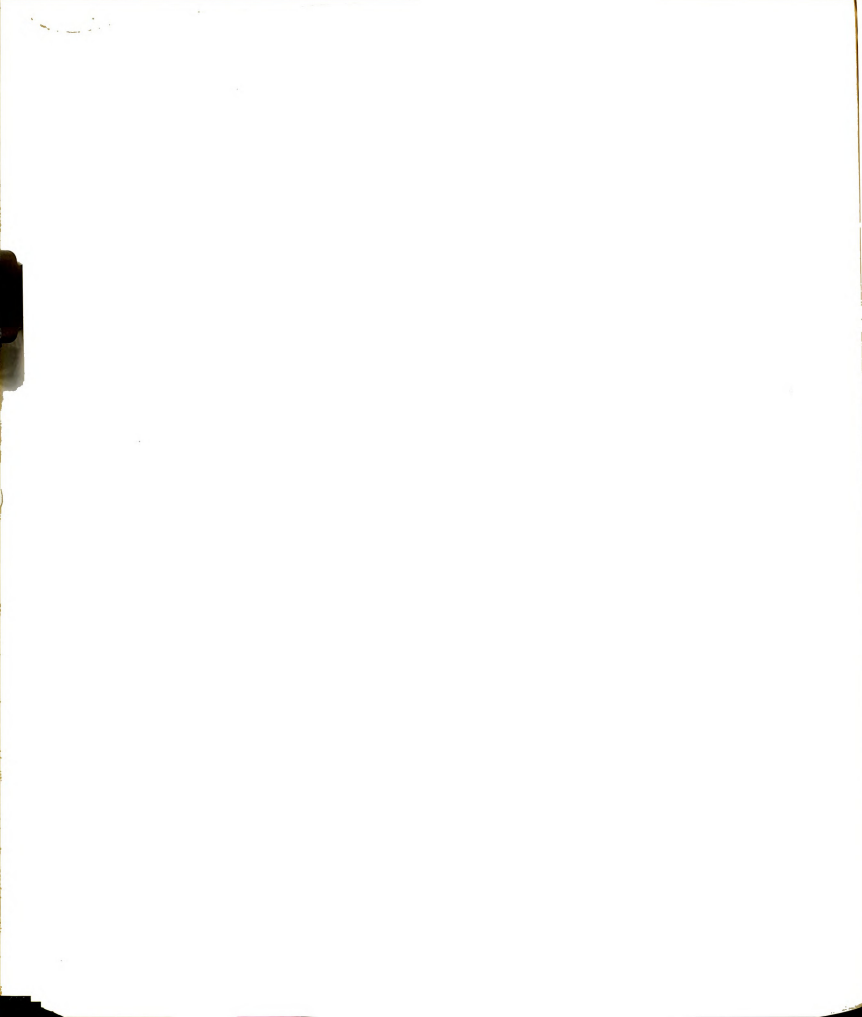
1. Now that a qualitative base for research on Ponape has been established it is essential that what has been learned be applied in the formulation of culturally sensitive instruments that will empirically test a number of the preceding variables in the culture change process. Only then can an integrated theory of education and culture character change be fully developed.

2. There are at least three field techniques of significant importance in any research, qualitative or quantitative, among the Ponapeans: first, in view of the interpersonal sensitivity and manner of avoidance of confrontation (harmony) in Ponapean public life, it is



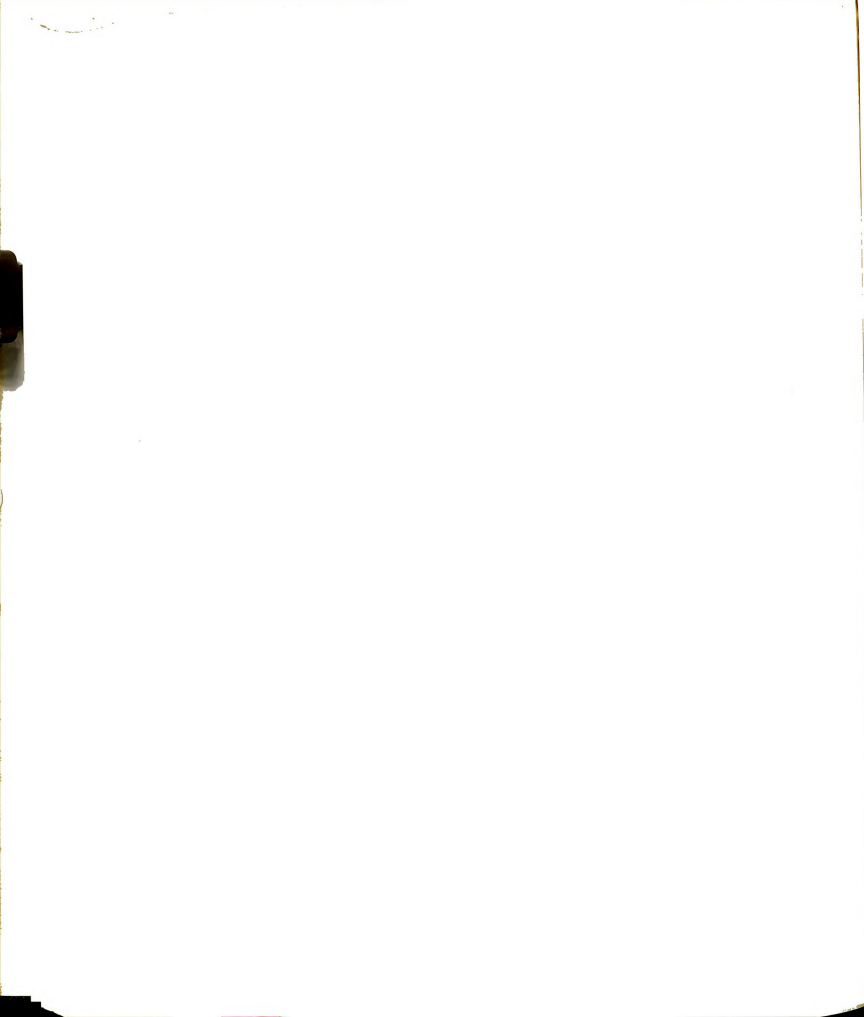
difficult to ask direct questions. Thus anonymity and projection (i.e. how do others feel about that) are most applicable research techniques. Second, the indigenous Gestaltic-relational approach to the world, coupled with the preceding harmonic orientation makes direct cause-effect questioning difficult. Instead, it was found that a series of indirect questions revolving around a theme was more readily responded to by the Ponapeans and provided more information than did direct questions; third, the omnipresent "situational ethic" makes generalized questions and responses extremely difficult for the Ponapeans. For example, when asked to respond to the concept of teacher on a good-bad continuum, most responses fell in the middle because of the generality of the question. If the Ponapeans are more specifically asked how well the teachers speak, teach English or sing, the question would be more appropriate and would receive a ranged response.

3. To attend to the problems of education and growing youth marginality, inter-generational conflict, and discontinuity inherent in rapid culture change on Ponape, it is recommended that two educational structural changes be made. First, the concept of a reconstructed community school be introduced. This would act as a transitional link between the traditional Ponapean family and the alien American school as primary agents of

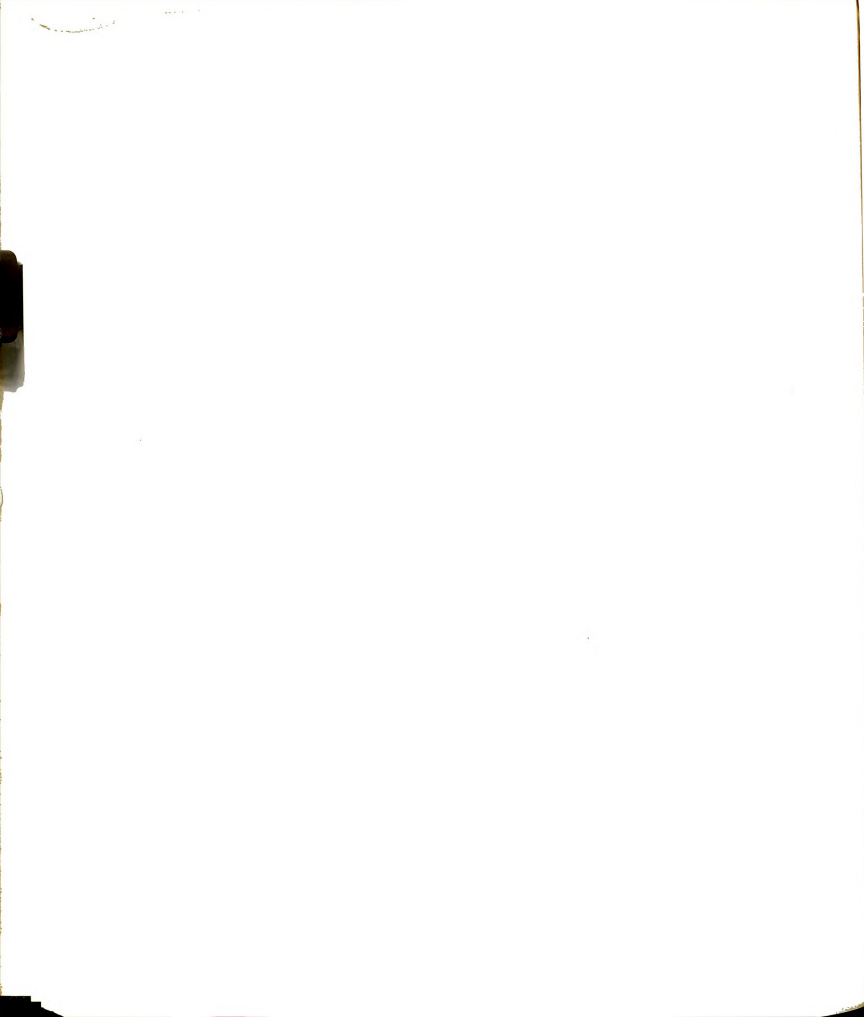


intersystemic conflict. The objectives of this reconstructed school would not only address themselves to the instilling of useful technical skills, and analytical as well as relational cognitive frameworks, but would also encourage total community participation of parents as well as teachers and students. Thus, the culture would move as a whole, removing one of the basic causes of generational conflict. Second, universal secondary education would no longer be a goal for all youth. Communal work/training schemes and other non-formal, non-school educational structural alternatives would be established. Certification and use of those training schemes already in existence such as the "Pwihn Pula Pul" would transpire.

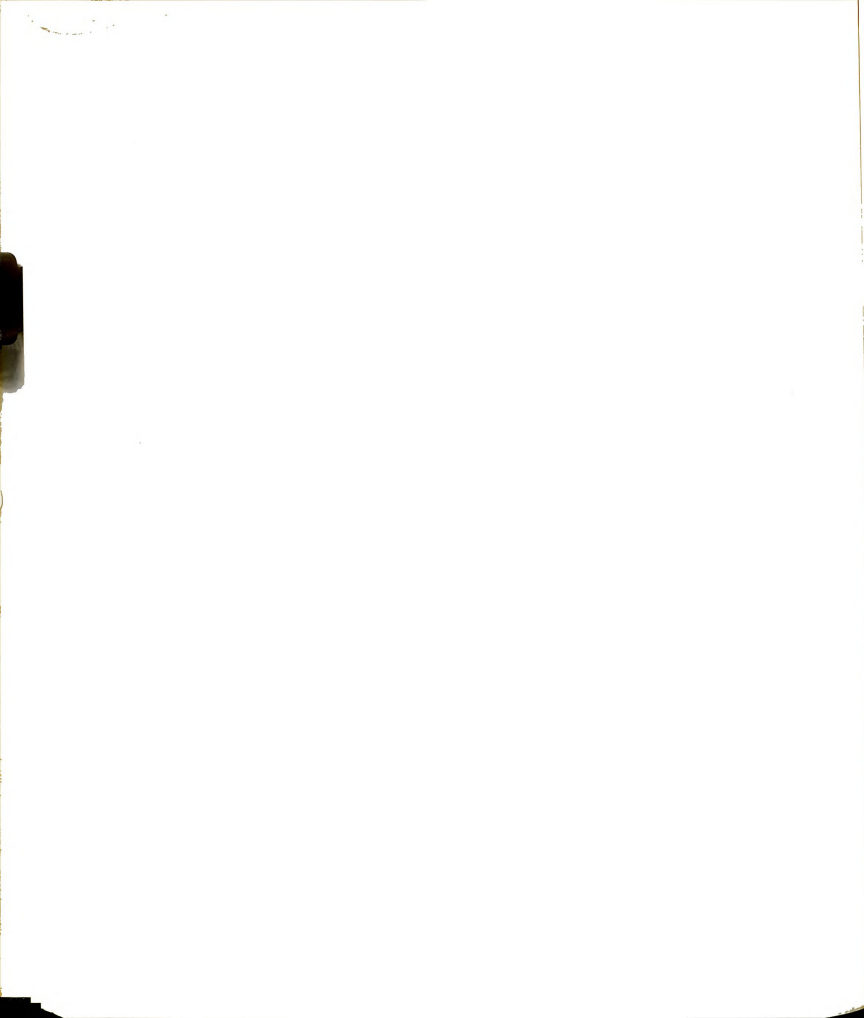
4. Finally, numerous areas in which future research are necessary have been delineated. First, it would be necessary to undertake the empirical examination of a number of suggested variables in the culture change process in order to pinpoint distinct causal relations. Second, much work is needed on the concept of cognitive style, the organization or structural socialization of such phenomenon, and the general conditions for bi-culturality and/or levels of marginality and alienation as a result of inter-systemic, cultural, structural participation. Third, research is needed in the design and the potentialities of alternative non-formal educational structures and their interface



relationship to the formal schools. Fourth, questions of selection and accreditation (credibility) of varying modes of education must be investigated to legitimate any such structural innovations. Fifth, and probably most important, a dialogue on what quality education for Micronesia should consist of must be undertaken by Ponapeans and other Micronesians. Ultimately, they themselves must determine and take the responsibility for the kind of education they need for the kind of society they want to live in.

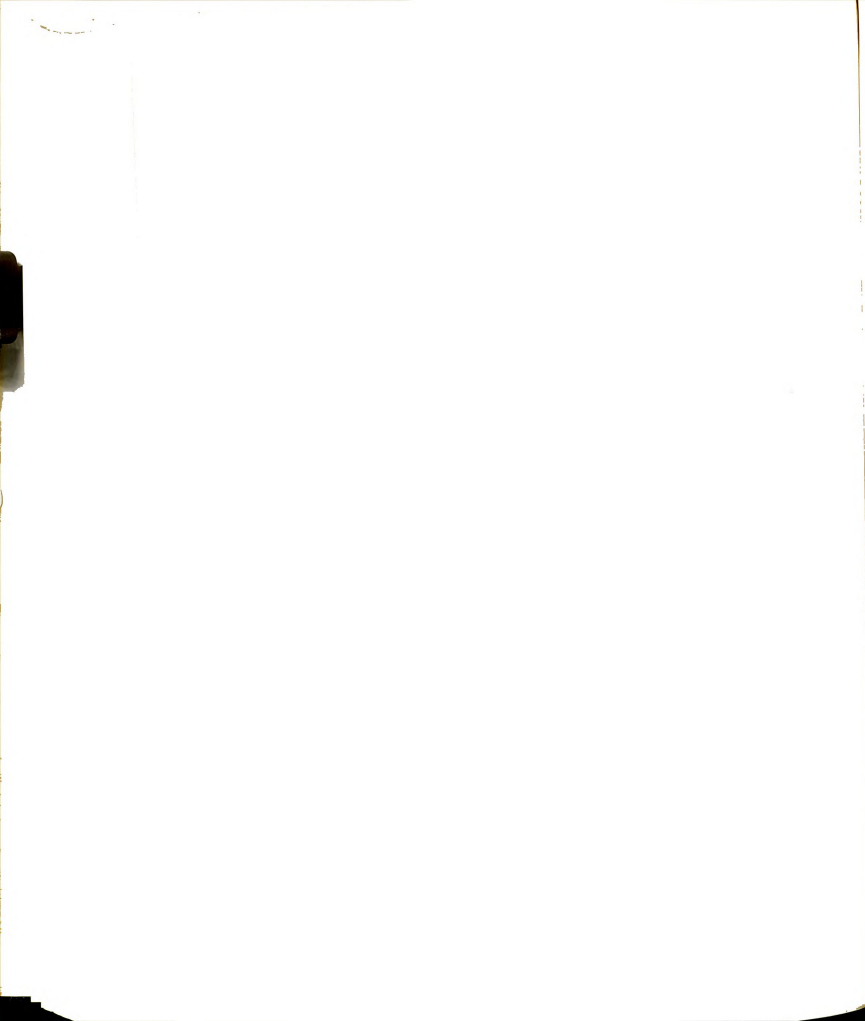


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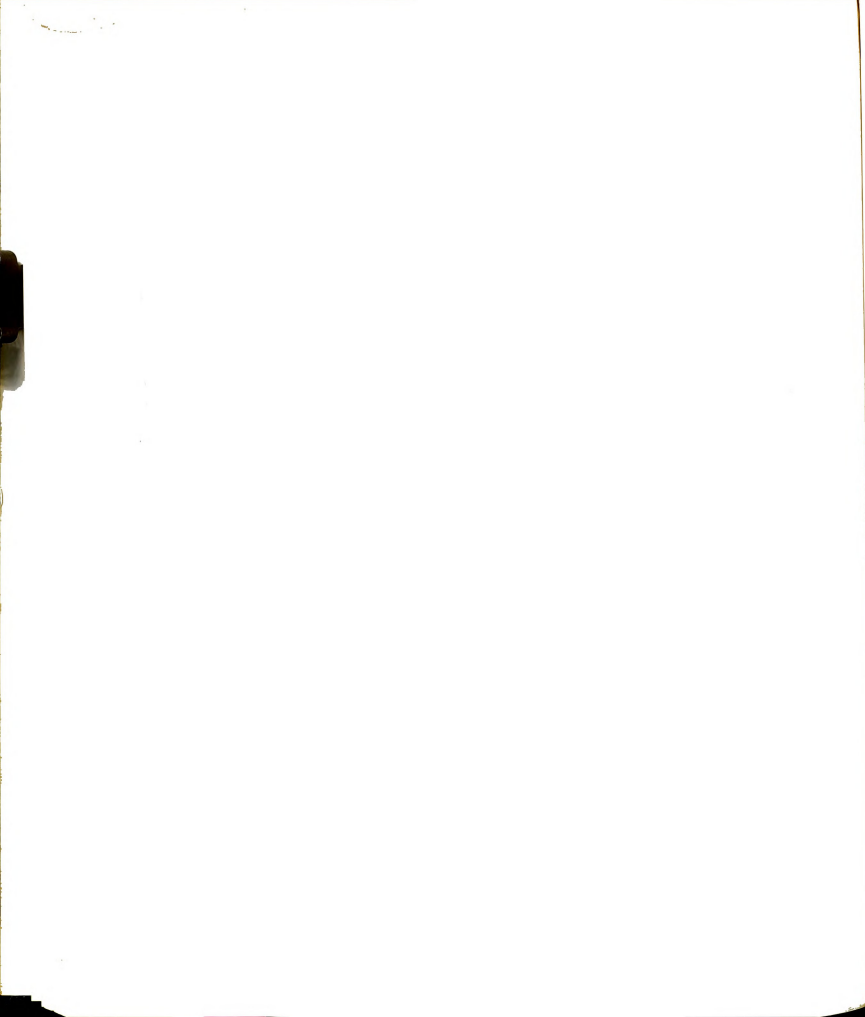


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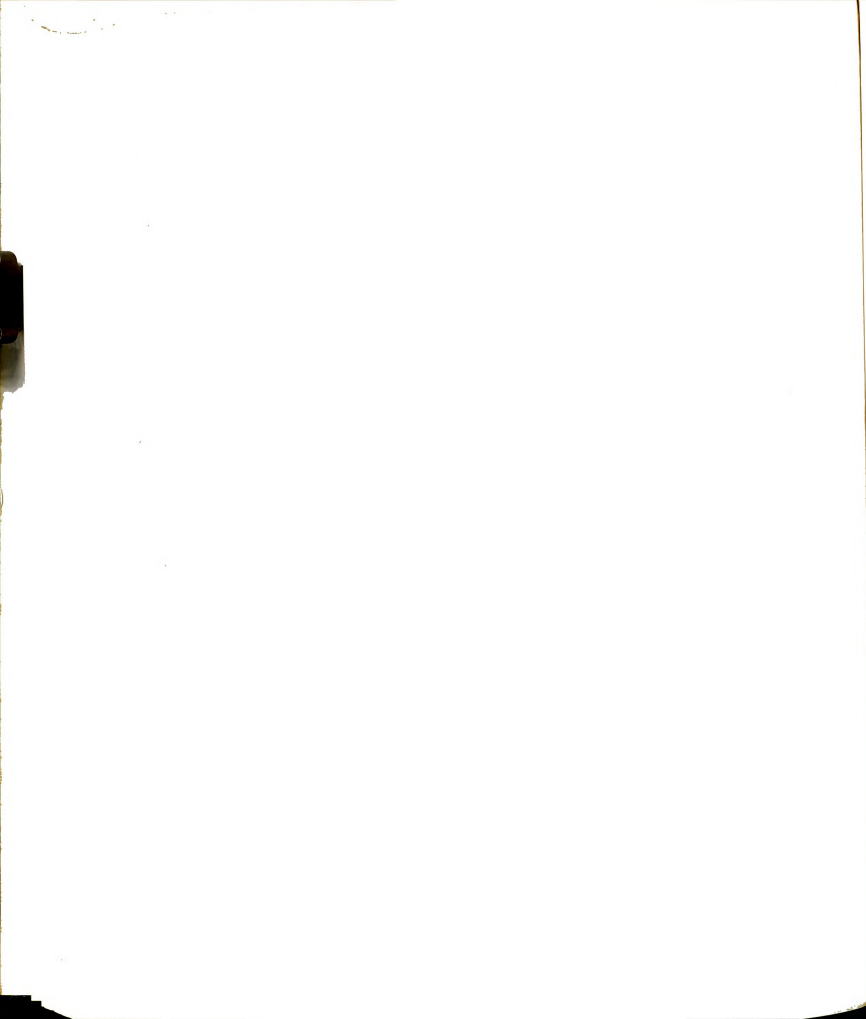


