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DIPLOMAS and THATCH HOUSES FLINN

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Asserting Tradition in a Changing Micronesia

JULIANA FLINN

Diplomas and Thatch Houses examines the people of Pulap, a tiny atoll just north of the Equator in the western Pacific. Pulapese consider themselves and are known to their neighbors as the most traditional islanders, a situation they regard as an asset and not as a sign of backwardness. Pulapese deliberately wear their lavalavas and loincloths and practice traditional dances and rituals. Rather than being just a remnant of the past, tradition for the Pulapese is created and displayed as a means of asserting cultural identity.

Like other Micronesians, the Pulapese view a person less as an isolated, independent individual and more as a link in a network of relationships. Behavior, more than biology or descent, shapes identity. The Pulapese manipulate their "traditional" identity as a political tool—as an adaptive strategy to contend with the rapid changes wrought by a foreign administration. To the Pulapese, tradition is politically valuable; they fiercely contend that their customs and patterns of behavior entitle them to prestige and power in modern Micronesia.

Diplomas and Thatch Houses is an important contribution to the literature on ethnicity, nationality, and cultural identity, as well as to Micronesian/Pacific studies.

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Diplomas and Thatch Houses

Asserting Tradition in a Changing Micronesia

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Preface

My first experience in Micronesia was as a Peace Corps volunteer from 1974 to 1976. I was assigned to teach at Weipat Junior High School on Namonuito Atoll, in the outer islands of Truk (now called Chuuk). There I taught English as a second language and lived with a local family on the islet of Ulul. Matrilineal descent and matrilocal residence gradually became meaningful for me, an anthropology major who found kinship issues less than exciting in college. As a teacher in a boarding school with students from several outlying island groups, I was fascinated both by their stereotypes about each other and by how kinship managed nonetheless in many cases to encourage interisland bonds. I noticed how much of the stereotyping revolved around the extent to which islanders practiced what they called traditional customs. And as a Peace Corps volunteer, I began to wonder about the impact of education and change on atoll life.

Thus for my dissertation research in 1980 I deliberately chose an atoll in an island group others in Chuuk perceive as having many of the old customs, one with a pattern of ties both with other areas of Chuuk and with islands to the west, in Yap State. Pulap was a good choice in other ways as well: I had ties already with several islanders. Some had been students of mine several years earlier, and one of my fellow teachers had been a man from Pulap. I was able to live with a family on Pulap, and for a few months at the end of the year, I was also welcomed in the Pulap migrant community on the main island of Moen. I also had opportunities to visit Pulap students on Guam and relatives of migrants on the island of Saipan. Back in the United States, I found a community of Pulap students living with a few other Micronesians and spent time with them as well.

Then, in the summers of 1986 and 1989, I was able to return again to the migrant community of Pulapese on Moen to follow its development. I was able to note changes over the intervening years, especially those that followed in the wake of returning college students. Issues of identity, education, and migration were shaping the growth of the Pulap community on Moen.

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I want to thank the members of my dissertation committee, Bernard J. Siegel, Charles O. Frake, and George Collier, for their invaluable assistance and suggestions. Their advice never failed to improve my work. I also want to thank Jocelyn Linnekin and Lin Poyer for organizing a symposium on cultural identity in the Pacific. That symposium and their comments helped considerably in shaping this work.

Among all the people of Pulap who helped me feel welcome and generously offered their hospitality, I am especially grateful to the Lokopwe family, who opened their home and made me part of their family. I also want to thank John Sandy, who first aroused my interest in Pulap and sat patiently with me for hours on end talking and answering my many questions about his people and their way of life. Many others gave generously of their time; it would take pages to name them all. I arrived on Pulap as a stranger, known only to a few because of my years in the Peace Corps, but was treated with hospitality, warmth, and friendship that can never adequately be repaid.

Contents

Chapter 1

Introduction

The people of Pulap live on a tiny coral atoll just north of the equator in the western Pacific. From a ship anchored in the lagoon, the island looks barely inhabited, almost untouched, until outrigger canoes approach and a few buildings appear through coconut palms. A casual visitor might assume the lives of these islanders have changed very little over the years. Women in wraparound lavalavas garden in taro patches, while men in loincloths climb coconut trees and fish for tuna. Lining the southern end of the island are small houses, many still thatched with coconut fronds and pandanus leaves. Large thatched structures shelter graceful canoes that men sail to faraway islands. Naked children chase chickens and dogs, elderly men roll sennit from coconut husks, and women weave mats from pandanus leaves. As a gesture of respect for their brothers, women crouch low as they walk by a homesite or group of men. Baskets of pounded taro and breadfruit lie in a clearing, ready to be sent as gifts to a neighboring island. Pulapese speak with pride about this way of life, their local customs, and how these embody the essence of true kinship.

But beyond the homes and canoe houses, more massive cement buildings come into view. One is a church, with a small house next door for the visiting priest; a shrine and cemetery lie out of sight down the path. Next to the church are several school buildings. Inside, children recite numbers in English, copy "3 hrs 4 min + 7 hrs 60 min" from the blackboard, chant "Yes, I can see," and hear about the Stone Age. Rusting cans litter parts of the settlement area, and a leaking motorboat lies behind one of the houses on the beach. Every few months a ship sits on the horizon, as islanders plan to sell copra or fish and buy cigarettes.

That ship carries Pulap's teenagers away to school in September, not to return until the following June. Students first spend two years on a neighboring atoll together with young people from other islands in the state of Chuuk (formerly Truk) in Micronesia, many of whom show the impact of far more outside influence and change. Pulapese youths meet boys wearing long pants and T-shirts, and girls wearing flowery muumuus. They see girls walking

upright around their brothers and speaking vulgar words and phrases. They find fellow students to be arrogant, impudent, and disrespectful. Yet eventually some Pulapese decide to be brothers or sisters to a few of these other islanders. An American would say they become friends. A few others later decide to marry.

Most students continue for two more years of school on an island even more distant from Pulap, a larger and high, volcanic island Americans call Moen. Moen has a port town with air-conditioned stores, restaurants, movie theaters, bars, and taxis. Some roads are paved, and electricity and water lines extend from town. Pulapese lavalavas and loincloths are forbidden at school, their dialect is difficult for others to understand, and their customs are at times considered quaint. Here Pulapese at school and around the island face large numbers of strange and more acculturated islanders.

Yet down the mountain from school lies a growing community of Pulapese. Some are temporary visitors from the atoll, but others hold jobs on Moen. And Pulapese believe that the schooling given their young people will enable them to obtain more of those jobs, especially if they come back from college on Guam or in the United States. In fact, several high school graduates and returned college students swell the numbers living on Moen as they search hopefully for employment. For the most part, students and other migrants intend to retain ties with Pulap, an identity as Pulapese, and rights to residence, land, and companionship. But not all return to Pulap to do so.

Here in the village Pulapese deliberately wear their lavalavas and loincloths. Women keep low for their brothers. Every Saturday they cook breadfruit or taro to distribute widely among their kin. In an unfinished meeting house, Pulapese practice their traditional dances or gather to mourn the deceased. These migrants are socially and culturally recreating and extending Pulap—at least their cultural vision of the essence of Pulap—on Moen.

Moen has become an arena for assertions of Pulapese cultural identity, based on retention of valued customs. Like many Third World peoples, Pulapese seek material goods and other perceived advantages available with formal education and economic development, but they do not wish to abandon their heritage. Pulapese have lagged behind others in Chuuk in seeking opportunities introduced by the American presence in Micronesia, but today they assert this as an asset, not a sign of backwardness, as they vie for recognition, respect, and access to political and economic resources. Although a close look at their way of life reveals considerable change through

foreign contact, and customs they assert as traditional include everything from newly composed dances to lavalavas made from imported cloth, they contrast their customs with those of others and present their own as virtuously traditional. In a context in which many of the values represented by those customs are shared and in which tradition is recognized as politically valuable, Pulapese fiercely contend that their retention of traditional customs and valued patterns of behavior entitles them to prestige and power in modern Micronesia.

This book therefore deals with the construction of cultural identity by these people as they have become increasingly involved in the changes wrought by a foreign administration and as their pattern of interaction with other islanders has widened, particularly as a consequence of formal secondary schooling beyond their home atoll. This identity is tied to beliefs about kinship and being "good people," and it involves several layers of contrast with other islanders in Micronesia.

Cultural Identity

Like people elsewhere, Pulapese differentiate themselves from others in their social world. They categorize cultural others, usually in contrast to themselves, and they assert a cultural identity based on core values, beliefs, and patterns of behavior they believe are central to their culture. Though based on what they assert is tradition, formulation of this identity occurs in the present, in a particular context. For Pulapese, the context is one of increasing contact with other islanders; competition for jobs, power, and prestige; and attempts at modernization, particularly through formal education. Yet they have remained outside the mainstream of change in Chuuk. As a strategy for contending with the contemporary context, Pulapese construct and assert a cultural identity based on having retained traditional customs, values, and patterns of behavior.

This concept of cultural identity differs from ethnic identity, although scholars often use the two in the same way, with an ethnic group treated essentially as a cultural group (Berreman 1983:289). Both concepts deal with images (Carstens 1986:88), but ethnicity and ethnic identity as analytic concepts derive from Western beliefs that focus on common biological ancestry, even when in actuality people may negotiate their identities (Dominguez 1986).

Linnekin and Poyer (1990) argue that ethnic identity is one type of cultural identity, one that is Western in ideology, based on Western notions of biology and descent. They caution against ethnocentrically applying these

concepts to non-Western formulations of identity, because non-Western peoples may have different ways of organizing their beliefs about themselves and cultural others. Oceanic constructions of identity, for example, derive from premises distinct from Western ones. Ethnicity is best viewed as one way—a Western way—of constructing cultural identity. Lumbee identity, for instance, stresses behavior, lifestyle, and community interaction rather than biology and common descent (Blu 1980). To cite another example, Galaty (1982) discusses shifting Maasai notions of group identity and concludes that the concept of ethnicity, with its implications of boundedness and unity, applies to only one aspect of Maasai identity—and the one that is least illuminating.

Linnekin and Poyer describe how Pacific Island notions of cultural identity are grounded in notions of the person that differ from Western ones. Rather than being an isolated individual, a person, to Pacific Islanders, is someone with a network of relations with others (see, e.g., Lieber 1977; Lutz 1988), and behavior toward those others is essential to identity. Thus cultural identity in the Pacific is based less on biology and descent than on behavior. Relations with other people can take precedence over shared genes. Shared identity does not derive so much from biology as from shared food, land, companionship, and sociability. Biological connectedness may provide a model, but behavior is determinative.

Furthermore, Oceanic beliefs tend to focus on how people become who they are because of external factors: "For Pacific Islanders, much of what determines a person's behavior, feelings, and self-perception is environmental, consisting in the physical and social relationships that nurture a growing child and form the context in which the adult acts" (Linnekin and Poyer 1990:7). Influential aspects of the environment that shape a person often include the network of social relations with others, especially kin, and the land one lives on. How one behaves toward those others also determines identity. People can acquire identity from the environment and can demonstrate and validate that acquired identity through appropriate behavior. The importance of behavior and environment in shaping identity applies to more than cultural identities. These concepts, fundamental to the notion of the person, apply to a range of identities, including personal and kin identities such as "person of good character" or "clan chief." Even membership in so-called descent groups can be acquired through performance rather than birth. This implies, too, that people can change who they are, that identities can be tied to context, and that a person can have more than one identity, asserting one or another depending on the particular situation.

Despite its Western bias, other aspects of the theory of ethnicity and ethnic identity nonetheless apply to Pacific Island formulations of cultural identity.[1] Identities often emerge as a result of interaction with other groups or in response to external forces and can serve as tactics for acquiring political power or economic advantage. They vary according to context and specific situations, with people manipulating various more or less inclusive identities according to their needs and goals. In one situation, a person may be a Pulapese, in another a Micronesian. While competing in Western Island athletic games against neighboring islands, for example, the athletes are Pulapese; the same young people attending a mainland college are Micronesian or even Pacific Islander.

Kinship and Identity

Underlying Pulapese identity are Pulapese concepts of kinship, which shape personal identities, relations with fellow Pulapese, and relations with other islanders. Cultural concepts of kinship also shape Pulapese connections with land—whether on the atoll or on Moen. Thus to understand Pulapese identity, we need to understand Pulapese kinship.

Someone can establish an identity as Pulapese by showing kin ties and rights to land on Pulap. Yet who was born Pulapese and who was not born Pulapese are not pressing questions. The issue is not simply a biological one, and these islanders show little concern for categorical distinctions about an individual's citizenship. They ask different questions. What kin relationships do people have? How do they fulfill kin obligations? What rights to land do they have and how are they exercised? How do people behave? Is that behavior good or bad? Instead of asking who is Pulapese, a more appropriate question is how does a good Pulapese behave? Answers derive from Pulapese conceptions of a good person, and to be a good person one must first and foremost be a good kinsperson. For Pacific Islanders in general, a person is someone with a network of relationships with others, and Pulapese are concerned with how a person behaves toward those others, particularly kin.

A good person exhibits respectful and nurturant behavior toward kin. For Pulapese the ideal example of this behavior is sharing food. The primary referent of *mwéngé*[2] (food) is cooked, starchy staples grown on land, and Pulapese commonly speak of "eating from" a particular plot of land. In other words, sharing food demonstrates kinship and symbolizes the sharing of land, which also is essential to identity. Thus Pulapese are typical of Pacific

Islanders, for whom kin relations and land are fundamental to identity (Chapman 1985b:4).

Pulapese are concerned with the related question of how the behavior of other islanders differs from the Pulap ideal. In general, Pulapese view themselves as superior to other islanders because they behave as good people and practice valued customs and traditions—especially those having to do with respect and sharing among kin—whereas many others have been losing these customs.

Local notions surrounding kinship and customs reveal beliefs about how identity and personal characteristics can be acquired rather than result simply from birth. The Pulap word for custom, *ééreni,* also means "be accustomed to, be used to," and is derived from *é,* "be learned, learn" (Goodenough and Sugita 1980:63–64). The term *ééreni* relates to beliefs about childrearing, especially how children learn who their kin are and how they should behave toward them (see M. Thomas 1978:81–90). Islanders believe children acquire attitudes and patterns of behavior through a process of "accustoming." People learn to feel an emotional bond with kin through becoming familiar with them, and they learn how to behave properly by getting used to or familiar with what is expected of them. The belief is "that individuals develop a predilection for that to which they are accustomed" (M. Thomas 1978:68–69). Kinship, custom, and identity clearly interweave.

Behavior is critical in another way because it can convert strangers to kin. Pulapese separate themselves from other islanders with cultural boundaries, but cross those boundaries by kinship. Kin ties with other islanders can be activated or even created when the bond is demonstrated by behavior. Performance and behavior that demonstrate kinship show that one is like a good Pulapese. But to activate a kin tie, people must first have the opportunity to become accustomed to each other. The appropriate behavior and emotions that determine kinship will not otherwise develop. Formal schooling provides many new contexts for this to occur.

Social Context and Tradition

People negotiate ties, manipulate cultural boundaries, and assert indigenous notions of identity in a particular context, or what Mitchell (1985) terms a setting. This setting includes social, economic, political, and administrative factors, which together provide the framework in which actors make choices and decisions and formulate strategies to contend with opportunities and problems. Manipulating identities is one such strategy. Population mobility,

for example, as well as contact with other peoples and the actions of foreign administrations, often shapes and in turn is shaped by constructions of identity (Chapman 1985b).

Population mobility brings contact with cultural others. Since constructions of identity depend not only on how people perceive themselves, but also on how they perceive cultural others, we need to know who those outsiders are and what social, political, and economic relations have been maintained with them. In other words, we need to understand the local ethnosociology (Galaty 1982). What beliefs do people hold about historical relations with others? How do they perceive the outside world? How do they interpret foreign influences? What is their heritage of mobility? All these influence their patterns of identities, attitudes, and relationships.

Cultural differences between groups of people may be extensive or relatively minor. More important is how people perceive differences and similarities, and how they manipulate those perceptions. Boundaries between groups at times become more marked when groups come into increased contact, especially if they have previously been relatively isolated from each other (Cohen 1978:395). Cultural identities are likely to become more self-conscious and clearly defined when formulated in contrast with other groups. And identities shift from one situation to another and serve different purposes.

Migrants typically arrive with preconceived stereotypes about other cultural groups. These attitudes are usually based on previous encounters and relationships, historical incidents, peripheral contact, or the stories of travelers. Perceptions of others also depend on indigenous notions of the person, which in turn shape interpretations of encounters with others (Lieber 1990). Stereotypes are likely to be insufficient guides for interaction in town and city interethnic encounters, especially in the context of differential power, so that the categorization of peoples and distinctions between one's own cultural group and others become more elaborated and complex.

New stereotypes and strong identities can thus develop through heightened intergroup interaction and population mobility. Furthermore, since identity is tied to a sense of personal worth and self-esteem, the new circumstances a migrant faces can precipitate a shift in the relative value of identities and reference groups. Migrants may choose an alternative identity in order to escape a derogatory label. Some southern Italian migrants, for example, emphasize Albanesi and Slavic identities because *southern* and *Italian* are derogatory terms (Schreiber 1975). Identities that assert cultural symbols reflect social realities and social boundaries, and their manifestation is related

to the social, economic, and political context. Towns and cities that receive migrants from a variety of hinterland communities are therefore ripe grounds for the development and emphasis of intergroup distinctions.

Even though a migrant arrives with a sense of identity and with stereotypes about others, and these may shift, develop, or solidify in the context of interaction with others, intergroup encounters nonetheless may promote intergroup ties. Such relationships do not require that migrants abandon their group identities but merely entail alternative ones that govern particular situations. Labor unions, markets, factories, schools, churches, and military service all serve as contexts for intergroup articulation and the development of intergroup ties based on friendship, marriage, or created kin ties. Circumstances may be such, in fact, that organizations develop that deliberately recruit members from several migrant groups for political purposes or economic gain. South African labor organizations, for instance, have united workers of various ethnic backgrounds in opposition to white oppression (Southall 1973). In Taipei, migrants have organized sworn-brotherhood groups, whose members can turn to each other for aid (Gallin and Gallin 1974:355).

Under some circumstances migrants find it advantageous to maneuver primarily within their own cultural group (see, e.g., Shack 1973), but in others, migrants are able to develop ties with people outside the migrant group in order to improve their status. Tzintzuntzan migrants in Mexico City, for instance, search for patrons outside their migrant group in order to improve their position and exploit the urban resources (Kemper 1975). Even when ethnic identities structure virtually all activities, and all interaction with members of other groups follows prescribed rules, intergroup interaction nonetheless occurs in contexts such as the market, factory, church, or school. Mechanisms for developing or structuring relationships with others, such as the clan system in Chuuk, sworn-brotherhood groups in Taipei, and patron-client ties, provide migrants with alternative identities to adopt for a number of different contexts.

Contexts for intergroup interaction, development of intergroup relationships, and exploitation of these ties by others are all factors likely to affect ties, attitudes, and identities of both migrants and members of the home community. Another critical factor, however, is whether migrants have to abandon their cultural identity in the receiving community to establish and use ties with members of other groups. In many cases, they retain their identities. Even when migrants obtain permanent jobs in the receiving community, they commonly maintain strong ties with the home communities.

Migrants do not have to abandon rural ties or rural identities. Migrants can simultaneously hold both rural and urban attitudes, with aspects of both rural and urban behavior (McGee 1975). Rural-urban ties are both numerous and valuable, maintained through gifts, letters, and visits. Migrants in many areas can retain rights to land and residence, and they often intend to return home for retirement. Even when they do not return, maintaining the possibility of doing so provides them with security. Rural community members also take advantage of the situation because migrants commonly send home money and serve as avenues for transmitting urban goods, ideas, and customs.

The Micronesian context is one in which several foreign administrations have controlled the area, although the United States has wrought the most dramatic change for Pulapese. Throughout the Pacific, colonial administrations instigated drastic changes. Today, Pacific Islanders are more closely tied to each other and the rest of the world through the world market economy. Each has some urbanizing area, bringing together peoples who previously may have had minimal contact. These are "classic arenas for negotiation of social boundaries" (Linnekin and Poyer 1990:6). Even when population mobility is part of a group's heritage, these new conditions establish new situations and motives for movement, interaction with others, and constructions of identity.

Pulapese and some of their neighbors trailed others in Chuuk, however, in pursuing education, wage labor, political offices, and other opportunities. Although much has nonetheless changed, including religion, health, politics, income, and schooling, from their perspective, as well as those of others in Chuuk, the Pulapese are the most traditional people in the state. Thus Pulapese today contend for a position in a modernizing Micronesia in which they are viewed as among the least modern participants.

Since the presence of foreign administrations affected Pulapese later than others, they seek new opportunities in a context in which they see themselves at a disadvantage. Others in the area appear to be in positions of power. Pulapese complain, for example, that employers on Moen hire only fellow islanders and kin.

Cultural boundaries separate Pulapese from other groups in Chuuk, but one way they seek to adjust to the new circumstances is through manipulation of kin ties, which can cross these boundaries. They have adapted an old strategy for the new context. Yet Pulapese also use many of these traditional notions of kinship and customs of behavior in formulating their cultural identity. This content of their cultural identity—not simply the boundaries it erects—relates to a context. The symbols or markers people choose pertain

to cultural values and goals and are thus at least as revealing as the barriers they construct. In response to rapid change from urbanization, missionization, incorporation into the world market economy, or industrialization, many groups develop a heightened awareness of tradition. Looking to their past, they romanticize and objectify the past, finding there an ideal and simple way of life, a way of coping with current complexity (Carstens 1986). People look to rural patterns to find traditional ways, although in many cases these rural ways have themselves changed over time (Linnekin 1983).

Traditionalism as integral to a group's cultural identity serves as an adaptive response to change. Tradition must be seen as a contemporary symbolic construction, however, not simply a survival from the past (Handler and Linnekin 1984). Although people contend that particular customs, character traits, or patterns of behavior are traditional and thus mark them as a cultural group, they nonetheless perceive tradition in a particular context, with specific opportunities and constraints. People actively formulate an identity, one that relates to contemporary needs, concerns, and issues. Tradition as interpreted in the present may bear only slight resemblance to a historical pattern, but tradition's cultural meaning is its current interpretation. With tradition, we are likely to find both continuity and discontinuity with the past, because tradition is not simply something from the past that has persisted into the present; it is how the past is perceived, interpreted, and asserted in the present (Handler 1984; Handler and Linnekin 1984; Smith 1982). In some cases, what a group defines as "traditional" is in fact a recent invention (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983).

Tradition in some cases becomes a political symbol, like *kastom* in Melanesia, which provides a focus for pride, with an emphasis on the group rather than individualism (Keesing 1982a, 1982b). Melanesians are reacting in part to a perception of Western individualism and competition, and tradition—or *kastom*—represents group values, land, and solidarity as opposed to Western commercialism. Commitment to tradition becomes a political response to unequal access to power, wealth, or prestige (Tonkinson 1982). Traditionalism in some cases has even become so self-conscious that it is objectified and inflexible, so that people resist change (Larcom 1982; Tonkinson 1982).

Defining the issues and promoting a group's image for particular purposes provide an arena for the emergence of leaders. These key individuals improve both their own personal positions and the position of the group (Cohen 1978:396). Often these leaders come from an educated elite (see, e.g., Howard and Howard 1977), an elite that frequently leads movements

to retain traditional customs (Smith 1982). This certainly is the case among the Pulapese. The educated are most likely to benefit from change, have the best access to many scarce resources, and are thus able to take the lead in defining the critical issues. Many Micronesian politicians are beginning to perceive traditional culture as a valuable tool (Nason 1984), which gives the less acculturated groups a potential advantage. Thus Pulapese act today in a context in which traditionalism has a value, not just to themselves, but also to other Micronesians.

Mobility

Pulapese have a heritage of mobility, as do other Pacific Islanders and Third World peoples. Their modern patterns of movement do not radically differ from previous patterns. Although population mobility varies throughout the world, most research has focused on only one type—migration—a term that implies a permanent move and a marked change from a presumably sedentary past. Yet many migrants return home, sometimes for brief periods, sometimes permanently. To describe the type of mobility in which people return home or circulate between sites because of roles, obligations, and opportunities, Chapman and Prothero (1985a, 1985b) propose the term *circulation*.

Circulation is receiving increasing attention and has been found in widespread areas of the Third World (Prothero and Chapman 1985). Certainly it is common in the Pacific. Not only does this concept more accurately depict much of the Pacific Island situation than migration does, but it also highlights continuity with the past (Chapman 1985b; Chapman and Prothero 1985a). Circulation has been a common strategy among many peoples. Although the modern context may encourage different types of people to move and may present new sites and motives for movement, the strategy of movement persists.

Pulapese commonly engaged in interisland travel; modern patterns of movement bring about more contact between Pulapese and others in Chuuk, necessitating choices about how and with whom to interact in new social settings. New contexts, such as schools, and new patterns of interaction are emerging, especially as cultural stereotypes and identities flourish. Yet these combine with indigenous ways of establishing relationships through kinship. Previous patterns of movement and traditions of relationships structure encounters, since people confront situations with expectations based on their attitudes and stereotypes. And encounters, especially with new groups, in turn structure other expectations.

Chapman and Prothero (1985a) make several propositions about circulation that are relevant to the Pulap case. First, they contend that modern patterns are not simply products of external factors such as colonialism. Some explanations for circulation focus on mobility as a response to modernization, as a phase of modernization, or as the result of capitalist penetration. These explanations tend to highlight the uniqueness of postcontact patterns of mobility and often assume a lack of mobility before contact. This represents too simplistic and passive a view. Outside forces have certainly presented new constraints and opportunities: in many places new sites have developed where schools, hospitals, administrative services, religious centers, stores, and the like became available. Since these sites often suited needs and concerns of the outsiders, indigenous people often had to shift their patterns of movement to seek these new possibilities. Moen is a clear example for the Pulapese. But rather than a shift from a sedentary life to urban migration, many peoples have merely shifted traditional patterns of mobility to take into account these external factors. Local ideology can often indicate mobility as part of the heritage. Men, for example, may culturally be "people who move." And going away to work for a few years on a plantation or a ship may not be very different from precontact travels and adventures.

Reasons for circulation at the village or extended family level have in the past included trading, ceremonies, marriage, raids, fear of sorcery, and environmental considerations such as typhoons (Chapman and Prothero 1985a). People circulated in the past because more than one place held attractions or obligations. Similarly, after contact, people have continued to move to fulfill role obligations (Chapman 1976; Mitchell 1969), with jobs or school perhaps drawing them to a new site. Despite new roles and sites, the time-honored notions of mobility are adapted to the new context. In much of the Third World now, home provides practical and emotional security, but towns and cities offer jobs, schooling, medical care, imported goods, political opportunities, and novel entertainment. While away, people retain ties with home through letters, gifts, remittances, and visits. The strategy of circulation, from the perspective of an individual or a group, may be one of minimizing risks (Chapman 1985a; Chapman and Prothero 1985b). Relying solely on opportunities at home or in town is often perilous, with unpredictable or insufficient opportunities in a single site, so that individuals, families, or descent groups look to both places for access to resources.

Flexibility and choice in the social structure facilitate this sort of movement (Chapman and Prothero 1985a). In many cases, the social structure spans more than one location. People who leave a home village can nonethe-

less operate within one social structure, especially with ties they can activate or create when they move. Rather than a geographical focus, we need to take a sociocultural one. As people move in space, they may remain within one social structure. In fact, they can culturally construct geographical space to correspond with social space. Social structure thus adjusts to accommodate movement, and interpretations of place shift to fit social structure. Circulation between a homeland and a site created as an urban home allows people to maintain their cultural identity (Bonnemaison 1985). Pulapese on Moen view their migrant community as an integral part of Pulap, even naming plots of land to correspond with ones on Pulap.

People can exploit the flexibility of the social structure as they circulate. Pulapese take full advantage of their notions of kinship to form bonds with other islanders when they move. They simply use time-honored strategies when contending with new choices, opportunities, and constraints. Today, Pulapese and other islanders may move to different places, stay longer, go for different reasons than in the past. More women and people of different ages may move, but the strategy of circulation bears marked resemblance to past behavior.

Much of the literature on both migration and circulation has focused on wage labor, but schooling deserves more emphasis. The more educated, for example, are often the most mobile (e.g., Young 1985). Furthermore, in many parts of the Third World, schooling past the primary level requires circulation (Gould 1985). Children may be able to commute daily to a local elementary school, but secondary and higher education often require extended periods of time away from home. This sort of circulation can become an expected part of the life cycle, in some cases not unlike earlier patterns in which young people traveled for a period before settling down to marriage and parenthood.

The pattern of movement depends in part on traditional patterns of mobility, the number of schools, transportation, and the reputations of various schools, but also on the educational policies of governments and churches. In some cases, deliberate attempts are made to bring together young people from different cultural or ethnic groups to promote solidarity.

For the Pulapese, schooling has played a decisive role in promoting circulation. Education beyond the elementary level is a common motive for leaving the atoll as well as a prerequisite for most employment opportunities, especially the preferred government positions. Education also provides many new contexts for interisland interaction, arenas for assertion and formulation of cultural identities. And the educated are in the forefront of efforts to retain

and promote traditional customs, especially in the migrant community on Moen.

Finally, since most employment opportunities exist on Moen, education has also been a force behind the growth of a migrant community. Asserting a cultural identity based on traditionalism is most relevant on Moen, the scene of considerable interisland contact and competition for jobs and other resources.

Just as in the past people moved to other locales to pursue social, economic, or kin obligations while remaining within the social structure, so, too, can they circulate today. Pulap notions of kinship, identity, and land are exploited in the modern context. Pulapese formed the migrant community to pursue modern opportunities, but much of their success is based on pursuing long-standing strategies such as activating kin ties with other islanders, especially for access to food. And Pulapese make conscious efforts to recreate Pulap on Moen, even to viewing the land itself as part of Pulap.

In sum, I argue that Western notions of identity and mobility too often are applied inappropriately to other cultures. Pacific Island assumptions derive from different premises. My study of Pulap explores how notions of land and kinship are integral to cultural identity. Pulapese, like other Pacific Islanders, also believe that acquisition of identity derives from environment and behavior, providing considerable flexibility to the social structure. Definitions of land and identity are linked, and both are subject to manipulation. Pulapese assert and manipulate their cultural identity and relations with other islanders in competing for a position in modern Chuuk. Formal schooling shapes much of the contemporary pattern of movement, provides contexts for intergroup interaction and formulations of identity, and regulates access to new sources of power, prestige, and wealth.

Chapter 2

Pulap and the Outside World

Living on a tiny speck of land, Pulapese have constructed an identity in the context of interaction with other islanders and foreigners, and they manipulate beliefs about their heritage of mobility. Micronesia means "tiny islands," and Pulap, part of a coral atoll in the Caroline Islands, is a typical case, measuring 0.262 square miles in area. Only one other inhabited island is visible from Pulap—Tamatam, which lies at the far end of the reef. Yet Pulap has not been isolated. Beyond the horizon lie other atolls and islands with ties to Pulap, and even farther away lie foreign governments that have influenced the lives of Pulapese. In this setting of small and scattered islands, adaptive strategies have focused on mobility and contact with others. Pulapese traveled to, traded with, and fought against other central Caroline islanders in the past, and perceptions of these activities and connections structure today's relationships and influence attitudes and stereotypes. Pulapese also explain contemporary situations with reference to these past relations.

Though never isolated in the past, Pulap's social world has become even larger and more complex in recent years. The U.S. administration in particular has precipitated new political, educational, and employment opportunities. As Pulap's young people pursue these possibilities, beginning with secondary education, they leave in greater numbers and remain away longer. The pattern of movement and interaction with other islanders has also shifted, especially with the growth of Moen, the capital and administrative center of Chuuk State. Known formerly as Truk, the state has recently been labeled with the vernacular term (although Chuuk is called *Ŕuuk* in the Pulap dialect).

Although Pulap and its nearest neighbors have been the least touched by the outside world, they nonetheless have a history complicated by many changes in administration of Chuuk. The Spanish discovered both Chuuk Lagoon and Pulap Atoll in the sixteenth century, but Europeans largely ignored the area until the late 1800s, when German commercial interests spawned a dispute with Spain over control of the Caroline Islands. In 1885 the pope resolved the conflict in favor of Spain, although Germany continued to control trading and commercial activities. After 1885, intensified competi-

tion caused German trading firms to turn to Chuuk in their search for new sources of copra (Hezel 1972, 1973). Germany finally purchased the Caroline Islands in 1899, following the Spanish-American War, and controlled the area until 1914, when Japan seized the islands after declaring war on Germany. The United States in turn took over control in 1945, with a military government administered by the navy. In 1947 the United Nations established the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, consisting of the Caroline Islands together with the Marshalls and the Northern Marianas, an area to be administered by the United States. Control of the Trust Territory shifted in 1951 from the Navy Department to the Department of the Interior. Then, in July, 1978, Chuuk joined Yap, Pohnpei, and Kosrae in ratifying the Constitution of the Federated States of Micronesia, and by May, 1980 the new government had taken over many of the functions previously under the province of the U.S. Trust Territory government. The Federated States of Micronesia negotiated a compact of free association with the United States, enabling the islanders to run their own internal affairs while the United States continues to handle defense.

Chuuk State, where Pulap is located, consists of both high, basalt islands and low, coral atolls. The high islands all lie in Chuuk Lagoon, which is centrally located in the state. One of these islands, Moen, is the administrative and commercial center of the state, where the government offices, high schools, hospital, post office, airport, and harbor are located. This is where Pulapese go for high school, hospital care, employment, and some excitement, and they have formed a migrant community on the outskirts of town. On Moen, Pulapese interact not only with other people of Chuuk Lagoon but also with islanders from outlying areas.

All the outer islands are low, coral atolls. Pulap is part of the Western Islands to the west of Moen. North of Pulap lies Namonuito Atoll, the site of the junior high school Pulapese attend. The other atolls served by the same junior high school are the Hall Islands, east of Namonuito and north of Chuuk Lagoon. Finally, the Mortlock Islands lie to the southeast of Chuuk Lagoon, and young people from all these outer islands attend high school together on Moen. Government field-trip ships service these outer islands, moving cargo, merchandise, passengers, and administrative services in and out of Moen.

Most of Chuuk's population is concentrated on the high islands in Chuuk Lagoon, which contributes to a sense of potential powerlessness among Pulapese. In 1980, out of a total population of 37,383 (U.S. Department of State 1980), 76 percent lived in Chuuk Lagoon and only 24 percent in the outer

islands. The 1980 population of the Western Islands, or *Nomwon Páttiw,* where Pulap is located, was 1,329 (U.S. Department of State 1980). From north to south, the Westerns consist of Pulap Atoll, with two inhabited islands, and Puluwat and Pulusuk Atolls, with only one inhabited island each. Puluwat traditionally reigned as chief island of the group.

Pulap Atoll is located from 7°33′ to 7°39′ north latitude and from 149°23′ to 149°26′ east longitude. The lagoon itself measures 12.09 square miles in area. The two inhabited islands along the reef are Pulap to the north and Tamatam to the south, even smaller than Pulap at 0.096 square miles. A third and uninhabited island, Fenarik, lies on the western part of the reef and measures only 0.025 square miles. Exploited for copra, it belongs to the clan of the chief of Pulap. Like most atolls, all three islands lie at bends in the reef, where wind and waves tend to deposit sediment (Wiens 1962). The total land area of the atoll is only 0.383 square miles (Bryan 1971), a size typical of Micronesian atolls. With a limited resource base, the islands have benefited materially from contact and trade with other areas.

The topography of Pulap is characteristic of atoll islands, with a gently sloping sandy beach on the lagoon, leeward side and a rocky, slightly elevated ocean side. A seawall built along the northern side of Pulap a few years ago helps prevent erosion of the elevated areas. The interior of the island is relatively level, with a swampy depression where taro is cultivated.

The climate on Pulap is tropical, with high humidity, heavy rainfall, and warm temperatures in the mid-seventies and eighties. Pulapese recognize two seasons: *leerek* (breadfruit season), from about April to September, and *leefeng* (season with few breadfruit). These seasons correlate with changes in wind patterns, so the season with few breadfruit occurs with strong northeast trade winds and heavy seas. During the breadfruit season winds are lighter and more variable, coming from the south and west, with occasional calms. This shift in the wind pattern results from a northward movement of the doldrums during the summer. The strength and direction of these winds affect the ease with which Pulap canoes can sail to other islands.

The settlement area on Pulap lies at the southern end of the island, with most of the houses built close to the beach. Some of the buildings have been constructed in the traditional thatched style, contributing to a sense of timelessness, while others are made of plywood, corrugated metal, or cement. Eight standing canoe houses (*wutt*), all thatched, also line the beach, and most double as residences. Although a ninth had burned before I arrived, the site was invariably included in any list of canoe houses. Other structures, which reveal outside, foreign influences, include a dispensary, a community

meeting house, a municipal office, a church, a small shrine, and an elementary school. A cemetery lies near the western beach north of the settlement area, and wet taro gardens are in the interior.

When Pulapese talk about being traditional, their indigenous foods and the symbolism surrounding them emerge as essential elements. The most important cooked vegetable staples are true taro (*Colocasia esculenta*), swamp taro (*Cyrtosperma chamissonis*), and breadfruit. True taro is the most prestigious food, but is not as plentiful as either swamp taro or breadfruit. Other cooked foods occasionally consumed as staples include green bananas, dry-land taro, and pumpkins. Coconuts are a versatile and essential part of the diet: not only do people drink the fluid, but coconut cream extracted from the mature meat provides one of the few sources of fat in the diet. The cream serves either as cooking liquid or sauce for virtually every cooked vegetable dish. Plant foods eaten uncooked as snacks include ripe bananas, *Crataeva,* papayas, and pandanus. Pulapese have traditionally been able to vary their diet through gift exchange and trade, especially with the high islands of Chuuk Lagoon, which have a richer resource base.

Women usually boil or steam the staple foods in large metal pots over an open fire, but they still occasionally use earth ovens, especially for feasts. For small amounts of food such as mush for babies or imported rice, people sometimes cook with kerosene stoves.

The primary sources of protein are fish and other marine animals, caught by a variety of methods using traps, spears, nets, poles, or hooks and lines. Chickens, pigs, and dogs are secondary sources of protein, as are turtles. Most turtles come not from Pulap, however, but from Pikelot, an island to the west in Yap State.

Most food is consumed soon after it is harvested or caught, but some is preserved for future use. Breadfruit is stored in underground pits for consumption during the off-season, and octopus and fish are occasionally salted and dried. Since these foods keep well, Pulapese often take them on canoe voyages and send them to relatives and migrants living elsewhere.

In the past, Pulap could turn to other islands for aid during times of disaster such as typhoons, but the United States has now taken over as provider. For example, in 1980 Pulap received supplemental food through the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) Needy Family Feeding Program. The staple food provided was rice, but the supplies also included smaller amounts of macaroni, powdered eggs, powdered milk, and canned goods including butter, fruit, juice, vegetables, and chicken. These foods are

modern imports, but Pulapese nonetheless construe sharing them and contributing them to feasts as being traditional.

Economic activity is directed primarily toward horticulture and fishing. Women garden, cook, and gather seafood along reefs, while men fish and gather breadfruit and coconuts. The only cash most people have derives from copra or fish sold when the government field-trip ship arrives, connecting them with outside markets. A few families maintain small stores with a limited assortment of items, such as cigarettes, sugar, and canned fish, purchased from the ship or directly from stores in Moen. Keeping a store is only a sideline, though, and no one keeps regular hours; customers simply look for the owner when they want to buy something. Furthermore, most goods sell out soon after the ship's arrival, when customers have cash from selling copra.

Other paid, part-time positions include magistrate, judge, council member, health aide, midwife, nurse's aide, police officer, and school cook. And women sometimes earn money from dancing when a ship comes. The only full-time paid employment is at the elementary school, but the teachers and staff engage in subsistence activities in addition to their school responsibilities. All of these paid positions result directly from programs established by the United States.

Very little cash is used or even necessary, since subsistence needs are met by fishing and gardening, and only a small amount of cash is needed for supplemental items bought from the ship or island stores. Occasionally someone hires labor for a special job such as putting in a concrete floor, and women sometimes pay for help in their taro gardens. Larger expenses include building materials and costs associated with education, such as clothing and luggage. Though Pulapese express pride in their self-sufficiency and deride other islanders for reliance on money, the desire for money to acquire goods is nonetheless indirectly behind motives for migrating from Pulap.

When Pulapese communicate with outsiders, they may use their own dialect, the dialect of Moen, or English, depending on the circumstances. The language spoken on Pulap is a dialect of the Trukic subgroup of nuclear Micronesian (Quackenbush 1968). Trukic languages form a dialect chain covering about sixty-six islands including those in Chuuk and the outer islands of Yap and Belau. The dialect of Carolinian on Saipan also belongs, and Pulapese have relatives in that community. The Pulap dialect is mutually intelligible with those of Pulap's neighbors in the Western Islands and with the dialect of Namonuito Atoll (to the north), but only barely intelligible with

those of the Halls and Mortlocks, the other outer islands of Chuuk. Bender (1971) claims that the dialects of Saipan (in the Marianas north of Guam), Satawal (Pulap's nearest neighbor to the west in Yap State), the Westerns, and the Namonuitos are mutually intelligible and places them together in a language he terms Carolinian. Most Pulapese learn the dialect of Chuuk Lagoon, which serves as a lingua franca in the area. And many find English useful for communication with Americans and islanders from elsewhere in Micronesia.

Another sign of contact is the Roman Catholicism professed by the entire community. This is obviously an outside influence, but Pulapese are proud of being Catholic and have incorporated this pride into assertions of their cultural identity. The islanders were converted through the efforts of a Mortlockese catechist who arrived in the late 1940s. Earlier missionaries had been unsuccessful.

Today an American Jesuit ministers to the Western Islands. Although he usually lives on Puluwat, the former chief island south of Pulap, he tries to visit the other Westerns several times a year. In his absence a Pulap deacon and catechists take charge, holding services every morning and leading the rosary every afternoon. Canoe voyages are sometimes motivated by someone's wish to see the priest (to get married, for instance) or to attend church meetings involving other Western Islanders.

Many Catholic holy days, especially Easter and Christmas, are occasions for feasts, with large amounts of food and entertainment such as songs, dances, speeches, and contests. On December 8, the Feast of the Immaculate Conception, women bring cooked taro (*Colocasia*), the most prestigious food, as an offering to Mary, and they compete to determine who has grown the largest one. This replaces earlier ceremonies during which people offered food to pre-Christian gods. Feasting and dancing are other examples of practices Pulapese assert as traditional, even though they celebrate Christian holidays and include both imported food and recently composed dances.

The municipal government is organized according to the U.S. model of legislative, executive, and judicial branches with a judge, elected magistrate, and a six-member elected council. Other municipal officials include an assistant magistrate, secretary, treasurer, and two police officers. And every Tuesday morning all able-bodied adults meet in the open-sided community meeting house to discuss municipal affairs.

A traditional council, consisting of all clan chiefs, also operates. The senior man in Pulap's highest ranking clan is the chief for the whole community. Although the chief in 1980 was still granted the privileges of chief,

such as receiving first fruits, his younger brother had taken over his duties since the chief himself was old and crippled. The chief's role is to handle traditional matters such as fishing and drinking palm toddy, but he bases his decisions on consensus opinions.

Tribute, Trade, and Warfare

Although the atolls of the Central Carolines are small and separated by miles of open ocean, they have not remained isolated from one another. Systems of tribute and trade have linked them together, despite—and sometimes because of—interisland warfare. Long-distance canoe travel remains a valued aspect of Pulap's heritage, and modern population movements retain continuity with the past, even though new motives and new destinations have shifted the pattern. Furthermore, how Pulapese perceive the past structures present relationships.

The largest tribute system that once encompassed Pulap was the Yapese empire, which still affects attitudes and interisland ties. It extended from the high, volcanic island of Yap through all the coral islands and atolls east to include the Westerns and the Namonuitos, their neighbors to the north. All these eastern islands regularly sent tribute to Gagil District of Yap (Alkire 1965, 1970; Lessa 1950c, 1966). Yapese domination linked the islands, including Pulap, which were ranked relative to each other within the system. Rank decreased with distance from Yap, with the Namonuitos at the bottom together with Pulap, Tamatam, and Pulusuk of the Western Islands. Puluwat, the chief island of the Westerns, ranked slightly higher, a situation that is even today a source of resentment for Pulapese. Orders for tribute originated from Yap and traveled through a chain of authority from the highest- to the lowest-ranking island, beginning with Ulithi and ending with the Westerns and the Namonuitos. The order proceeded eastward through the Central Carolinian atolls so that Puluwat, the Western Islands chief, received orders from Satawal, the next-highest-ranking island westward, and sent them on to the other Western Islands and the Namonuitos (Lessa 1950c:39). As the lowest in rank, these last islands embarked first on the tribute voyage to Yap because the tribute goods moved from lower to equal or higher-ranking islands until they reached Yap. As the canoes reached each higher-ranking island, political and religious tribute, as well as the role of fleet leader, passed into the hands of that island's representative. Thus Western and Namonuito canoes carrying tribute met at Puluwat, the local chief island, and then

continued west to Satawal. After several other stops, the island representatives eventually arrived at their final destination in Yap.

Political and religious tribute consisted of woven skirts and loincloths, pandanus mats, rope, and food (Lessa 1950c:42; Lessa 1966:38). Yap gave nothing in return for either offering, but a third type of transaction clearly involved an exchange between outer island representatives and their Yapese overlords. The atoll islanders gave their partners goods such as clothing, shell jewelry, sennit, and food (Alkire 1970:6). In return for these obligatory gifts, Yapese customarily, though at their option, reciprocated with gifts for their partners. In fact, outer islanders probably came out ahead in these transactions (Lessa 1950c:43). Not only did they receive food and shelter while on Yap, but they left with canoes full of food and materials either lacking or in limited supply on their own islands. Yap, like the islands of Chuuk Lagoon, is a high, volcanic island with a richer resource base than the tiny coral islands, and the outer islanders could obtain timber, turmeric, combs, bamboo, betel nut, and food such as yams, squash, sweet potatoes, true taro, swamp taro, and bananas (Lessa 1950c:43; Lessa 1956:71). How Yap achieved its domination over the tributary islands remains a mystery, but the system persisted both because of these economic advantages to the outer islands and because of fears of Yapese sorcery (Lessa 1956). Central Carolinians believed that Yapese could send disease, famine, and typhoons to plague recalcitrant communities.

Today, Pulapese remember only this fear, not economic advantage. For example, they claim they sent but never received turmeric. Their comments about the system revolve around their fear of Yapese malevolent magic, especially the Yapese ability to send storms and typhoons. In fact, Pulapese claim they avoided trade with Yap precisely because of that fear. Apparently informants from Puluwat, the chief island in the Westerns, made similar statements in 1950, claiming they failed to benefit economically from Yapese domination (Lessa 1956:72). They, too, obtained turmeric from Chuuk, not Yap, and sent it as part of their tribute, and like the Pulapese, they lived in fear of Yapese sorcery. Western Islanders may well have benefited in earlier times, however, if they stopped at Yap when traveling to Guam (Lessa 1956). Yapese could have provided food, shelter, and advice, and they may also have acted as agents in trade with other islands beyond the Central Carolinian atolls. Under such circumstances, Western Islanders may have perceived the relationship as beneficial.

This system no longer operates as described and ceased to do so for the Westerns over a hundred years ago. In the middle of the nineteenth century

the Westerns and Namonuitos stopped participating directly and began to send tribute through Satawal rather than through their own representatives (Lessa 1950c:42). Even this minimal participation died out during the German era (Alkire 1965), although the rest of the system did not completely fall apart until the late 1940s.[1]

Several changes probably account for dissolution of the system (Lessa 1950c:50). First, when the Japanese prohibited long-distance canoe travel, islanders found it difficult to relay orders and deliver tribute, especially through the prescribed channels. Furthermore, both Christianity and education encouraged them to stop fearing Yapese sorcery. Lastly, depopulation in Yap upset the system through loss of exchange partners, and with the influx of foreigners, trade no longer depended so heavily on Yapese (Lessa 1950b:18).

Despite the many years since the Yapese empire collapsed, Pulapese still speak bitterly of the fear they had of Yap in the past and of the hatred they still harbor today. Many mentioned that even though they believe the people of the outer islands of Yap State are more similar to them than are the people of Chuuk Lagoon, they prefer to be associated politically with Chuuk rather than Yap. Although Pulapese never had a choice in the matter, since the administrative boundaries were externally imposed, a few politically active men wistfully described an ideal arrangement whereby the outer islands of Yap State would join with the Westerns, separate from both Yap and Chuuk.

In addition to structuring exchange with Yap, the tribute system also facilitated informal exchange among the coral islands themselves and linked them not just to Yap but also to each other. Subsistence would be precarious if islands remained socially and economically isolated (Alkire 1965). These coral islands are all quite small in area, with soil that restricts the variety of agricultural products. They are also vulnerable to tropical storms and typhoons, which regularly sweep through the area. With a network of established interisland ties, people could, in times of disaster, turn to unaffected islands for assistance. Systems of regular exchange considerably expanded each island's resource base during more normal times as well. Thus food and other materials scarce on one island could be obtained from another.

Consequently, even when Yapese no longer dominated the area, smaller systems of tribute and exchange persisted. One such system occurs within the atoll of Woleai (Alkire 1970), where the seven inhabited islets of the atoll are conceptually divided into eastern and western lagoon groups that regularly exchange fish, coconuts, and other gifts of food and retain rights to exploit each other's reef and lagoon. In case of need, an islet of one lagoon

can ask its partner for food. The system in effect more evenly apportions food among the atoll communities. Another example is an interatoll tribute and exchange system that operated until 1953, linking Lamotrek, Satawal, and Elato (Alkire 1965), the outer islands of Yap closest to the Westerns. Elato and Satawal sent tribute to Lamotrek, and received in return the right to turn to Lamotrek for food when necessary, as well as the right to exploit other areas belonging to Lamotrek, such as the island of Pikelot. Although Lamotrek was not obliged to make any return gifts when Elato and Satawal brought food, Lamotrek occasionally reciprocated with fish, and people routinely sent their Satawal and Elato kin back with gifts. This system, like the Woleai one, served to redistribute resources, thus preventing shortages during normal times and helping ensure survival in times of disaster.

A similar tribute system persisted in the Western Islands until the Japanese era. According to Damm and Sarfert (1935), all the Westerns and Namonuitos once paid tribute to Puluwat, chief of the area, although by the German era only Pulap Atoll continued to do so.[2] Twice a year, at the beginning of each season, Pulap sent food such as fish and mature coconuts, and in return could rely on Puluwat when in need. Puluwat also took responsibility for defense when other islanders threatened or raided Pulap. Pulapese do not consider the relationship to have been a benevolent one, however, and they speak today with resentment of the tribute system, especially Puluwat's arrogance and belligerence. Pulap informants claim, in fact, that Puluwat warriors too often arrived in battle dress to demand tribute and then raid the island, stealing and destroying property. The relationship between Pulap and Puluwat was—and still is—a very ambivalent one. Although Pulap could rely on Puluwat for aid and protection, the islanders lived in constant fear of Puluwat raids.

Other islands have shared Pulap's assessment. The men of Puluwat were renowned as fierce fighters and feared throughout Chuuk and islands to the west. Christian recorded the following comment from the German era:

> There's something queer about those Pulawat (Enderby I.) folk. 'Tisn't safe to go in their lagoon. They've cut off several vessels, and about six years ago they did for a trader called Shortman, as well as a Portuguese and a Japanese. (Christian 1899:245)

Even Lamotrek, a higher-ranking atoll in the Yapese system, feared Puluwat. As a result, the Western islands could freely exploit Pikelot, which belonged

to Lamotrek, although Elato and Satawal—technically higher in rank than Puluwat—needed Lamotrek's permission. To illustrate further the impact of Puluwat's reputation, Pulapese cite the example of Lamotrek's reaction to a Puluwat man, still alive today, who married on their island. When a Lamotrek man took the wife after her Puluwat husband temporarily left the island, Puluwat warriors prepared to retaliate against Lamotrek. Afraid of a battle with Puluwat, Lamotrek islanders paid gifts to Puluwat as an indemnity to prevent a fight.[3]

When the Germans entered Chuuk, they insisted that the islanders lay down their guns and stop warring, and for the most part people obeyed. Pulapese remember German threats of reprisals and claim they complied with the order out of fear. Although the Western Islands were included in the interdiction, at least one incident violated the German order, and the Germans punished Puluwat for raiding Pulap (Damm and Sarfert 1935). An incident on Pulap prompted the raid. Puluwat visitors apparently grew angry when Pulapese provided food for their return voyage but then reclaimed it after learning that the visitors had stolen some provisions. Returning home, the Puluwat men told their chief that Pulapese had stolen their oars and ropes. To retaliate, Puluwat raided Pulap. Pulapese evidently did not resist the invaders, who plundered their houses and seized several canoes. Perhaps in poetic justice, eighteen of those canoes were lost in a storm on the return to Puluwat. The raid did not go unnoticed: the governor arrived in November, 1908 to punish Puluwat by carrying some men off to Saipan. Although warfare stopped decades ago, the memories remain alive today and affect attitudes and relationships. In particular, Pulapese retain uneasy feelings about Puluwat and maintain that its people want to resurrect the days when they ruled the area. Pulapese selectively emphasize these stories of domination when faced with competition or resistance from Puluwat today.

At least one Western Island—Pulusuk—sometimes allied with outsiders against Puluwat and the other Westerns. Many stories tell of an alliance that Pulusuk, the southernmost of the Westerns, maintained with the Namonuitos against the other Westerns. Moreover, Pulusuk stopped paying tribute to Puluwat before the German era, although the communities of Pulap Atoll continued to do so into the Japanese era. One account of Pulusuk's animosity toward Puluwat concerns a Pulusuk attempt, through gift payments, to have some Puluwat men killed. Through similar payments, Pulusuk also asked Pulap to attack. Pulap refused because the chief island was too close, and Pulap would have to wait too long for help from their allies. Puluwat, in turn,

sent gifts to Pulap, asking them to attack Pulusuk canoes arriving at the island. Pulap attacked at least once, although only years later did Pulusuk learn of the incident.