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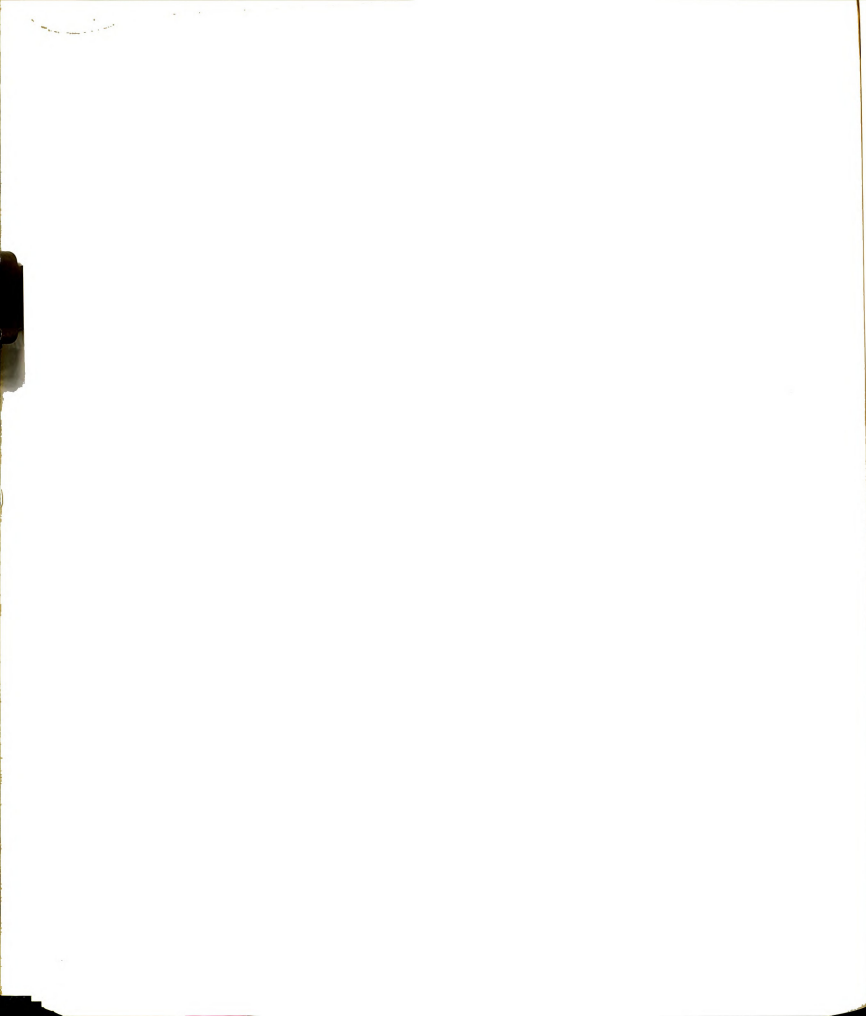
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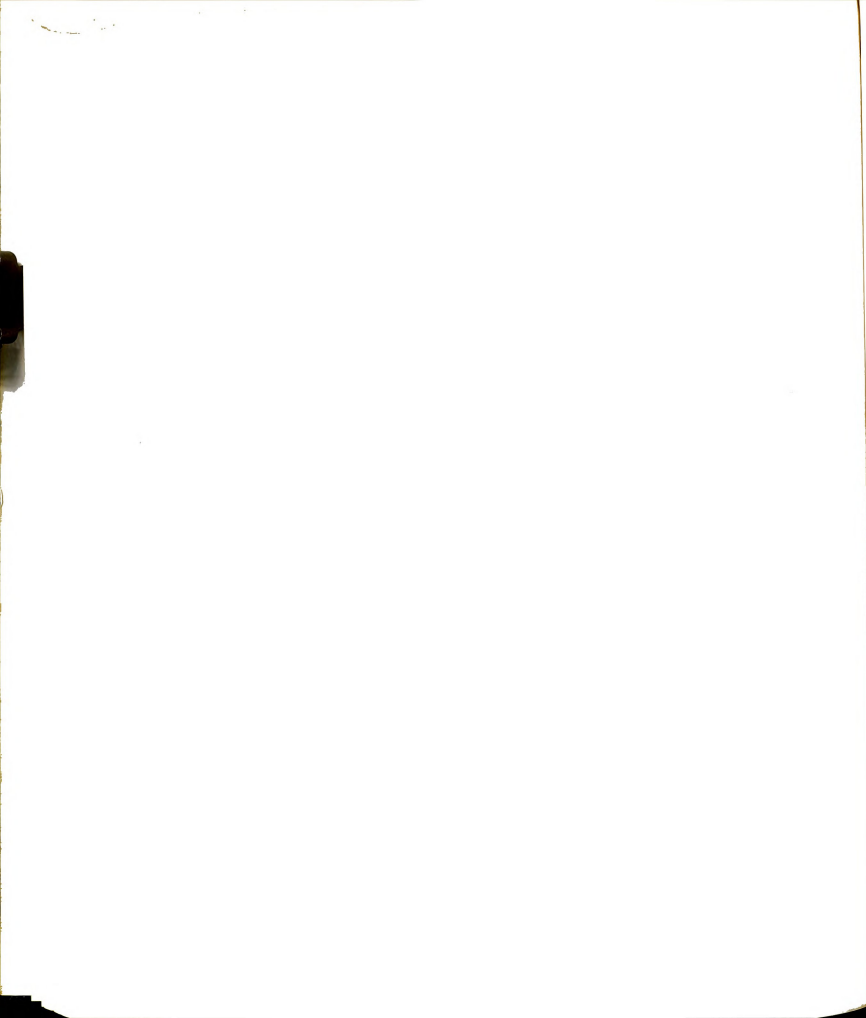


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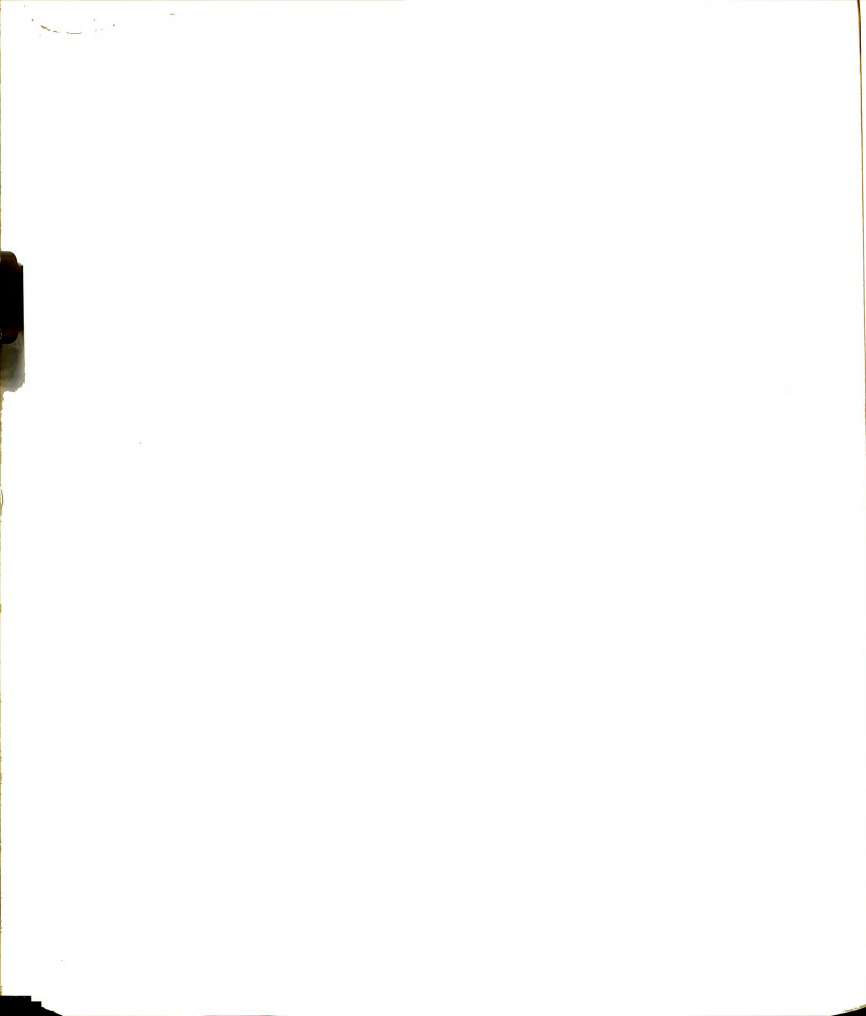


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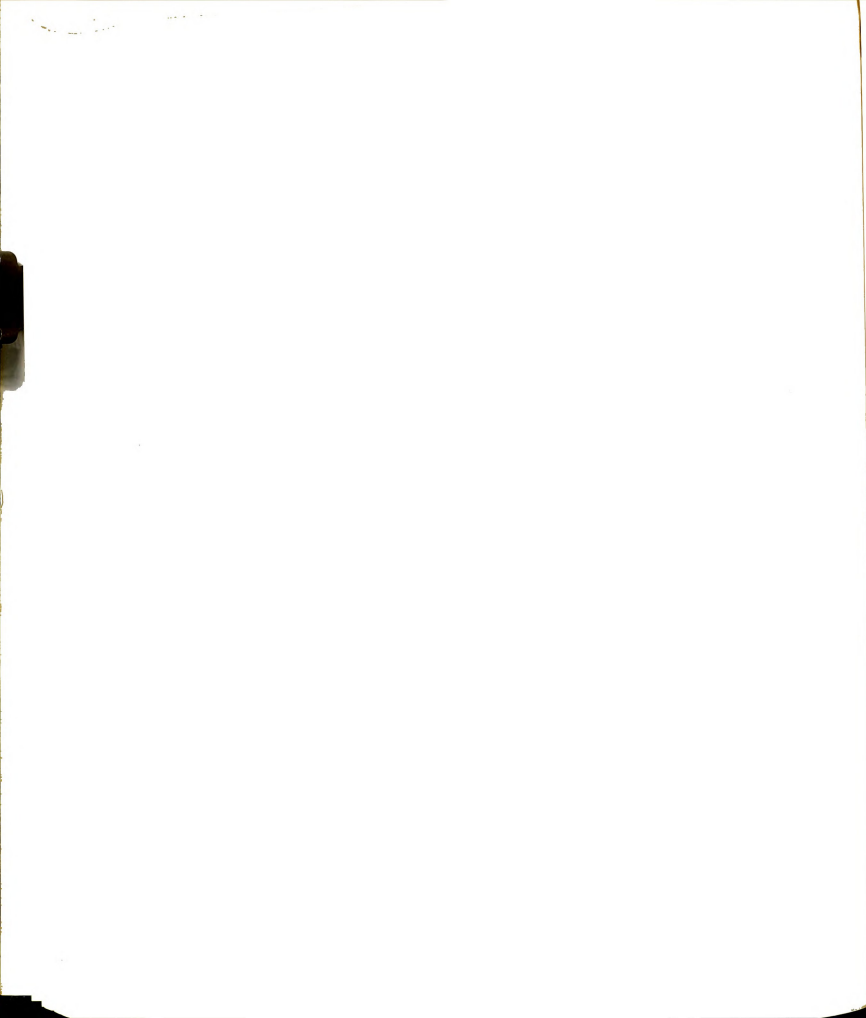


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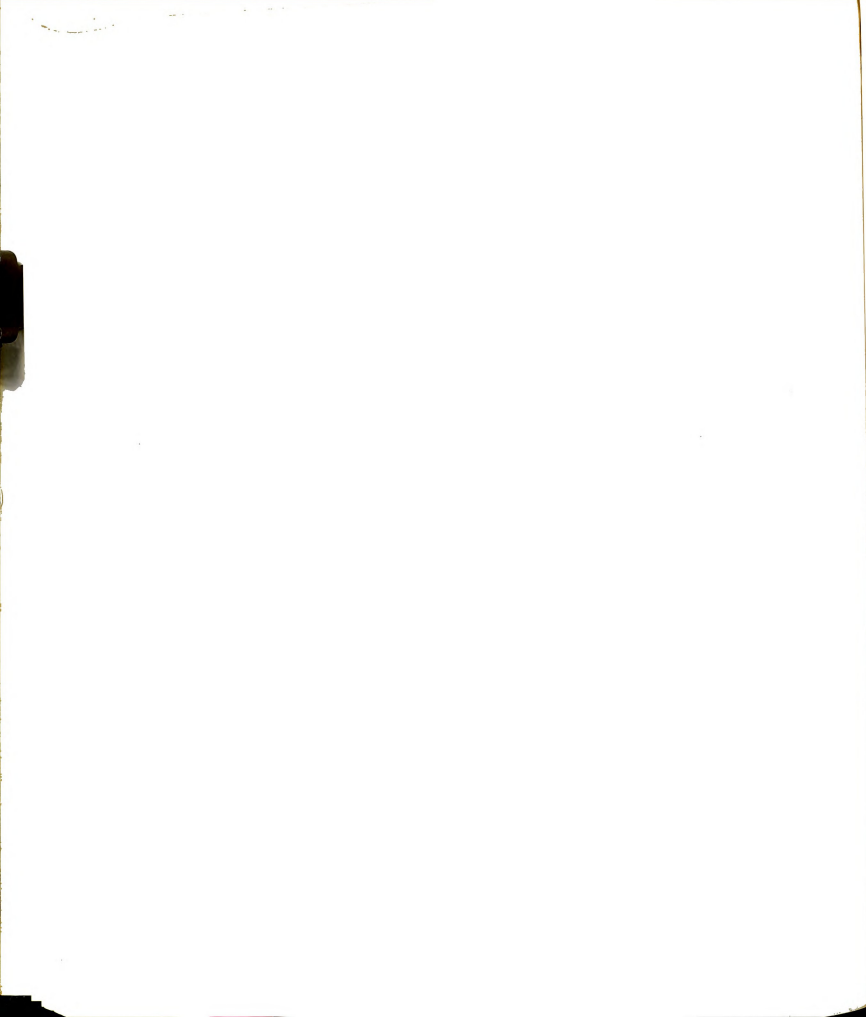


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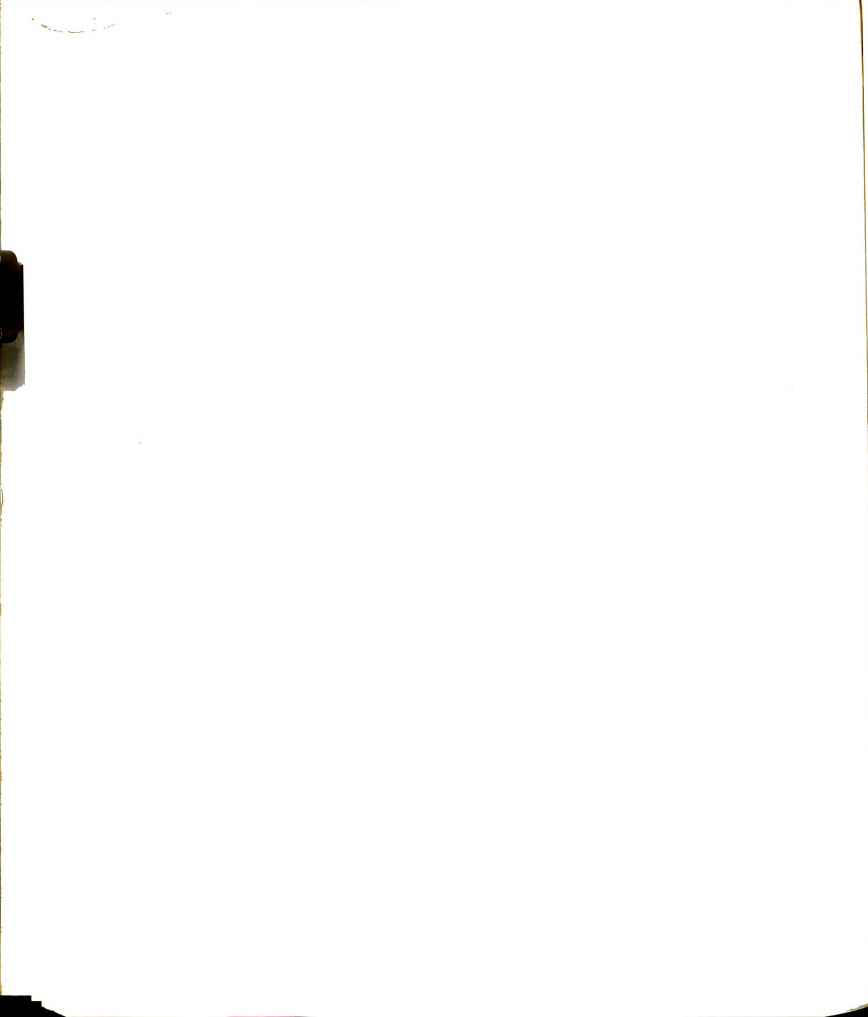
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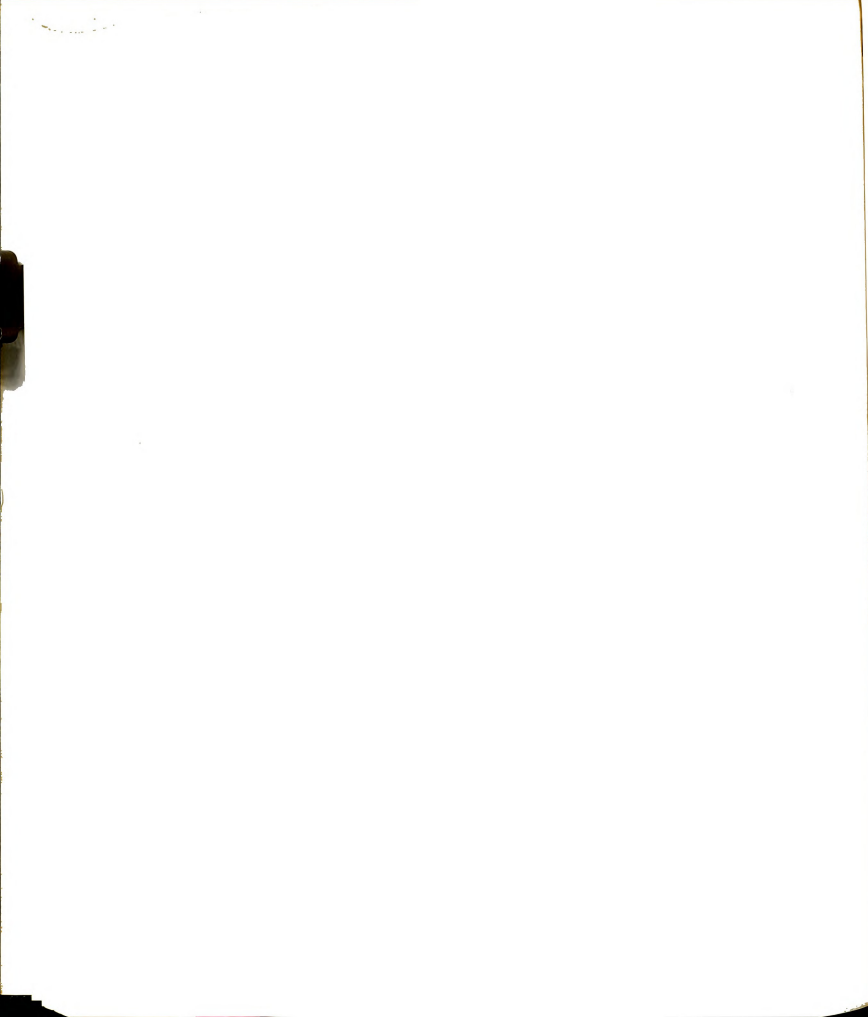
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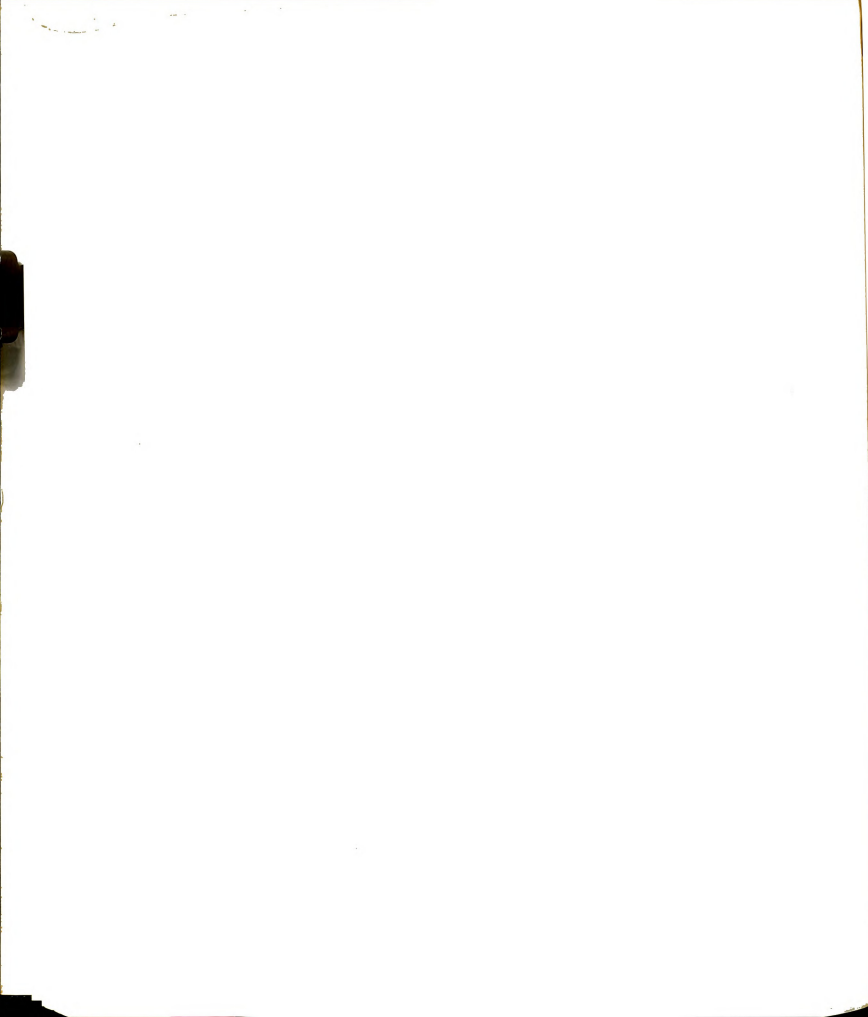


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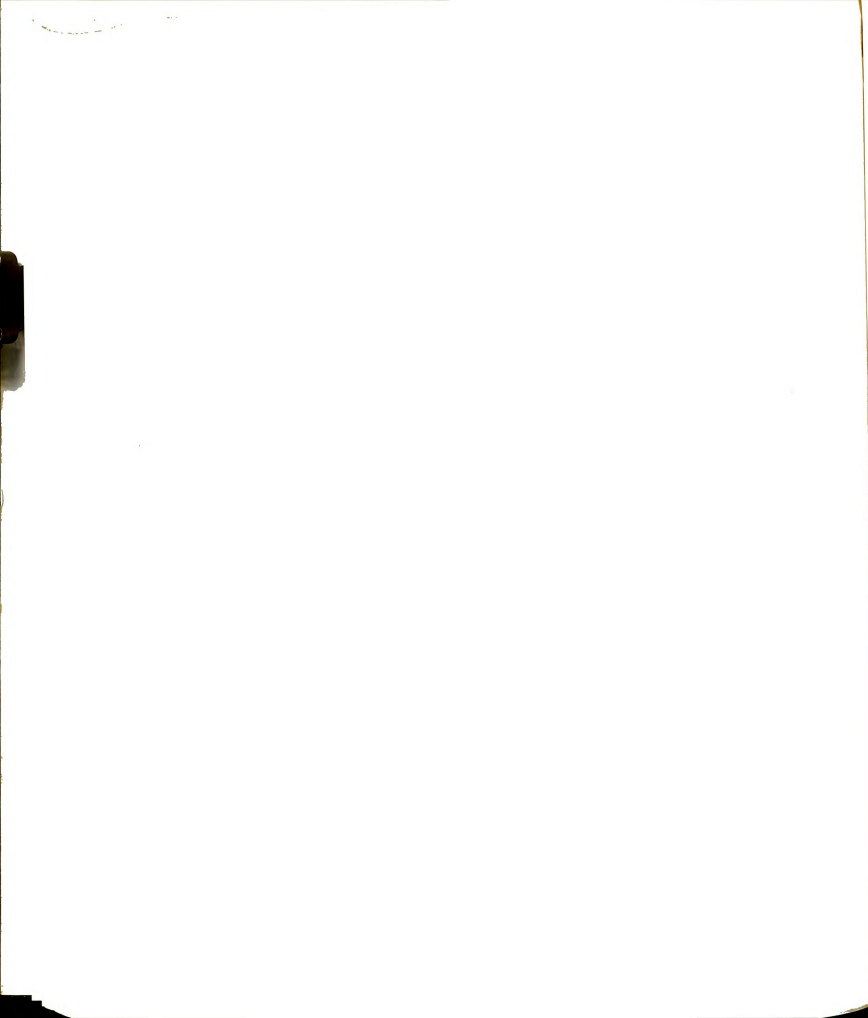
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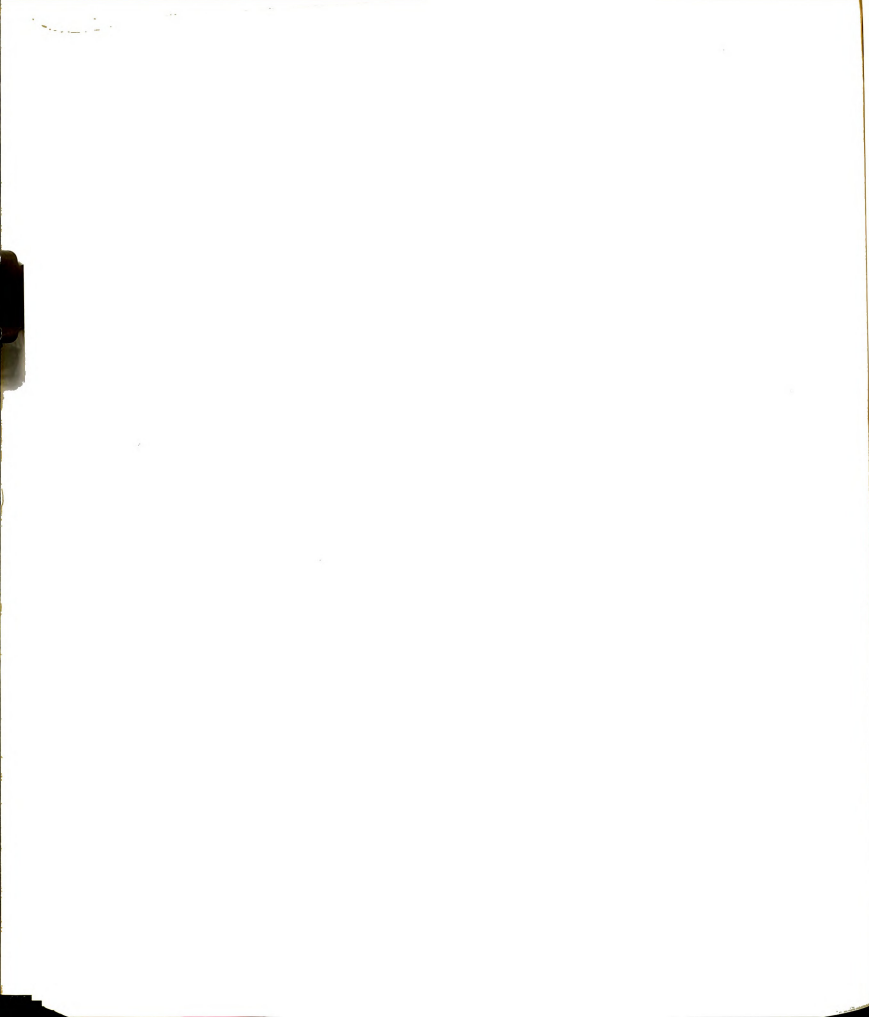
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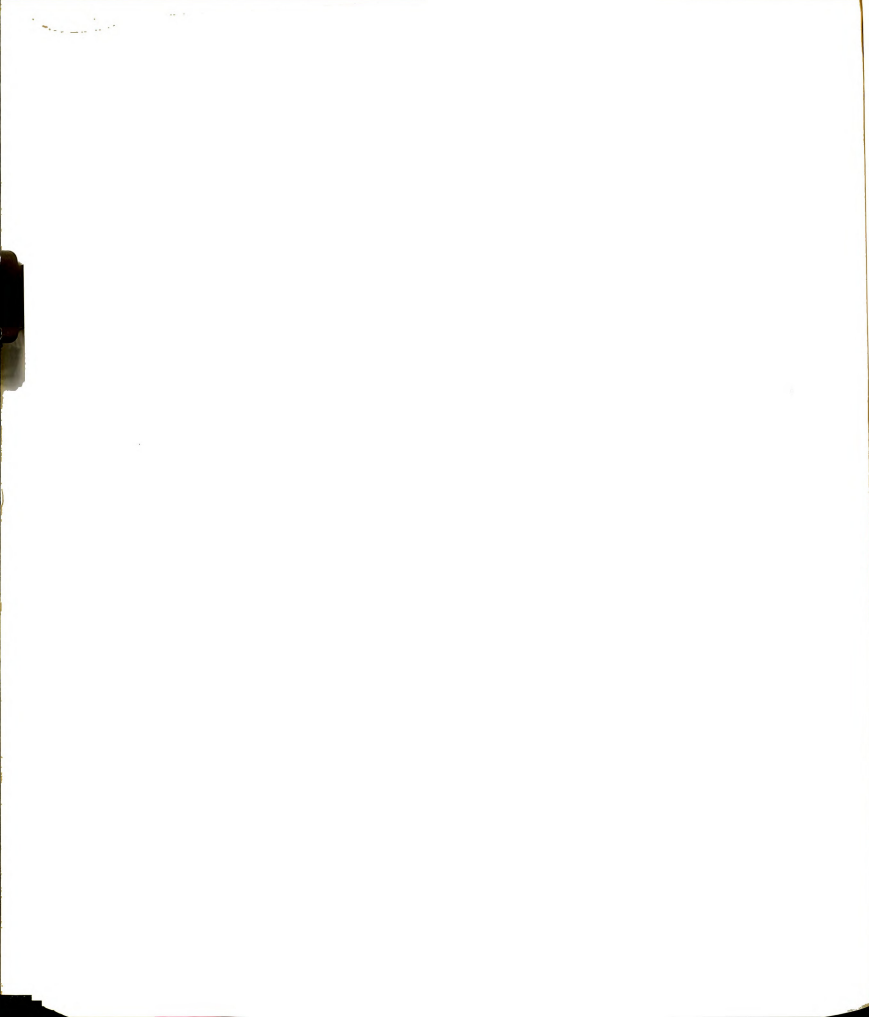


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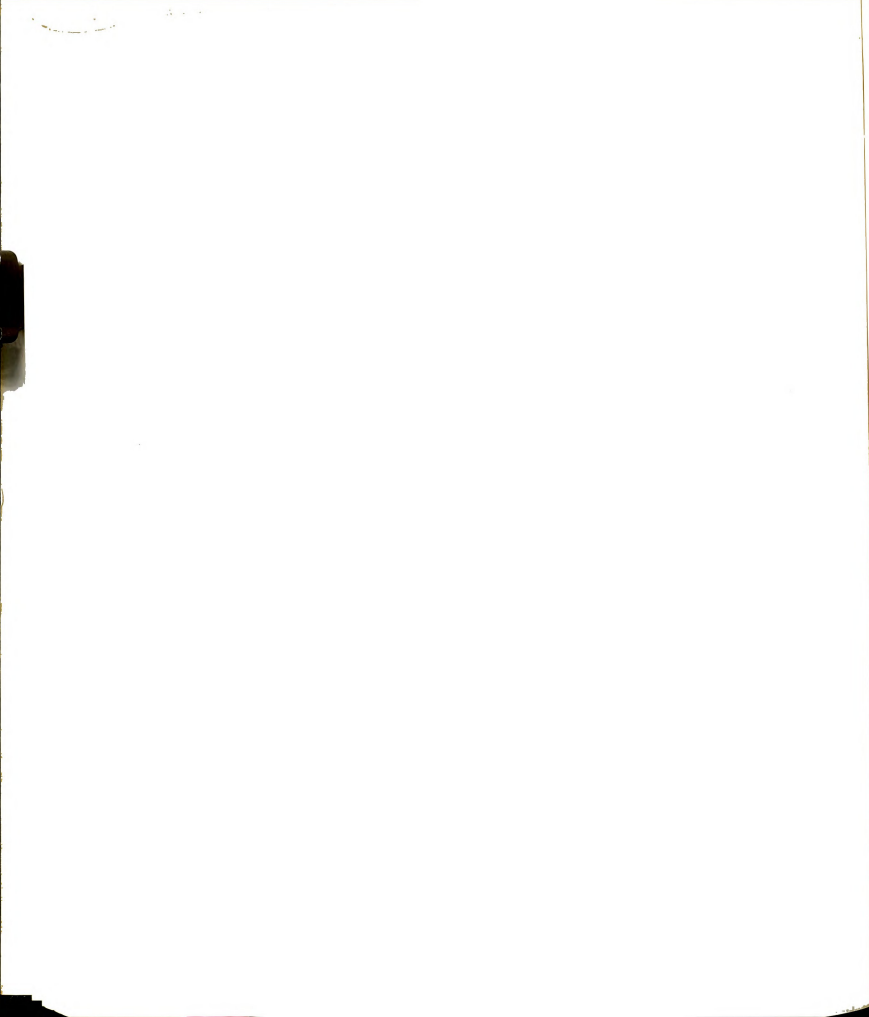


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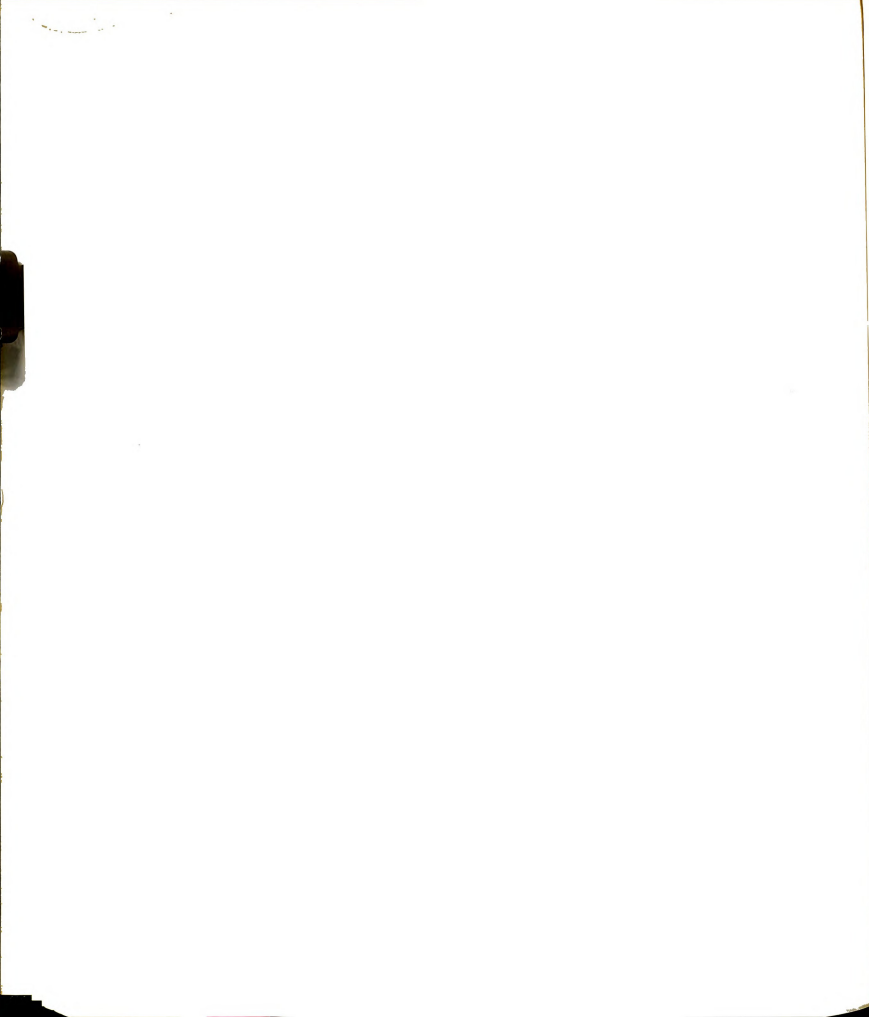