Although Puluwat reigned in the past as chief island of the Westerns, Pulapese deny ever having played a completely subservient role. In fact, they maintain they acted as the strong right arm of Puluwat. As evidence, they recount an unsuccessful raid Puluwat made on an island in the Namonuitos, when Pulap's assistance was necessary for victory. In effect, Pulapese assert that Puluwat could not have achieved or maintained its position without Pulap as an ally. Moreover, in the words of one informant, Pulap served as a cultural warehouse for Puluwat and other islands, the source of many customs and ceremonies, especially the art of navigation. Even the name for the island, *Pwollap,* supposedly means the center, or origin, of navigation: *ppwo* means "to be initiated as a navigator" and *lap* means "big" or "important." This belief is a source of considerable pride for the island, and Pulapese derive self-esteem from knowing that Puluwat and other islanders acknowledge that navigation originated on Pulap.[4] In fact, the myth Pulapese most eagerly tell concerns how Haakur, the first navigator, obtained the secrets of navigation from a mythical bird. One of the names given to Pulap, *fanútóópw* (misty or gray island), refers to Haakur's ability to protect Pulap by rendering it invisible to the giant predatory bird that had eaten the people of other islands. This bird eventually revealed the secrets of navigation. With the spread of navigation, Haakur was soon accepted as a god by navigators of others islands. Honor was—and on occasion still is—accorded Pulap as a result. For example, a Pulap canoe should be allowed to leave an island first and should not be passed. Violators risk having problems at sea. In one contemporary story, Pulapese gleefully tell of a renowned Puluwat navigator who left the turtle island of Pikelot while a Pulap canoe remained; a storm pushed him far from his course. The etiquette should even apply to modern motorboats. A few years ago, for example, when Pulap men attended a meeting in Chuuk Lagoon, an elderly and otherwise respected man from another island who wished to leave early asked permission of the far younger Pulap men, who could speak for Haakur. Later, Pulapese assert, when the Pulap men and other visitors left the island, faster motorboats that drew ahead of the Pulapese developed engine problems because of their disrespect.

Other names and associated myths Pulapese claim for their home reveal related aspects of their pride. These names include *fanehoomeh* (ghost island), *faneyanu* (spirit island), and *faniŕah* (holy or sacred island). The names relate to images of strength. Pulapese believe that powerful magic has

existed on the island, and a lack of respect for Pulap has caused people to sicken and die. Furthermore, this strength could overpower Puluwat, the feared atoll to which Pulap owed tribute. One myth, for instance, tells of talking plants that scared away some Puluwat invaders. Pulap believed Haakur to be powerful enough even to defeat a Yap magician, presumably the most powerful and feared of sorcerers. And when a foreign ship's cannon frightened the Pulapese, Haakur supposedly sank it. Even during World War II, Haakur reputedly protected Pulap, shielding it from the bombing that Puluwat experienced. Another label for the island has been *fanekut,* or small island—small, but dangerous. Pulapese abandoned their former religious ceremonies with conversion to Catholicism, but these myths and beliefs remain part of their heritage and a source of pride, especially with respect to people of other islands, both within and beyond the Westerns.

In addition to other islands under Yapese domination, Pulapese traveled to other places, primarily for trade. They obtained beads and knives from the Marianas, as did other Carolinians. Precontact trade was suspended, however, after the Spanish took over the Marianas, although it resumed in 1788 and continued until 1873 (Riesenberg and Kaneshiro 1960:285). Another trading site was Chuuk Lagoon, where Pulapese obtained turmeric, colored lavalavas, and red shell ornaments. They sought tobacco in the Faichuk or western area of Chuuk Lagoon, and they commonly carried rope, mats, and woven lavalavas to exchange for Chuuk goods. Since Pulapese had to tack when sailing to the lagoon, they visited other islands on the way; this was the primary reason they stopped at the Namonuitos.[5] Pulapese also occasionally sailed to the Mortlocks, the atolls southeast of Chuuk Lagoon, but travel within the Westerns and to the west in Yap was far more common.

Foreign Contact with Pulap

Pulapese have had to deal with outsiders much more different from themselves than the people of Yap and Puluwat since 1565, although the most dramatic impact has resulted from the U.S. presence. In fact, before the German colonial period, only a handful of foreigners had sighted the atoll. Some traded a few items and obtained fresh supplies but otherwise had little impact after the initial contact. It was the very first visit that proved to be most eventful for centuries to come.

This first recorded European sighting of Pulap Atoll by the Spanish in 1565 signaled one of the early discoveries in Micronesia. The *San Lucas,* commanded by Alonso de Arellano, had separated from a larger expedition

that had left Mexico for the Philippines. It arrived in Chuuk Lagoon January 17 and then headed northwest, where the men discovered three small islands in the shape of a triangle (Arellano 1887:20–25), which have since been identified as Pulap Atoll (Hezel 1979:27). In need of water and wood, the Spanish approached one of the islands, and some of the natives went out to the ship in canoes and received trinkets. After a Spanish sailor went ashore in one of the canoes and returned with water, bananas, and coconuts, the ship's launch was sent to fetch wood and more water. The sailors decided not to go ashore, however, when they saw islanders armed with spears, clubs, and slings. Canoes once again came out to the ship, and arrangements were made for two hostages to remain on the ship while three sailors in separate canoes went ashore. When the sailor in the last canoe saw the other two men ambushed and clubbed to death, he understandably endeavored to induce the natives to turn his canoe around. After they tried to club him, he knifed two of them and was hit by rocks hurled by slings from the other canoes. At that point the hostages in the ship jumped overboard, and one was killed by a musket shot. In an effort to get ashore and fight back, the Spanish circled the island, but the natives again used slings to hurl rocks from the beach. Eventually the Spanish gave up and went on to the Philippines, but they named the atoll Los Martires in memory of the two Spanish sailors who had been killed. The only description they gave of the islanders was that they were "well-built, bearded, and have long hair bound in a knot" (Arellano 1887:25).

More than two hundred years elapsed before the next recorded visit. Duperrey (1827:70) mentions an 1801 sighting by Juan Ibargoitia, in command of the *Filipino,* but no details remain of the event.

The next known sighting of the atoll occurred on March 15, 1819, by Louis Freycinet, in command of the *Uranie* (Freycinet 1829:69–73). Five canoes approached the ship, and the natives who climbed aboard appeared to be terrified by the sight of cannonballs. They were given some food to eat and trinkets as gifts. A few danced for the crew. The Europeans noted leprosy and skin disease but reported that Pulapese otherwise seemed healthy. When the islanders left, they provided the crew with some fresh fish and coconuts.

On June 30, 1824, the French *Coquille,* under the command of Louis Duperrey, sighted Pulap Atoll. This time about thirty canoes came out, and in exchange for axes, knives, nails, and fishhooks, the natives provided coconuts, breadfruit, and shells (Dumont d'Urville 1825:305–9; Lesson 1839:528–32).

William R. Driver, commanding the *Clay* on a trading voyage for sea

cucumbers, arrived a few years later on March 31, 1828. He described the islanders as

> of a fine brown complexion. . . . They are stout, well-built, have rather flat noses. . . . They wear their hair, which is a little crooked, long, tied in a large knot behind. . . . Their ears are cut through the lower part, many of them large enough to receive a ring four inches in circumference. In these they wear bones or leaves. . . . Most of them being completely naked, some few only having a small piece of grass cloth round their waist . . . were tattooed about the arms and thighs (Driver 1829).

About half a dozen canoes appeared; the natives offered to sell sea cucumbers and gave the foreigners coconuts, slings, and some sort of cloth in exchange for beads, knives, and iron.

The remaining precolonial sightings were relatively uneventful. Dumont d'Urville, in command of the *Astrolabe,* briefly sighted the atoll again on April 28, 1828, when islanders in seven or eight canoes chased after the ship, indicating they wanted to trade model canoes for goods from the ship (Dumont d'Urville 1833). In 1830 Benjamin Morrell, commanding the *Antarctic,* visited the islands twice, first in May (Morrell 1832:388), when canoes came out to trade, and again on August 30 (Keeler 1831). The last recorded precolonial visit took place in February, 1876, when the German *SMS Herthe* surveyed the atoll (Annales Hydrographiques 1877:434).

According to Pulap oral tradition, at least one other ship arrived, probably in the mid–nineteenth century, an incident that Krämer also noted (Krämer 1935:270). After some trading, the chief and two other natives were taken away when the ship left. Pulapese today contend it was a German ship, but they remember all pre-Japanese visits as having been German.

Pulapese had slightly more contact with foreigners during the German era. One prominent story of the German colonial period concerns the efforts of the foreigners to buy land on Pulap and on Fenarik, the atoll's uninhabited island, for coconut plantations. Even when the Germans tried to force the chief to sell, threatening to shoot, he refused, turning down the money offered and ignoring the threats. Selecting such a story of resistance is yet another way Pulapese assert strength. Pulapese claim that another German ship arrived later to imprison some men in retaliation. And retaliation implies acknowledgment of strength; if Pulapese were inconsequential, their actions would have been ignored. The men may have been taken as forced labor, however, because at some point during the German era, Pulap men were, in

fact, forcibly taken to work for the foreigners, probably to Nauru, as were other Carolinians.

Two other notable events during the German rule were the ending of interisland warfare ordered by the administration and the Hamburg Expedition of 1908–10. In fact, before my fieldwork, the only published anthropological material on Pulap was written by Augustin Krämer, a member of the expedition, who visited the island with his wife from December 18 to 22, 1909.

The practice of taking men from the island for forced labor continued under Japanese rule. Although some islanders died while away, those who returned acquired prestige because the Japanese reportedly chose only the strongest. A distinctive tatoo is a symbol even today of having been chosen to work for the Japanese, a dubious honor at best. Many of these men were sent to Chuuk Lagoon, but some went as far as Belau to work in Angaur's phosphate mine. Several who worked in Chuuk took their families with them or sent for them later, but the family members stayed with relatives in Chuuk, not in the Japanese housing provided for the workers. Some of the ties established in those days remain important today. In addition to men taken for labor, some Pulap boys were sent to the Japanese schools in Chuuk Lagoon, and periodically their families visited them.

Pulapese did not always meekly comply with the Japanese demands. In fact, the chief once refused to allow the Japanese to select and take away workers and told the islanders to hide instead. As punishment the Japanese beat him—so severely that he was crippled, unable to walk. Again, the emphasis on strength emerges in these Pulap stories.

During World War II, Japanese stationed on nearby Puluwat sent soldiers to other islands, including Pulap, to grow crops because of a food shortage. When harvested, the food was sent to feed the soldiers on Puluwat. Pulapese were instructed to assist the soldiers and to bring local produce and fish to support the Japanese during their stay. Some people today still complain about this treatment and claim they were hit or beaten for refusing to carry human waste to fertilize the gardens.

About twenty Pulapese stayed in the western part of Chuuk Lagoon on the island of Udot with relatives during the war, because when the war broke out, those at work or in school, as well as their families, were not permitted to return home. They remained in Chuuk Lagoon until the U.S. Navy returned them to Pulap after the Japanese surrender.

After World War II, when the U.S. Navy took control of the area, the immediate administrative concerns centered on education and health. The

Americans trained teachers and health aides from all over the district. The navy came to Pulap several times to request that two young men be sent to Moen, one to be trained as a teacher and the other as a health aide. Soon the local elementary school opened and grades were gradually added until they reached the present number of eight.

In November, 1967, Peace Corps volunteers began assignments in Chuuk District, and during the next several years Pulap received one or two at a time to work in education and health. No volunteers were assigned to the island during my research in 1980, however.

Pulap Mobility Today

Thus Pulap has not been isolated from its neighbors in the Carolines or from foreign interests. Pulapese have maintained economic and social ties with other islanders and have historically been mobile in taking advantage of these ties and opportunities. Strategies of mobility continue today, and formal schooling is a critical factor that influences both the patterns of mobility and identity formation. And population growth since the U.S. entry has resulted in a high percentage of young people of school age.

Krämer noted a population of 60 on Pulap in 1909 (1935:248), but the next available figures are not until the Japanese era, in 1925. From 1925 to 1949 the population remained quite stable, varying only between 153 and 159. Since then, however, the population has increased steadily, reaching 432 in 1980 (U.S. Department of State 1980). Aware of this increase, Pulapese attribute it to improved medical care provided by the U.S. administration following World War II and to the training of midwives, which reduced infant mortality. The children born in the first years of this population increase later formed the first cohort of young people to leave the island for secondary education and to graduate from high school.

I conducted my own census of Pulap in January and February of 1980. Concerned with interisland ties, I counted not only everyone living on Pulap at the time and everyone born on the island, but also the spouses and children of Pulapese born on the island. On January 30, 1980, that total was 476 (see table 1). This figure includes 1 non-Pulap adult and 2 non-Pulap children living on the island at the time, 22 non-Pulap spouses of Pulapese, and 47 children of interisland couples. The total number of people actually residing on Pulap on January 30, 1980, was 305. Residing elsewhere were 171 people: 89 (52 percent) on Moen, 32 (19 percent) on Ulul (where the junior high school is located), and 14 (8 percent) in the United States attending college.

TABLE 1. Pulap Population According to Island of Residence on January 30, 1980

	Western Islands			Namonuitos			Chuuk Lagoon					
	Pulap	Tamatam	Pulusuk	Ulul	Other	Halls	Moen	Other	Pohnpei	Guam	United States	Total, all sites
Adults	116	3	6	4	2		42	1		3		177
Students				27			16	2	1	4	14	64
Children	189	4	5	1	2	1	31	1		1		235
Total	305	7	11	32	4	1	89	4	1	8	14	476

Except for one person in Pohnpei and a few in Guam, the rest were scattered elsewhere in Chuuk State.[6]

The population of Pulap-born adults and students who were off the island at the time of my census totaled 111, of whom 65 (58 percent) were off the island for school on Ulul, Moen, Tol, Pohnpei, or Guam or in the United States;[7] two adults accompanied one of the students. Employment accounted for several others off the island: ten (9 percent) were working either on Moen, Pulusuk, or Ulul, and three other adults were on Ulul and Pulusuk as spouses, or relatives of Pulap teachers employed there. Twenty-six people (23 percent) were temporarily in Moen because of illness or personal business. And finally, five lived elsewhere in the Westerns or the Namonuitos because of marriage or adoption.

These numbers varied during the year as canoes and ships arrived and departed the island, but the figures reveal the general trend. In particular, education emerges as responsible for much of the movement and for a large percentage of people off the island.

Table 2 illustrates in more detail the motives, destinations, and numbers of Pulapese traveling on canoes and field-trip ships during 1980.[8] I have not included the many intra-atoll trips between Tamatam and Pulap, visits that are both casual and frequent. People from Tamatam frequently visit and look for cigarettes, medicine, kerosene, sugar, or other goods. They either ask relatives or check the small stores. Pulap men often visit Tamatam to drink when it is forbidden on Pulap; and when Pulap's health aide is on Moen, Tamatam's is often called in his stead. Other trips in 1980 delivered visitors or gifts of food, and Pulap men went once for pandanus thatch to rebuild a canoe house.

Canoe travel to other atolls occurred regularly, and a ship traveled in and out of Moen. From the table it is also obvious that despite Pulap's seeming isolation, its inhabitants are quite mobile and in touch with many other islands. During 1980 only twenty-nine adults, most of them women, never left the island. Of the men, only three—old, sick, too feeble to travel—remained on Pulap. Though not as mobile as the adults, more than half of the children (56 percent) also left the island at least once. Thus the islanders are considerably mobile: out of the 476 people counted in the census, 344 (72 percent) left the island, if only briefly, during the course of the year.

Furthermore, canoe and ship travel differ in some obvious ways. Canoe trips are confined primarily to the Western Islands, although some men did travel once to Ulul to visit the junior high school students and once to Pikelot and Satawal. Pulapese sailed on canoes to return a Pulap teacher to Pulusuk,

attend sick relatives, play in athletic games, deliver medicine and food, seek cigarettes and other supplies, attend church meetings, consult the priest, and hunt turtles. Men customarily travel on canoes much more than women do and often join a crew for little reason other than fun. Women travel more rarely and for quite specific reasons, such as attending the interisland athletic games, getting married, or visiting sick relatives. Unlike the canoes, the ship usually travels in and out of Moen, with stops at other islands in the Westerns, Namonuitos, and Halls, depending on the route. Women and children

TABLE 2. Passengers on Pulap Canoes and Government Ships Stopping at Pulap in 1980

Date	Vessel	Destination	Adults	Students	Children
1/24	1 canoe	To Pulusuk and back	6	—	—
		Stayed on Pulusuk	2	—	2
1/25	Ship	To Pulap from Moen	8	—	3
2/29	8 canoes	To Puluwat and back	63	—	68
		Stayed on Puluwat	2	—	1
		Returned from Puluwat	1	—	—
3/9	Ship	Round trip	5	—	—
		Returned to Pulap	17	—	—
4/6	1 canoe	To Pulusuk and back	6	—	—
		Returned from Pulusuk	3	—	1
4/8	2 canoes	To Ulul and back	13	—	—
		Returned from Ulul	—	4	—
4/19	Ship	To Pulap	12	1	10
4/22	1 canoe	To Puluwat and back	6	—	—
4/30	Ship	Round trip	3	—	—
		Left Pulap	14	5	10
5/8	3 canoes	To Puluwat and back	19	—	1
5/16, 5/23	5 canoes	To Pikelot and Satawal and back	27	—	2
5/9	Ship	Round trip	—	5	—
		To Pulap from Moen	7	39	2
		Left Pulap	14	—	1
5/14	3 canoes	To Pulusuk and back	16	11	5
		Stayed on Pulusuk	1	—	1
		Returned to Pulap	1	—	—
8/13	1 canoe	To Puluwat and back	3	3	—
8/18, 8/19	2 canoes	To Puluwat and back	6	5	2
9/2	Ship	Round trip	10	6	3
		To Pulap from Moen	18	2	10
		Left Pulap	11	48	5
10/15	Ship	Round trip	1	—	—
		Left Pulap	1	—	—
11/6	Ship	Left Pulap	4	2	
12/4	Ship	To Pulap	16	1	3

commonly travel on the ships, but again for specific reasons. Pulapese in general routinely visit Moen for a few months on personal business, such as purchasing building goods. Illness is another major reason.

Both ship and canoe travel also enable Pulapese to maintain relationships with both Pulap and non-Pulap kin. For example, many Pulapese living and working on Moen take the opportunity to visit their home island on the field-trip ships. In general, those living off the island, whether because of school, marriage, adoption, or employment, manage to visit Pulap at least occasionally by either canoe or ship and thus maintain ties with kin. They commonly bring friends, affines, and other relatives with them to visit for a few days or even for several months. Travel within the Westerns maintains both social and economic relations. Medicine, food, information, and other resources circulate regularly.

Finally, the educational system plays a substantial role in influencing movement to and from the island. Many of the Pulapese off the island are attending school, and the two student runs of the ship produce the most marked change in personnel, as students come home in the summer and elementary school teachers leave. In 1980 even a few of the college students managed to return for visits, although most went back to school later and remained on the island only briefly. Education also takes Pulapese away from the island for the longest periods of time.

The Education Explosion

Chuuk's current educational system emerged relatively recently, stemming from policy changes in the 1960s and early 1970s. Chuuk experienced an "education explosion," a dramatic increase in numbers that was especially marked from about 1965 to 1978. In the late 1970s the number of students graduating from Truk High School[9] in a single year exceeded the total number who had graduated in all the years prior to 1965 (Hezel 1978). Although formal schools existed before that time, they had far fewer students. Even the declining enrollments since 1978 represent larger numbers of students than in earlier years.

U.S. missionaries introduced the first formal Western education in Chuuk beginning in 1884 with the arrival of Robert Logan, a Protestant missionary sponsored by the American Board Commission for Foreign Missions. The missionaries transcribed the local language into a written form, translated the Bible, and wrote a number of hymns and other religious materials. They used the vernacular as the medium of instruction and encouraged

literacy in that language rather than a foreign tongue. These missionaries treated education as a vehicle for Christianizing the local people and advocated literacy so that they could read the Bible. The purpose of other subjects such as science and arithmetic was to lead natives away from practices the missionaries considered superstitious. In the same vein, sewing, cooking, and hygiene were taught to girls to encourage what American Protestants considered a clean and healthy Christian life. Pulap students, however, did not attend these schools set up in Chuuk Lagoon and the Mortlocks, although some later missionaries went out to Pulap and for brief periods held a few classes.

During the Spanish and German administrations the missionaries provided the only formal education, since neither government established its own schools in Chuuk. The Japanese, who took over administration of the area in 1914, allowed these mission schools to continue but also established their own system of public schools. Whereas the missionaries used the local language and treated education as a means of promoting Christian ideals, the new government introduced a Japanese system, complete with Japanese teachers, language, and texts, as a means of turning Micronesia into an integral and loyal part of the Japanese political and economic sphere. The educational system for local children, however, remained entirely separate from schools for Japanese children.

Fischer (1961) has described in some detail the Japanese schools for students of Chuuk. The first one opened in Chuuk Lagoon on Dublon, the administrative center of the district under the Japanese. Japanese teachers staffed this three-year elementary school, with the help of some local people who interpreted and assisted in disciplining students. Originally only boys were admitted to the school, and enrollment was limited to a certain number from each major Lagoon island. Other three-year elementary schools later opened elsewhere in Chuuk Lagoon and the Mortlocks. Although Japanese built the schools, local people usually had to donate land and labor.

Eventually all children in Chuuk Lagoon were required to attend the three-year schools. The minimum age was set at eight, although many did not begin until nine or ten. After finishing the three-year school, a select few attended a two-year higher elementary school on Dublon. A few of these graduates were then selected to attend a vocational school—either a carpentry or surveyor's school on Belau or an agricultural school on Dublon. No academic training, however, was offered beyond the five years of elementary school.

The elementary school curriculum focused heavily on written and spoken

Japanese, with at least half the school time allotted to language training (Fischer 1961:84). Basic arithmetic computation occupied a quarter of the hours, while gymnastics, music, crafts, ethics, and geography took up the remainder. Teachers relied on rote memory, drills, and corporal punishment. According to Fischer, however, most students never learned to read Japanese very well and had difficulties in pronunciation; nor did they learn enough arithmetic even to work with fractions.

Students learned so little partly because they had little interest in school, although their elders recognized the advantages of being able to speak and understand Japanese (Fischer 1961:86). Not only could people then communicate more effectively with the foreigners, but they hoped to manipulate encounters for their own benefit. Much of the low interest in school derived from conflicts between expectations of the school system and cultural values of Chuuk. Since these values encouraged cooperation among kin and modesty about personal abilities, students scorned those who applied themselves to perform better than others. Moreover, people of Chuuk considered childhood a time of play, and puberty a time for sexual affairs—neither of which was conducive to hard work at school.

Other problems in the schools concerned interisland animosity and fighting between students from villages or islands hostile to each other prior to 1904, when Germans outlawed warfare. Moreover, schools provided instruction but not housing or food, so that students from other islands had to live with families. Many hosts resented the imposition and insisted that students work for them after school.

Most of those who graduated from the lower elementary schools and who did not continue to the higher school simply returned to their villages or home islands, although a few found manual labor positions. Graduates of the higher elementary schools had more success in finding jobs with the Japanese and became interpreters, servants, secretaries, and foremen.

No girls and only about half a dozen Pulap boys attended a Japanese school. These boys were sent by those on Pulap who recognized the value of learning to speak Japanese. One man, for example, mentioned that his father had envied Puluwat visitors who could speak Japanese, and this motivated him to send his son to school. A Chuuk Lagoon man, who had befriended the father when both had worked together in Angaur, informed him of a school on his island and offered to care for the boy. The adult friendship was in effect a created kin tie and proved beneficial to the Pulap man's children as well.

In addition to problems all students faced, one other issue boys from any

of the Western Islands had to contend with concerned cultural differences related to gender ideology. The boys were expected to help with gardening and preparing food, and although these are conventional male tasks in Chuuk Lagoon, in the Westerns they are women's responsibilities. The boys resented the work expected of them in Chuuk.

During World War II the Japanese closed their schools. Soon after the surrender, however, the U.S. Navy—responsible for administering the area—set up a school to teach English and to train elementary school teachers. Rather than follow the Japanese policy of bringing in outside teachers, the American administration planned to train Micronesians themselves. When recruiting their first students, the navy preferred to select those who had attended the Japanese schools. These students included a few Pulapese.

Guided by American democratic ideals and faith in universal education, the navy wanted to establish a system of elementary schools that would provide six years of education for all children (Kiste 1985:8; Singleton 1974:79). The minimum age was set at eight, the same as with the Japanese, and the curriculum included English, arithmetic, social studies, art, and handicrafts.

Although the navy sponsored the system, local communities controlled many aspects of their own schools. The navy tried to staff the elementary schools with indigenous teachers and to have the local communities provide the buildings. These were typically thatched and open-sided. Islanders acquiesced to navy requests to build and maintain the schools, because many adults recognized the value of having their children learn English and perhaps obtain a job with the U.S. government on Moen. They had learned during the Japanese era the value of acquiring the language of the reigning authorities. The navy sent out supplies to the schools, but the local communities maintained the buildings and until 1958 paid teachers from local taxes. Since poorer communities could pay so little, the administration in 1958 began to pay teachers from district taxes (Nagao and Nakayama 1969). Local magistrates during the 1950s were responsible for seeing that teachers held classes, and the administration sought the consent of magistrates before assigning new teachers to their schools. To a large extent, then, these schools operated on their own. Only a few islands in the eastern part of Chuuk Lagoon were close enough for regular supervision. Although a representative from the Department of Education usually accompanied a field-trip ship to the outer islands, such visits were necessarily brief and school was routinely canceled when a ship arrived (Singleton 1959).

In addition to the elementary schools, the military government estab-

lished a public secondary school on Moen in 1946 and staffed it with American teachers. Its original purpose was to train the first elementary school teachers, but in 1947 it became Truk Intermediate School, with grades seven through nine, and continued as such until 1962. Since this intermediate school was too small to handle all the elementary school graduates, an entrance exam limited the number of students. Even fewer young people continued their education at Pacific Islands Central School (PICS), the only public high school in the entire Trust Territory until 1961. Selective secondary education contrasted with universal elementary education.

Secondary education from 1947 to 1951 emphasized teacher training (Hezel 1978:25), but the curriculum later expanded to provide vocational and academic programs. The Marianas Area Teacher Training School established on Guam in 1947 for postintermediate education moved to Chuuk the following year and became Pacific Islands Teacher Training School (PITTS). The name of the school later changed again to PICS, and secondary education shifted from its almost exclusive focus on training teachers. PICS soon offered a three-year program with vocational training, such as agriculture and carpentry, as well as academic training, including college preparation. In 1953 the Catholic mission established on Moen a private interdistrict high school for boys (Xavier High School), but PICS, which moved to Pohnpei in 1959, remained the only public postintermediate high school for the entire Trust Territory.

A number of Micronesian political leaders first met at PICS, which served to integrate the intellectual elite of Micronesia (Singleton 1974:85). Students from all over the Trust Territory came together. A sense of camaraderie and unity replaced mutual hostility and suspicion among students. In this way the school fostered plans for Micronesian political unity as students realized that the districts shared problems best dealt with jointly. Later, with the establishment of separate district high schools, this function shifted to the University of Hawaii and to a lesser extent the University of Guam, but the strong sense of common identity and camaraderie experienced at PICS never emerged again (Singleton 1974:86).