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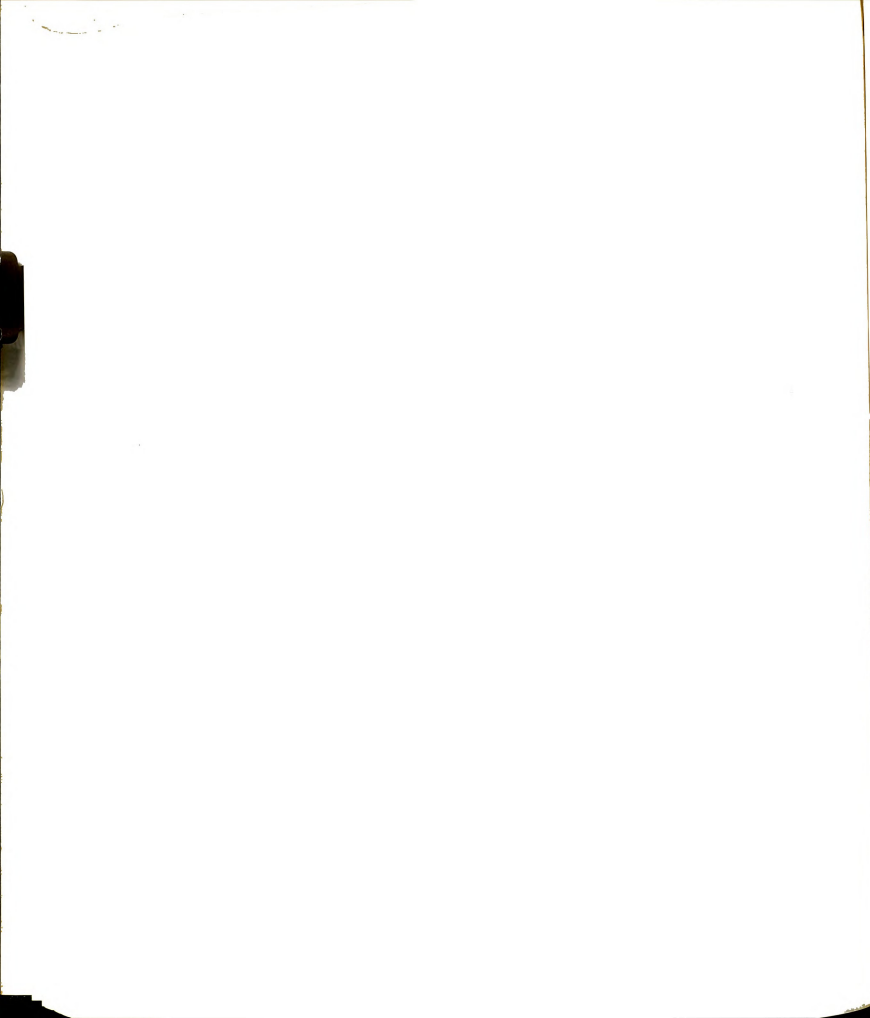
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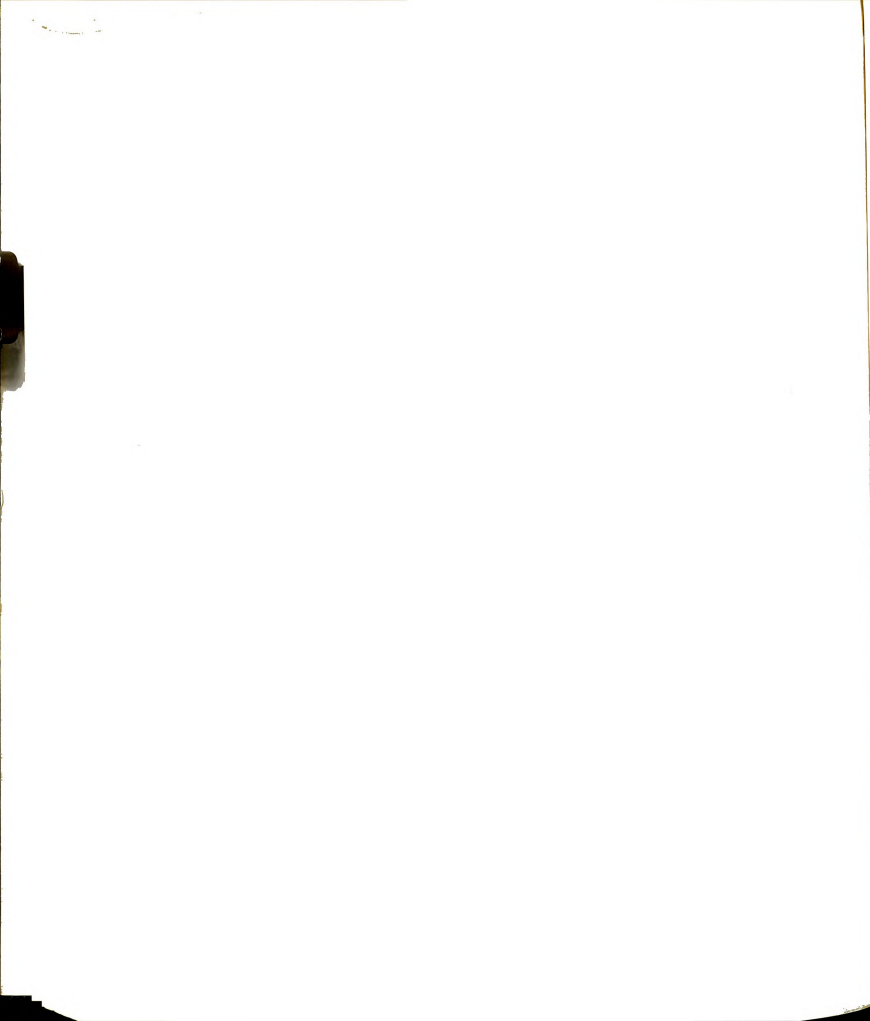
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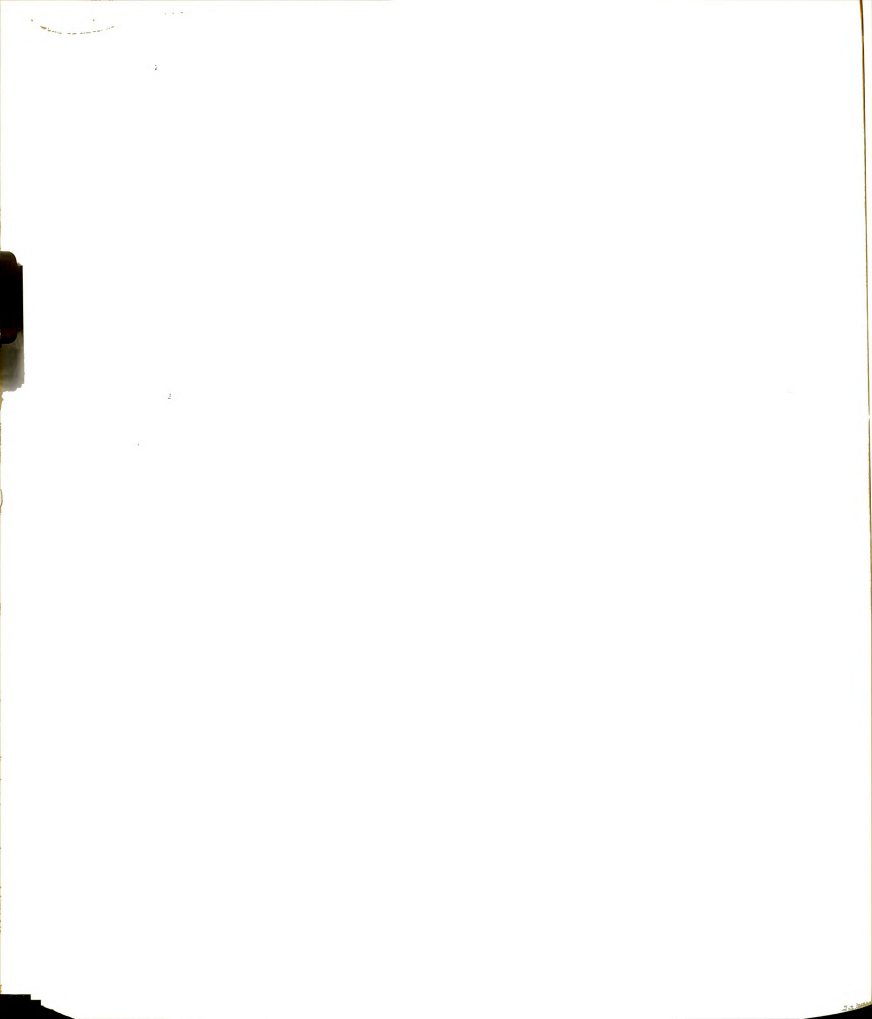


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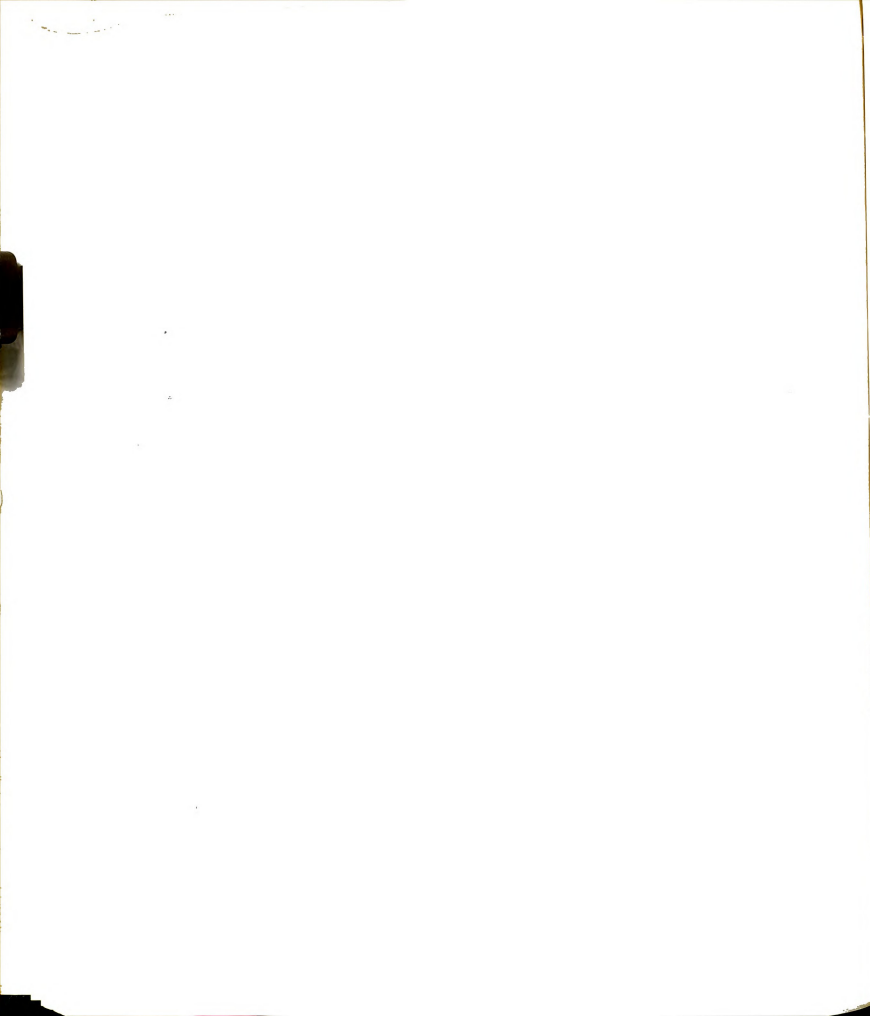
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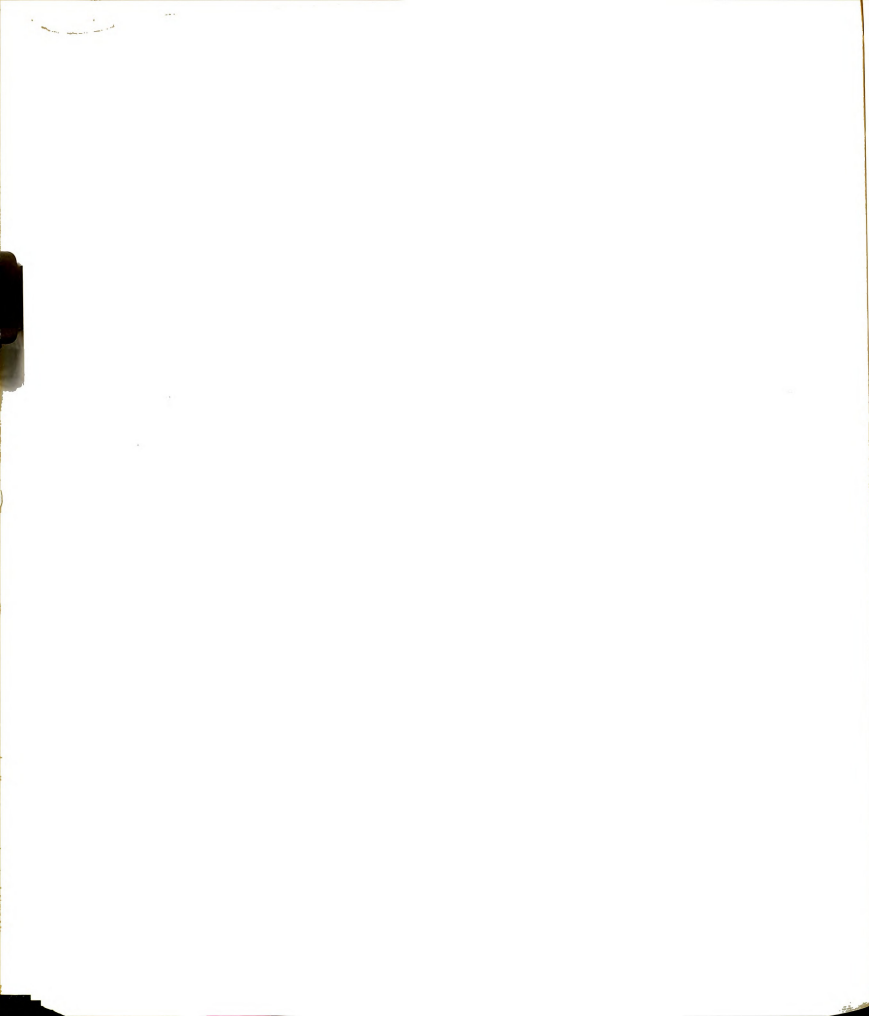
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APPENDICES



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:

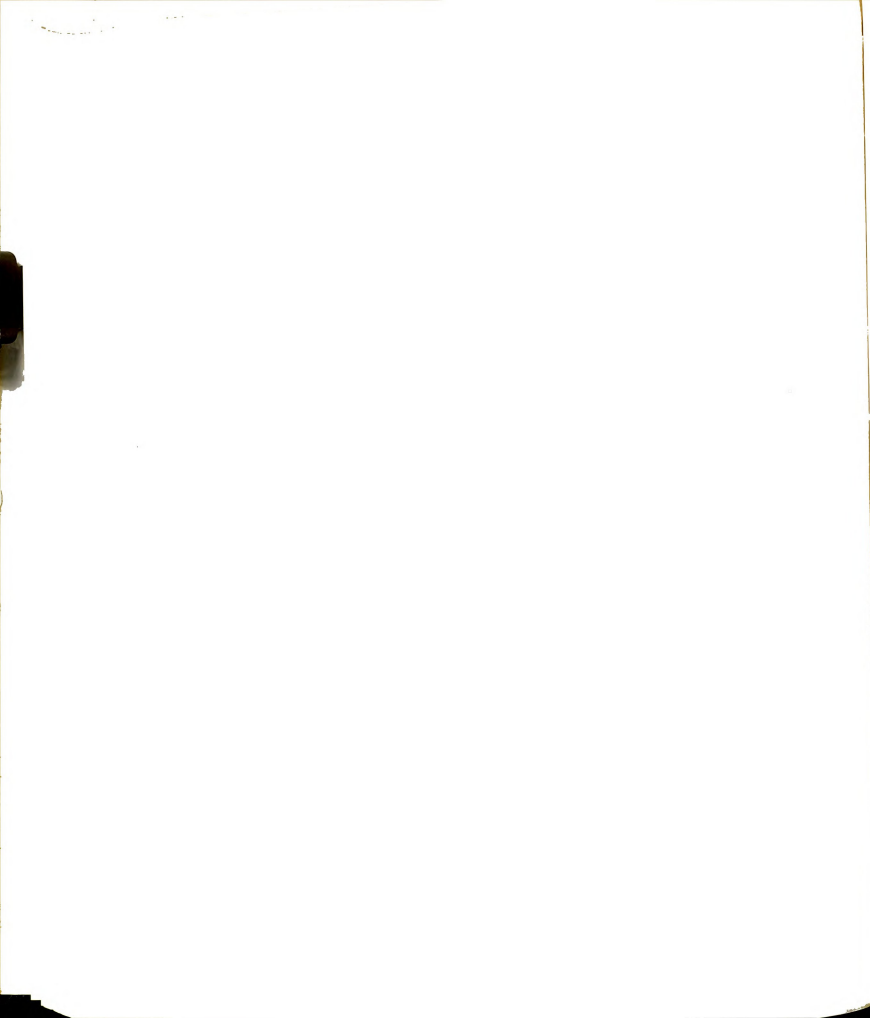
Group A--Rural terminees, five male and five female from a population of approximately 150 youth reared in the rural municipalities and having terminated from a rural elementary school at the eighth grade level in the school year 1967-68.

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 1967-68.

Group C--Rural seniors, five male and five female from a population of thirty-two rural Ponapean students who were reared 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 and attended both elementary school and now 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 1967-68) were randomly selected from groups who terminated their formal schooling at that level. A total of forty Ponapean youth with varying exposure to urbanization 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. 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

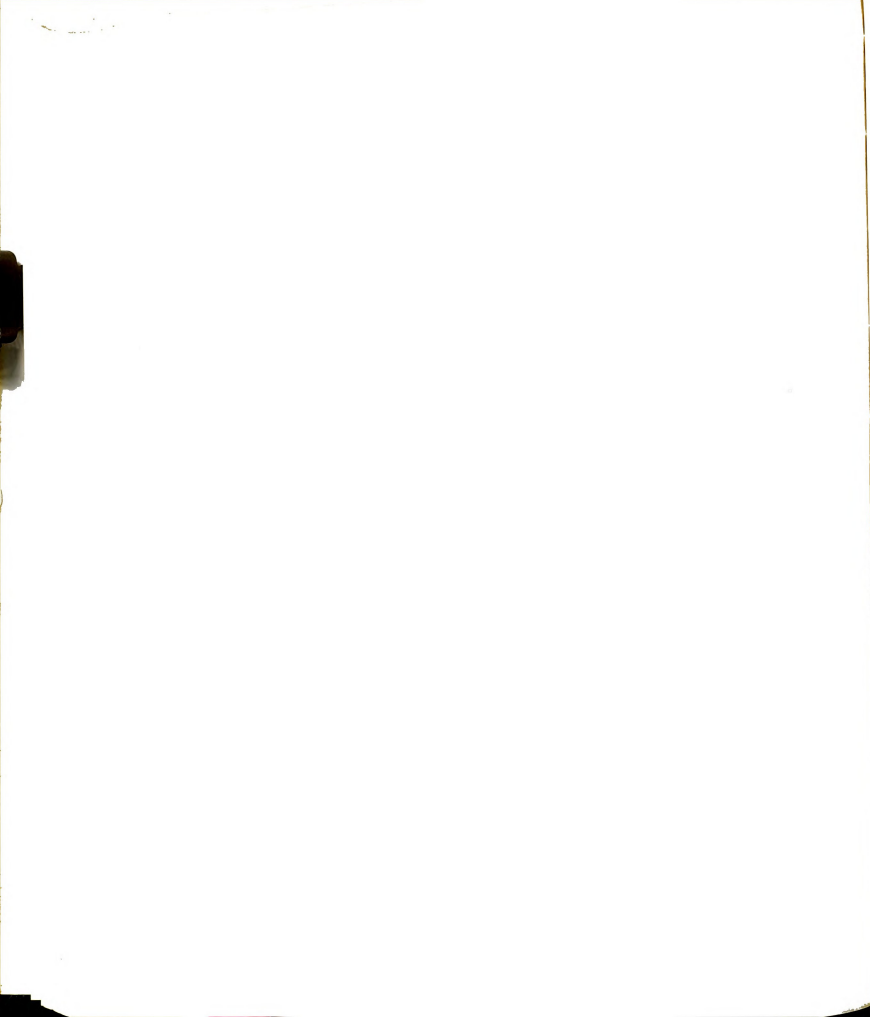
An endeavor was made to interview parents from every municipality in equal proportion, but the difficult transportation and communication problems on the island made this impossible. The majority of the parents interviewed lived within a radius of three miles of the local school. Although parents were 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. 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.

4. Non-Ponapean Educator Sample: There were twenty non-Ponapean educators interviewed at the high school and education office levels. Sixteen 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 exist 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 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 in the endpoint of their second year. The researcher did informally speak with most of the first year educators.

5. The Child Rearing Sample: The final interview schedule on child rearing was administered to ten elderly Ponapean mothers (beyond the age of thirty) who were selected primarily on the basis of availability and personal friendship with the researcher's spouse.



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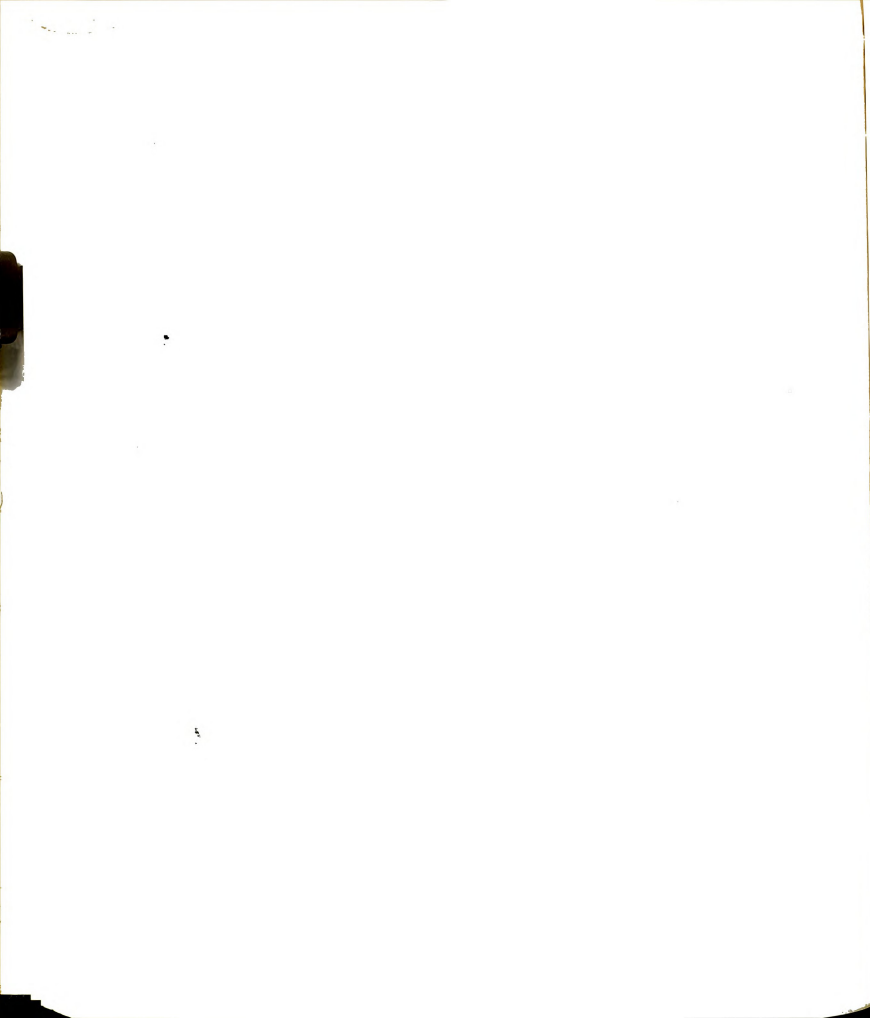
An endeavor was made to interview parents from every municipality in equal proportion, but the difficult transportation and communication problems on the island made this impossible. The majority of the parents interviewed lived within a radius of three miles of the local school. Although parents were 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.

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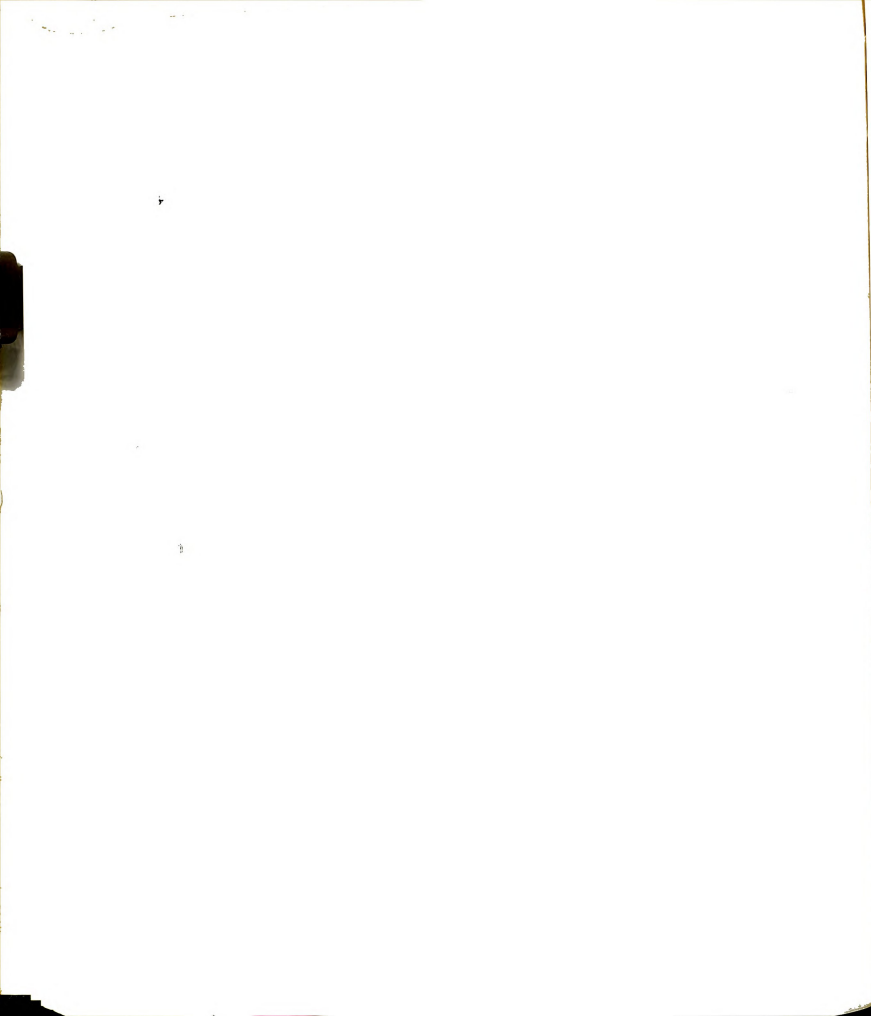
5. The Child Rearing Sample: The final interview schedule on child rearing was administered to ten elderly Ponapean mothers (beyond the age of thirty) who were selected primarily on the basis of availability and personal friendship with the researcher's spouse.



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. Although random sampling could not be employed for all groups as discussed above, the primary sample of the study, the Ponapean youth, were randomly chosen.

All quantitative data was obtained through research in local school and administrative records. It should be noted that most records were incomplete and sometimes non-existent 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, was 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, indirect questioning and projecting the question onto a third party, i.e., "what do you think others feel about that" was necessarily employed with success.



APPENDIX B

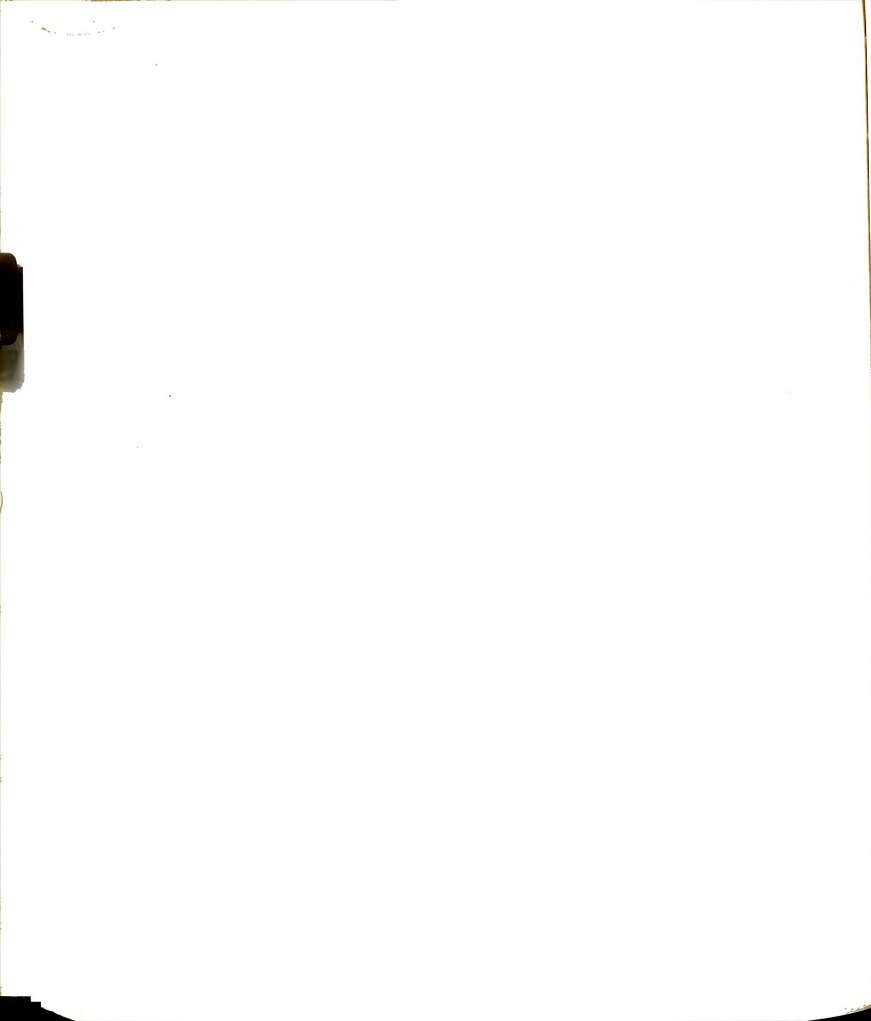
PONAPEAN EDUCATOR INTERVIEW

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 effected 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 C

EDUCATOR INTERVIEW

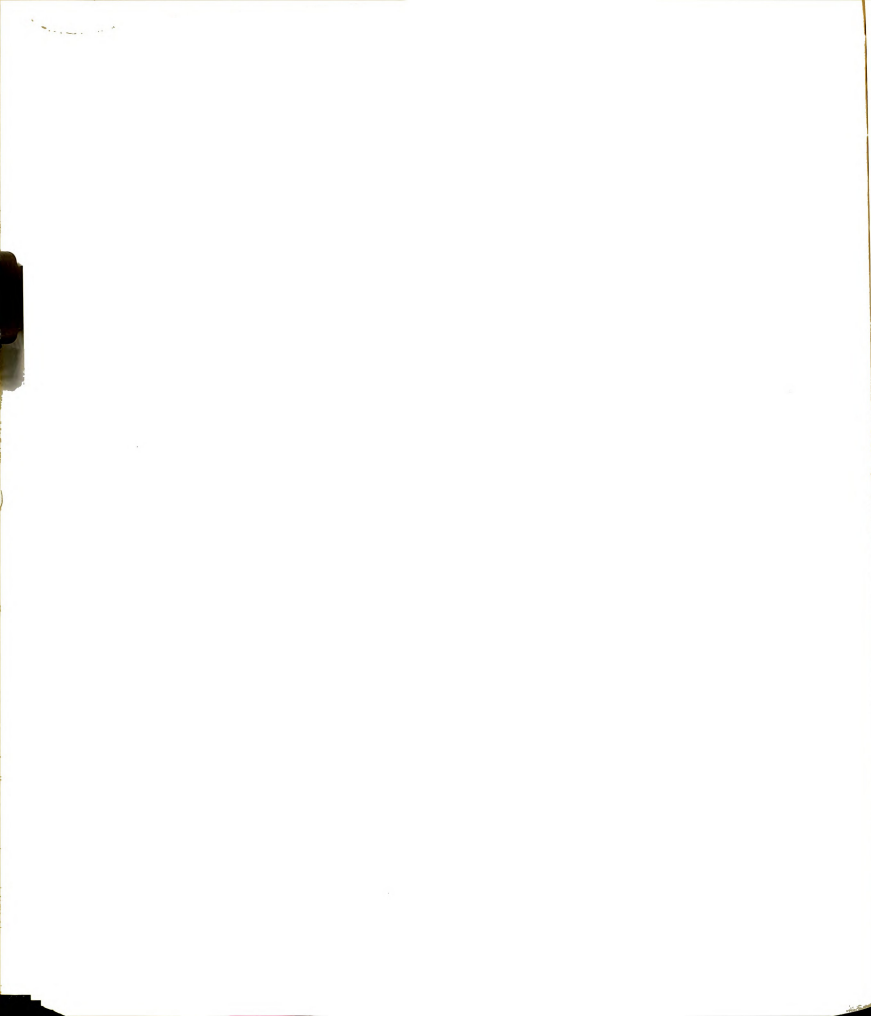
The general purpose of this research project is to study the impact of education on cultural identity among the Ponapeans.

This interview is strictly confidential. Anything that you say to me will not be repeated nor will your name be used in any publication.

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.

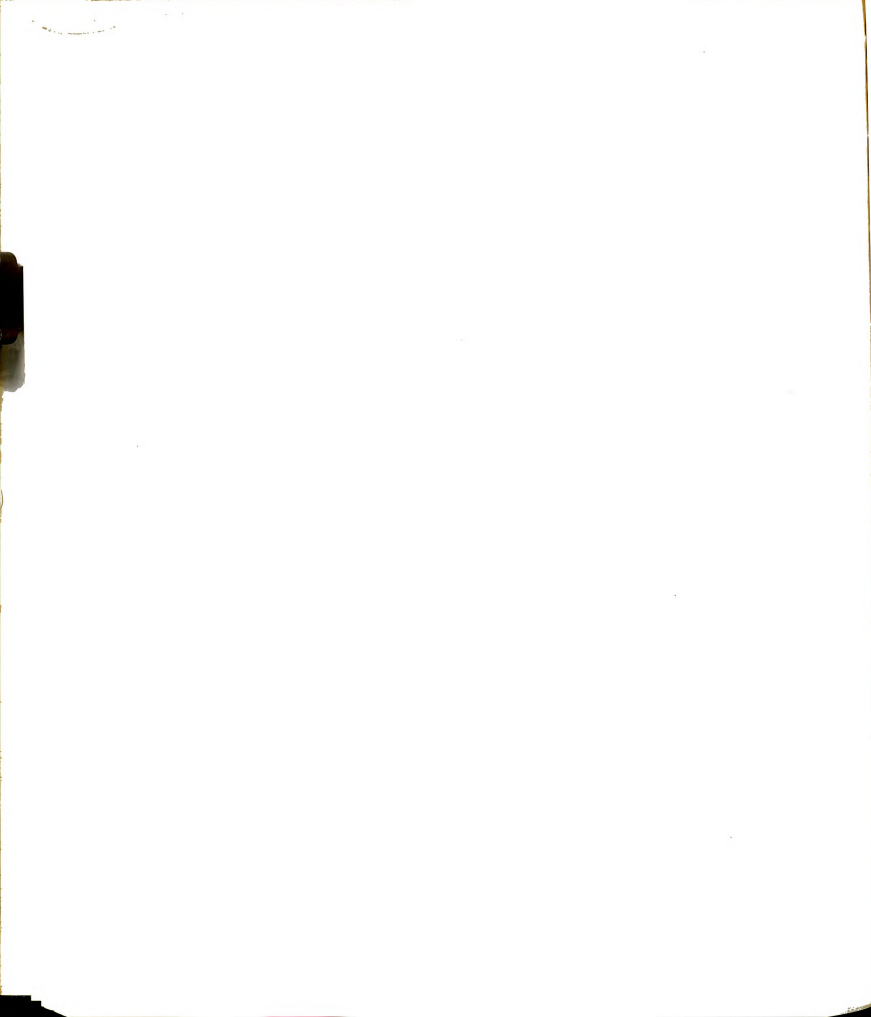
2. What are the nicest things about working here?
3. What are the worst things about working here?
4. What are the special difficulties about teaching Ponapean students here?
5. Are there any respects in which it is easier to work with these students than with others?
6. What do you feel these students 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 students 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).

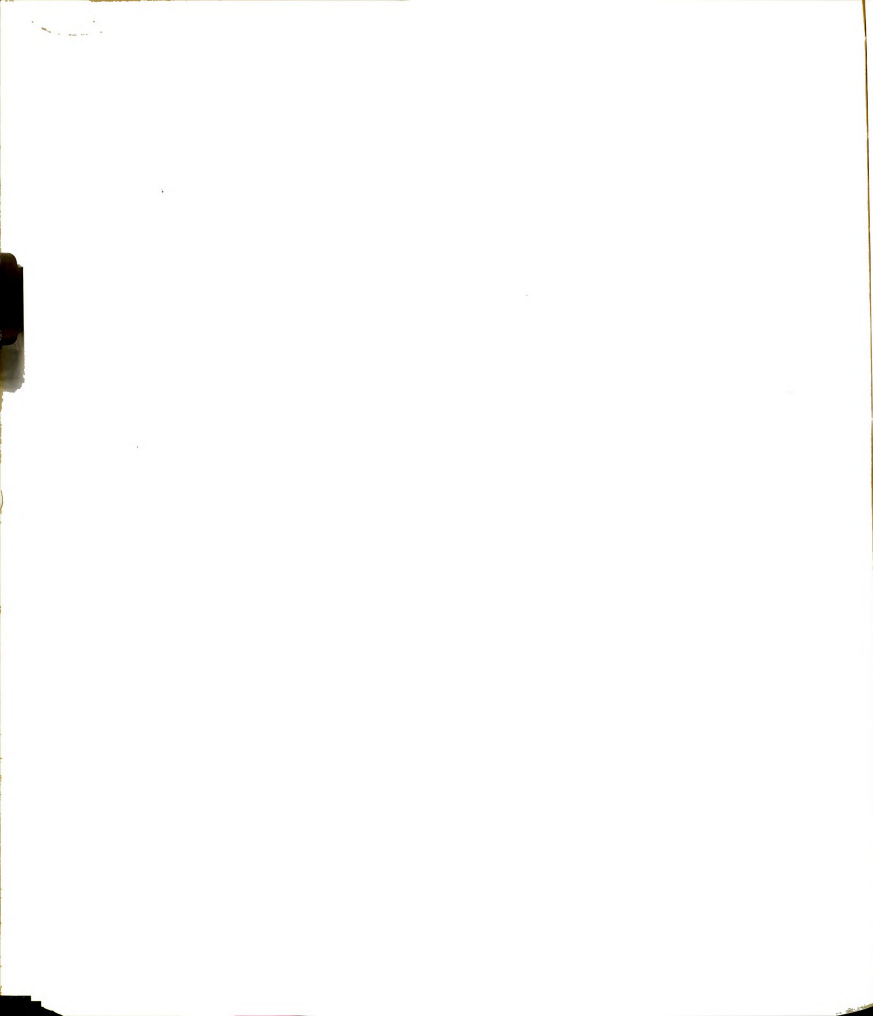
Now, do you have any questions or further comments.



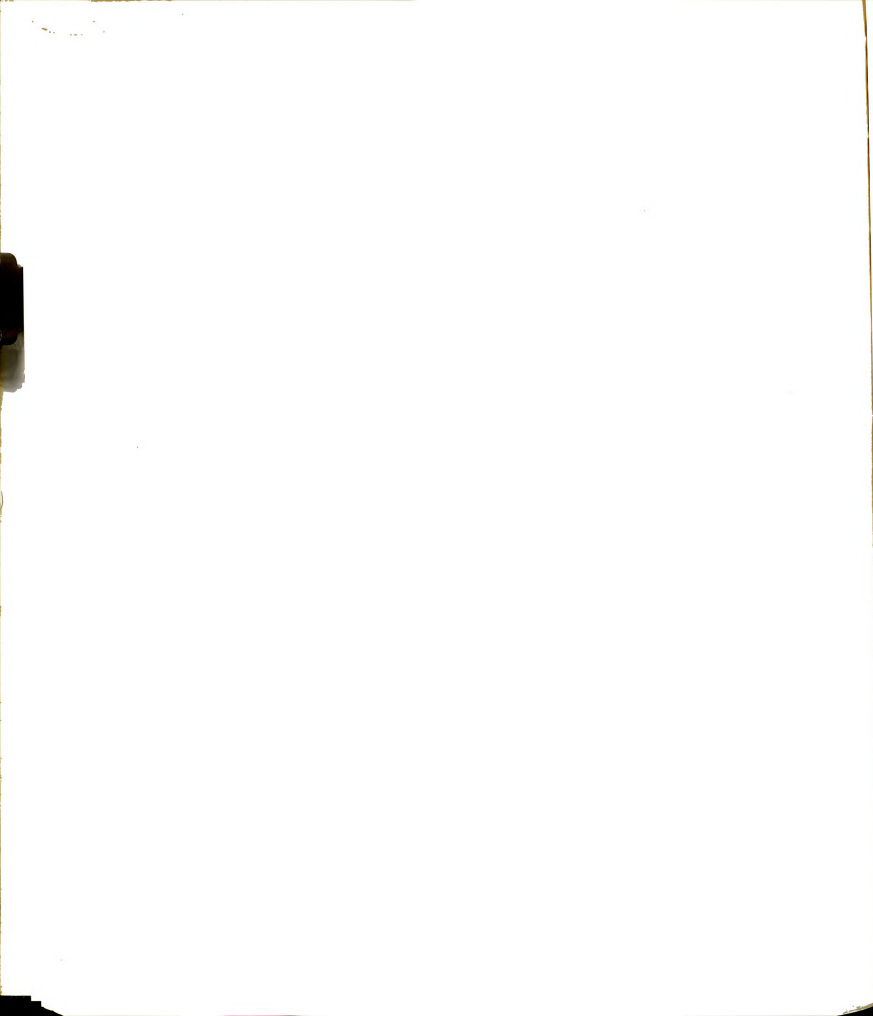
APPENDIX D

PARENT INTERVIEW

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 makes them disrespectful or mean to their parents--or makes 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 (tiak en sop)?
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?



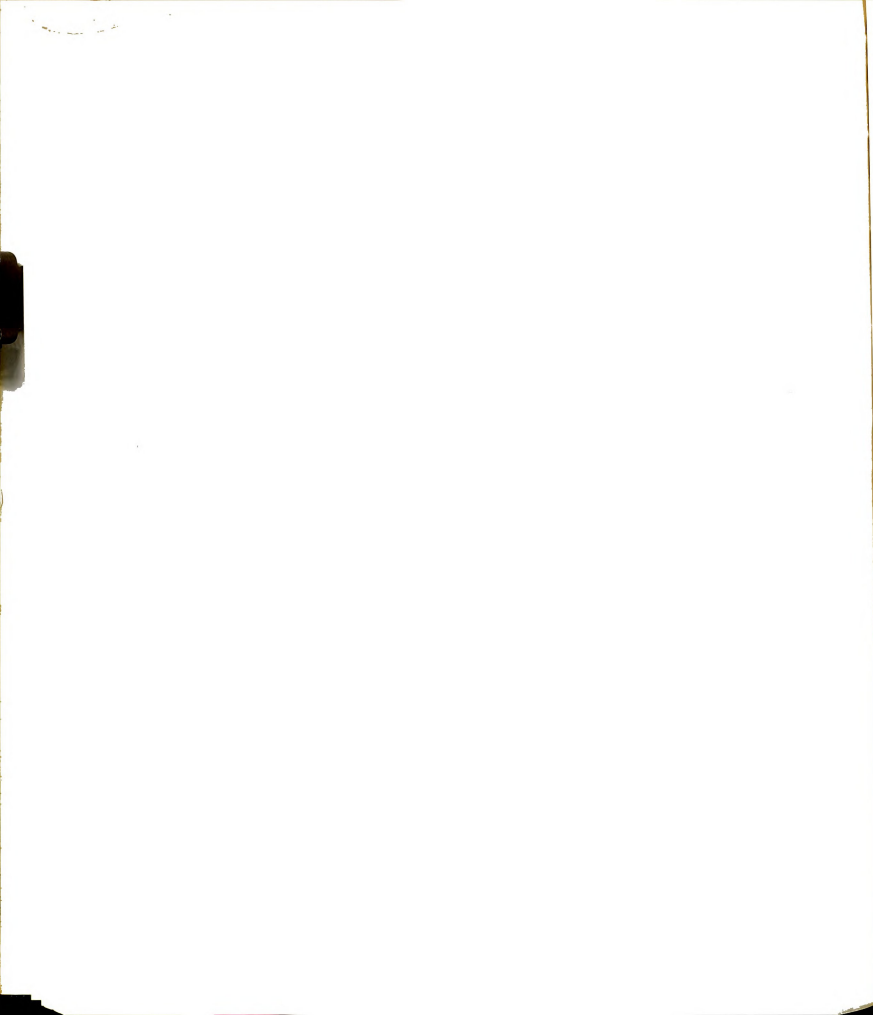
16. Has your child ever said that he didn't want to go to school?
17. How do you think that your children should behave in school?
18. Have you ever heard other Ponapeans talking about the school?
What do they say?
19. How would you compare the Japanese schools with the American schools?
20. Do you have any suggestions for making the schools better?