The Micronesian educational system underwent a radical change in 1962 when the U.S. budget ceiling for Trust Territory appropriations more than doubled. Education received far more emphasis, with a goal of providing twelve years of free and universal education (Smith 1968:75; Pearse and Bezanson 1970:29). Now both elementary and secondary education were to be universal. More facilities, materials, and American teachers appeared in Trust Territory schools, and materials designed specifically for Micronesians

entered the classrooms. New methods of teaching English as a second language promoted the use of English rather than the local languages. And adult literacy programs were started in each district by 1966 (Smith 1968:75).

Education was to be the key to Micronesia's development. In fact, some saw schooling as a means of irrevocably binding Micronesia to the United States in a dependent relationship (Gale 1979; Nevin 1977). Education would induce rapid sociocultural change, and with American teachers, curricula, and language, Micronesians presumably would view education as a key to advancement and prestige (Gale 1979:121). The intent was to develop social, political, and economic ties through rapid development such that Micronesia would establish a permanent political affiliation with the United States rather than eventually become a politically independent nation. Education would also foster favorable attitudes toward the United States, encourage an emotional bond with the mother country, and thus stave off a desire for independence (Gale 1979:109). This heavy emphasis on education had other consequences:

> The rapid growth of an education industry had at least three important ramifications for the political structure of the Trust Territory. First, it led to a sustained, intimate contact with foreigners surpassing that previously experienced. Second, it was the major element in the growth of the Trust Territory bureaucracy and payroll. Third, it acted as a centralizing force that resulted in a diminution of local power and encouraged urbanization. (Gale 1979:123)

The Education Department is even today the largest employer (Hezel n.d.). Certainly on Pulap, elementary school teaching provides the only full-time employment, and the jobs and income accord the teachers considerable prestige.

Concurrent with these policy changes, local communities lost much of their control over elementary schools, while the Trust Territory administration took on more responsibility for teacher salaries. Initially, a teacher who took additional courses received extra pay provided by the administration above that paid by the district legislature. Then, two years later, the administration paid all salaries. Consequently, the administration also acquired the right to assign teachers without consulting community magistrates (Nagao and Nakayama 1969). In addition, the school buildings local communities had constructed and maintained were rebuilt, usually with sturdy concrete blocks, and subsequently maintained by the administration rather than the

local communities. The curriculum lost much of its island orientation, with an influx of Americans contributing to the shift. American elementary school teachers on contracts with the Department of the Interior arrived in the 1960s, and in 1967 a number of Peace Corps volunteers began teaching in elementary schools.

In 1962 the High Commissioner transformed secondary education by replacing the single interdistrict school, PICS, with separate district high schools. Academically oriented secondary education was to be available for all young people rather than remain the privilege of a select few. In the space of a few years, intermediate schools became four-year high schools, and elementary schools added seventh and eighth grades. In Chuuk, the former PICS and Intermediate facilities became Truk High School. American and Micronesian teachers staffed the new, academically oriented high school.

Secondary school enrollment increased dramatically when Truk High School opened. In 1965 the Protestant mission established an interdistrict high school on Moen called Mizpah, and the Catholic mission opened the Pohnpei Agriculture and Trade School (PATS), a vocational interdistrict high school on Pohnpei. Students from Chuuk could then attend one of four secondary schools—Xavier, Mizpah, PATS, or Truk High School—though Truk High School remained the only free, public option.

Secondary school enrollment increased again in Chuuk when academic junior high schools opened in 1970. Forerunners of the junior high schools had been postelementary vocational schools set up in 1967 on Ulul in the Namonuitos (north of Pulap), Satawan in the Mortlocks (southeast of Chuuk Lagoon), and Tol in Chuuk Lagoon. Since the administration had not included these postelementary schools in the budget, the local communities and Peace Corps volunteers provided support. Students from the Western Islands attended the postelementary school called Weipat on Ulul. Until 1970 Weipat served for Pulapese as a vocational alternative to Truk High School, because most Pulapese failed the high school entrance test. Weipat graduates could later continue their education at Truk High School. In that way, Weipat provided another route to high school.

In 1970 these vocational schools became academic junior high schools. In 1972 Mizpah, the former Protestant school on Moen, became another public junior high school, and in 1974 a fifth one opened on Dublon. Today Weipat serves the outer island students who live north and west of Chuuk Lagoon, and Mortlocks Junior High School on Satawan admits those who live south of the Lagoon. In Chuuk Lagoon students attend the schools on Tol, Moen, and Dublon. All five intermediate schools, however, send their

graduates to the public high school on Moen. In 1974 new facilities at the high school were completed, and it became a senior high school for eleventh and twelfth grades.[10]

The number of high school graduates has increased enormously since the beginning of the U.S. administration. From 1947 to 1951, when secondary education concentrated on training teachers, about five Chuuk students graduated each year. From 1952 to 1964, when Xavier and PICS were the only Trust Territory high schools, about thirteen Chuuk students graduated each year, but the average increased to about sixty a year from 1965 to 1969, after Truk High School was established. From 1970, when the junior high schools opened, until 1973, about 152 young people graduated from high school each year. The total number during this period was 607, exceeding in only those four years the total number from all the previous years of the U.S. administration. From 1974 (after the expansion of Truk High School) to 1977, the number increased again to about 294 each year. The shift was particularly marked after 1965: by 1965 only about two hundred students had received high school diplomas, whereas by 1978, over twenty-three hundred had diplomas. Prior to 1965 less than 4 percent of the eligible youth graduated from high school, but by 1977 almost 44 percent received diplomas. The percentage of female graduates also increased, from less than 16 percent to 38 percent of the total graduates (Hezel 1978:24–26).

Most graduates who did not go on to college looked for paying jobs, preferably in their home communities. In the 1960s, then, many obtained work teaching at their local elementary schools (Hezel 1978:28), the only possibility in most communities for full-time pay. In recent years the graduates have had to search for jobs on Moen, since the teaching positions at the elementary schools have been filled.

Beginning with the 1962 budget increase and with further increases every year until 1975, Moen was able to absorb its high school graduates (Hezel 1978:30–31). Even after 1975, without the large budget increases, additional people were employed because of U.S. job training programs. Of the more than sixteen hundred students who graduated from 1965 to 1977, two-thirds found jobs, primarily with the government. And more than half of those in government worked in education. Of those who did not obtain jobs on Moen, many were women who probably did not seek employment. Moreover, most graduates who looked unsuccessfully for a year or so eventually returned home to engage in traditional subsistence activities. Thus the unemployed did not congregate on Moen. As of 1978 only 5 percent of all the high school graduates who had not gone to college and who had not found

a job were living on Moen, and even many among this 5 percent were on Moen not to look for jobs but because they had married a Moen spouse (Hezel 1978:28). This low rate may be misleading, however, since many recent graduates had gone off to college and had not yet returned.

The earliest postsecondary education at the beginning of the U.S. administration consisted of medical training on Guam and Fiji, and vocational training programs within the Trust Territory in fields such as mechanics, nursing, and radio operation (Singleton 1974:81–82). Some students from Chuuk also participated in vocational programs sponsored by the East-West Center at the University of Hawaii, and in 1966 some began attending the Hawaii Job Corps Center.

During the 1950s and 1960s most Chuuk college students attended the College of Guam, where they lived in a dormitory reserved for Micronesians (Hezel 1978:26). During these years the students who attended college represented the most intellectually able of the high school graduates, because their Trust Territory scholarships were awarded by merit to only a few students. In 1966 only thirty-eight young people were abroad at college, in 1970 only forty-nine (Hezel 1978:28). A few went to college at the University of Hawaii or on the mainland with private scholarships, and a few others chose the University of the Philippines.

In the early 1970s, however, more graduates continued into postsecondary education, and a higher percentage began attending the University of Hawaii and mainland schools. Part of the explanation for the increase lay in the establishment of postsecondary schools within the Trust Territory. The Micronesian Occupational Center (MOC), offering vocational training, opened in Belau in 1970, and the Community College of Micronesia (CCM) opened on Pohnpei in 1971. Another reason, however, is that Micronesians began to receive U.S. federal grants for education, such as Basic Education Opportunity Grants, due to their low income and minority status. From that point on, not only could virtually all high school graduates find American colleges willing to accept them, but they could also obtain federal money to attend. Many small U.S. colleges eagerly accepted Micronesian students regardless of ability, because the islanders constituted a minority group and thus made the schools eligible for U.S. federal funds (Hezel 1978:28). Consequently, the number of Chuuk students attending college increased dramatically, as did the percentage of students attending mainland schools instead of those in Guam and Hawaii. By 1978, 660 young people were in college, 414 of them in the mainland United States, a substantial increase from 1966, when only 3 out of 38 were on the mainland (Hezel 1978:32).

Because of the lower number of high school graduates in the earlier years, however, the difference in the percentages of high school graduates who continued to college is not quite as striking as the numbers might indicate. In 1965 the nine high school students who went to college represented one-third of the total number of graduates. Yet after Chuuk began to receive federal money, over one-half of the graduates (63 percent in 1975) attended college (Hezel 1978:32). More students in sheer numbers, a higher percentage of students, and—because obtaining money was no longer based on merit—a far less select group of high school graduates began to attend college.

The first college graduate returned to Chuuk in 1967 (Singleton 1974:81), but by 1977 about two hundred had returned with degrees, many from junior colleges. The first Pulap students did not leave to attend a mainland school, however, until 1974. From then on, almost every Pulap high school graduate has at least considered attending college. Attitudes among Micronesian high school seniors toward attending college have approached those toward secondary education:

> It seems that overseas education has also become something of a rite of passage, and that many Micronesians go overseas simply because they feel it is the thing to do at their age or because they don't want to be left behind. (Thompson 1981:127)

The explosion has not continued unabated. High school enrollments have declined recently, and fewer graduates are leaving for college, especially on the mainland (Hezel n.d.). Many are now choosing schools in Guam or Hawaii, and more options are now available within Chuuk. Students can attend classes at an extension center of the Community College of Micronesia, and the University of Guam also offers college credit classes during the summer on Moen, with a focus primarily on teacher training. In the mid-1980s, teachers could even pursue a bachelor's degree at a center set up by Eastern Oregon State College on Moen.

Today, formal schooling not only carries many young Pulapese away from home, it also entices them to look for jobs on Moen rather than return to subsistence activities. Yet whether at school, on Moen, or home on Pulap, kinship structures activities, provides the means for interacting with other islanders, secures access to vital resources, provides a model for understanding behavior, and underlies identity.

Chapter 3

Being Pulapese: Behaving as Kin

Pacific Islanders tend to view a person not in the Western sense of a discrete individual but as someone connected with others through a network of relationships. On Pulap, for example, when I asked about someone's identity, the answer invariably was a relationship: "He is Susie's father," or "She is Carmen's sister." The fundamental relationships Pulapese have are those with kin, and kinship is both demonstrated by and contingent on behavior. This remains true with outsiders, so that a visitor to Pulap, a fellow student at school, a colleague at work on Moen—all are potential kin. A clan tie may already exist that can be activated, or a sibling relationship can be created. In other cases, a young couple may decide to marry, producing a series of affinal ties.

To Pulapese, being a good person is essentially the same as being a good relative. Relatives care for and nurture each other, especially through sharing food, which in turn is associated with land belonging to kin. When people follow expected patterns of behavior that demonstrate concern and respect among kin, they are said to practice Pulap customs and show themselves to be good people. Pulapese believe that they, as a cultural group, have retained these customs while others have gradually been losing them.

This is tradition constructed in the present, however, not one that is glued to the past. For example, attending church, saying the rosary, and avoiding divorce are all signs of being good Catholics and obviously new patterns of behavior. Yet Pulapese construct a cultural identity that incorporates Catholicism, asserting that it has strengthened their valued behavior, such as caring for others, and their resistance to currently devalued behavior such as warfare and sorcery (Flinn 1990a). And being traditional is also evaluated in relation to others in the modern context. When a Pulap man wears a loincloth, for example, it is made from imported fabric, but he is being traditional because a man from Chuuk Lagoon wears pants. The contrast signifies a pattern of values and the strength to remain committed to them.

This adherence to tradition—to customs that demonstrate good charac-

ter—is the basis for Pulap contentions of superiority over other islanders who show more effects of change in the wake of foreign administrations. In other words, since Pulapese behave in valued, traditional ways, particularly with regard to kin, they contend they are good people and thus as a group superior to others. These are customs that can be learned, however. Children learn Pulap ways and come to feel an emotional bond with their kin through a process of accustoming, of getting used to people and their behavior. In the same way, people can later become kin with outsiders through a related process. At school, for example, when young people become accustomed to each other, they may activate or create a kin tie. Appropriate behavior then demonstrates and validates the bond and allows for flexible boundaries between kin and nonkin, Pulapese and non-Pulapese. The behavior is adaptive in a context of mobility.

An outsider with a Pulapese kin tie who demonstrates commitment to the relationship and to Pulap customs may potentially even gain land rights. Thus she or he can behave even more as a Pulapese, little different from someone born on Pulap. Pulapese are concerned less with who is born Pulapese, more with who behaves as Pulapese.

The strongest and most valued kin tie is among siblings, who share membership in a matrilineal descent group. Throughout the Pacific, siblingship is a key element of the social structure (Marshall 1981a), and Pulap is no exception. Matrilineal descent groups are viewed as groups of siblings; the children of two sisters are considered siblings and members of the same group. The children of two brothers are also siblings, and members of a patrilateral group, whose fathers all belong to the same matrilineal group. The tie between the two—between the group of patrilateral siblings and the matrilineal group of their fathers—is viewed as a parent-child tie. From the perspective of a matrilineal descent group, all children of the women of the group ("sisters") become fellow descent group members ("siblings"), whereas children of the men ("brothers") are "children" to the descent group. Adoption cements both the ties between siblings and those between a descent group and the offspring of its men. Siblingship also structures aspects of affinal relations, even though marriage and affinal ties are less important than consanguineal bonds. All of these ties are demonstrated and sustained through behavior, however. Latent ties can be recognized through behavior. And sibling ties—the most valued of relationships—can even be created when two people choose to behave as siblings. Thus siblingship structures relations both at home on Pulap and with outsiders.

Kinship as a model for relationships is thus essential to identity and

interaction. And kin ties form the basis for potential relationships with residents of other islands and are an integral aspect of interisland ties. These kin relationships can sometimes be genealogically traced through stated links, but usually the relationship is only imputed or socially created. Consequently, a "relative" can be found on other islands both in Chuuk and among the Yap outer islands, considerably facilitating interisland travel and migration.

Matrilineal Descent

Throughout Chuuk and the atolls of Yap State, a key kin identity, especially in contexts of interisland interaction, is based on what Pulapese call the *yáynang* (clan). This is a named, exogamous, dispersed matrilineal descent group. These clans comprise the most inclusive and widespread category of kin, and thus provide structure to interisland relations. Often the first bit of information asked of strangers is their clan affiliation. Although the members of any particular clan are scattered throughout the area, the shared clan name presumably indicates that a common female ancestor founded the clan. This provides the foundation for a shared identity. Although clan members never assemble all together, form a political organization, or engage in common economic or religious activities, clan membership nevertheless serves important social functions: marriage is theoretically forbidden between members of the same clan, and hospitality is incumbent upon fellow clan members. Clan ties provide the potential for kin relationships, which are recognized and established by hospitality, particularly the sharing of food. Consequently, visitors to an island where their clans are represented can at least be assured of receiving food and shelter. Visitors activate closer ties when possible, but shared clan membership is sufficient to warrant hospitality. Shared clan membership can be the basis of other appeals, too, such as requests for political support and votes.

The same clan names appear on various islands scattered throughout Chuuk and the atolls of Yap. The clans found on Pulap appear among those Goodenough recorded for Chuuk Lagoon islands (Goodenough 1951:81–82), and other atolls share at least one clan in common with Pulap. Mongunufaŕ clan, for instance, is found as far west as Ulithi (Lessa 1950a:79), and Katamang occurs in the Mortlocks.[1]

The term *yáynang* also applies to a localized section of a clan. Pulapese recognize five of these on their island, excluding the clans of off-island people who have recently married into the community. The chiefly clan is

Howupwollap, also known as Maasalé. The other four are Pwéél, Mongunufaŕ, Mwóóŕ, and Katamang, each of which has a particular role or responsibility in community life, particularly with regard to food, so critical to kinship ideology.

The name of the chiefly clan, *Howupwollap,* means "proprietor or person of Pulap." A chiefly clan is supposedly the one that originally settled an island, but Pulapese all agree that Howupwollap has not always been the chiefly clan. Oral tradition contends that the Howupwollap chieftainship used to be in the hands of Pwéél clan, indigenous to the island, until its chief decided to designate his own son to succeed him. In this way, the chieftainship passed out of his clan, instituting the reign of Howupwollap, the clan of his son. Today, however, Howupwollap claims another name, Maasalé, a clan found in other areas of Chuuk and the atolls of Yap. A Maasalé girl supposedly arrived from the west and was adopted into Howupwollap. Later the rest of the original Howupwollap clan died out, leaving only the descendants of the Maasalé woman. Elders in the various clans and subclans on the island tell different versions of these stories, depending on their political agenda, especially as they contend for influence with younger, educated members of the chiefly clan.

The senior man of Howupwollap acts as island chief, regulating community affairs such as island-wide fishing and consumption of palm toddy and mediating unresolved interclan disputes. The chief makes decisions based on consensus, however, reached through island meetings or discussions among the clan chiefs, who make up the traditional council.

Other members of Howupwollap also have a measure of chiefly authority, which contributes to the influence of educated Howupwollap members in the migrant community on Moen. In 1980, the chief was an invalid, so his younger brother had taken over most of his duties and responsibilities. And when the younger man was ill or absent from the island, the next younger brother took over. Even junior clan members have some chiefly prerogatives. One young man, for instance, only in his mid-twenties, successfully requested all the community women to send taro to a neighboring atoll, whereas a member of any other clan could make such a request of only his clan women. Even though others may have some chiefly rights and may take on many of the responsibilities, the chief himself, and not a younger brother, is the one entitled to the privilege of receiving first-fruits presentations. These gifts acknowledge his rank and demonstrate the respect the islanders accord him.[2]

Members of the chiefly clan can use their status as an asset in the

contemporary political arena. For years, only members of the chiefly clan were considered appropriate as magistrates in the municipal government introduced by the U.S. administration. By 1980, the position had opened up to a senior man of another clan, but only after a respected and educated member of Howupwollap had lobbied for the change. Nevertheless, several years later, the magistrate position was once again back in the hands of Howupwollap. Being a member of the chiefly clan has also been a factor in the rise to leadership of a key man in the Pulap migrant community on Moen.

Howupwollap clan also owns the small, uninhabited island of Fenarik on the reef to the southwest. This is where Pulap buried its dead in pre-Christian times, but today it is exploited primarily for copra. Even Howupwollap members who have married and moved off the island retain rights in Fenarik and may continue to visit and collect copra, whereas members of any other clan first need the permission of Howupwollap.

The other clans are all essentially equal in status, although each has a special role or responsibility. Pwéél is known as the *wurupwów* (tail feathers or ornaments) of the chiefly clan, because Pwéél members are collectively seen as the children and thus the heirs of Howupwollap. Just as children decorate their parents, members of Pwéél decorate Howupwollap. And Howupwollap acknowledges Pwéél's position as heir by redistributing first fruits among its members. Informants claim that Pwéél holds this position because Howupwollap and Pwéél frequently intermarried, and the present chief did, in fact, marry a Pwéél woman so that his own children are members of Pwéél.

The responsibility of Mongunufaf clan, known as *yawen hamwool* (mouth of the chief), is to "speak for" Howupwollap. To carry out this responsibility, Mongunufaf selects and announces the times for first-fruits presentations, announces island meetings called by the chief, and summons the islanders to assemble. Mongunufaf speaks for Howupwollap in other ways, too. For example, when the chief wants people to remain out of the taro gardens for some particular reason, such as dance practice, Mongunufaf must see that the order is obeyed. Similarly, Mongunufaf regulates activities when the chief, to encourage growth, forbids picking coconuts. Mongunufaf also used to police the activities of visitors. Lastly, the senior men of Mongunufaf divide and allocate the shares of food to be distributed among the community when the entire island is involved. Typically, such food includes the catch from community fishing and any turtles brought back from Pikelot to the west in Yap State.

When Mongunufaf distributes food, Mwóóf clan has the privilege of

calling *kuul* (take freely), which allows bystanders to grab any remaining unallotted food. Again it is the senior male present who asserts this privilege. Pulapese contend that this custom compensates for men too lazy or reluctant to go fishing. These men will not be present to snatch the extra fish. Rather, the young helpers who arrive to fetch the share of a delinquent fisherman benefit instead.

Katamang, the fifth clan, was the "Army of Howupwollap," because its men were expected to stand in the front line during battles. With the end of interisland warfare, however, Katamang ceased to serve this function, and no other has taken its place.

The genealogically senior male within a clan has the right to serve as its chief, and his role within the clan parallels the island chief's role within the community. Together the clan chiefs make up Pulap's traditional council. Each clan head deals with affairs that pertain to the members of his clan, and he can call meetings of clan members to discuss issues of concern to the entire group. His job, like that of the island chief, is not so much to issue orders as it is to articulate the consensus opinions reached at meetings. A clan leader might call a meeting, usually at his canoe house, to deal with a quarrel between members of factions within a clan or to discuss an issue such as donating money to open a store. Clan members may also assemble together in the canoe house to present food to a fellow clan member visiting from another island.

A clan chief must be a good orator. This quality is so vital that in the case of a quiet, reserved chief, another, less senior man who can speak eloquently may take over the duties and responsibilities of clan chief. Age, especially in combination with oratorical skills, may also outweigh genealogical seniority in some cases. In one clan, for instance, the current chief is the son of a younger sister and thus genealogically junior to his cousin, the son of the older sister. The junior man was born first, though, and is also a highly skilled and appreciated orator, unlike his more shy and retiring cousin. Here again appropriate behavior is at least as important as genealogical position.

A clan chief can extend his influence beyond the clan members themselves in situations that safeguard the well-being of female members. In particular, a clan chief can make requests of the women's husbands. For example, when the island chief allowed all the Pulap men to drink home brew (made from yeast, sugar, and water) during a community celebration, one of the clan chiefs asked both the clan men and the husbands of the clan women not to drink. We will see that maintaining the welfare and solidarity

of the women maintains the descent group itself, since women provide and care for essential group resources.

Furthermore, a chief can call on the sons and daughters of descent group men for labor and assistance in matters that affect the entire group, such as repairing a canoe house, property in which they have rights. This is because the offspring of men of a matrilineal descent group are, in fact, obligated to assist members of their father's group. This assistance demonstrates and validates their relationship and thus maintains their property rights.

The senior women of a descent group have responsibilities parallel to those of the senior men, but their sphere of influence pertains to female activities, especially gardening. Younger women may take on aspects of the leadership role, especially if they are so inclined and have the ability to speak well. In fact, the job of the senior women is to deliver orations (*yafalafal*), exhorting the women, for instance, to work harder, weave more dancing skirts, or make fancier mats.

As with other identities, then, genealogical position is not the single, overriding determinant in descent group leadership. Personal ability and behavior allow someone to perform at least aspects of a leadership role, even if she or he is not born to the most senior position. Behavior can take precedence over genetic substance. Yet identities are fluid in another way, as well, since the person born into the position is not deposed. The island chief, for example, still receives respect and first fruits. Two people can both have aspects of identities as chief.

Clan identities are related to oral traditions about clan origins, divisions, and ties with other areas. These provide structure to relationships, both on Pulap and with other islands. Clans connect people. They represent shared food and hospitality, and they provide companionship and assistance away from home. Clan histories are stories of mobility that provide patterns for today's mobility for education and employment.

Members of some localized clan segments trace their ancestry back to one woman who arrived at Pulap. Clans that cannot trace their descent from a single woman have either forgotten the genealogical connections because they are so distant, or several women presumably founded the clan on the island.

Not everyone agrees about the details, however, especially about the status of members of Pwéél clan, the heirs and "tail feathers" of the chiefly clan. Pwéél currently consists of two subclans, one of which claims to have once been a separate clan, Howupeley, that merged with Pwéél. Members of the other Pwéél subclan refute this claim and vehemently contend that

Howupeley no longer exists. Instead, they insist that Howupeley separated from Pwéél and later died out, leaving only Pwéél. They further maintain that Pwéél is indigenous to Pulap and used to be the chiefly clan before Howupwollap. As evidence, they point out that the word *pwéél* means "swamp," and their origin story tells of a land crab that gave birth in the swamp (where taro is now grown). Its baby founded the clan of Pwéél. Descendants of the founder later settled elsewhere in the Western Islands, on atolls farther west, and eventually in Chuuk Lagoon and other nearby atolls.

The belief that Pwéél was autochthonous is consistent with the claim that it was originally the chiefly clan. Howupwollap followed later. According to oral tradition, Pwéél relinquished the chieftainship when a chief retaliated against other Pwéél members who teased and taunted his children. Instead of allowing the chieftainship to continue according to custom within Pwéél, the chief designated his own son as successor and then renamed his son's clan Howupwollap. This same chief is said to have divided the clan of Pwéél so that one part remained Pwéél and the other became Howupeley, which later died out.

Members of the other subclan of Pwéél, however, who claim to be descendants of Howupeley, maintain that Howupeley, rather than Pwéél, was the original and therefore the chiefly clan on Pulap. They believe that the clan of Howupeley, rather than Pwéél, held the chieftainship until the angered chief passed it on to his son and inaugurated the reign of Howupwollap. Howupeley later joined the members of Pwéél. According to this scenario, Pwéél clan supposedly arrived in the Westerns from the west and then went on to Chuuk Lagoon.

The only piece of evidence outside of oral tradition comes from Krämer (1935:269), who visited Pulap in 1909 and recorded Pwéél and Howupeley as discrete, viable clans. Perhaps Howupeley died out on the island some time after 1909, and the remaining member or members were adopted into or otherwise associated with a branch of Pwéél. In any case, the descendants use this heritage to delineate divisions within the clan when it suits contemporary purposes.

Regardless of which clan was previously the chiefly one, today the members of Pwéél are recognized as its descendants, and they agree that the original clan relinquished the chieftainship and gave Howupwollap its present name.

Two other clans Krämer found in 1909, which have since died out on the island, apparently arrived after Pwéél, Howupeley, and Howupwollap.

Krämer (1935:269) commented that one of these clans, Wiihuuhu (known as Wiisuusu on many other islands in Chuuk because of dialect differences), would obviously die out soon, since it consisted of only one old man. The other clan, Haar (or Sóór), is believed to have arrived from Tamatam when a Pulap man brought his Haar wife to the island. Although the original Haar has died out, a few descendants of a Mongunufaŕ woman adopted by a Haar woman claim now to be descendants of Haar. On the other hand, descendants of quite recent Haar immigrants from the Mortlocks consider themselves members of Mongunufaŕ because their mother was the stepdaughter of a Pulapese Mongunufaŕ woman.

Mwóóŕ clan members believe their ancestors arrived on Pulap after Wiihuuhu and Haar had been established. Two waves of the clan supposedly settled the island, one from Magur in the Namonuitos and another, later, from Tamatam.

Katamang and Mongunufaŕ, however, are said to be more recent arrivals. Pulapese believe Mongunufaŕ came to Pulap through three or four women from Puluwat.[3] Katamang, the most recent clan, traces its roots to a Satawal woman who also arrived via Puluwat when a Pulap man married her and brought her to the island.

These stories reveal Pulap views on the origin and spread of its clans. According to the model, intrusive clans arrived when a Pulap man married a woman from another island and, instead of settling on her island according to custom, settled on Pulap. Indigenous clans spread to other places in the same way. Consequently, no clan is confined to one particular island. And since the members of a clan, regardless of how scattered, believe in a common ancestor, each individual has a potential network of fellow clan members on other islands in Chuuk and among the atolls of Yap State. Thus Pulapese see their social world as historically far wider than their own tiny atoll.

Divisions within a clan localized on Pulap depend on the number of women said to have founded the clan on the island and on the vagaries of population dynamics on a small atoll. At times Pulapese explain contemporary subclan distinctions by interpreting them as the result of Pulap clans having merged or split in the past. Two localized clans on an island can lose their separate identities when one or a few remaining members of one clan become associated with or subsumed by the other. For instance, a man can create a sibling relationship with a woman and have her children grow up with his clan. Or a woman may adopt a girl from another clan as her daughter. Such actions lead to the loss of a separate identity for a clan only when

the clan of the adopted person is dying out or not otherwise represented in the community, since ordinarily adoption does not change clan affiliation. Pulapese can also choose to become associated with another clan by activating ties with their father's or wife's clan or ties created through friendship.

A recent example of one clan becoming associated with another involves descendants of a Mortlockese man who came to Pulap with children from a previous marriage. His Pulap wife raised a son and daughter from the first marriage, so that today the daughter's children consider themselves members of the Pulap wife's clan. They have not completely abandoned their Mortlockese grandmother's clan identity, and they still maintain ties with the Mortlockese. On Pulap itself, however, they have been taken into another clan. Moreover, the Pulap ties have been reinforced by adoption, as some of the grandchildren of the Mortlockese man have been adopted by relatives of his Pulap wife. Again we see that birth is not determinative. Even clan identity, seemingly tied to descent, is not exclusive but situational. Pulapese can use two different identities, depending on how they behave in given situations. If the Mortlockese descendants continue to behave as kin of Mortlockese, they retain that older clan identity. If they behave as kin to Pulapese, they retain the new one as well. Pulapese see no contradiction, and these multiple ties supply them with a variety of relatives to turn to when necessary.

Clan ideology on Pulap stresses unity and solidarity, with all members being potential siblings. Consequently, divisions within a clan are emphasized on the basis of previous—not current—disunity. When Pulapese see it to their advantage to emphasize contemporary divisions within a clan, one tactic is to claim descent or affiliation with a separate clan. One example is justifying an otherwise unacceptable marriage, particularly cross-cousin marriage. Although preferred in some parts of Chuuk State (for a Namoluk example, see Marshall 1976), marriage to a member of one's father's descent group or to a child of a man of one's own descent group is discouraged on Pulap. Such marriages nonetheless occur occasionally and are often rationalized on the basis that the spouse is, in fact, a descendant (or child of a male descendant) of a clan distinct from the father's clan. Identities are also manipulated in order to claim land that once belonged to a clan that died out. A person can strengthen such a claim by asserting affiliation with the defunct clan. Moreover, the senior men of a subclan other than the one that includes the clan chief may emphasize its separate identity in order to gain more power and influence, the most senior becoming in essence chief of the subclan, with the allegiance of members who would otherwise look to the clan chief.

In clan identity, it is not so much historical truth that matters as how the purported history is interpreted and manipulated in the present. People interpret their history to serve a contemporary purpose, and they interpret events in light of their beliefs about these histories. For example, some members of Pwéél complain that Maasalé took away the chieftainship Pwéél had given Howupwollap, while others simply say that Maasalé and Howupwollap merged and Howupwollap died out. The resentful Pwéél members contend that an ambitious Maasalé man turned Howupwollap members over to Germans angry at Pulapese for not selling land. This is their explanation for how the original Howupwollap died out and Maasalé took over. This contention relates to quite modern concerns, however. For example, a Pwéél man complained about recent attempts to hold a Pwéél clan meeting on Pulap that for one reason or another kept getting postponed: a young man unexpectedly died, cholera struck, the area was quarantined. Despite these natural explanations, the Pwéél man said people began to suspect that a rather young, educated, and powerful Maasalé man was successfully preventing the meeting. In other words, Pulapese had ambivalent attitudes about the Maasalé man as someone who was generous and concerned about Pulap but also rather dictatorial, often at the expense of other elders. The problems with the clan meeting were explained and interpreted in relation to the past, as part of the history of contention between Pwéél and Maasalé. By placing the dispute in the past, rather than explicitly in the present, Pulapese can better tolerate it along with the ideal of contemporary harmony and unity. Pulapese can thus criticize the man in the way they interpret contemporary situations, but they can place the blame in the past.

Homesites

Each clan on Pulap is composed of a number of descent lines (*tettel*), the descent groups that are most relevant to daily interaction. Unlike the clan, whose members share only putative ties to a common ancestor, a descent line consists of members who can trace their descent through known female links from a common ancestor no more than a few generations back. Each descent line is associated with a named homesite (*yiimw*). The homesite name derives from the plot of land or some other characteristic; the members of a descent line refer to themselves as the "people" of a named homesite. Because uxorilocal residence is customary, those who reside on each named homesite theoretically include the women of the descent line, their husbands, and their unmarried children. A married man retains his identity as a person of his natal

(mother's) homesite, or "man rooted in" (*mwáánefót*) the homesite, and he also becomes "man who comes into" (*mwáánepwiito*) his wife's homesite.

Those who live together share resources and eat from each other's land. The residents of a homesite commonly pool their produce and prepare food together, although members of a nuclear family sometimes cook a pot of rice for themselves, especially if they live in a house separate from the other homesite members. Women usually harvest produce from their own land, and men gather breadfruit and coconuts from land and trees owned by members of the homesite where they reside. Occasionally, closely related people who reside at separate homesites prepare food together. In fact, it is the daily sharing of food that delineates a homesite and the establishment of a separate descent line.

The defining variable for a homesite, then, is not a given set of biological kin ties but the sharing of local foods on a regular, daily basis. Each married woman is potentially the founder of a new group if she and her husband, children, and perhaps other kin (such as a younger sister) move to land her husband brought to the marriage, establish their own homesite, and prepare their own food. Two separate descent lines emerge, however, only when the members consistently prepare food separately and cease sharing resources. Members of descent lines that have recently split tend to retain a common identity for a time and occasionally refer to themselves as people of the former named homesite. They visit each other frequently and prepare food together for feasts. Again, the identities need not be exclusive. Sharing, especially sharing of produce from descent group land, marks the relationship. It is sharing traditional foods that signals the constitution of homesites and establishes kinship, rather than kinship that determines the constitution of homesites (Flinn 1988).

It is impossible to overestimate the symbolic value of food on Pulap and in Chuuk in general. The sharing of resources is typified by the sharing of food as an expression of solidarity. Food is prepared, distributed, and shared among kin, and thus defines who is kin. Nonkin do not participate in this process, and a participant is kin by definition. A relative is commonly offered food as a greeting, and the primary way to sustain and validate kinship is through sharing food. Other resources are shared among kin, but food is first and foremost. Such sharing takes place daily within the homesite; although all adult married women have their own taro patches and breadfruit trees, they share the produce and prepare it together. When a man goes fishing, he first provides for his wife, children, and other homesite members. He also gathers coconuts and breadfruit from trees belonging to members of the

homesite where he resides; otherwise, he shames himself, showing dependence if he takes too much from the trees of women of his own descent line without specifically requesting permission.

Even when not a daily occurrence, sharing food establishes, validates, and sustains relationships with other kin, too. According to custom, a man should send fish and coconuts to women of his own descent line, and women should send cooked staples to men of their descent line who live elsewhere. A woman should also send food to other kin, including children of descent line men, adopted children living elsewhere, members of her husband's descent line, and husbands of descent line women who reside with adoptive parents.

Variations in the ideal homesite residence pattern occur when a couple and their children move to the homesite of another relative, such as a woman of the husband's descent line. Adoption also effects change when a couple lives with adoptive parents. In fact, at one point during my research, the residents of the homesite I was a part of consisted entirely of people adopted into the descent line, together with their spouses and children; the descent line members themselves were elsewhere, most of them off the island.

Temporary changes are quite common, and people may sleep in one place yet maintain residence in another. We will see that this flexibility of residence contributes to the ability of migrants to reside on Moen yet remain Pulapese. A variety of reasons promote temporary changes. For example, if an infant has been adopted, the birth parents may choose to sleep at the adoptive mother's homesite while the child is nursing. When a woman's husband is off the island, she customarily sleeps with the women of his descent line. Illness causes temporary shifts, because relatives move in to help care for the patient. The sick person often moves to a canoe house because it is much larger than a regular house and can therefore accommodate a number of attendants. Visitors from other islands may also become temporary household members. Although the crew of a canoe usually stays in a canoe house, a visitor who accompanies a Pulap resident will stay with the descent line of the one who brought him.

Shifts in residence occur regularly with the arrival and departure of the ship. For example, if a woman's husband leaves with the ship, she is expected to sleep with the women of his descent line. School children often move in with other relatives when their parents leave for Moen, and a man may move to avoid living in the same house with a sister who has just returned, since traditionally brothers and sisters past puberty must not sleep in the same house. An adopted child may move to live with birth parents if

the adoptive ones leave. If several members of one homesite leave on a ship, the remaining residents may decide to move in temporarily with other close relatives. The most dramatic change occurs at the beginning and end of the summer, as a function of the educational system. At the beginning of the summer, students return from the secondary schools, and some of them bring school friends from other islands. At the same time, all the elementary school teachers and other family members leave for Moen to spend the summer in teacher-training courses. The process is reversed at summer's end.

Matrilineal descent groups—clans, subclans, or large descent lines—are associated with named canoes and canoe houses. The children of descent group men, as heirs of the group, have use rights. Others who have rights in a canoe or canoe house include the husbands of descent group women, any men adopted into the group, and even people who contribute food and labor during construction. In short, if someone behaves as kin by sharing in the labor and other expected activities, that person acquires use rights. A man from another island who marries a Pulap woman usually affiliates with the men of his wife's descent group, but if his own or his father's clan is represented on the island, or if he has befriended (created a sibling relationship with) another Pulap man, he may choose to use their canoe and canoe house instead. He obviously has a variety of ties and identities to choose from, and selecting one does not preclude activating another, depending on circumstances and inclination.

Siblings

Among the members of a matrilineal kin group, the prototypical relationship is one of siblings (see Goodenough 1951:31; Marshall 1981b), a conception that is reflected in the Crow-type kinship terminology. A man potentially refers to any male of his descent group regardless of generation as "my brother" and any woman of his own generation or below as "my sister." A woman may refer to a descent group female of her own generation as "my sister" and a man of her own generation or higher as "my brother."[4]

The strongest relationships are ideally those between siblings, who are expected to take care of (*tumunuw*) each other. They should provide mutual support, defend each other, and share food, labor, and property. Fellow descent group members are siblings and thus share an interest in descent group resources, including land, food, and children. They regularly share food as a symbol of these interests. Siblings must come to the aid of each other unquestioningly and even when separated should continue to support

each other through regular gifts of food and other goods sent by canoe or ship. The emotional bond that should characterize kin relations is *tong* (compassion, love, pity [Elbert 1972:183; Marshall 1977:656]), and this feeling should be strongest among siblings and expressed through nurturing behavior, especially the sharing of resources (Marshall 1977).

Yet even this most valued bond, seemingly so rooted in biology, can be created. The practice of taking an otherwise unrelated individual as a brother or a sister has been described as a form of adoption (Gladwin and Sarason 1953:50) but more recently as friendship (Marshall 1977). This friendship forms when two people of about the same age either have or wish to create the close and intimate relationship expected of siblings. The relationship can extend beyond the two individuals involved to include other relatives who treat the "brother" or "sister" as fellow kin.

Pulapese form these ties with other islanders. Among Pulapese themselves, a relationship would rarely have to be created, since some existing kin tie could likely be activated. Although created siblingship may not be important on Pulap itself, it illustrates the role of behavior in determining relationships and is a vital aspect of interisland interaction.

All siblings are ranked according to gender and birth order, with brothers higher than sisters, and older siblings senior to younger ones. Classificatory siblings are ranked as well, with the children of an older sister ranking higher than the children of a younger sister, regardless of age. This system obligates junior siblings to observe prescribed patterns of deference toward their senior siblings once they have reached puberty. Pulapese are extremely proud of this behavior, aware of how distinctive it is among more acculturated islanders at school and on Moen, and it is a component of their cultural identity.

Deferential behavior takes specific forms. Junior siblings must avoid touching the upper bodies of senior siblings, keep themselves lower than senior siblings, and substitute deferential words in place of the ordinary forms when speaking to or about a senior sibling. Consistent with the emphasis placed on shared food as a symbol of shared kinship and on brothers and sisters as the basic unit of kin groups, the prototypical deferential term is one for eating. The ordinary form is *mwéngé* (food or eat), and the deferential noun form is *wiih.* The deferential verb form, *yawiiha,* commonly means "speak deferentially," but such speech is also called soft speech (*kapah méŕéchchór*), since junior siblings should speak softly in the presence of senior ones.

Junior siblings should also stoop (*yóppwóro*) in the presence of senior siblings, but this behavior is especially marked on the part of sisters toward

brothers. Women must bend low when a brother is near and crawl on their knees if he is seated. They should avoid stepping or sitting on his sleeping mat, using his clothing, eating food or drinking coconuts he has tasted, or smoking his cigarette. I found I had to be careful in discussing my own brothers, even though many Pulapese know that Americans treat brothers differently. I was criticized once simply for touching the picture of my brother's face.

Women should nurture their brothers and care for them, provide them with food, and wash their clothes. On his part, a man should protect his sisters. A brother should never hear sexual talk about a sister or witness any advances to her; if he does, he is obligated to fight the offender. As a result of these strictures, brothers and sisters find it awkward to live together after puberty, so young men commonly move to a canoe house or in with another relative.

Both men and women, brothers and sisters, are essential to a descent group, and notions about sisters and brothers are linked with gender identity. Being male or female dovetails with being a male or female member of a descent group, a brother or sister. Full male and female sexuality begins with puberty, so this is when young people must begin the respect and avoidance behavior expected of siblings. With puberty, young men and women become fully male and female, fully brothers and sisters. And as adults, they are expected to take on female tasks such as gardening or male tasks such as fishing. Women are associated with land and with plant produce, men with the sea and its produce; Pulapese say that women stay and men move, that women should die on land and men at sea. In other words, men, movement, fishing, and the sea are associated with brothers, whereas women, stability, gardening, and the land are associated with sisters. Sisters reside at the descent line homesite throughout their lives, they produce and care for children to ensure the perpetuation of the descent group, and they produce and prepare staple foods to assure its survival. As caretakers both of children and of land, women are thus responsible for essential descent group resources. Brothers, on the other hand, symbolize mobility. They move out of the household at puberty or marriage, travel away from the island for voyages and fishing expeditions, and give their land over to the care of their wives. As sisters, women provide nurturance, sustenance, stability, and continuity to the group; as brothers, men provide support and defense (Flinn 1986). In the idiom of the brother-sister tie, male mobility supports and complements female immobility, contributing to the stability and continuity of the descent group.

Not all descent group members are actually called siblings. A woman in the mother's generation and above is referred to as "my mother," but in descent group affairs the higher generation women are seen as older sisters, who have authority in matters such as land or other property that belongs to the descent group. Women, in turn, refer to a descent group member in a lower generation as "my child."[5]

Ordinarily no one within the descent group is called "my father," but in a number of cases elderly men have asked that some or all of those in the generations below treat them as father instead of brother.[6] In so doing, these elderly men enable younger women of their descent group ("sisters") to take care of them when they get sick. This care would otherwise be awkward or impossible, because massaging is a key technique for alleviating or curing illness, and a man's sister may massage only his legs. Since daughters may massage the entire body, it is far easier for a woman to care for someone who is an ill father than someone who is an ill brother (Flinn 1985b).

When Pulapese leave their island and interact with other islanders, they carry with them their clan identities, which can form the basis of interisland relationships. They also carry with them an island identity. And the customs associated with Pulap clans and the deference shown to senior siblings are sources of pride for them. Pulapese particularly point to women stooping for their brothers, well aware that this clearly contrasts with the behavior of many other islanders. They maintain their respect behavior wherever they travel and consciously replicate clan responsibilities in the Pulap community on Moen.

Patrilateral Kin

Siblingship and matriliny structure relations not just among members of matrilineal descent groups but also with patrilateral kin. Pulapese Crow-type kin terminology distinguishes between mother's and father's matrilineal group rather than between generations. Pulapese refer to a man of their father's descent group as "my father" and to a woman as "my mother," regardless of generation.[7] Reciprocally, a person will be referred to as "my child" by any member of his or her father's descent group. In other words, members of a matrilineal descent group and the offspring of the men of the group conceptually have a parent-child relationship, such that the members of the matrilineal descent group stand as "parents" to all the offspring of its men, who in turn are all "children" to them. These children are collectively the matrilineal descent group's *yafaakúr* (offspring of men of a matrilineal

descent group).[8] The term applies to clans as well as descent lines; people speak of being offspring to a clan in some circumstances, to a named homesite, i.e., a descent line, in others. Moreover, a person may behave as offspring to more than one unrelated descent group, depending on the context. One man, for instance, behaves as offspring to members of both his father's and his stepfather's group, especially since the stepfather played a key role in raising him.

Those who collectively are offspring of men of a matrilineal descent group are siblings to each other. Thus one category of siblings consists of fellow descent group members and another consists of fellow offspring members (all those whose fathers belong to the same descent group). From another perspective, the children of descent group sisters are fellow descent group members, whereas the children of descent group brothers are fellow offspring. The rank of offspring siblings depends on the relative rank of their fathers within the matrilineal group in the same way that the rank of descent group siblings depends on the relative rank of their mothers.

These group relationships are tied to conceptions of siblings. The children of two sisters are siblings to each other and members of the same matrilineal descent group. The children of two brothers are also siblings to each other and are in the same offspring group (fellow offspring of their father's descent group).[9]

Both matrilineal descent group and offspring sibling relationships are supposed to be strong and intimate, and sibling respect behavior applies to both. But the patrilateral ties are more contingent. Pulapese speak figuratively of a fiber between such relatives, a fiber that may be broken through ill treatment or neglect. For example, it is supposedly forbidden for any siblings to marry, but nonetheless, distant offspring siblings occasionally marry, whereas clan siblings almost never do. In practice, marriage between offspring siblings is strictly forbidden only between children of closely related men, especially those of the same descent line. Nonetheless, offspring sibling marriage is frowned upon, and those who enter into it are said to have "cut their hands short" because they convert highly valued sibling relationships with the spouse's kin into weaker affinal ones instead. This means that neither partner can continue to count on a category of people to behave as siblings. One young man, for instance, even lost his rank as the most senior member of an offspring group, thus forfeiting prestige and deference from others.

The members of an offspring group, as children of their fathers' descent group, constitute a valued resource for that group, providing affection, labor,

food, and other assistance according to their ages and abilities. Members of the descent group commonly request help in activities such as fishing, collecting coconuts, making copra, providing food for clan visitors, and building a roof or house. Usually they can expect help without a formal request; the descent group's offspring will simply arrive unasked. In general, Pulapese believe people should nurture relationships with members of their father's descent group. When a man drinks, he should invite men of his father's descent line to join him, and he should occasionally send fish and coconuts to the women of his father's descent line. A woman, too, should assist members of her father's descent line, offering her help, for instance, in making sleeping mats. When a member of their father's group is sick, the offspring should move in and help tend the patient. Moreover, at the death of a member of their father's descent group, all offspring must bring gifts to acknowledge the relationship.

Behavior of offspring that fulfills their obligation to provide assistance to the father's descent group sustains the bond. But this relationship between a descent group and its offspring is not considered subservient or demeaning. People take pride in maintaining good relationships with members of their fathers' descent groups and receive prestige from behavior that demonstrates concern, respect, and generosity. But they reap other, tangible benefits, too. As long as they behave as good offspring to their fathers' groups, they maintain and demonstrate their kinship and thus their position as descent group heirs. As descent group children, they are heirs and have rights in any property the father's descent group owns, such as land, sailing canoes, and canoe houses.

When compared to ties among members of the matrilineal descent group, offspring relationships are breakable and therefore in need of regular validation. Whereas matrilineal ties theoretically never break, negligence or poor treatment can sever patrilateral ties. If one side fails in its obligations, the other may do so. Land is a prime consideration, since a descent group maintains residual control over land given to any of its offspring. Although land received through one's own descent group should be inalienable, land received through one's father or his group can be taken away if members of the group feel the owner has not properly met obligations to them. For example, if people fail to bring gifts when a member of their father's group dies, they are said no longer to care for their patrilateral kin and then may lose their land. Land can also be taken back in anger if a man fails to send fish to members of his father's descent line or share his possessions with them, or if he has an affair with the wife of a man of his father's group. Both

children and parents must sustain and validate the offspring relationship, however. If a parent does not treat children well, they may decide to break the relationship and refuse to acknowledge responsibility to provide labor or assistance when requested.

Just as clan membership extends beyond the island of Pulap, so do offspring ties. When visitors come, fellow clan members as well as the clan offspring are expected to provide food. In certain circumstances visitors even reciprocate, as did some Maasalé clan visitors who had come to Pulap to build a canoe. These visitors were taken care of by Howupwollap (which claims to be Maasalé), but at one point the offspring of Howupwollap were asked to bring food, too. In return, the visitors later went fishing and distributed their catch among all the offspring who had brought them food. Even if clan offspring do not contribute to the care of visitors, they should recognize the relationship. For example, when Pwéél clan visitors from Saipan who were descendants of a Pulap woman arrived, they were expected to establish relationships not only with Pwéél members but also with their offspring. With that in mind, Pwéél's offspring were called to a Pwéél canoe house to meet the visitors and explain their genealogical rank order.

The offspring relationship is especially valuable for visitors or immigrants when their own clans are not represented on an island, because their father's clan will then take over the responsibility of providing hospitality. In the case of men from other islands who have married on Pulap, members of the immigrant's father's clan have even provided land at the marriage. When on another island, then, the network of potential kin is quite large, including members of one's own clan (siblings), members of one's father's clan (parents), other fellow offspring of one's father's clan (siblings), and those who are offspring to one's own clan (children). Any of these relationships can be the basis for hospitality.

Adoption

The centrality of siblingship, the relative fragility of patrilateral ties, and the role of behavior in determining kinship surface in the patterns and beliefs about adoption on Pulap. Pulapese adoption both reinforces sibling solidarity and strengthens the tie between a descent group and its offspring, because the preferred form of adoption is for a woman to adopt the child of a brother (Flinn 1985a). Like other Pacific Islanders, Pulapese view children as resources to be shared, and they adopt kin rather than strangers (Brady 1976b; Carroll 1970a, 1970b; Marshall 1976; Ritter 1981). As a transaction between

birth and adoptive parents, with a partial transfer or sharing of rights in the child (W. Goodenough 1970), the process strengthens existing relationships or activates latent ones, thus reinforcing kinship solidarity. Pulap children, like those of Namoluk, southeast of Chuuk Lagoon, are shared "in the same way that land, food, residence, labor, physical possessions, political support, and money are shared" (Marshall 1976:47).

Adoption is common on Pulap: of the 233 children of elementary school age and below, 123 (53 percent) have been adopted (118 of them by Pulap relatives, 5 by non-Pulap relatives).[10] Adopted children retain their descent group membership, since adoption on Pulap is jurally inclusive, with "only a partial or perhaps no significant forfeiture of the adoptee's existing kin identity and concomitant rights and duties in his natal group" (Brady 1976a:16–17). Parenthood in general is not exclusive on Pulap since parental rights are latent among a group of relatives (see R. G. Goodenough 1970; W. Goodenough 1970). In fact, Pulapese may adopt only someone who is already called "my child."

Since this child is the child of a sibling, adoption on Pulap reinforces sibling solidarity. In this respect Pulap is similar to many other places where adoption involves siblings, a practice consistent with the general importance of siblingship in Oceania (Brady 1976a; R. Goodenough 1970; Lieber 1970; Marshall 1981a; Ottino 1970).

There is another dimension to sharing a child on Pulap, however, in that adoption also strengthens the somewhat tenuous offspring relationship between a matrilineal descent group and the offspring of its men. Although Pulapese may adopt anyone called child, the preference is for a woman to adopt the child of a brother, especially the child of a descent group brother, so that the child will not forget the father's descent group. A child adopted by a father's sister will then grow up spending considerable time with the father's descent line, thereby establishing the strong emotional bonds found within one's own matrilineal descent line. This is consistent with beliefs that children learn to like people they are accustomed to.

This preferential form of adoption is, in fact, the most common: table 3 shows that of the 118 children adopted by Pulapese, 71 (60 percent) were adopted members of their father's matrilineal descent group. (Seven others were adopted by a father's "sister" who was a patrilateral sibling rather than matrilineal descent group sibling and therefore not a member of the father's descent group.) Moreover, 14 other children were adopted by their mother's patrilateral kin, and 7 by the father's patrilateral kin. In many of these cases the adoptive parent had previously adopted the child's parent, a practice

viewed simply as a continuation of the relationship. A total, then, of 99 adoptions (84 percent) were by patrilateral kin, while only 18 were by matrilineal kin. (One other adoption was by the mother's patrilateral sibling rather than matrilineal descent group sibling.)

An adoptive mother begins caring for the child while the child is still nursing, and after weaning she begins taking the child home to sleep. When the adoptive mother is a member of the father's descent line, the birth mother and child may sleep in the home of the adoptive mother (the father's natal homesite) during the first year or so until the child is weaned. Later, a child may alternate residences, moving back and forth between the two sets of parents, although some adoptive parents insist more than others that the adopted child remain with them. In either case, Pulapese consider it unacceptable for the child to reside constantly with the birth parents. When a child is residing with birth parents, frequent visits and gifts of food to the child from the adoptive parents maintain the relationship. Parents do not force young children to stay if they are reluctant to live with adoptive parents but simply encourage them to do so. Pulapese believe that if children can get used to adoptive parents, they will learn to behave appropriately. Older children, however, who have supposedly reached the age of understanding, are accused of selfishness if they reside permanently with their birth parents.

Adoptive parents share with birth parents rather than take over parental duties and responsibilities. They jointly make major decisions in areas such as marriage and higher education. The adopted child is, in turn, expected to take care of both adoptive and birth parents when they grow old.

A few adoptive parents attempt for a time to hide an adopted child's true descent line and clan identities, and these children may not learn the truth until puberty, when they must begin respect behavior. A girl's birth mother is particularly concerned that her daughter learn the proper respect behavior toward her brothers. Occasionally, however, a person chooses to join the

TABLE 3. Adopted Children According to Kin Relationship of Adoptive Pulap Parent

Kin Relationship of Adoptive Parents	Number of Children	Percentage
Member of father's descent group	71	60
Father's patrilateral "sibling"	7	6
Member of mother's father's descent group	14	12
Member of father's father's descent group	7	6
Member of ego's own descent group	18	15
Mother's patrilateral "sibling"	1	1
Total	118	100

adoptive mother's clan and take on behavior appropriate to a member of that clan.[11] Here is yet another case of choice and behavior determining identity, even descent group identity.