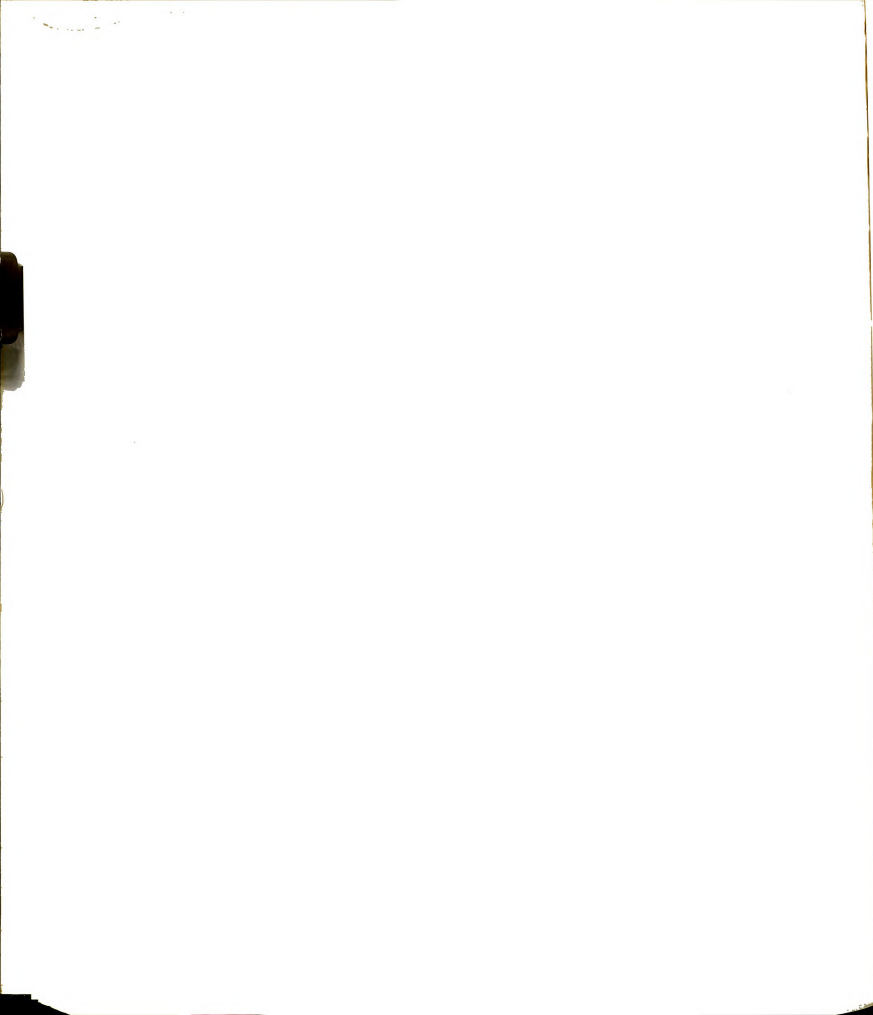
APPENDIX E

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 do you see as being worthy of adoption by Ponapeans? 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?
9. Do you drink beer or other alcoholic beverages? How often? With whom? Where? Why? Do you drink Sakau? 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. It is 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?

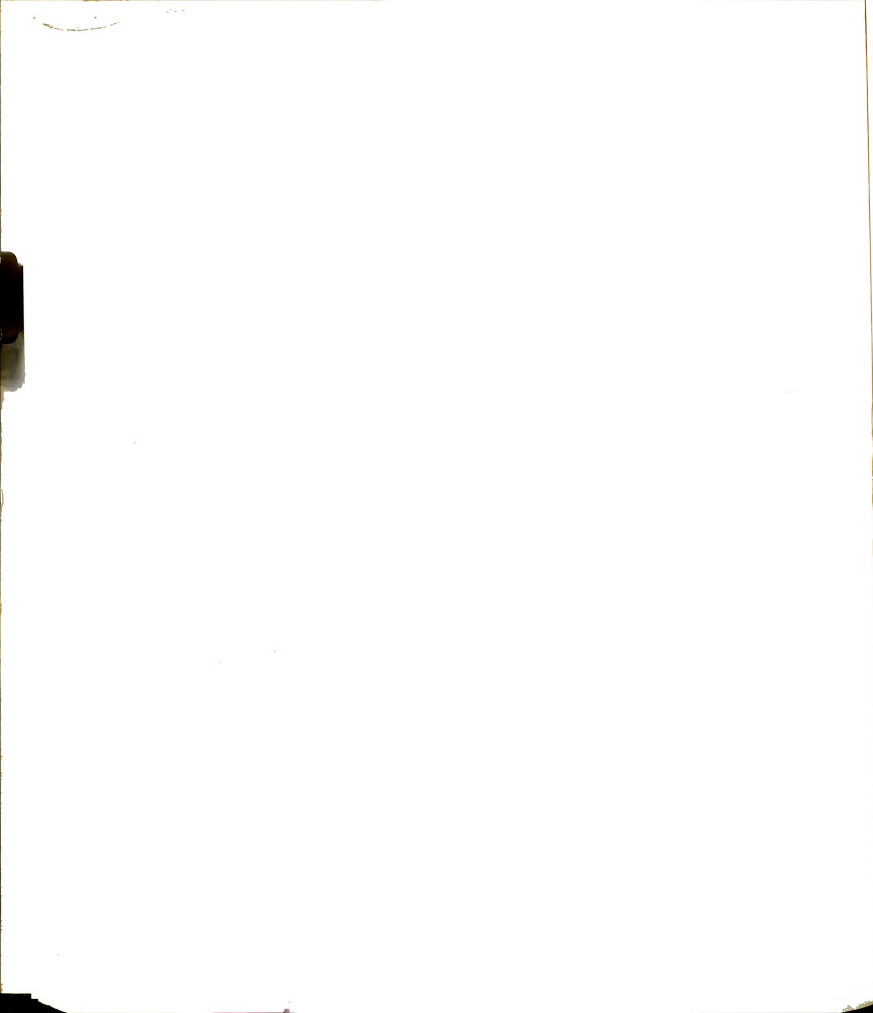


13. What are the characteristics of a good student? What do you think about school? What good things does the school teach? What bad things? Could you learn just as much at home (on the land)? What kind of things can you learn at home that you cannot learn in school? Who was/is your favorite teacher? 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 Nahnmwarki (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 mopey 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?



CONTACT MEASURE

Access to Mass Media

1. How often do you listen to the radio now?
 - a. every day
 - b. a couple times a week
 - c. hardly ever
2. How often do you go to the movies?
 - a. once a week
 - b. several times a year
 - c. hardly ever
3. Do you read magazines and books?
 - a. frequently
 - b. sometimes
 - c. seldom

Voluntary Organizational Membership

1. What groups do you belong to?

Residential Mobility

1. Do you visit Kolonia (District Center)?
 - a. once a year
 - b. once a month
 - c. once a week
 - d. live there
2. What different places have you lived and for how long?

Salaried Employment

1. Where and for how long?
 - a. none
 - b. minimal
 - c. temporary
 - d. full time under three years
 - e. full time over three years

Level of Education (Formal)

1. 8 or 12 years

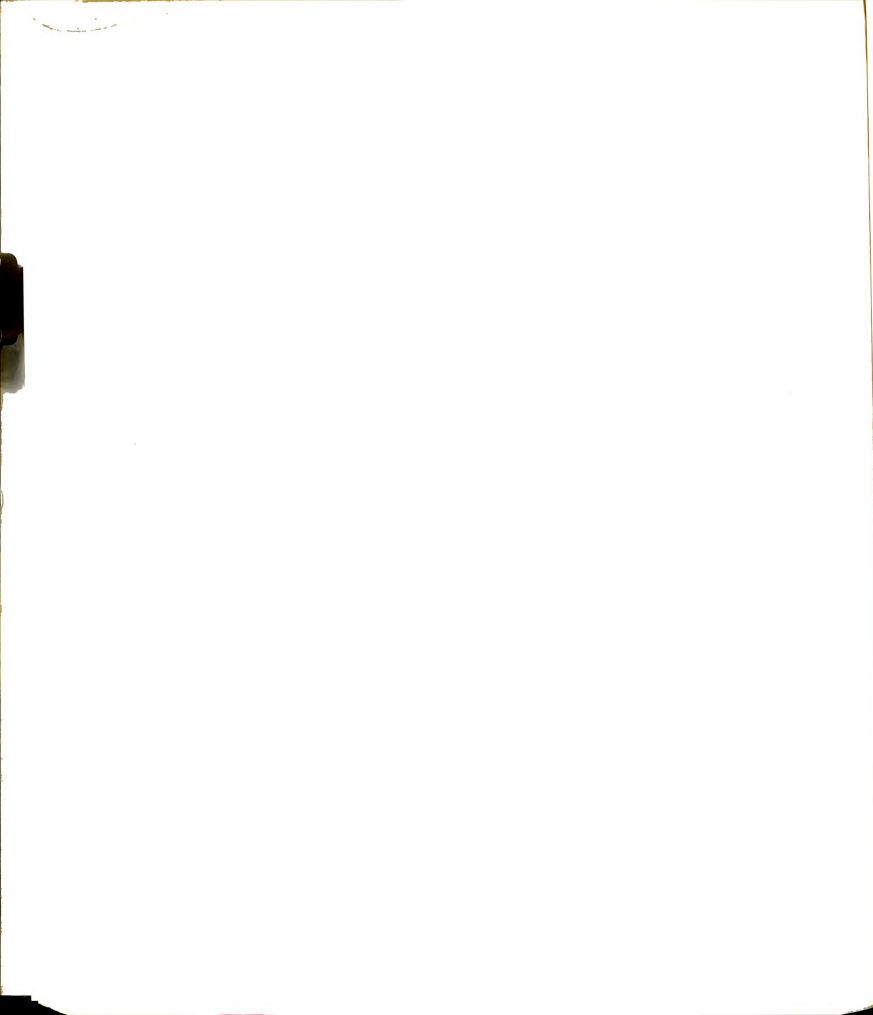
Knowledge of English

1. Eighth grade English test scores

Other Institutional Contact

1. Have you ever been in jail? How long?
2. Have you ever been in the hospital? How long?

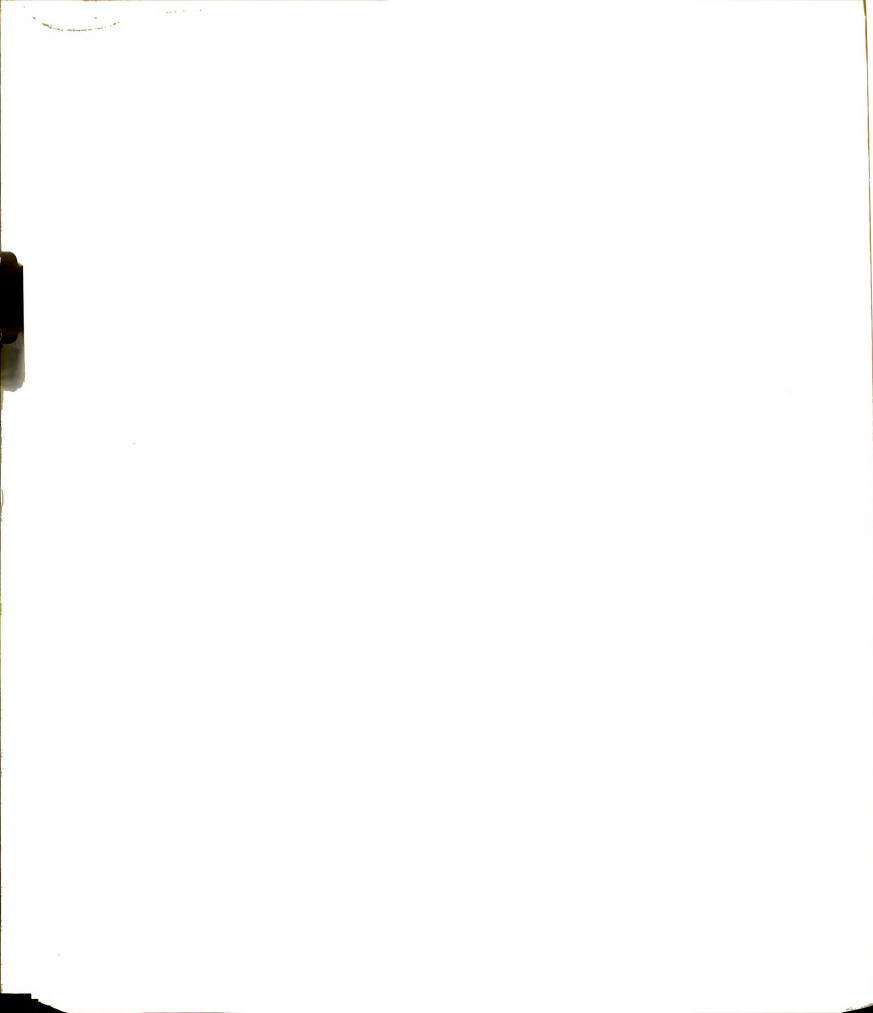
Have you ever traveled off the island of Ponape--give details.



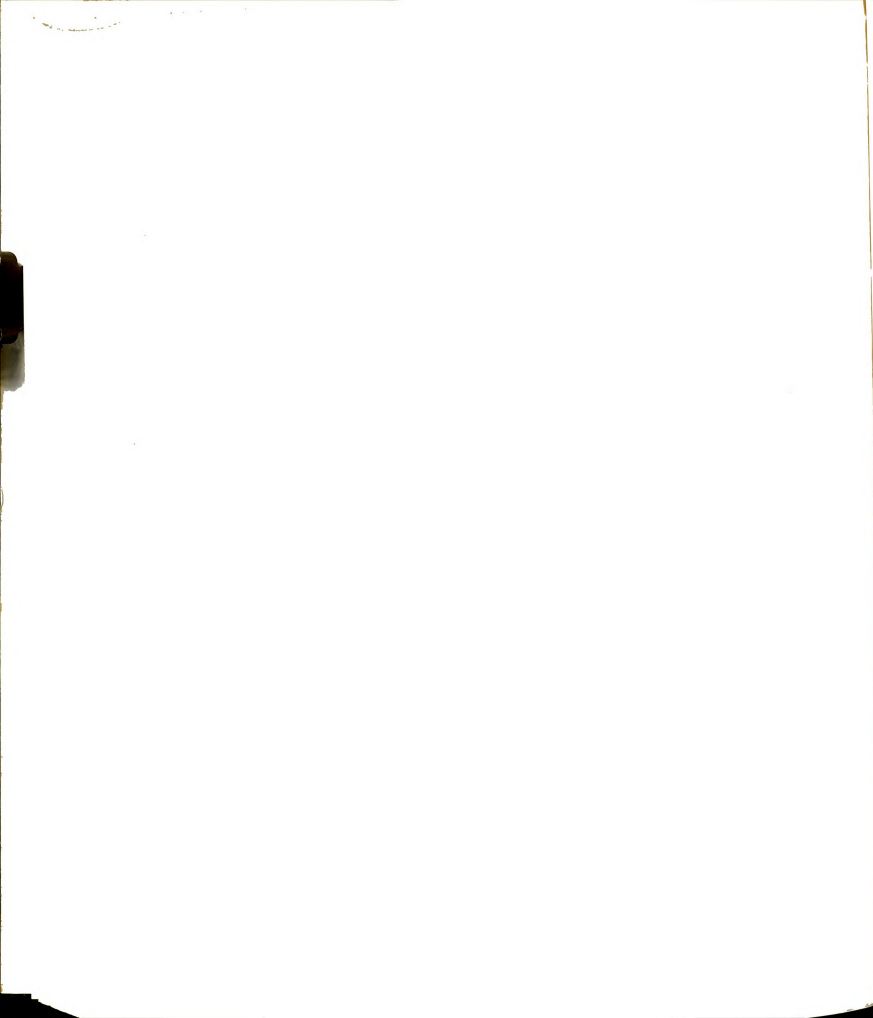
APPENDIX F

CHILD REARING INTERVIEW

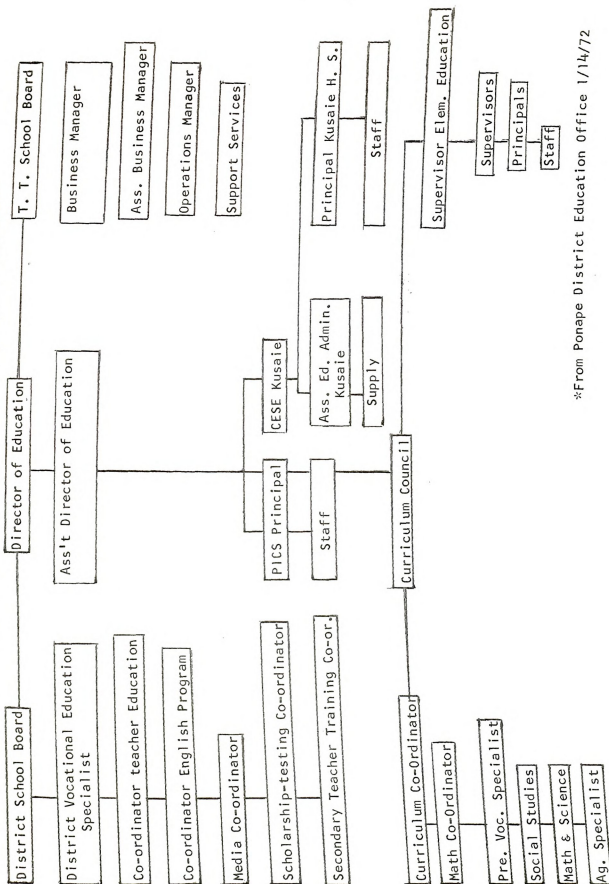
1. How is the expectant mother treated? Is she expected to work as usual, is she given special foods? What kind of Ponapean medicine is used, what kind of massaging? What stories (legends) are told about pregnancy and birth? What kind of taboos are placed on the expectant mother? (e.g., not walking outside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



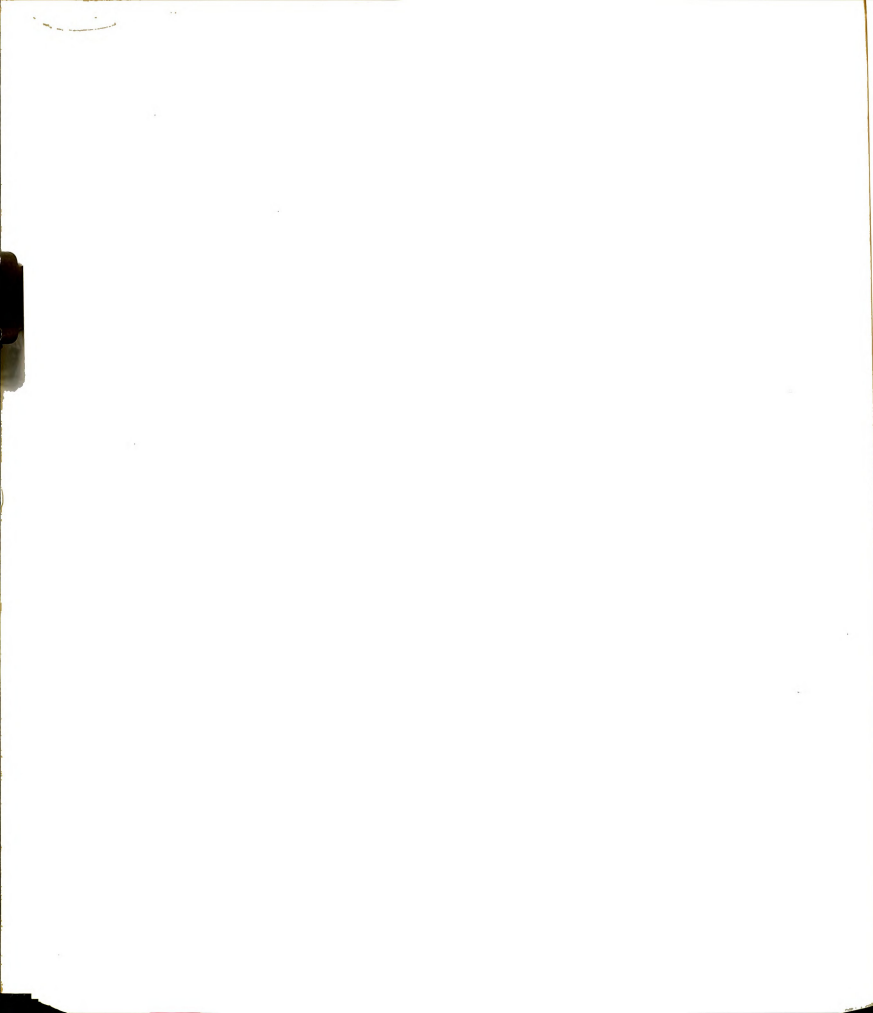
8. When a very young child disobeys what do the parents do? At what age do they start to punish their children? How do they punish their children? How do they get their children to obey? (threats, fear or ridicule)? Once a child can walk is he to know certain rules, what are they, how are they taught? 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?



EDUCATION ADMINISTRATION CHART, PONAPE DISTRICT*



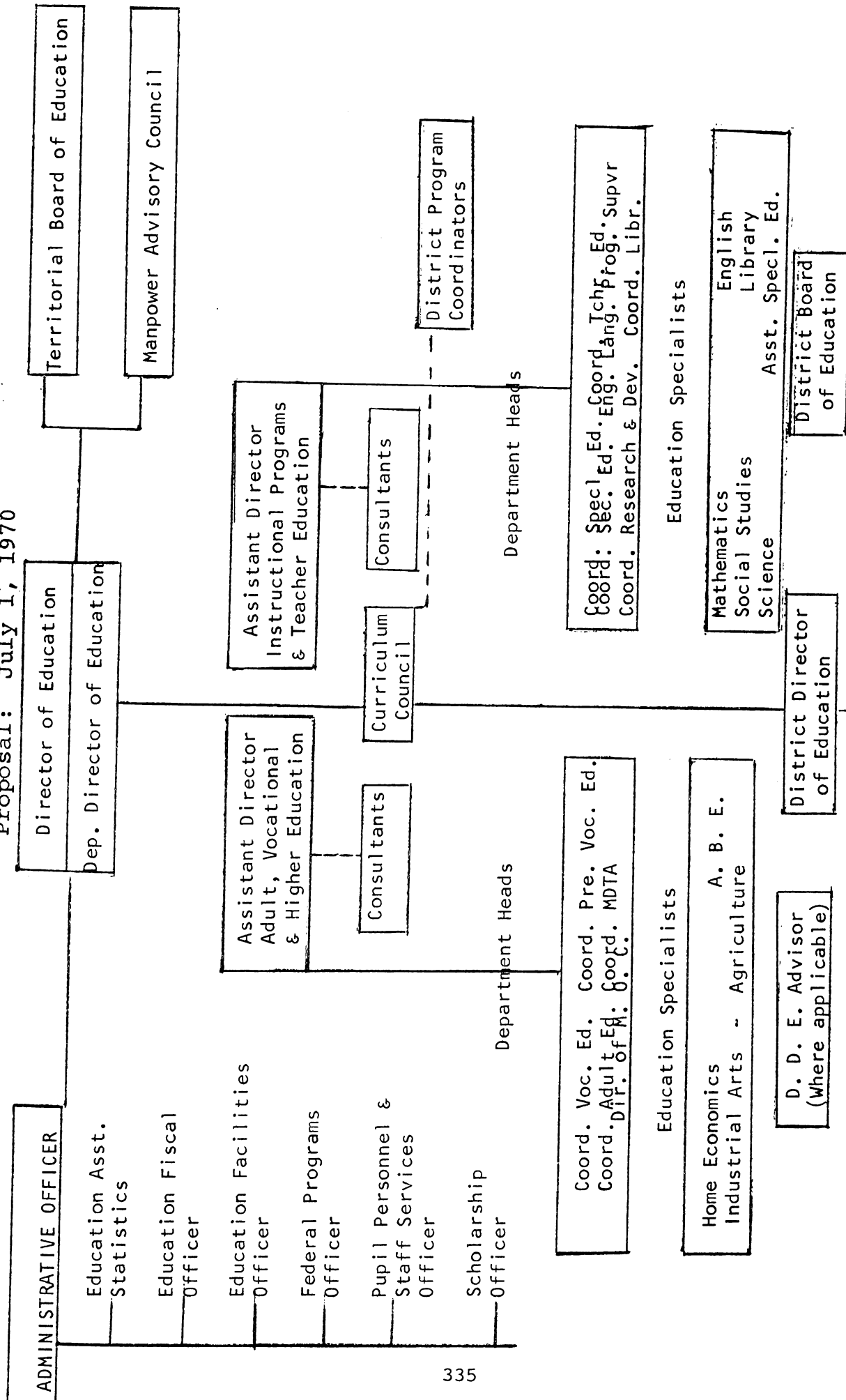
*From Ponape District Education Office 1/14/72



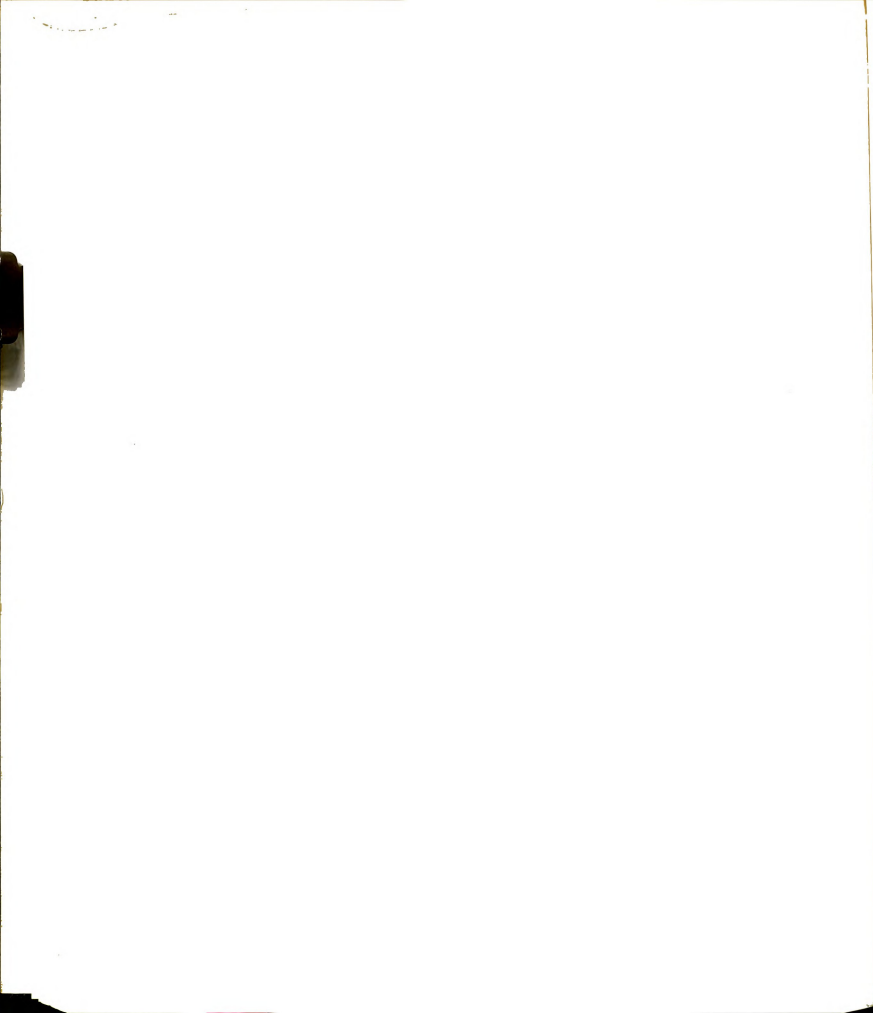
APPENDIX F

ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICES

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Proposal: July 1, 1970



Source: Vocational Ed. Act State plan, 1972 trust territory of Pacific, Saipan, marianas, Div. of vocational technique & Adult Education.



APPENDIX I

PERCENTAGES OF ETHNIC GROUPS IN PONAPE DISTRICT*

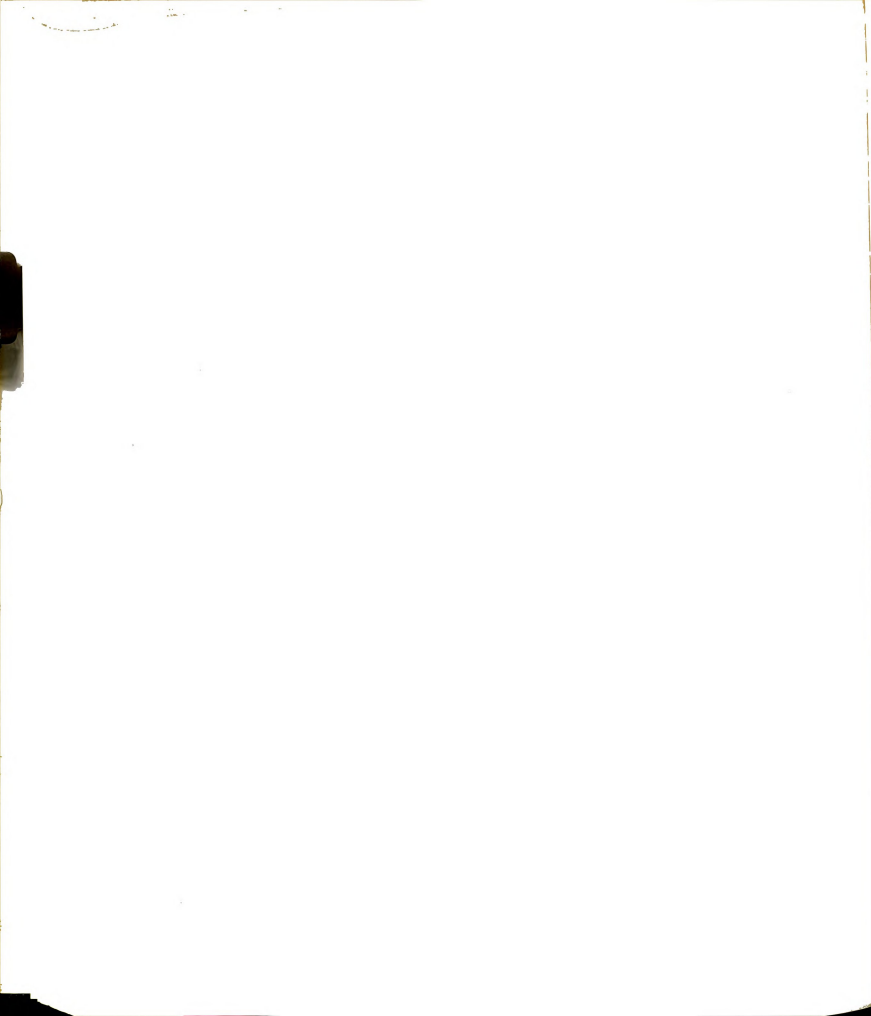
Ethnic Group	Number	Per Cent
1. Ponape	10,000	63.0
2. Mortlocks	1,850	12.0
3. Pingelap	1,700	11.0
4. Mokil	950	6.0
5. Kapinga	700	4.0
6. Ngatik	400	2.0
7. Nukuoro	<u>300</u>	<u>2.0</u>
TOTAL	15,900	100.0

* Minus Kusaie

APPENDIX J

ETHNIC BREAKDOWN OF ENTIRE SCHOOL POPULATION AT PICS: 1972

Ethnic Group	Number	Per Cent
1. Ponape	252	48.0
2. Pingelap	75	15.0
3. Mokil	72	14.0
4. Nukuoro	24	5.0
5. Mortlock	47	8.0
6. Ngatik	23	3.0
7. Kapinga	24	5.0
8. Kusaie	<u>13</u>	<u>2.0</u>
TOTAL	530	100.0



APPENDIX K

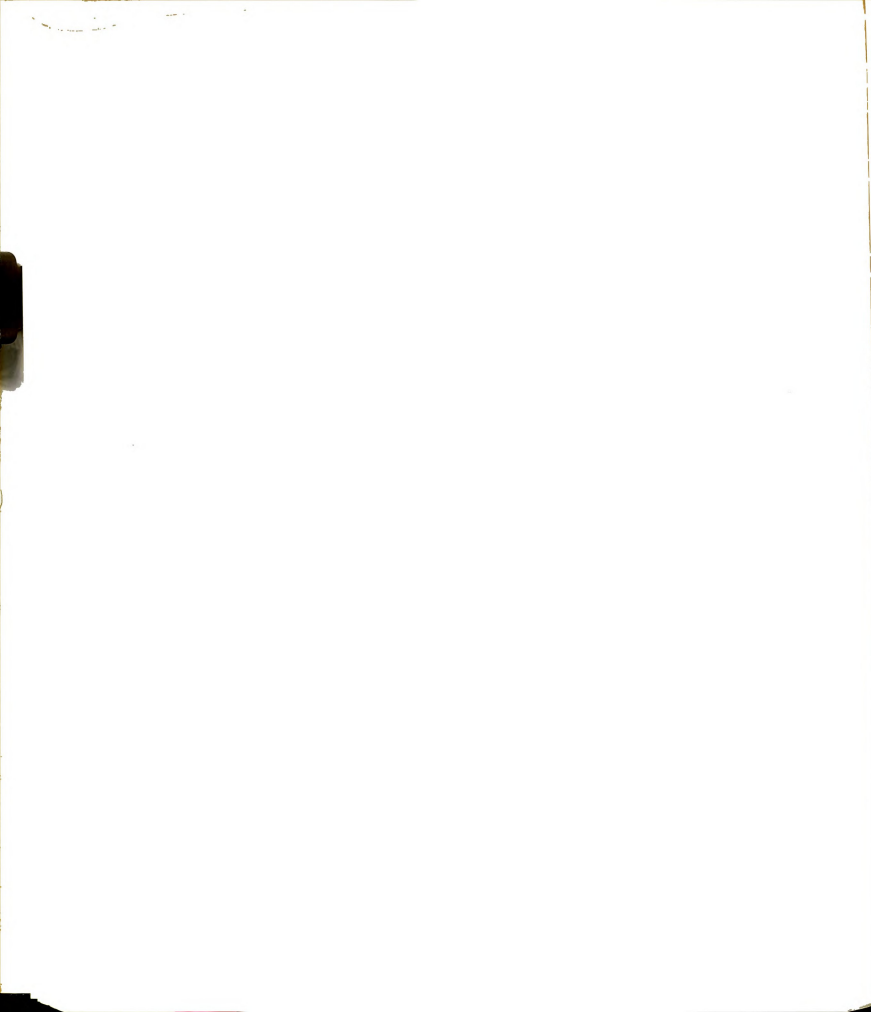
DROP-OUTS PICS HIGH SCHOOL 1968-1972

Ethnic Group	Number	Per Cent
1. Ponape	103	52.0
2. Pingelap	20	11.0
3. Mokil	16	9.0
4. Nukuoro	3	2.0
5. Kapingamarangi	10	5.0
6. Kusaie	5	3.0
7. Ngatik	13	7.0
8. Mortlocks	<u>21</u>	<u>11.0</u>
TOTAL	191	100.0

APPENDIX L

ETHNIC BREAKDOWN OF JAIL POPULATION, JANUARY, 1972

Ethnic Group	Number	Per Cent
1. Kusaie	1	5.0
2. Ponape	15	79.0
3. Ngatik	2	11.0
4. Truk	<u>1</u>	<u>5.0</u>
TOTAL	19	100.0



APPENDIX M

ETHNIC BREAKDOWN OF NEIGHBORHOOD YOUTH CORPS

Ethnic Group	Number	Per Cent
1. Ponape	18	62.0
2. Mortlocks	5	17.0
3. Mokil	3	10.5
4. Pingelap	1	3.5
5. Kapingmargangi	1	3.5
6. Ngatik	<u>1</u>	<u>3.5</u>
TOTAL	29	100.0

APPENDIX N

ETHNIC BREAKDOWN OF PAMI EMPLOYMENT LIST

Ethnic Group	Number	Per Cent
1. Ponapean	16	70.0
2. Mokilese	5	22.0
3. Mortlockese	1	4.0
4. Kusiean	<u>1</u>	<u>4.0</u>
TOTAL	23	100.0



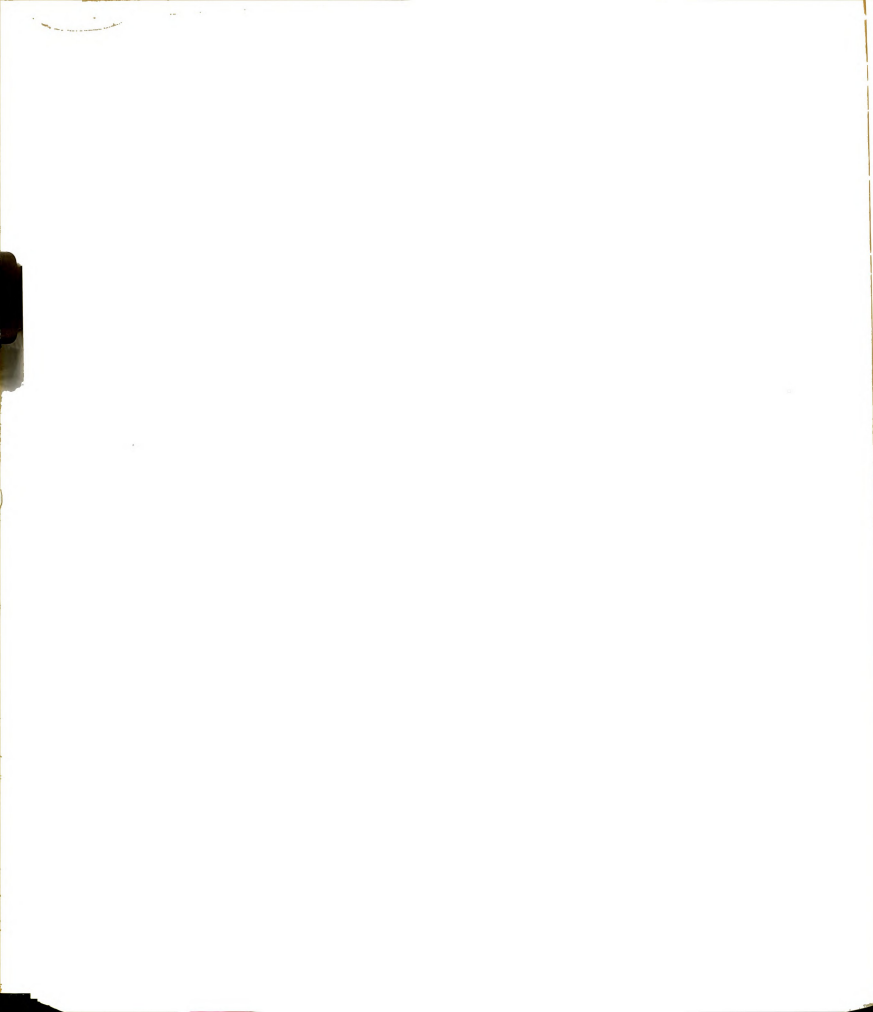
APPENDIX O

ETHNIC BREAKDOWN OF STUDENTS AWAY AT COLLEGE 1971-72 SCHOOL YEAR (N = 147).