Most interisland adoptions are linked to interisland marriages. At least one child from an interisland marriage is likely to be adopted by off-island relatives. For example, Pulap relatives of a Pulap man who lives on his wife's island are likely to adopt at least one child to be reared on Pulap. Similarly, relatives of off-islanders married to Pulapese are likely to adopt one of their children to rear off Pulap. Pulapese have also adopted children of a non-Pulap spouse's relatives. Interisland adoption can, in turn, lead to more interisland marriages, since adopted children growing up off-island are likely to find spouses there as well. Adoption has also resulted from interisland friendships, when two unrelated people decide to behave as siblings, and later one asks to adopt a child of the other.

Marriage and Affinal Kin

Affinal ties are weaker and less valued than matrilineal and patrilateral ones, but can nonetheless enlarge the network of kin. Here again the structural importance of siblingship emerges, especially in rules of clan exogamy and preferences for the sororate and levirate.[12]

Marriage to a fellow descent group member is marriage to a sibling and tantamount to incest. Intraclan marriages are indeed very rare. The only one I recorded on Pulap is an interisland one and thus a very distant tie. Pulapese are also forbidden to marry anyone of their father's descent line (who is a "parent") or the child of any man of the father's descent line (a "sibling"). Even marriage with anyone of the father's entire clan on Pulap or with its offspring is discouraged. Marrying a "child" of one's father's clan is the more reprehensible of the two because the spouses are members of one offspring group and therefore should be siblings to each other. Such marriages nonetheless occasionally occur and are justified on the basis that the relationship is distant.

Both the sororate and levirate are preferred in the event of a spouse's death. Neither has been mandatory, but in the past, if someone wished to remarry anyone other than a sibling of the deceased within a few years of the death, it was necessary first to make a payment to the family of the deceased spouse. (Similar payments were also required when someone wished to marry a man or woman married at the time to another person.)

Such payments were abandoned, however, with conversion to Christian-

ity, as was the custom of easy and frequent divorce. Today, in fact, Pulapese pride themselves on maintaining the Catholic requirement of one spouse for life. Although couples have separated, and premarital and extramarital affairs still occur, no Pulapese married by a priest has later divorced and then remarried. Moreover, an off-island Protestant man who marries a Pulap woman and lives with her on the island is expected to convert to Catholicism and at least outwardly follow church dictates.

Pulapese claim that interisland marriage used to be discouraged, and genealogies support their contention. Today, however, fully one-third of the marriages are interisland ones. One factor that has influenced the acceptance of interisland marriages, especially between Pulap women and non-Pulap men, is wage labor and its cash income. Parents are much more likely to accept a non-Pulap man as a husband for their daughter if he is bringing money into the family. We will see that a critical factor in bringing these young people together is the educational system.

At marriage, men and women receive land from their parents. Adoptive parents may also choose at this time to give land, especially if the bride or groom has lived with them for some time. In other words, the more people act as "children," the more likely they are to be treated as such. Giving land is like giving food—part of taking care of kin. I once asked a woman why she intended to give land to children related in a complicated way to her, and she answered simply, "I take care of them."

The bride and groom usually receive taro gardens (*pwéél*), land (*fanú*), and breadfruit trees (*mááy*). The land given usually includes both the piece of land and the coconut trees growing on it, but breadfruit trees can be owned by one person while the land is owned by another. In the early 1950s Pulapese adjusted the ownership of land and coconut trees so that one person owned both the land and the coconut trees on it.

A husband gives to his wife the land and trees he brings to the marriage so that she can provide for their children, who, in turn, will inherit the land. In the past, a man kept a portion of this land, and women of his descent line (his "sisters") would use it. This was a parcel he could "eat from" if he separated from his wife. This is no longer the case, but today, before the wife receives the land, her family can decide to give some of the land or trees to one of her brothers—yet one more way siblings care for each other.

Land obviously does not stay in the hands of any one descent group, since men bring land to their wives. Pulapese characterize a plot of land as a ball that passes from group to group. Land moves out of a descent group through men and into a descent group through women.[13]

In the case of a separation, the wife keeps any land she received from her husband, because it was not for her but for their children. If there are no children, those who originally gave the husband the land may reclaim it if they feel the wife has mistreated or neglected them. In other words, behaving as a good relative maintains the tie, including its privileges. If a woman marries more than once, land given by the first husband is for his children only; the new husband provides land for his own offspring.

When a man from another island marries on Pulap, he is not at a loss for land for his wife and children, because he will receive some from his clan if it is represented on the island, or from his father's clan. If both clans are represented, he is likely to receive land from each. Furthermore, if the man has previously made friends with another Pulap man (accomplished through creating a sibling relationship), he will be treated as a member of the friend's descent line, treatment that includes giving him land at marriage. In other words, if he has activated or created a kin tie through appropriate behavior, he will be treated as kin and receive land.

Pulapese conceptions of male-female relationships among descent group members as brother-sister relationships shape several affinal relationships. The spouse of a senior sibling ideally deserves the same sort of respect as the sibling, as does any senior sibling of one's spouse. For example, a woman should respect the wife of her brother, and a woman's husband should emulate the respect she shows her brother. Although a man must respect his wife's brother, the brother can request his assistance or labor only when it involves the wife's home or descent group affairs. The brother should not call for help, for instance, in building a house for his own wife. On the other hand, a husband can ask for any assistance from his wife's brother because the help a woman's brother gives to her husband is considered assistance to the woman, his sister. A woman's husband should not even have to ask for help when the need is obvious, such as when he is building her a house. In both cases assistance given to a brother-in-law may more properly be construed as assistance to a sister and part of the obligation of siblings to take care of each other. The lines of authority between brothers-in-law thus revolve around the women of the descent line. Husbands in some cases defer to brothers of the women, and in other cases, brothers heed sisters' husbands. Attending to the welfare of the women of the descent group maintains the descent group itself, since the women provide not only new members for the descent group but also its sustenance (Flinn 1986).

Beyond Pulap

Although daily life on Pulap revolves primarily around the descent line and homesite members, relationships with remote consanguineal and affinal kin as well as with created siblings considerably facilitate interisland travel and migration. The general term for these relatives is *mááráár,* who may include members of one's own clan and its offspring, members of one's father's clan and its offspring, and others who are related in a similar manner to one's spouse or created sibling.

Mááráár relationships may or may not be activated; one can choose to activate or to ignore a particular *mááráár* tie (Marshall 1977:645). The way to recognize and activate a *mááráár* relationship is to behave as kin through the sharing of resources. Kinship in Chuuk is based on

> mutual nurturing behaviors. . . . Trukese kinsmen are those who share such things as land, food, labor, residence, support, and (not necessarily) genetic substance and who choose mutually to acknowledge each other as kin. In the Trukese view, those who nurture one another through acts of sharing *validate* their natural kinship or *become* created kinsmen as a consequence of these nurturant acts (Marshall 1977:650–51).

When Pulapese travel to other islands, a stranger is therefore a potential relative and a source of food, shelter, and other assistance. They may choose to recognize a fellow clan member or a child of the clan as a relative and behave as close kin. Such relationships are the basis of the well-being of migrants on Moen, who must turn to kin in order to survive, and they also form the basis of the sponsor relationship for students away at school.

Furthermore, by demonstrating kinship with others, whether Pulapese or not, Pulapese show themselves to be good people. Giving food, stooping for brothers, defending sisters, and sharing land all manifest kinship and worthiness and are evidence of being good Pulapese. Wearing a loincloth or lavalava, even from imported fabric, sailing a canoe with imported sailcloth, or performing an old dance wearing plastic flowers all contrast with behavior of more acculturated islanders and symbolize strength of commitment to the values of kinship behavior.

Yet Pulapese have no intention of languishing in some backwater, eluding all opportunities they perceive to be available elsewhere in Chuuk. A migrant community on Moen has developed in recent years, and in this

setting Pulapese both look for paid work and assert themselves as traditional people. They use the ideology of kinship to establish and make use of connections with other islanders as they manipulate that ideology to construct an identity as Pulapese amid many other groups in town.

Chapter 4

Pulapese in Town

High school and college students taking classes, graduates seeking employment, educated young people holding jobs, patients needing hospital care, and others wanting a few months of ice cream, restaurants, and movies are among the many Pulapese living on Moen, the administrative and commercial center of the state. Pulapese have established a community in a village bordering the downtown area of the port town and have forged a strong sense of identity. This community has grown because of Pulap efforts to pursue economic, political, and educational opportunities in town. Yet the community prides itself on being traditional, following valued customs that show them to be good Pulapese. They are also convinced that these customs, especially those related to kinship, are essential to their well-being on Moen.

As is typical of migrants elsewhere in the world, Pulapese maintain strong ties with their home community and rely on fellow islanders and other kin while in the port town to assist in adjusting to the new environment. Participating in community activities with other Pulapese on Moen enables them to retain rights as Pulapese while seeking new opportunities in town. Even those who rarely visit Pulap maintain identities as Pulapese, which provides them with rights to land and residence on the atoll.

Yet they retain identities as Pulapese by extending Pulap not just socially but also physically to Moen. Pulapese identity is related to land, and the focus of the community centers on plots of land some Pulapese bought in the 1950s from fellow clan members. They obtained full ownership, not merely use rights. The land serves, in effect, as an extension of Pulap, a part of the atoll. Pulapese own and live on the land and consciously attempt to affirm and retain a way of life deemed traditional and essentially Pulapese.

The Setting

Moen is a high island of Chuuk Lagoon, lying east of Pulap. Consisting of about 98 low and high islands, Chuuk is a complex atoll with a barrier reef thirty to forty miles across, with seventeen volcanic islands rising within the

lagoon and several low coral islets within and along the reef. The highest peak rises on the island of Tol to 1,422 feet. Although these islands are larger than the coral outer islands, the land area is still relatively small: 38.56 square miles, compared with a lagoon that measures 822 square miles. The weather is essentially the same as on Pulap, with an average temperature of 85 degrees, humidity about 83 percent, and annual rainfall of about 127 inches (Gladwin and Sarason 1953:31).

The high islands of Chuuk, including Moen, are composed primarily of basalt rather than coral and generally consist of four vegetation zones: a mangrove swamp along the shore, a sandy coastal strip with coconut palms and taro, mountain slopes with breadfruit, and forest at the higher peaks (W. Goodenough 1951:23). Since this variety and richness support a wider selection of plants and food crops than on Pulap, the area has traditionally been a key trading site for outer islanders.

Chuuk (*Ŕuuk* in the Pulap dialect) means mountain, and the island group consists of two parts: Namoneas in the east and Faichuk in the west. Moen lies in the eastern group and measures about 7.3 square miles in area, with a peak rising to 1,234 feet (Bryan 1971). The local name for the island is *Wééné;* "Moen" is a corruption of the name for a particular village called *Mwáán* (*Mwáál* in the Pulap dialect).

Of all the islands in Chuuk, Moen is the most obviously affected by the American presence. In addition to large, air-conditioned stores, Moen has the only airport, large harbor, radio and telecommunication center, hospital, high schools, bank, and post office in the state. All are located in or near downtown, as are the government offices. These include the Chuuk Legislature building, courthouse, governor's office, education department, and public works. Downtown roads are paved, and the area is supplied with lines for electricity and running water. For a quarter a ride, Japanese pickup trucks serve as taxis.

Moen is the destination of most migrants in the state, who come seeking employment, imported goods, education, hospital care, and "bright lights." Consequently, its population has grown faster than that of the rest of the state. From 1967 to 1973 the annual growth rate for all of Chuuk State was 3.6 percent, whereas during the same period Moen grew at an annual rate of 8.3 percent (Kay 1974). Movement, primarily of young people, from outlying islands accounts for most of this difference (Marshall 1979a; 1979b:7). Moreover, whereas in 1967 the population of Moen represented only 23 percent of the district, by 1973 it represented 30 percent (Kay 1974). Since then, however, the rate of growth has slowed somewhat: Moen in 1980 had

about 28 percent of the state's population, two percentage points lower than the 1973 figure. Moen had about 36 percent of the Chuuk Lagoon population, however, with a figure of 10,374, representing a density of 1,421 persons per square mile (U.S. Department of State 1980). The growth rate of Moen from 1958 to 1980 was 7.1 percent, slightly lower than for the period from 1967 to 1973, but high nonetheless (Connell 1983:19).

Except for the high school students, most Pulapese on Moen live in the village of Iras, which borders the downtown area of Moen. Their houses lie in what must be the noisiest area of Moen—by the airport runway and a rock-crushing plant, where dynamite explosions compete with Boeing 727s. Instead of the traditional thatch, houses here are built in what Pulapese consider a more modern style, with corrugated metal, plywood, and cement blocks. Though erratic, electricity is available, and people with incomes have purchased appliances such as refrigerators and fans.

Most of the houses are located on land owned by Pulapese. In the late 1950s, two Pulap "brothers" bought land from fellow clan members they frequently stayed with while visiting Moen. They were two of the young people the U.S. administration encouraged to pursue educational and medical training following World War II. One had been living on Moen because he taught at Truk Intermediate School, and the other had been coming for periodic medical training. Both wanted land of their own instead of having to rely on relatives. Later a third Pulap man bought another plot; he was a sailor and had married with the intention of living on Moen.

By 1986 Pulapese had bought several other pieces of land farther from town and were looking for more, especially plots for growing taro. They had no immediate plans to build new residences but wanted the land primarily to provide food and thus help them become more self-sufficient. The land supports some breadfruit, bananas, and coconuts, but Pulapese also want to grow taro.

Pulapese see themselves as having been in the vanguard of Western Islanders buying land on Moen. Men with foresight purchased land and thus obtained full ownership rather than simply the right to use land belonging to fellow clan members. Pulapese contend that other Western Islanders now acknowledge the wisdom of obtaining their own land but are finding it difficult and expensive. The early purchases may have more to do with Pulap's land tenure system than with foresight, however. Under the influence of the Mortlockese catechist and a Pulap elder, land tenure became more individualized in the early U.S. period. With that background, Pulapese on Moen were less likely than other Western Islanders to believe it was a denial

or abrogation of kinship ties to insist on individually possessing a plot of land rather than simply requesting use of land from Moen kin. Yet because of the land the Pulap men purchased, the Pulapese have developed a strong community base on Moen. Other outer islanders frequently visit or live with them, since the community is part of Pulap on Moen, not simply people of Pulap sharing land and homes with people of Moen. Moreover, residence on the Pulap land and participation in Pulap community activities enable an islander to maintain an identity as Pulapese, as well as rights to land and residence back home. Thus by deviating from tradition decades ago and buying land, Pulapese now have a strong base on Moen in which to form a community and assert tradition.

Not all Pulapese have to reside on the land for its significance to persist. Living elsewhere relieves pressure and can thus be viewed as another way of helping fellow Pulapese. In fact, visiting, exchanging food, and participating in activities such as building a Pulap meeting house in Iras can be more important than actual residence. For instance, a Mortlockese spouse of a Pulap woman has a house in Iras where his wife and her close relatives often stay, especially if the Pulap houses are crowded. Several Pulap women are married to employed men who live in scattered villages on the island, and one Pulap descent line typically stays downtown with an off-island relative. One employed man built a house on land adjacent to the Pulap plots, and members of Katamang clan recently built a house in another village on land belonging to clan relatives.

Pulapese as Migrants

Joseph, one of the men who originally purchased Iras land, is now teaching on Moen, after years of teaching at Weipat. While on Moen, he lives in a plywood house with several rooms occupied by various and changing relatives as they come in and out of Moen. When he comes back from work, he typically changes into a loincloth, while a daughter or other young relative is likely to spread out a good mat for him to sit on and relax, with a fan blowing on him—if the electricity is working. Women of the house have either cooked some rice or joined others down the hill in cooking some local food they will provide him. He may go visiting others on Moen, even elsewhere in Chuuk, and he enjoys the visits of others who come to him. Though not a member of the chiefly clan, he is an elder and respected Pulap leader, known to be versed in the history and customs of the island. Dance is one of his acknowledged areas of expertise, so he is especially busy when the

community is preparing for a performance. Depending on the occasion, he may include other Western Islanders interested in participating. They practice either in the Pulap meeting house or, if many other Western Islanders are participating, in a meeting house near the Western Islands development office down by the harbor. He has encouraged many of his own children to pursue a college education, hoping they can somehow advance in the modern arena while still remaining essentially Pulapese. Like many an American parent, however, he sometimes laments the flamboyant ways of the younger generation, citing long hair, short skirts, and loud music. Thus he especially enjoys seeing them interested in learning the old songs and dances, and he makes sure his grandchildren spend time growing up on Pulap.

Living in one of the other rooms of his house is Susie, a relative who is employed on Moen. After a few years of college in the United States, she worked for several years at the school on Pulap and then found a teaching job on Moen. She had attended Weipat Junior High School in the mid-1970s and later graduated from Truk High School. She went to a college where another Pulap woman lived, together with a Hall Island woman she and Rafaella, another Pulap woman, had first befriended at Weipat. Relatives who live with her help care for her children, who also spend considerable time on Pulap. Though she hopes to make a round-trip visit to Pulap, she is busy during the summer taking college courses offered on Moen. Although she tends to feel homesick occasionally, she likes teaching, appreciates the income it provides, and feels better off than other women in Iras who stay at home: "The job doesn't pay very much, but I like to keep busy. Other women (not Pulapese) mostly spend money on clothes, no matter how expensive, but I don't want to do that. I want to spend money on food to eat." At least at the moment, she also prefers teaching to gardening on Pulap: "We work hard for food on the island." She is nonetheless proud that Pulapese can still provide for themselves at home and she has a clear idea about what customs they ought to keep: "We should keep customs about sharing, helping, giving relatives food, working together, and respecting siblings. If I have a sister and no job, or I'm not married and have children, it's nice, because my sister will help care for the child. I don't have to worry. Adoption, it's like sharing."

Rafaella, who went to school with Susie, is also on Moen, but only temporarily, with a relative seeking medical care. She is staying not in Iras but in another village, with the kin of people who had befriended and married Pulapese. Rafaella had considered attending college with Susie but her family preferred that she return to Pulap and work to help support her kin. She had

her land and taro to care for, soon married a man from the outer islands of Yap, and has had several children. In addition to her gardening and other subsistence work, she began learning local techniques of massage, a valued specialty. Although she spends most of her time on Pulap, she also regularly visits kin on Pulusuk and her husband's family on his island, with occasional trips to Moen.

William, who also went to school with Rafaella and Susie, teaches at the new junior high school on Puluwat, but he is on Moen during the summer, living in Iras and taking community college courses. He attended a few years of college in the United States but returned when a close relative fell sick with a serious illness. Having no money to fly to the mainland again, he looked for a job, hoping to teach. Convinced he failed because he lacked the necessary connections, he eventually started working at the school on Puluwat and was willing to work without pay, at least initially. He was fed and housed by Puluwat people and enjoyed the idea of helping Western Islanders get ahead, but on their own terms. Like many of the more educated islanders, he, too, speaks of retaining Pulap customs, especially "customs of relationships between people." And he draws a stark contrast with Chuuk: "We care for each other and share. In Chuuk, that is very hard to see. Even brothers are fighting each other. They are this way because they are adopting American ways. They are throwing away their customs. They fight over land, over money. They do not think about land. They care only for the money. They will sell it just for money."

These are examples of some Pulapese living on Moen one summer. Three general categories of Pulapese can be found on Moen: people employed at paid labor (and their dependents), students, and "passengers." Pulapese have borrowed the term *passengers* to refer to those who travel on the field-trip ship and intend to stay only temporarily on Moen. Passengers come for a variety of personal reasons and usually remain only until the next ship to Pulap, which can be a matter of weeks or months. Most students, passengers, and single people with jobs live on the Pulap land.

One job popular for years among Pulap young men has been working as a sailor. In 1980 four Pulap men held sailing jobs, for which a high school education is not a prerequisite, and at least fourteen others had spent a few years as sailors. Typically young and single at the time, most work on field-trip ships and freighters in Micronesia, although some have sailed as far as Japan and Korea. Often a couple of prospective sailors attempt to sign on to serve together. Most have some money deducted from their pay and sent to Pulap relatives, and when they return to Pulap, they bring back gifts and

tales of their travels. Food and housing are not problems for sailors because they live on the ships, but when in port they visit and participate in activities with members of the Pulap community in Iras.

Their work is largely an extension of their seafaring heritage. The island men customarily traveled by canoe to other islands and brought back stories of their adventures, and they are proud of this history. Taking jobs as sailors, then, is not a drastic change from the past. Moreover, these men have typically returned to Pulap after a few years of sailing, married Pulap women, and settled back into the daily life of Pulap as fishermen. One exception is a man who settled on Moen when he married a woman from another Western Island. He was the third Pulap man to purchase land in Iras, and he obtained an office job with the transportation department. Occasionally he still sails on a ship as a replacement, especially on trips to the Westerns.

Aside from the sailors, the other employed people represent a new elite produced by the educational system. These people, who obtained their jobs largely because of their educational backgrounds, contribute to the support of other Pulapese in Moen, and hold considerable prestige on Pulap even if they rarely visit the atoll. Moreover, several have married spouses from other islands that they met either at school or through movement precipitated by the educational system. They have also developed ties with other islanders through contacts made both at school and at work. In short, these young people represent a trend produced by elaboration of the traditional kinship structure in the context of the modern educational system.

Representing both continuity with the past and recognition of new opportunities, two of these men are the first college graduates, who chose careers at sea after attending maritime academies abroad. Both are of the chiefly clan and sons of one of the men who first bought land in Iras. The older brother, whom I shall call Antonio, attended Xavier High School and graduated in the early 1960s. After attending college in Guam for two years, he transferred to a merchant marine academy in the Philippines, and graduated in the late 1960s to become Pulap's first college graduate. For several years he worked in Saipan, where he decided to marry a woman from Chuuk Lagoon.

For a time the couple lived with relatives of the wife who resided on Moen, but they soon moved to a newly built house on the Iras land Antonio's father had bought. After his election to a political position, Antonio and his wife lived several months on Saipan and Pohnpei. Though no longer an elected official, Antonio is a high-ranking administrator in Chuuk. Because of his education, prestigious job, income, shared ownership of Pulap land on Moen, and membership in the chiefly clan, he wields considerable

influence among the Pulapese on Moen and has helped shape the definition of what it means to be Pulapese on Moen.

The younger brother, who also chose a maritime academy, worked for a time with an international shipping line. Every six weeks or so his ship docked in Moen, affording him the opportunity to visit his kin. The Pulap community usually held a small feast for him on his arrival, when he brought gifts for his relatives and donated part of his pay to members of his descent line. The men welcomed his visits because they could board the ship and drink at its bar. He later obtained an administrative job with a government agency in Chuuk and has risen to a high position. On a trip to Yap he met a woman from the outer islands, and they soon married. He has built a home on his father's land in Iras, and relatives of his wife often stay with him.

A few other Pulap men employed on Moen have married non-Pulap women and live at homesites separate from the Pulap land. Thus they have obligations to their wives' kin as well as to their own. All, however, live in Iras. One of these men is another of Antonio's brothers, who graduated from the University of Guam and worked for several years as a teacher on Moen. It was at the university that he met and decided to marry a Pulusuk woman, who also works on Moen. For a while, they rented a house in Iras from a fellow clan member and friend of Antonio's from his days as a politician. Later they built a house on a relative's land adjacent to the Pulap plots. Typically, several Pulusuk relatives of the wife live with the couple. Some stay in order to keep the wife company, convinced she would otherwise be lonely. Other household members often include Pulusuk high school girls who prefer not to sleep in the dormitories. Despite his obligations to Pulusuk kin, the Pulap man contributes money for the support of Pulap kin and occasionally receives food from those who live on the Pulap land. He now has a responsible position with an organization concerned with development efforts in the Western Islands. People view his job as one that directly benefits the people of Pulap and the other Westerns. His organization was instrumental in acquiring funds to build a meeting house for Pulap in Iras and in enabling Pulapese to sell fish, a more lucrative means of earning money than selling copra. These activities contribute to his standing in the community.

Another Pulap man employed on Moen who lives in Iras but not on the Pulap land is related to one of the men who purchased the land. This young man attended a private school at the prompting of his father, who, a teacher himself, was aware of superior educational opportunities and encouraged his son to pursue them. Since his graduation from high school, the young man

has worked at several jobs obtained through the government personnel office, relatives, or fellow classmates. He currently works as a mechanic. Since he married a Moen woman, he lives with her descent group in Iras rather than with his own kin on the Pulap land. He met the woman while both were staying with clan relatives in Iras. Though not an active, daily participant in Pulap community affairs, he is nonetheless a resource for them, particularly because of his skills as a mechanic.

Another married man employed on Moen is a former sailor working with the transportation department. He married a Pulusuk woman he met when both were on Moen, and he bought land contiguous to the original purchases. He also built a house on the land but often lives in another one farther up the hill, on land belonging to his wife's kin. Pulusuk relatives of his wife usually reside with him and occasionally close Pulap relatives do so as well. Although the couple chose to establish residence slightly removed from the Pulap land, they maintain close ties with the other Pulapese and visit them regularly.

Returned students and occasionally recent high school graduates may also be employed on Moen. In 1986 one young man who had attended the Micronesian Occupational Center had a job with a welding company, and another who had taken classes on Guam worked at the development project office. One young woman was working at a local store. A man who had returned from college worked for several years with the police, and another taught at the high school. Otherwise, driving a taxi provides a few young men with a little money.

These are among the people Pulapese categorize as "employees," people with a cash income. Their numbers also include those employed elsewhere who are temporarily on Moen. One returned student, for example, works as a health aide on Pulap but spends time on Moen for training. During the summer, the ranks of employees swell as teachers come into the capital for courses. Joining them are usually a few returned college students who work at the schools but not in regular teaching positions. One woman, for example, works as a secretary at Weipat, and another has a job through bilingual education funds at the Pulap elementary school. Several other women, not employed themselves, are nonetheless essentially in the same category, because their husbands have full-time jobs. These are women married to non-Pulap men they met while in school; some live on the Pulap land, but a few live elsewhere on Moen with their husband's relatives or in rented housing the husband obtained.

All these employees are crucial figures, primarily because they provide

much of the support for the remaining Pulapese. On payday, they shop for themselves and other relatives. They pool funds to make donations to the rest of the Pulap community. On Saturdays they donate a few dollars each to buy meat of some sort for the community. They usually have to buy the cheapest available—more fat, gristle, and bone than meat. Because of their income, these employees can capitalize on the prestige that accrues to generous people, especially people generous with food. Unlike those without an income, they can also host parties, small feasts, or lavish birthday parties for their children. Thus someone who is employed can use the income to acquire a reputation as a good person through traditional means. Yet because of their education, these tend to be younger people rather than the more elderly, who otherwise because of their age and acquired skills and expertise would have more prestige. This creates some friction and ambivalence about the behavior of employees in directing community activities.

Students constitute a second category of Pulap migrants on Moen. Most are high school students, but in recent years their number have also included a few taking college courses. Although during the week most high school students live at the school in dormitories, they stay with the Pulap community on weekends and during vacations, and many even walk about a mile down from the school to spend their afternoons in Iras. They keep up with the gossip and regularly participate in Pulap community activities. On Saturdays, for instance, the boys fish with the Pulap men, and the girls help the other women prepare local food. When a close relative is sick, girls commonly move out of the dormitories to care for the patient either at the hospital or in Iras. Although they still attend classes, these girls spend the rest of their time caring for the patient. In general, girls spend more time in Iras than do boys. Most of the girls come every afternoon for at least a few hours, whereas boys spend more time in the downtown area of Moen. Pulapese consider it appropriate for the girls to stay—in this case with the Pulap community in Iras—and the boys to move.

Although parents on the atoll try to send their students off to school with some money, for the most part students look to Antonio and other employed people for their support. These relatives provide food on weekends and during vacations and often give them small amounts of pocket money. Girls frequently ask Antonio's wife or wives of other employees for soap, shampoo, and clothing.

The third category of Pulapese on Moen are the passengers, those on Moen only temporarily for personal reasons such as preparing for college, buying goods for a store, handling municipal affairs, or purchasing building

supplies. An element in the visits of most passengers, however, is also the excitement and diversions Moen can offer such as videos, dancing, restaurants, modern stores, taxi rides, and ice cream. For the men it is also an opportunity to drink alcoholic beverages, especially when drinking is forbidden on Pulap. Although the sale of alcoholic beverages has been illegal on Moen since 1978, people can still find drinks or make their own home brew from yeast, sugar, and water.[1]

Seeking medical care is another common motive for temporary visits to Moen. Pulapese sometimes consult specialists in traditional techniques, especially massage, and many young women come to deliver babies with Antonio's mother, a respected and reliable midwife. She spends a good deal of time taking care of Pulap community affairs in Iras.

Many also come seeking hospital care. Pulapese pragmatically accept a combination of traditional and Western techniques when dealing with illness, believing one or the other preferable or more effective for certain ailments. Pulap has a trained health aide who may recommend hospital treatment for certain cases, and a representative from the hospital on the field-trip ship also evaluates the condition of patients. When hospital treatment is recommended, relatives of a patient commonly meet to decide whether to heed the advice of the health aide or hospital representative and send the patient to Moen. If relatives believe a patient can either be cured on Pulap or is likely to die regardless of treatment, they tend to be reluctant to send their sick to Moen. They prefer that people die on Pulap, with their kin, and frankly admit a desire to hear how dying relatives will dispose of their remaining property.

When relatives decide to consult hospital personnel, however, several choose to accompany the patient as attendants. When patients are admitted to the hospital, a few relatives will even remain to tend them and sleep in the hospital. Pulapese seek the company of kin, and when someone is ill, companions are deemed especially necessary. Attendants massage patients, comb their hair, tell stories, or simply sit with them to combat loneliness. Moreover, since patients supposedly crave favorite traditional foods unavailable at the hospital, they have to rely on relatives to provide them. Thus a patient is always accompanied to Moen by a number of relatives, who can considerably swell the number of passengers. The number can be excessive enough to strain resources. After one such sojourn on Moen, a senior man returning to Pulap appealed to other Pulapese at a municipal meeting not to send so many attendants because of the burden on Antonio, who provided the bulk of their support in Iras. Antonio could not make such an appeal himself without appearing ungenerous.

Most passengers stay on the Pulap land. In fact, the Pulap land serves as the heart and center of the Pulap community and its activities. Recent building on the land attests to its growing importance. In 1980, three houses had been built on the land, one on each of the parcels. (Antonio lived in another house, a rented building, on land adjacent to the Pulap plots.) By 1986, six more houses had sprouted on the Pulap land, and Antonio's brother lived on an adjacent plot. Pulapese were also in the process of building a large meeting house for the whole community.

The composition of the community is quite fluid and changes most dramatically during the summer: the high school students return to Pulap, the elementary school teachers arrive for education courses, and many others take advantage of the summer to play (*wur*) in Moen. The chance to visit Moen for a few months of fun also acts as an outlet, especially for those who have attended high school and enjoyed a taste of the more exciting life Moen can offer. The opportunity to visit and play for a few months seems to be sufficient for most; many women in particular claim they soon become bored on Moen. Elementary school children can also play in Moen for the summer; during the school year they usually stay with relatives on Pulap when their parents go to Moen so that they can remain enrolled at the elementary school, but this constraint no longer prevails during the summer. Furthermore, summer is a period when the arrival and departure of the ship is most reliable, since at the beginning and end of each school year it transports the students and teachers regardless of other routes or plans for the ship. In the summer of 1986, the number of Pulapese in town approached two hundred, almost half the total population of Pulapese.

Since the islanders typically live in large, extended families and are thus comfortable with crowded space, housing itself is not usually a problem for the Pulap community on Moen. They do perceive a difference for men and women, however. Pulapese believe that women and families need a particular house or room in a house, but that men without wives can sleep anywhere. Thus the meeting house under construction serves as accommodations for some. In fact, Pulapese prefer to live with the company of others; living alone is so inconceivable that relatives move in together or consolidate households if they feel a place has too few people.

The problem is not usually the physical crowding but feeding everyone. Only a modest amount of food is brought with passengers or sent from Pulap. On the atoll, men frequently go fishing when a ship arrives at the island in order to send as large a load as possible to Iras. Some of the catch is pickled or dried, and some is stored in freezers for later consumption. Although the

supply runs out before the next ship, it is welcome while it lasts. With them on the ship, people bring food likely to last at least a few days, such as stalks of bananas, preserved breadfruit, and coconuts.

The land in Iras supports only a small amount of local food, so that members of the Pulap community have to rely on other sources. Concern for food recently led Pulapese to purchase additional plots of land on Moen. Antonio and his kin bought some, but Pulap as a community purchased other plots to supply breadfruit, coconuts, and bananas. The ideal goal is to be as self-sufficient as they are on Pulap. Otherwise, they have to rely on imported food at Moen stores, although only a few have sufficient income. Frozen chicken is a favorite on payday, but when money is less plentiful, they resort to canned mackerel. Other meats include Spam and canned corned beef. The usual staple is white rice, except on Saturdays, when Pulapese prepare indigenous foods. Moen does have a small market with a few local foods, but Pulapese find them too expensive. Thus the diet is not nearly as healthy as on Pulap (Flinn 1988). On Moen they consume white rice, soy sauce, salt, soft drinks, sugar water, bread dipped in soft drinks or sugar water, and dumplings made of white flour and cooked in sugar water. Although most passengers bring some money with them, they usually plan on buying goods to take back to Pulap and thus rely on those with an income, especially Antonio, to support them on Moen.

One reason for purchasing land to grow food—aside from reducing the need for money—is that all foods are not equal. Imported foods and indigenous foods have quite different meanings for Pulapese (Flinn 1988). Imported foods are certainly easier to acquire, assuming one has the money to buy them, and easier to prepare. Except for rice, most are nonetheless classed as supplements or treats rather than staples. And they represent dependence on outside sources. Indigenous foods, though more work to grow, harvest, and prepare, bear strong emotional and symbolic value. These are the connection between land and people; people who are kin eat from the same land. On Moen, they increasingly represent commitment to a Pulap identity and way of life. Women care for the land, tend the gardens, prepare food for their children and other kin; these activities sustain and perpetuate descent groups. Continuing to provide indigenous foods, even if only on Saturdays and special occasions, brings Pulap alive on Moen and visibly represents an important aspect of Pulapese identity.

On Saturdays the men customarily go fishing in order to augment the food supply. They borrow a motorboat but otherwise follow methods of fishing common on Pulap. Antonio even had fish traps constructed in each

village on Pulap, which were sent to Iras for use in the lagoon. These men are proud of their skill at fishing and even feel more knowledgeable than Moen fishermen about productive areas within the lagoon.

One of the most crucial sources of local staple foods and access to use rights is relatives, people with whom Pulapese have kin ties based on clan membership, offspring relationships, marriage, adoption, or created sibling relationships. Several men, for instance, have clan relatives established through previous visits to Moen and other Chuuk Lagoon islands, such as Fefan, Pata, and Udot. Antonio has clan and created sibling relationships with a number of people from his days at Xavier, in politics, and at his administrative jobs. Several Pulap young people created sibling relationships with other students when they attended high school together. Moreover, Antonio's wife's kin and relatives of other non-Pulap spouses who either live or visit on Moen also help contribute to the support of the Pulapese. People of Pulap can turn to these relatives for use rights and for local foods such as taro, breadfruit, and bananas. When Pulapese take the initiative or make a request for food, they usually go themselves to the trees or taro patches, harvest the food, and then bring it to Iras for preparation and distribution. But they also receive unsolicited cooked food, prepared elsewhere and brought to Iras as part of another group's food distribution process. Even if the person who activated or created the relationship is not present, food will be brought to a brother, sister, or other close relative. These gifts of food help fulfill and enact kinship obligations. Although the food is ostensibly given to an individual as a demonstration and validation of kinship, in effect it supports the larger Pulap community in Moen since the food is widely shared.

Pulapese can turn to relatives for other assistance as well. For example, the relative of a Mortlockese married to a Pulapese is skilled at massage. Another young woman's created sibling sews well, and Pulapese can turn to her when they need dresses. Since the topless lavalava is not acceptable downtown, women must make, buy, or borrow dresses. Most of the working men have cars, and they consulted relatives for help either in finding or in purchasing one. Although each person may have a separate set of relationships, these ties have an impact on other Pulapese and considerably aid in their support on Moen. A relationship established with one Pulapese extends to other kin as well, and, through the sharing of resources, even farther.

The people of Pulap, in turn, share their own resources, especially with relatives from the Westerns and some culturally related islands to the west in Yap State. Employed people, especially those with higher incomes, help

out financially. Antonio, for example, has paid for flights to the United States for college students, including some Xavier boys from the outer islands of Yap. Moreover, it is not uncommon for a young man from a Yap outer island to be living with the Pulapese in Iras. These Yapese may be on Moen for special training, such as medical courses at the hospital, and several have been sailors.

Pulap on Moen

The Pulap land on Moen, though obviously part of Moen, is in effect an extension of Pulap. Since Pulapese purchased the land, it belongs to people of Pulap and therefore represents, or constitutes, a part of Pulap itself. Pulapese conceptions of identity are intimately connected with land, through kinship. Descent groups, for example, are identified by homesite land. And those who share rights to land and who share food from land are kin. People who live together on Pulap land are Pulapese.

The Iras land and the plot Antonio's kin recently purchased belong to particular Pulapese, as do the houses, but kin ties justify shared residence. This extension of Pulap can be quite conscious. Antonio, for example, named the recently purchased plot of land after a plot he owns on Pulap, and he contends his kin bought the land to provide food for all—part of their obligations as members of the chiefly clan.

The extension of Pulap to Moen, and the commitment to a Pulap community on Moen, became even clearer with the joint purchase of land to provide food for the community. This land is now called *Leepwollap* (at, or on, Pulap). The new meeting house, built across the two main plots of Iras land, is another symbol of the Pulap community and its unity. It belongs not to an individual or a family, but to all the Pulapese, and provides for a variety of social activities in addition to meetings. Here they watch videos, practice dances, hold parties, play cards, relax in the shade, attend the sick, and pray together.

Those who live on Pulap have obligations to the community on Moen. They send food regularly to help support those in Iras. Relatives of Pulapese who live elsewhere on Moen send individual gifts of food, but when the entire island contributes, the food is intended for those who live on the Pulap land. The men of the island may go fishing, and women, at the request of Antonio's mother (a member of the chiefly clan), may hunt for octopus, preserving it for consumption later in Iras. Often each Pulap homesite food unit makes a contribution, which on one occasion included USDA rice, a

basket of taro, a basket of preserved breadfruit, and a number of mature coconuts. These donations are made usually at the request of Antonio or his mother, who are both of the chiefly clan and therefore both able to make such a request of the entire island rather than of a single descent group.

People returning to Pulap from Moen take back food, cigarettes, building supplies, cloth, and household goods purchased in Moen stores. One man employed on Moen, for instance, spent $520 on the following goods to be sent to Pulap on the ship: ten cartons of cigarettes for his mother, two cartons for women who had made and sent sleeping mats, two cases of canned mackerel, rice, a case of corned beef, a case of ship biscuits, and boxes of cookies and candy for children. Since the ship was to stop first at Ulul before going on to Pulap, he also sent shampoo, combs, and soap to the students at Weipat. Lastly, he sent some cash to two relatives. In this way he maintains his position as a kinsman and rights as a Pulapese despite long periods of residence on Moen.

In addition to maintaining relationships between Pulap and Iras, the Pulapese in Moen make some specific efforts to recreate the Pulap setting in Iras. For example, they quite consciously retain their customary style of clothing, changing from the dresses or pants and shirts appropriate for downtown to lavalavas and loincloths when returning from stores, work, or school. Both are strips of cloth wrapped around the lower body; the loincloth leaves a man's buttocks exposed, and the lavalava covers a woman from waist to knees, leaving her breasts exposed. Antonio periodically reiterates a request that they all retain this traditional dress in Iras. Most are proud to do so and maintain that others who live in Iras envy them, partly because of comfort and partly because of the low cost; Pulapese frequently boast that they do not have to "lose" money on clothing. Saturday activities are also intended to duplicate those on Pulap. Whereas during the week rice usually provides the daily staple and is eaten with canned fish or meat, on Saturdays the women prepare traditional food in large quantities to last several days, and the men provide fish. Preparing these foods and distributing them widely among Pulapese on Moen validate the migrants' identities as good people—and good Pulapese. These foods represent retention not only of self-sufficiency (an ideal more than a reality) but also of gender ideology, ties to land, and appropriate kinship behavior, especially sharing among kin and respect toward elders.

Other aspects of kinship behavior are maintained as well but may involve more distantly related kin. On Pulap itself people interact primarily with those of their own descent line and homesite. Kinship obligations, including

the communal preparation and sharing of food, are usually met among these members. A "brother," for instance, is obliged to take care of his "sister." Theoretically this applies to all classificatory sisters, but in practice a distantly related classificatory brother is not personally concerned with the welfare of his sister because a brother of her own descent line carries out that responsibility. This may not be the case on Moen. A closely related brother may not be present, or he may not be able to do what a more distantly related one can; it is thus not merely a matter of degree of relatedness but also the ability to best meet the obligations. And those with an income may be more likely to do so, thus accruing more prestige because of their ability to fulfill traditional obligations through new opportunities. Antonio, for instance, at one time took into his home several sisters, only one of whom would live at his homesite on Pulap. The others had more closely related brothers living in Iras, but only Antonio could provide them with a house. Other brothers were either students at school or living in another relative's house.

Antonio acts in many ways as chief of the community, although the official label of chief is reserved for the traditional chief of Pulap. The Moen community is an extension of Pulap, not a duplication. Antonio's education, prestigious job, good income, shared ownership of Pulap land, and membership in the chiefly clan reinforce each other to put him in a powerful position. Another man with the same occupation but of a different clan would not be as easily accepted in the role, nor could he make the requests Antonio makes of the island for items such as food, sleeping mats, and fishing gear. Antonio directs the community fishing activities in Iras and often decides what activities the school girls can take part in at the high school and elsewhere on Moen. He has also forbidden the school boys to drink and the girls to smoke. His mother frequently resides in Iras, and she and Antonio's sisters—all of the chiefly clan—regulate the women's activities and are responsible for the preparation and distribution of food.

Antonio is a vocal proponent of consciously practicing many Pulap customs, but at the same time, he represents possibilities available in the new context. He received an education and has reached a very prestigious position—economically, politically, and socially. He is building a modern house, complete with bathroom, kitchen, and air conditioning. He travels widely and brings goods from Japan, Guam, and Hawaii. Yet he remains generous. As a landowner, he provides for Pulapese on Moen, and he can also provide some luxuries. For example, he brought back a television and video cassette recorder from one trip, and other Pulapese watch in his house or the meeting house. He holds a birthday party for his son for the entire community,

providing large quantities of food. His income makes that generosity possible.

At Antonio's instigation, his kin group purchased additional land on Moen. Since it allows him to provide more food for fellow islanders, it thus also increases his influence and prestige among them. He was instrumental in having the municipality of Pulap buy other land. This furthers the efforts to recreate or extend Pulap to Moen rather than abandon Pulap to pursue the new opportunities. Pulapese even assert their valuing of land as another positive aspect of Pulapese culture, expressing contempt for the willingness of local people to sell. Pulapese contend that others think too little of land and too much of money, which brings such a short-term gain.

Since many of the senior Pulap men do not live in Iras, aspects of the clan system other than chiefly obligations are not always replicated. For instance, the Pulapese on Moen do not feel it necessary that a Mongunufaŕ clan man divide a fish catch, unless a senior man of the clan happens to be present. Furthermore, although a young man of Mwóóŕ clan is often teased about his theoretical right to call "grab freely," he is too young in practice to do so. If more elderly men were present, they would retain those rights, but they do not usually come to Moen unless they are ill.

Antonio's youth in fact contributes to ambivalent attitudes about him. He is in the forefront of efforts to assert the value of Pulap traditions, and he is generous with his income. Yet some find him dictatorial. He is relatively young, and other elders and educated men chafe at not being able to participate more in making decisions. They contend at times that he verges on authoritarianism and arrogance. Neither a traditional council nor a U.S. system of magistrate and council has been duplicated among Pulapese on Moen; the social structure has been extended, not duplicated, presenting these ambiguities.

Pulapese also attempt to extend their culture to Moen. They consciously practice certain customs that symbolize tradition, respect, and generosity and express pride that they have retained them. Living on their own land, wearing loincloths and lavalavas, preparing and distributing local foods, sharing food and other resources, showing respect to elder siblings—these all demonstrate retention of valued behavior, showing them to be good kin, good people. Thus Pulapese assert an identity they contend is worthy of respect in Micronesia. Being traditional, they have not been changed the way many others have through the influence of foreigners. Furthermore, their customs also ideally represent self-sufficiency. In an era of increasing dependence on the United States, Pulapese resist by asserting self-sufficiency and lack of need

for money. They may desire material goods, but at the same time they maintain that their land provides food, their loincloths and lavalavas cost little or no money, their canoes sail without need for imported fuel. The more educated, especially returned college students, speak romantically of the freedom from money and dependence on others.

They also emphasize sharing. Pulapese point out with pride how those with money share with those who do not have money, that employees buy food to share with others. There is, indeed, a large amount of public sharing, but some private hoarding as well. In one home, for example, were two refrigerators, one in a large room where people often wandered in and out, for the use of any and all Pulapese. The family was also quite generous with rice and other staples. But they kept a second refrigerator in a bedroom closed off from the rest of the house. A case of soft drinks and bags of bread, for example, might be kept in this back room, while rice was publicly shared.

Although the community is an extension of Pulap, it is also part of Moen, and to a limited extent Pulapese participate in Iras village affairs. The man who takes care of church affairs in Iras, for instance, notifies the Pulap people of an occasional mass held at the community meeting house. And an Iras church group comes when someone dies.[2] Some of the women play bingo at a neighboring house. And about twice a year a village meeting is called, which a few of the older and interested Pulap men attend. Furthermore, when all of Iras is asked to provide food for some occasion, such as a feast, the Pulapese contribute a share. The basis for their participation in Iras affairs is the land Pulap owns within the village, which, though part of Pulap, is also part of Moen.

Other participation in Moen affairs relies on kinship ties. Pulapese who live with Moen relatives, for instance, have entered United Nations Day interisland athletic contests as members of the Moen team. And in the fall of 1980 several Pulap girls joined fellow clan members in a neighboring village to prepare food for a feast celebrating a recently built community meeting house.

Furthermore, Moen is a port town, with immigrants from all over Chuuk. As the capital of Chuuk, Moen in a sense belongs to all Chuuk, especially since the commercial enterprises and government positions are not filled predominantly by Moen natives. If anything, many feel there has been an invasion of Mortlockese, the outer islanders who live southeast of Chuuk Lagoon. The Catholic churches and the downtown area cater to all of Chuuk. When the airport was dedicated at the opening of the new runway, the Pulapese felt included and welcomed at the ceremonies, which were for all

people of the state and not just the people of Moen. Moreover, since Antonio holds a prestigious government position and is therefore commonly involved in state affairs, the people of Pulap feel that their island plays a role in those affairs through him and through his identity as a Pulapese.

They participate in some state affairs with identities as Pulapese or Western Islanders. For example, for the governor's inauguration, they performed island dances. The men danced as a Western Islands group, and the women danced as Pulapese. In a modernizing state, this symbolizes what they have to offer: tradition, roots, heritage, identity. They express pride in dancing, especially when they believe other places have lost their old ways. They claim that local villagers even like to watch them rehearse. They dress in the style they consider traditional: lavalavas woven from cotton crochet thread, beaded necklaces and belts, coconut frond skirts and decorations. Conceding to Chuuk Lagoon values, they wear blouses or shirts until time to perform, but then dance only in their skirts and finery.

The people of Pulap can leave the island and come to Moen and yet not really leave Pulap, even if they abandon permanent residence on the atoll. Most of the students find living on Moen preferable to Ulul specifically for that reason. Although the Ulul land, people, language, and culture are more similar to their own than are those of Moen, the Pulap community on Moen is home. This community in Iras also represents home for people such as sailors and college students who can only visit for a time in Moen and not return to Pulap. For passengers, living in Iras provides access to the excitement and diversions of Moen, with the security of kin ties and identity as Pulapese through participation in Pulap community affairs. They can even enjoy the company of relatives in exploring Moen and not have to face the unknown alone. The situation is perhaps most valuable, however, for employees residing for long periods of time in Moen, because even when they have developed ties on Moen and established relationships with other islanders, they do not have to abandon Pulap.

Since the Pulapese live on their own land, they provide a base for other outer islanders who can visit Pulap relatives on what is part of Pulap. Visiting kin is crucial because it maintains relationships. The activities of Pulapese are not by any means restricted to fellow islanders, although men are far more mobile in this respect than women. When women leave, it is usually for a specific errand, such as fetching taro or breadfruit or visiting relatives. The boys and men move more freely, visiting friends and wandering around downtown. Pulapese frequently receive visitors themselves, both male and female, many of whom bring food and all of whom are offered food when

they arrive. Not only do students bring high school friends, but outer island Yapese students at the Catholic high school, relatives of non-Pulap spouses, and many Western Island relatives visit the Pulap community.

Through visits, hospitality, and shelter offered by Pulapese, relationships a person develops can result in other, reinforcing relationships. For example, two Mortlockese girls, related to the missionary who married on Pulap, stayed in Iras on the Pulap land and were adopted and taken to Pulap to live. The Mortlockese man who became the created brother of a Pulap man at high school visited the Pulap community, where he met and soon married a Pulap woman. When his wife is in Moen, they live with the Pulapese, but otherwise he stays with his Mortlockese relatives farther downtown. He frequently visits, however, and joins the men for drinking or fishing. Outer island Yapese often stay with the Pulapese because of clan ties, and if they are living elsewhere, such as Xavier High School, they at least visit frequently. Two such visitors married Pulap women who had been attending Truk High School. A female Pulap high school student had a created sister accompany her to Iras, and this sister later married a Pulap man. Estranged from her own relatives, she decided to live on Pulap rather than follow the customary pattern of uxorilocal residence.

Being Pulapese on Moen

Pulapese do not leave their island intending to remain away permanently, and none has abandoned a Pulap identity or ties with kin on the island. For those with permanent jobs in Moen, however, visiting Pulap can be difficult and not always the most effective means for maintaining ties. Sailors often make a point of requesting work on a ship visiting the Westerns, but the only feasible way for others to visit is the brief "round trip." Because of Antonio's influence, the field-trip ship in recent years has frequently stopped at Pulap first, serviced the other Westerns, and then returned to Pulap before going back to Moen, thus allowing Pulapese the opportunity to visit for several days. They cannot otherwise return to the island while holding permanent jobs in Moen, because the time between ships can be a matter of months and is always unpredictable.

Even those who have married women from other islands and have settled into permanent jobs on Moen can retain their Pulap identity and rights. This includes a man who married a Moen woman and interacts only minimally with other Pulapese. His case is like others, however, in that he maintains ties with the island through adoption (Flinn 1985a). Theoretically a man has

rights to land due him at marriage for his children, but living on Moen, a man cannot claim or use the land. Since the land is for his children, however, they may claim it when they are older if they have retained ties with their kin. An ideal way of doing so is through their adoption by Pulap kin, especially by women of the man's descent group, which holds rights to the land. A child may even alternate residences, living part of the time on one island and part on the other. In this way a migrant may maintain ties with Pulap. In particular contexts even the migrant who married a Moen woman may retain his Pulap identity (to receive, for instance, USDA food available only to outer islanders) but in other circumstances he is a resident of Moen through his job, his wife, his residence with her kin, and his children who live with or are adopted by his wife's kin.

Maintaining ties with Pulap through adoption is quite common even for those who actively participate in Pulap community affairs. Each of the men who have children and who work permanently on Moen has allowed at least one child to be adopted by Pulap kin. Then, too, Pulap relatives can be quite aggressive in the matter; they will be especially concerned that girls be taught to show respect for their "brothers" and "siblings" of higher rank. Pulap relatives insist on having the children spend at least part of their time on the atoll and with Pulap kin. In no case, however, have all the children of these men been adopted by Pulap kin; at least one child has also been adopted by the wife's kin.

Another way to maintain ties, identity, and rights is by sustaining kinship through sharing resources. For instance, Antonio, who no longer lives on the atoll, supports Pulapese who live on Moen and regularly sends food back to Pulap. In this way he maintains his position as kinsman and Pulapese and therefore his rights and privileges not only as a member of his descent line but also as a member of the chiefly clan. He can ask the island to fish for the people in Iras and to make mats or fishing gear for use in Moen. He remains influential in island affairs and is routinely feasted when he visits the island. Antonio has successfully directed the islanders to make sennit, pandanus mats, and copra to sell when a ship arrives; he has intervened on behalf of the other men to persuade the traditional chief to allow the drinking of fermented coconut toddy; and he has asked the islanders to vote for political candidates he has endorsed. For the employees in general, living in Iras, an extension of Pulap, as well as participating in activities of the Pulap community in Moen and contributing to its support, allow them to retain their status and identity as Pulapese.

In many respects, life on Moen is obviously very different from on

Pulap, and migrants cannot behave as Pulapese on the atoll. Subsistence activities in particular are considerably different. A few people have paid jobs, men fish only occasionally, and women gather and prepare some traditional foods, but usually only on Saturdays. Otherwise, they have considerable time on their hands. A woman's life, for example, is quite different on Moen and usually far more sedentary. Women may appreciate a respite from their usual work, but many say they soon become bored and miss their kin back home. A woman may be a student or employee, but she does not have taro gardens to tend, pandanus to gather, or other reasons even to get exercise. Even going places on Moen, she takes a taxi. A woman tends her children, cooks (usually just rice), washes clothes, and otherwise sits and socializes. This is consistent with the ideology that women are sedentary but does not provide them the opportunity to participate in essential economic or productive activities. Women who are employed or who have spouses who are employed spend some of their time playing bingo in a nearby Iras home. Considerable amounts of money may be involved. A few other women may join them, with money lent or given by the women with funds. Men spend money for alcohol and drink, despite prohibition, and are far more mobile. They visit far more widely. During the summer of 1986, many were busy working on building the Pulap community meeting house in Iras.