Ethnic Group	Number	Per Cent
1. Ponape	44	30.0
2. Pingelap	20	13.6
3. Mokil	11	7.5
4. Kusaie	54	36.6
5. Ngatik	4	2.5
Kapingamargangi	3	2.4
6. Mortlocks	8	5.0
7. Nukuoro	<u>3</u>	<u>2.4</u>
TOTAL	147	100.0

FIELDS OF STUDY--STUDENTS AWAY AT COLLEGE: 1971-72

Field of Study	Number	Per Cent
1. Education	31	21.0
2. Vocational	24	16.0
3. Undeclared	41	27.0
4. Business	18	14.0
5. Medicine	16	10.0
6. Social Science-- Professional	<u>17</u>	<u>12.0</u>
TOTAL	147	100.0



APPENDIX P

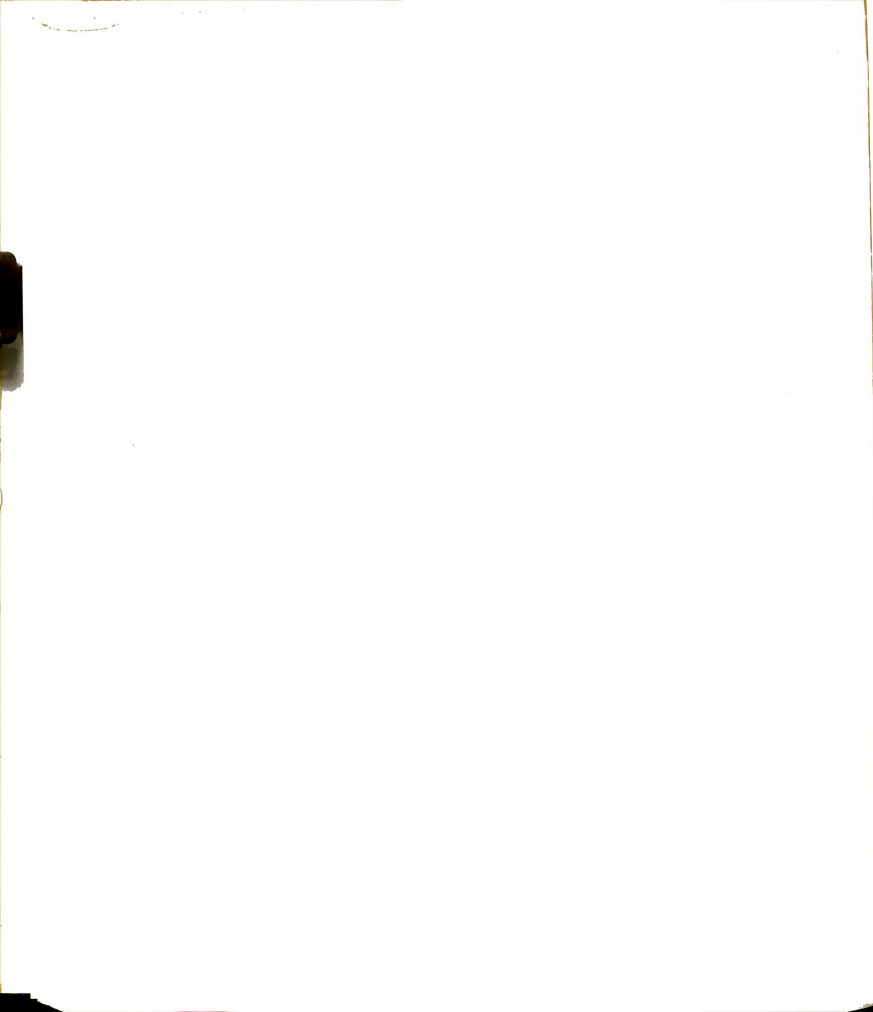
BREAKDOWN OF MICRONESIANS ON GOVERNMENT PAY ROLL IN PONAPE DISTRICT 1971 BY ETHNIC GROUP

Ethnic Group	Number	Per Cent
1. Ponape	586	64.0
2. Ngatik	29	3.0
3. Pingelap	113	12.0
4. Kusaie	44	5.0
5. Nukuoro	20	2.0
6. Mokil	80	9.0
7. Kapinga	23	0.3
8. Saipan	7	0.8
9. Truk	5	0.6
10. Palau	6	0.7
11. Yap	<u>3</u>	<u>0.3</u>
TOTAL	916	100.0

APPENDIX Q

PAY SCALE FOR THE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT

Ethnic Group	Number	Per Cent
1. Ponape	137	55.0
2. Ngatik	8	3.0
3. Pingelap	47	15.0
4. Kusaie	12	5.0
5. Nukuoro	6	3.0
6. Mokil	24	10.0
7. Kapingamarangi	9	4.0
8. Saipan	0	0.0
9. Truk	1	1.0
10. Palau	3	2.0
11. Yap	<u>1</u>	<u>1.0</u>
TOTAL	248	100.0



APPENDIX R

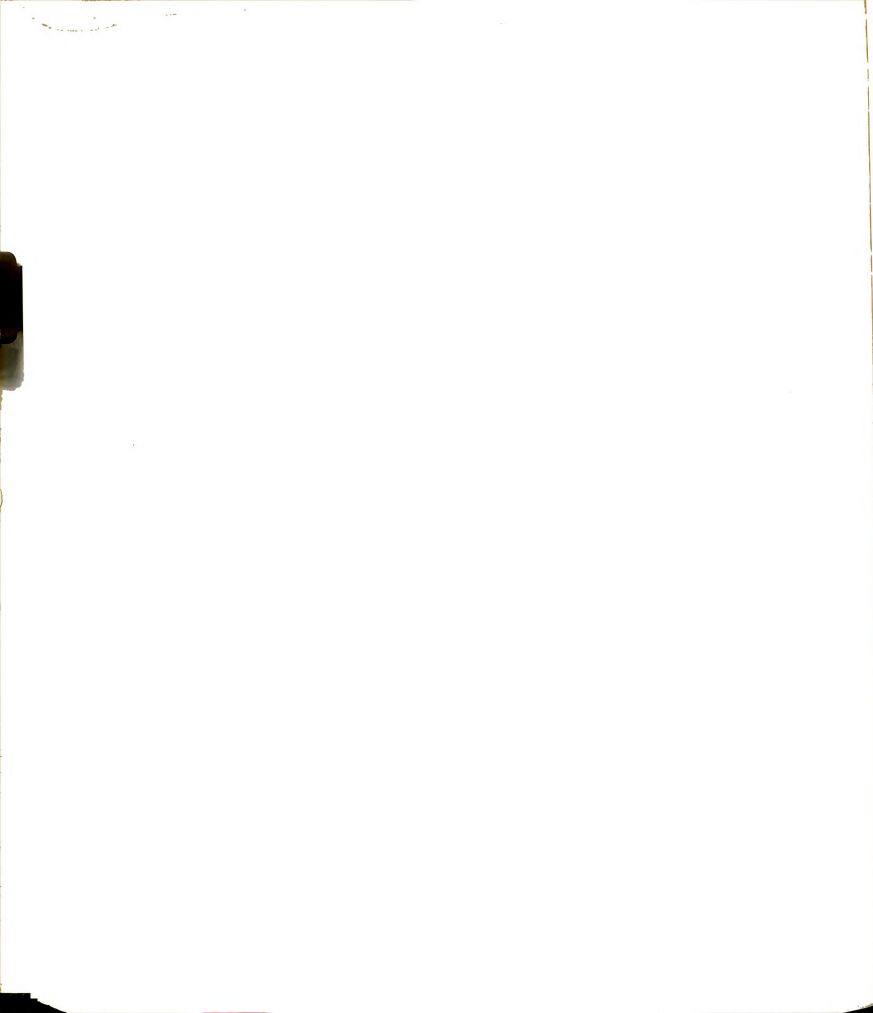
PER CENT OF ETHNIC GROUPS HAVING JOBS IN AGRICULTURE

Ethnic Group	Number	Per Cent
1. Ponape	44	80.0
2. Mokil	3	5.4
3. Nukuoro	2	3.8
4. Pingelap	4	7.2
5. Ngatik	1	1.8
6. Kapingmarangi	<u>1</u>	<u>1.8</u>
TOTAL	55	100.0

APPENDIX S

ETHNIC BREAKDOWN OF TEACHERS AT PICS HIGH SCHOOL

Ethnic Group	Number	Per Cent
1. American	21	65.58
2. Phillipino	2	6.25
3. Yapese	1	3.12
4. Pingilapese	2	6.25
5. Ponapean	2	6.25
6. Mokilese	1	3.12
7. Nukoran	1	3.12
8. Pauauan	1	3.12
9. Ngatikese	<u>1</u>	<u>3.12</u>
TOTAL	32	100.0



APPENDIX T

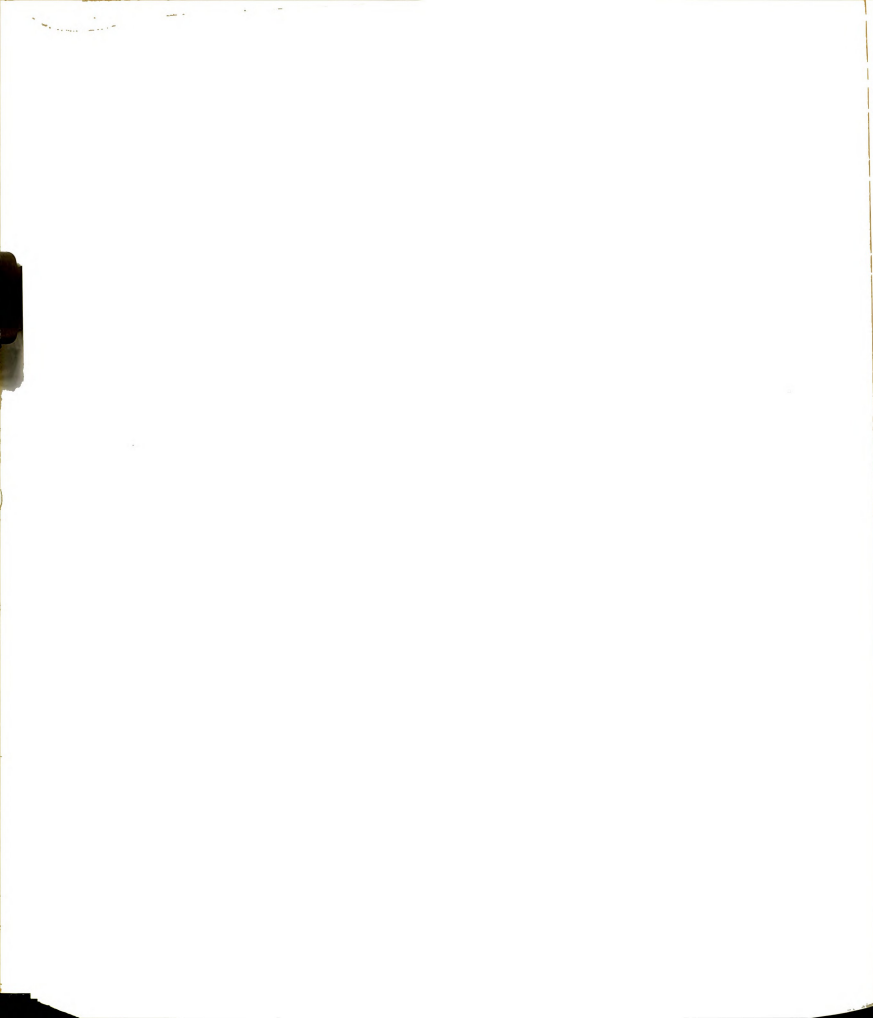
AVERAGE TEST SCORES CLASS OF 72 RANDOM SAMPLE

Test	Residence	Average
1. LADO	Urban	66.00
2. LADO	Rural	57.35
3. CAT	Urban	8.00
4. CAT	Rural	7.80
5. GPA	Urban	2.58
6. GPA	Rural	2.28

APPENDIX U

ENGLISH ABILITY GROUPINGS

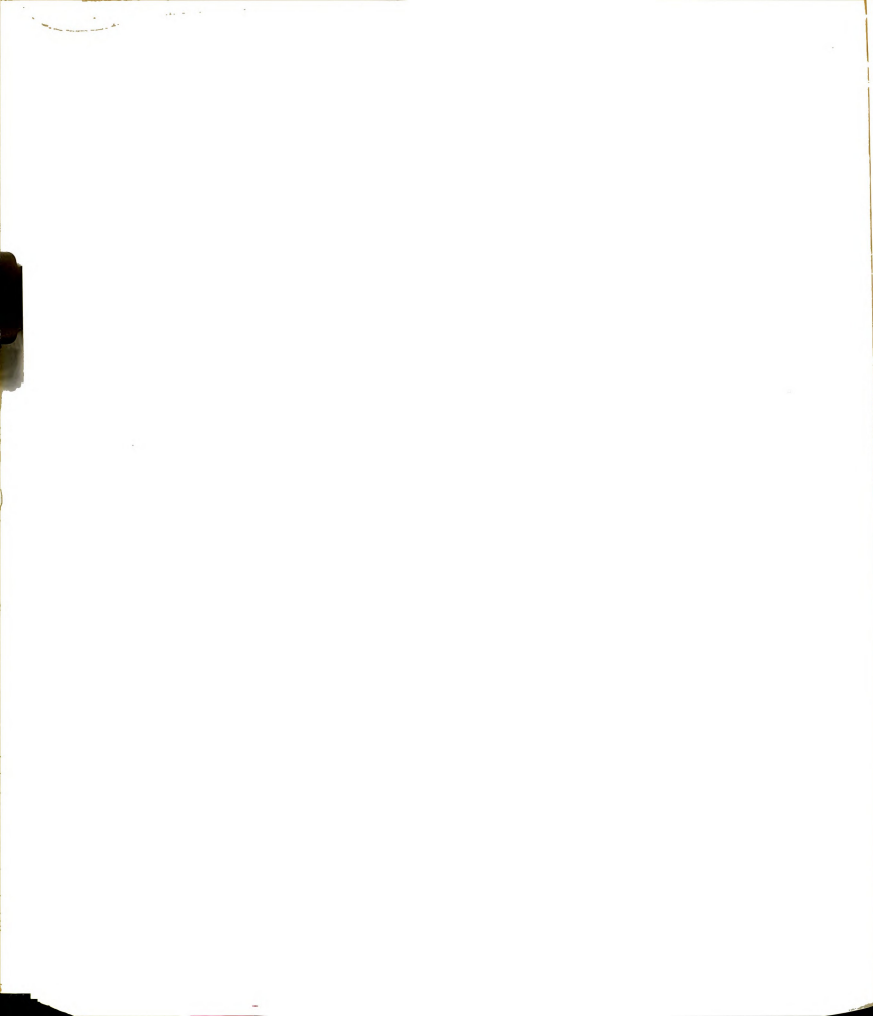
Freshmen Group	Senior Group	Number	Per Cent
I	6	34	43.0
I	7	3	4.0
II	6	22	27.5
II	7	9	11.3
II	8	2	2.5
III	6	3	3.8
III	7	5	6.0
III	8	<u>1</u>	<u>1.5</u>
TOTAL		79	100.0



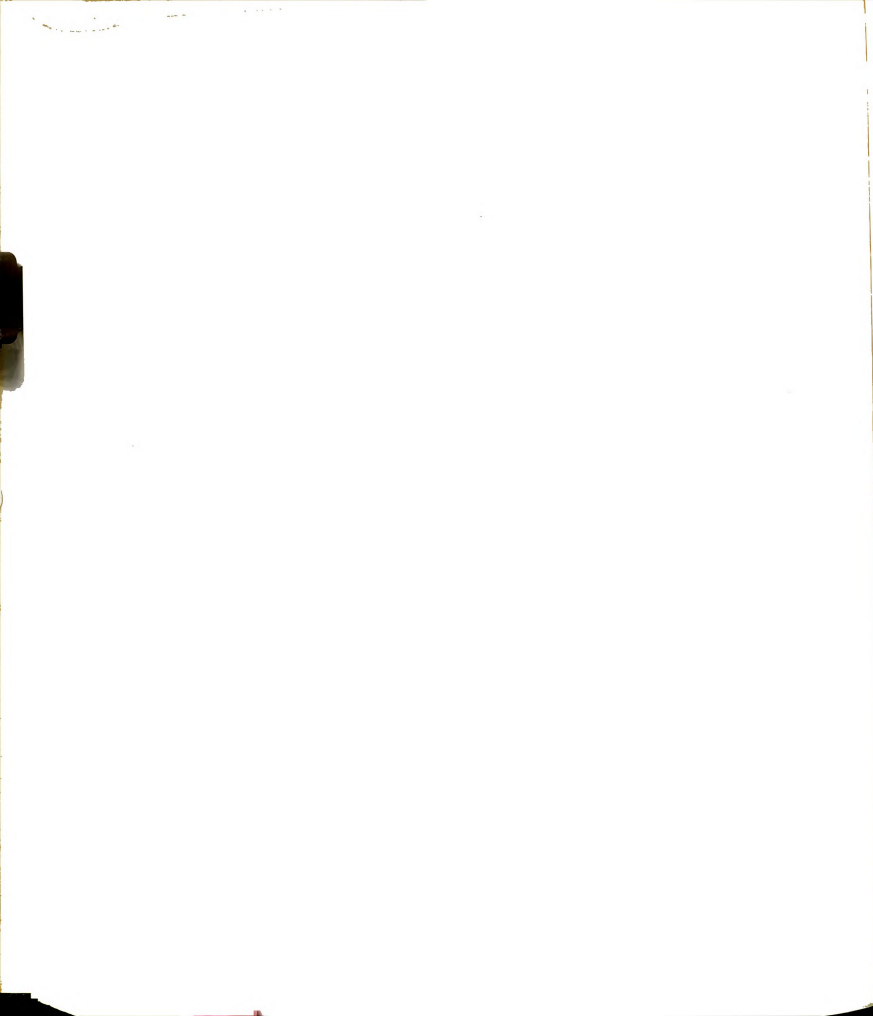
GLOSSARY

GLOSSARY OF PONAPEAN WORDS

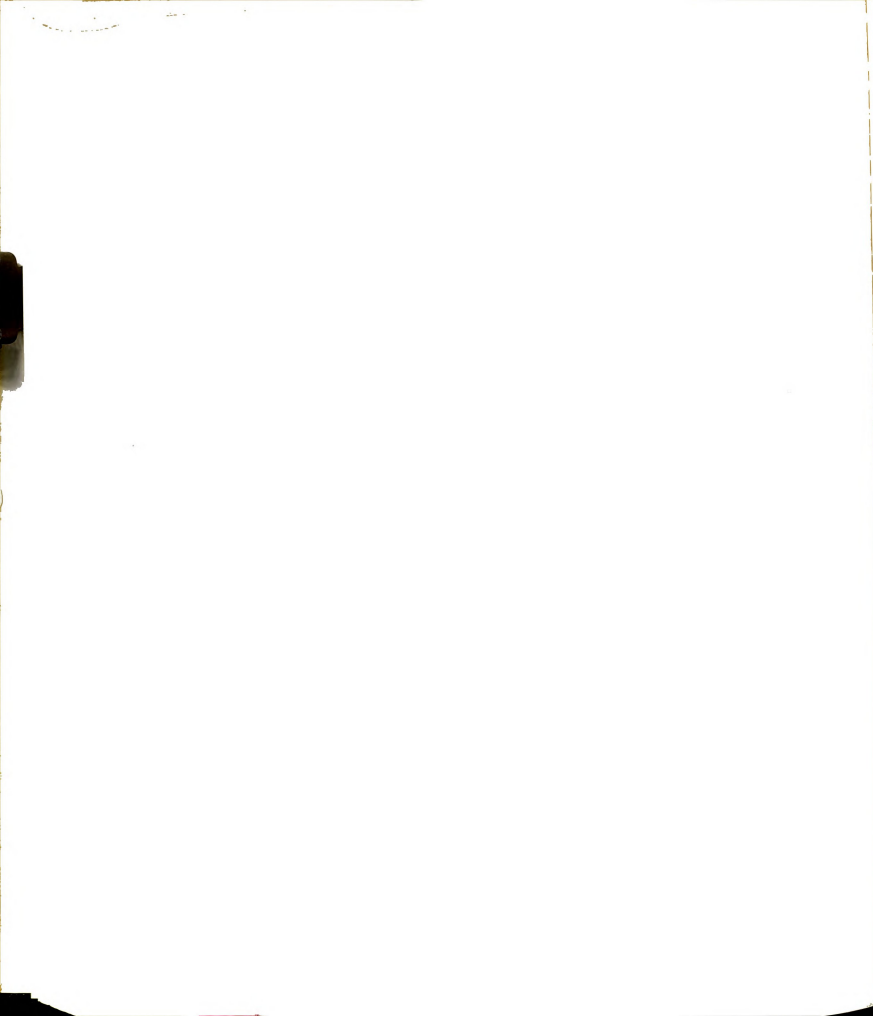
- akalapalap, cocky, swaggert, acting like a big shot
alasang, imitation
aluh, feast of reconciliation offered to offended spirits
aramus mwahl, commoners
chol, discussing things you or other people did, gossip
daukatau, dwelling place of spirits
dipw, clan (also sou)
eni aramas, spirit protector of commoners
enihwos, ancestral spirits
eni lapalap, spirit protector of chiefs
eni mem, spirit
erazel, competitive feasting
Ie kang, I can't
inopivi, a taboo
inseni, freedom to do what one wants
insenohki, to try hard, to care, to want to
kainek, lineages
kakos, strict discipline
kala, one who physically shows off
kamadipw, feast
kamadipw en wau, feast of honor
kapong, boring
kasaro, literally, you goofed



kaun, high chief
kousapw, village
kaw, black magic
lioasoahs, pretentious
lemei, boastful
lokaia butabut, legend
lokaia soahs, one who speaks pretentiously
mahk, to be shamed, embarrassed
manama, power of sakau to bring peace; balance of power
 between man, nature, and spirits
meing, high language; respect forms of speech
mime, sir
mwadang, hurry
mwaramwar, decoration, wreath
mwomw, gesture
Nahnken, chief second only to Nahnmwarki; head of Nahnken
 line
Nahnmwarki, high chief, head of Nahnmwarki line
nahs, feast house
naikat, my people, commoner
narain, enlightened
nopwei, tribute
ong sounpadahk, for the teacher
pelien sapw, homestead (also sapwen kasapwasapw)
peneinei, family
nolakokala, I am going to get angry
poresik, industriousness



pweipwei, stupid
riyala, spiritual curse as a result of breaking a taboo
sakarti ta, incantations to summon spirits
sakau, kava, root of the pepper tree which is pounded and drunk at ceremonial occasions.
Saldeluers, legendary rulers of Ponape
saledek, freedom
sohpeidi, noble; those who look down
sokolai, a pygmie-like spirit which is part of the natural world
soroti, to shame
soumas, high chief
soumawahu en eni, spirit induced sickness
sow-n-katiyani, shaman
sow-n-winani, sayer of spells and prayers
sow-pwe, sooth sayer
tiak, custom
tiak en sahpu, way of the land
tohmw, apologetic feast offered for an act of disrespect
uhmw, ground oven
waou, respect
wehi, nation; country; state; district; municipality
winani, incantations; magic
wini, Ponapean medicine









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