Yet other patterns of behavior emerge as symbols of identity. Sharing resources, wearing loincloths and lavalavas, preparing local foods, using respect behavior toward senior siblings, performing island dances, and living on their own land all demonstrate good character; they emphasize values of sharing, generosity, and respect.

These are general values widely shared in Chuuk, and other migrant communities are growing on Moen, developing their own sense of identity. Reafsnyder (1984) describes a Mortlockese identity developing on Moen, an identity that also stresses the people's respectfulness and generosity, also in contrast to the behavior of people of Chuuk Lagoon. But rather than presenting themselves as traditional, Mortlockese deride Chuuk for clinging to much of its older religion and practicing sorcery. In contrast, the migrants present themselves as Christian. They assert change as virtuous, in a way that is similar to how Pulapese claim Catholicism helps them behave as good people.

Thus the values of generosity and respect are similar, and the same contrast with Chuuk exists, but the evidence of those values differs. Whereas the Mortlockese community stresses Christianity, Pulapese construct their identity on behavior supposedly based on old customs. They have had the

strength to stay committed to kinship and land, and they claim to demonstrate retention of values and behavior many others have purportedly lost. In an era in which education and jobs and political offices risk going to others, Pulapese try to affirm their ability to participate. All of Chuuk is likely to lose its identity and heritage, and these issues are of political concern. Thus by asserting their Pulapese identity, they gain self-esteem, they retain ties with home, and they also assert a place for themselves in the modern world. They have extended their social structure, their land, and their cultural values—essential to identity—to Moen. Even though the community in Iras looks not like an atoll village but like a collection of shacks in the midst of mud and rusting cans, and some of its residents leave each day for air-conditioned offices, they nonetheless assert the way of life as one that follows Pulap customs.

Much of the dynamic generating the growth of the migrant community comes from the system of formal schooling that takes Pulap's young people to other islands of Chuuk and beyond. To get a paid job today, the education is necessary, but both the jobs and the schooling entail change. It is change most Pulapese want to take advantage of, but at the same time they perceive themselves as having the strength to resist losing their customs. What does it mean to be Pulapese in this context? These are issues Pulapese young people face in the school settings as they meet and interact with others beyond Pulap and the Western Islands.

Chapter 5

Formal Schooling

"Education will give you food. Education will give you a nice house. Education will give you a TV," a Pulap father told his son. Rather than a route to self-development, Pulapese consider education a resource, affording access to new sources of money, goods, and prestige. Pursuit of formal schooling established by the U.S. administration thus influences both short- and long-term population mobility. Although Pulapese have a history of mobility, education provides new motives for movement, new settings for interisland interaction, and new contexts for asserting identities. At the same time, Pulapese models of kinship and beliefs about previous interisland relations structure their experiences and encounters with other islanders.

In January of 1980, when I took a census, sixty-four Pulapese (13 percent of the total population) were off the island attending school. This is almost double the number off the island because of employment, a number that included the wives and children of employed men. Secondary school students leave home for nine months at a time, college students for even longer. Most intend to look for employment on Moen once they finish high school or college, thus contributing to longer-term movement. At least at the moment, enough young people return to Pulap to prevent a problem with a dependency ratio, since the island has enough healthy adults to provide for the children and the elderly. Nonetheless, young people leave for substantial amounts of time, and the beginning and end of the school year produce the most marked change in resident population on Pulap.

In a setting of tiny, scattered islands and small populations, it is impractical to build separate high schools on each island, although the U.S. administration established elementary schools in each community. Not only must students leave the island for secondary education, but the distances and difficulties of travel force them to live at school off-island rather than travel home each day. Until the beginning of the U.S. administration in Chuuk, students had to leave Pulap for Chuuk Lagoon to pursue even an elementary level education, and only a few ever did. Today, however, the elementary school on Pulap itself provides an education through the eighth grade, al-

though students must leave home for any further schooling. In recent years pursuing a secondary education has become the norm for all Pulap young people who can pass the entrance exam and maintain the necessary grade point average. Typically, 80 to 90 percent of the elementary school graduates at least begin secondary schooling.[1] This situation began only about twenty years from the time a mere handful of Pulapese—and only boys—received just a few years of elementary education. Moreover, some of the Pulap high school graduates have even left Chuuk for a college education in Guam or the United States, especially since federal funds became available in the middle of the 1970s.

At each successive level of schooling, Pulap students move farther away from their own sociocultural setting. Secondary education is provided first at Weipat Junior High School on Ulul and then on Moen at Chuuk High School.[2] At the elementary school on Pulap, students live at home, most of the teachers have been born and raised on Pulap, their own dialect is the medium of instruction, and expectations of behavior are largely consistent with other aspects of life on the island. Each of these factors changes, however, as the students get farther from Pulap. Moreover, at each level Pulapese join an ever wider group of students from other islands, presenting more complex social settings and raising issues of identity.

Elementary Education on Pulap

For the first eight grades of their schooling, Pulap children can attend school on their own island and with their own local teachers. Even though the United States has set up a system of formal education based on U.S. models that emphasize competitive individualism, Pulap elementary school teachers nonetheless conduct many aspects of the classroom in accordance with their own beliefs about how children learn and their own notions of ideal character traits, which include humility, respectfulness, modesty, cooperation, and generosity. These relate to their model of kinship and emerge in assertions of cultural identity. Nonetheless, the school is clearly intrusive, associated with the U.S. administration, and an ever-present reminder of forces bringing change to the Pulapese way of life and siphoning off their young people.

The elementary school on Pulap is centrally located in the settlement area near the church and municipal buildings, all considered joint, community structures and symbols of island unity. The school consists of two cement block classroom buildings and a third, smaller building for storing food and firewood. One of the classroom buildings is divided into three

smaller rooms, but the other is one large room in which as many as five classes have to meet together. The school is equipped with supplies considered basic in any U.S. school, including blackboards, chairs, chalk, paper, typewriters, and ditto machines. The science and math books are U.S. texts, although some reading and English materials, including the Tate Oral English series, have been designed for use in the Pacific. The only materials specifically for Micronesia, however, are two social studies books. One outlines Micronesia's heritage and another, prepared by Puluwat people, defines the concept of communities.

The school affects the daily life of the community as a whole and not just the lives of the students. The school occupies the children for a good portion of the day, making them unavailable for subsistence activities. And the school provides the only full-time paid employment on the island. Students share their school meals with other family members, and occasionally some school food supplies, such as flour, are divided among the students and sent home to be prepared. Furthermore, the island two-way radio is at the school, and one of the teachers has been trained to use and maintain it. Assuming the radio is in operation, the weekly education net is a source of information from Moen for the entire community. Finally, one of the major island celebrations takes place on the occasion of the eighth grade graduation—today's version of former puberty rites. Weeks in advance the prospective graduates begin practicing their entrance march and songs, and relatives make them elaborate beaded necklaces. The school and community prepare large amounts of food, and parents of the graduates contribute extra portions.

The elementary school consists of eight grades with an enrollment in 1979–80 of 122 students and a staff of six teachers, four teacher aides, a principal, and two cooks funded through the U.S. Hot Lunch Program. One teacher and two aides were women. This staff may sound relatively large, but often one or more teachers are off-island for education courses, hospital care, or family problems. Usually they have to take the ship to Moen and then wait weeks or even months before they can return.

All but two members of the faculty had high school diplomas in 1980, the requirement then for elementary school teachers. The other two began teaching before the requirement went into effect and were studying toward high school equivalency diplomas. Those who had diplomas were working toward two-year college degrees, soon the new requirement. They could obtain the degree through Community College of Micronesia and University of Guam extension courses offered in Chuuk Lagoon, usually during the summer.

All but two teachers were born and raised on Pulap. The other two, sent before enough Pulapese had qualified, soon married Pulap women. Eventually they became members of the Pulap community and raised families on the island. Having local teachers, combined with relative isolation from the Education Department on Moen, contributes to a school environment that conforms with many island values and attitudes, despite the extent to which the school follows a U.S. model.

Although the school calendar is a U.S. one of 180 days from September to early June, with U.S. holidays such as Thanksgiving and President's Day, the time is structured according to Pulap models. The principal cancels classes for any number of reasons, such as the arrival of a ship, heavy rain, a death on the island, a religious holiday, practice for interisland athletic games, or a community activity that requires all the men, such as building a canoe house. Most of these events generally disrupt the regular community routine, and students do not make up the days they miss.

Even though Pulapese recognize the school as an intrusive institution, teachers and students both attend school dressed essentially as they would be for other island activities, with older boys and men in loincloths and females in lavalavas. Females adjust their dress somewhat, however, to fit the foreign setting. The women teachers usually add a shirt, and younger girls who otherwise would be naked wear lavalavas to school. Boys, however, tend to come to school naked until about the fifth grade. Although made of modern cloth, the lavalavas and loincloths represent Pulapese traditional customs and are emerging as important symbols of cultural identity. At the high school students have to conform to other expectations, but at the elementary school and at Weipat, where Pulapese have more control over the process, their own expectations prevail.

The female teachers and any school girls who have reached puberty stoop for any "brother" who has also reached puberty. Older girls enter the room on their knees, and female teachers often have to write on the blackboard while sitting on a chair or kneeling on the floor. This pattern of deference toward brothers is another custom Pulapese consciously assert as traditional and as evidence that they continue to behave as good kin, a custom thus critical to their cultural identity.

The medium of instruction is the Pulap language, although the two non-Pulap teachers speak in their own dialects. Bilingual education at the elementary level is currently in vogue, in hopes of allowing students to learn their own culture while training for higher education necessary for jobs. Literacy is established, however, not in Pulapese but in the dialect of Chuuk

Lagoon, which serves as a lingua franca in Chuuk State. Students learn English as a second language from the earliest grades, but literacy is established first in the Chuuk language.

Although the educational system ostensibly derives from a U.S. model, and Pulapese recognize the institution as a foreign one, many aspects of their elementary schooling nonetheless transmit Pulapese culture. For example, the atmosphere at the school is very lax and permissive from a U.S. perspective. The appearance of the school itself indicates an apparent lack of rigid discipline. Many of the windows have been boarded up because of accidents, and paper and other debris litter the school yard and classrooms. The cupboards and shelves of the classrooms are in disarray, and copra often lies drying in one room while clothes hang drying in another.

The bells that mark the periods ring haphazardly, resulting in periods of irregular and unpredictable length and a recess lasting two or three times the designated length. Nor are the bells very strictly heeded. Virtually everyone returns home for recess, and the bell often rings a second time to summon students and teachers back to school. Even more time elapses after a bell before a class begins, as students slowly arrive, grab and arrange chairs, and teachers look through their materials. In the same vein, teachers do not simply stop their lessons when the bell rings for the next period. They first finish whatever they had planned, even if it means the next class has to stand and wait. And when students have classwork or tests, they leave when they finish without waiting for a bell.

The classrooms look and sound chaotic. At my first visit, I would not have known the place was a school in session without having been told. Small children typically wander in and around the rooms, glance through books, pause to sit with students, talk with teachers and students, and bring food for teachers. A student or teacher often holds a younger sibling or other child, or sits combing a toddler's hair. A teacher may baby-sit while teaching, occasionally wandering out to check on the child. A woman may nurse an infant while lecturing. Students on their lunch break or running errands for a teacher wander around. Dogs enter and fight with each other. Teachers themselves sometimes talk with students in the room or doorway, and call out to anyone wandering in with unidentified objects. Students talk freely, and when the teacher asks a question, the whole class calls out answers. They create even more of a commotion when asked to write as they try to locate paper and pencils, a process that often involves consulting students in other classes.

Much of the seemingly chaotic behavior, however, coincides with other

aspects of life on Pulap. No one follows a clock or worries about tardiness, and no island event ever begins at the scheduled time. Nor do people immediately jump when a bell rings for a church event or island meeting. Furthermore, small children are neither regularly excluded from island community activities nor considered severe distractions.

Students in the lower grades pay little attention to the teachers. Instead, they tend to sing, talk among themselves, or look at materials in the room. Grades are not a particularly strong incentive for students, especially in the earlier years. Parents are also unconcerned, and few even bother to glance at the report cards. Among the older children, however, the situation changes. Part of the explanation lies in the entrance exam for the secondary school, which students are anxious to pass so that they can continue in school with their classmates. Furthermore, the names of those who pass are announced over the radio from Moen during the summer, and public failure shames and embarrasses both students and parents.

Another reason for the behavior of younger children, however, lies in Pulap attitudes about how children learn. Pulapese believe that school is so new and strange to young children that they need time to understand. And if they do not listen to a teacher, it is simply because they do not understand. Pulapese do not believe in coercing children but feel that if teachers continue explaining, students will eventually learn. Children presumably obey when they understand verbal instructions. Consequently, teachers show enormous patience. When giving instructions for classwork, for instance, teachers will go over them repeatedly as many times as asked. I once saw twenty students ask the same question, but the teacher answered the last as patiently and as completely as the first.

These attitudes about children are not unique to Pulap but seem to be widespread among culturally related islands. In particular, Lutz (1985) analyzes beliefs about how children learn among the people of Ifaluk, an atoll west of Pulap. Ifaluk islanders believe that socially acceptable behavior, obedience, and learning depend on listening and understanding (Lutz 1985:61). It is not simply that children have the ability to obey and cooperate once they can understand verbal instructions; understanding in and of itself prompts obedience. Island belief also contends that understanding is not possible before the age of six—about the time Pulapese children begin school. Before six or so, children are not believed capable of distinguishing between right and wrong and therefore are not liable for their behavior. Obedience on the part of children is desirable and encouraged, but disobedience is tolerated largely because it derives from a lack of understanding, not willfulness.

Spoken language is the key; an understanding of language leads to compliance. Lutz (1985:50) points out that this belief relates to general attitudes about the power of language to influence behavior. She provides an example of speeches in which chiefs commonly admonish the community and lecture about socially acceptable behavior. Similarly, on Pulap women manage to obtain compliance from their older brothers and parents by a series of repeated requests. They simply keep asking. These islanders do not deny or ignore the importance of observation and imitation, but they do stress the key role of language.

Children are not excluded from many adult activities, including conversations. By observing and listening, they gradually learn. And accustoming children to people and attitudes is another aspect of how they learn and become receptive and compliant. People, activities, and attitudes that children become used to are those they supposedly feel positively about and embrace. And positive feelings lead to compliance and learning. Lutz points out that parents believe they should begin quite early to lecture their children about correct behavior, even before the age when understanding is believed possible, so that children can become accustomed to the procedures.

Mary Thomas (1978:68–69) discusses the process of accustoming children on Namonuito Atoll, north of Pulap:

> The accustoming process is regarded as especially strong if it is begun early in life; consequently, children are expected to prefer the company of people they have stayed with from birth. Similarly, they are thought to follow most closely those ideals that have been pointed out to them from an early age. (M. Thomas 1978:69)

This process of accustoming continues in the classroom.

Furthermore, the focus is not on the self and individual needs but on others. Becoming accustomed to kin and feeling positively toward other people relate to an emphasis on cooperation and sharing, on group needs and concerns, attitudes that are reflected in classroom behavior. Teachers encourage cooperation and conformity rather than competition or individualism. They rarely single out students for either good or bad behavior, and they discourage students from competing with one another or ostentatiously displaying their skills or knowledge. Pulapese value humility (*méhónóhón*) and discourage arrogance (*lamalam tekiyah,* literally "lofty thought"). When teachers ask questions, the class as an indiscriminate body tries to answer. Or children call out possible answers, and teachers wait until they hear the

correct answer, then acknowledge the answer and not the student. Teachers rarely single out a particular student to say "That's wrong!" or even "That's right!" Either one would embarrass a student because of the individualized attention and implication that the child was competing with others. Even when teachers call on particular students rather than the class as a whole, and they hear a wrong answer, they usually just ask another student without commenting on the mistake. When teachers are displeased or angry, again they rarely direct their comments to a particular student but scold the whole class in the manner of someone at an island meeting haranguing the entire community. In both cases particular individuals are usually in mind but are not named or addressed in person.

Teachers openly allow students to help each other; especially when one student is at the blackboard, others call out suggestions when the student falters. Students also tend to assist each other with classwork such as math problems and spelling words. Teachers maintain that cheating on tests is very common; most seem to expect it, since in other activities children are encouraged to cooperate and help each other. Although some teachers make token attempts to curtail the practice, such as asking students to put their materials under the chairs, they fail to maintain a vigil to assure that students do not peek at one another's papers.

Teachers are also very fond of choral responses and drills initiated by the same cue ("uuhuuh") that marks the beginning of other activities, like the chant when hauling a canoe to a canoe house. The Tate Oral English series makes use of choral responses, but this method is common in other areas as well, such as oral group reading and reciting math paradigms. In addition to choral drills, teachers give lectures to classes, typically delivering them as though telling legends or other stories.

Cooperation and sharing, with an orientation to the group rather than individualism, are highly valued patterns of behavior. Many writers commenting on related Micronesian cultures stress the importance of these values for islanders. Lutz (1985:44) describes how they are reflected even in the choice of pronouns, since *we, us,* and *ours* are commonly used where an American would choose the first person singular. According to cultural ideals, people should not think of their personal needs but of others and should orient themselves toward joint, cooperative goals. They should be generous with food and material goods, but also with concern and time given to other people and their needs.

The value placed on modest, unassuming behavior as opposed to arrogance is consistent with this group orientation. If a person focuses on group,

not individual concerns, she will also not make much of her special abilities, brag, or place herself above others as somehow special. A positive value on modesty and negative value on arrogance appear to be widespread in Chuuk (see, e.g., Swartz 1965:24–25; Goodenough 1951:143; Caughey 1977:96; Gladwin and Sarason 1953:155, 230; Tolerton and Rauch 1949:187).

Central to Pulapese cultural identity is that Pulapese as a group embody these values, especially as evidenced by behavior that, like stooping, contrasts with the behavior of others. They contend that since other people have changed so much compared with Pulapese, those others no longer have the same commitment to the shared values. Others are said to have weakened their respect and concern for kin. And at the elementary school, many Pulapese values, attitudes, and expectations of behavior are transmitted, sometimes deliberately, sometimes fortuitously. At the elementary level, Pulapese have most control over their school because teachers are local, the school is far from the central administration, and students live at home and attend school in their own community.

At the same time, students learn about being Pulapese in a wider context and receive messages about who they are in relation to others. First there is the obvious strength of the U.S. presence, visibly represented in the massive buildings themselves. Considerable emphasis is placed on learning English, and the Micronesian history they learn is the history of colonialism.

Yet being under the authority of other powers is not new to the Pulapese. After all, aside from colonial powers, there was always Yap and Puluwat. Pulapese do not meekly accept a position of subservience but prefer one more of pragmatism. The attitude toward schooling brought by Americans generally is one of taking advantage of possibilities. Some parents like the school simply because of the extra food. And it certainly provides cash through the teachers, aides, and cooks. In fact, it is the primary source of cash for the imported goods Pulapese are increasingly interested in, from cigarettes and sugar to building supplies and VCRs. But most important, the paid jobs, attendant prestige, and possibilities for political influence all come only to those who receive an education, beginning with elementary school.

English, math, and history bear not on gardening and fishing or other traditional pursuits but on the modern context that includes the U.S. presence—and the role of other Chuuk peoples in relation to that presence. Other Chuuk teachers initially staffed the school because of the lack of trained Pulapese, and two still remain. Another constant reminder is some of the language of the classroom and any vernacular texts, typically in the Chuuk Lagoon dialect. So part of what children learn is that in the modern world,

Pulap has, in some ways, lagged behind other groups, and if it continues to do so, these others will be better able to get the jobs, money, and goods that are available. Yet most of the teachers now are Pulapese, not outsiders, and the two outsiders have been incorporated into the community. Both deliberately and fortuitously, the school encourages students to take part in the ongoing change as well as continue to show valued behavioral traits. Pulapese are engaging themselves in the process of change, not passively accepting a back seat in Chuuk. Pulapese know that a knowledge of English will enable them to operate more effectively in the modern context and that education is critical for active participation. But they want to take part without losing their sense of identity; being like others in Chuuk would simply make them a backward little community. They are proud of what separates them from others, and today much of what distinguishes them is their version of customs others no longer have. So the little girl who comes to school in a cloth lavalava, recites "Yes, I can see a dog," adds "hours" and "minutes," watches her educated teacher stoop for an eighth grade brother, and modestly refrains from showing off in class is already learning a complex lesson about being Pulapese.

Weipat Junior High School

Most Pulap young people who graduate from elementary school begin secondary education at Weipat Junior High School, on Ulul in the Namonuito Atoll to the north.[3] Weipat began as a vocational postelementary school for students from the Namonuitos and the Westerns, and its name comes from the vernacular terms for the two island groups: *wei* (*weey*) from *Nomwon Weeytéé* (Namonuito Atoll) and *pat* from *Nomwon Páttiw* (Western Islands). In 1970 Weipat became an academic junior high school, and students come from the Hall Islands, the outer islands north of Chuuk Lagoon, as well as from the Namonuitos and Westerns.

Once Weipat opened, more Pulapese began attending postelementary schools and then continued on to graduate from high school. For the rest of Chuuk, however, the education explosion began with the earlier opening of the high school on Moen. Before Weipat opened, only one Pulap boy had taken some classes at PICS (Pacific Islands Central School) when it was on Moen, and one other, who attended Truk Intermediate, graduated from Truk High School. Once Weipat opened, however, the situation changed and increased mobility from Pulap. Although most Pulap students failed the high school entrance test, they could attend the postelementary Weipat, continue

to Truk High School, and then graduate in the early 1970s. Part of the explanation for the increase in graduates, however, lies in the fact that these students were born from around 1949 to 1951, when the birth rate increased sharply on the atoll. More Pulapese began graduating from high school partly because Weipat provided an alternative for those who failed the test but also because, in sheer numbers, there were more young people.

Not only did more Pulap students in general pursue postelementary education, but after Weipat opened, Pulap girls began to leave the island for postelementary education for the first time. Previously only a few girls, chosen by an American Jesuit priest, had left the island for school. They had attended a private Catholic elementary school in Moen for a few years during the 1950s but then returned home. This practice, as well as the U.S. insistence on coeducational schooling, eventually persuaded the islanders to accept postelementary education for girls. Moreover, adults felt less anxious about girls attending Weipat on Ulul than Truk Intermediate on Moen, since Ulul is both geographically and culturally closer to Pulap. Familiar with the island and people of Ulul, Pulapese felt more confident that relatives would care for their girls. Ulul was not the alien and dangerous place Moen represented, although sending girls to school nonetheless contradicted the notion that men move and women stay. Thus schooling has not only prompted more mobility among young people in general but extended it to young women in far larger proportions than earlier in Pulap's history.

Pursuit of a secondary education has become the norm for all Pulap young people who can manage to pass the entrance test. Since Weipat opened, only a handful of Pulap's elementary school graduates have failed to pursue postelementary education. As of 1980, they numbered only fifteen of 124 elementary school graduates. All girls, they had remained home because they married, became seriously ill, or failed the entrance test. Parents and young people no longer question continuing in school; it has now become a part of the developmental cycle. In 1979–80, eleven Pulapese were in ninth grade at Weipat and fifteen were in tenth grade.[4]

Once at Weipat, students tend to remain unless compelled to leave. In the past, several were expelled for academic reasons and a few for disciplinary reasons. Others did not complete Weipat or continue on to high school because they married or left school to go home when a close relative became ill. As of 1980, only fourteen Pulap students had attended but not finished Weipat or continued on to high school. Two became sailors, and one briefly worked as a teacher aide on another island; many are now married and living on Pulap, engaged in traditional subsistence activities.

Weipat is located near the settlement area of Ulul close to the elementary school and municipal buildings. In addition to classrooms there are four cement block dormitories, because Weipat is a boarding school for the students of the Hall Islands, Namonuito Atoll, and Western Islands. Thus Weipat is a context for interisland interaction with resultant interplay of cultural identities and stereotypes. The Ulul community tends to welcome the Western students while viewing Hall Island students as outsiders. The Namonuito Atoll islanders consider the people of the Westerns to be more similar to them than the people of the Hall Islands, and interisland travel between the Namonuitos and the Westerns is far more frequent than with the Halls (J. Thomas 1978:45–52). Part of Ulul was settled by Tamatam people, so those two islands have particularly close ties. Moreover, the dialect of the Namonuitos, though intermediate between those of the Westerns and the Halls, is slightly closer to the Westerns (Quackenbush 1968:87). Perhaps most important, the Western and Namonuito people contend that the Hall Islands have lost customs such as the use of sailing canoes and traditional style of dress. They perceive other cultural differences, as well. In particular, Hall Island males, like the men of Chuuk Lagoon, engage in gardening activities in contrast to men of the Namonuitos and Westerns, who believe gardening is the province of women.

Although enrollments at Weipat Junior High School varied throughout the 1970s and 1980s, the enrollments during my years as a Peace Corps teacher from 1974–76 are typical. The enrollment in February 1976 was 114 students, with 61 (54 percent) boys and 53 (46 percent) girls. The largest number, 52 (46 percent), were from the Westerns, with 34 (30 percent) from the Namonuitos, and 27 (24 percent) from the Halls. Because of their numbers, Western Island students are well-represented in student government and other activities, although no single island predominates. In 1975–76, for example, five of the six school officers were from the Westerns. A Hall Island girl was elected secretary, but she also had no Western Island competition. In 1976 the faculty consisted of twelve teachers, one of whom also acted as principal. Four (including me) were American Peace Corps volunteers, and the others came from islands in the Namonuitos and Westerns.

Although most students live in the dormitories, several are day students and live with families on Ulul. In 1976 the thirty-three day students included all the Ulul students, all the girls and several boys from the Namonuitos and Tamatam (since these islands have very close ties with Ulul and close relatives in the community), and two girls from Pulap who lived with the family of a Pulap teacher at Weipat.

In efforts to encourage interisland amity and to counter negative stereotypes, the principal and dormitory houseparents sometimes try to mix the students by assigning Western students to live with Hall students (most Namonuito students are day students), but the students then change rooms to live with those of their own choosing. Staff members, in fact, consider such changes inevitable. Consequently, students usually room with others from the same island if possible and otherwise with students from the same island group. These are the people they are accustomed to, have kin ties with, and thus can trust.

Dress is one highly visible marker of identity, because teachers and students usually dress much as they would at home. In general this means that Western and Namonuito islanders wear loincloths or lavalavas, whereas Hall Island girls wear dresses and boys wear shirts and long pants. Dress thus clearly distinguishes the Hall students from the others and symbolizes their departure from traditional customs.

Weipat's academic calendar, like that of the elementary school, follows a U.S. model, with 180 days divided into four 45-day quarters, and the school celebrates U.S. holidays. The government field-trip ship brings students to Weipat in September and returns them home in June, but classes begin later than scheduled in the fall and finish early in the spring. During the school year classes are canceled for innumerable reasons. Time and activities are structured according to local needs, despite the U.S. model. When a ship arrives, students have to unload school supplies and food; each box and each sack of rice must be lifted from the ship to the motorboat, brought to shore, and then carried by hand to the storerooms. Often students and staff need a second day after the departure of the ship to complete the task. The principal frequently cancels classes for religious holidays, such as the Feast of the Immaculate Conception on December 8 and Ascension Thursday in May. And United Nations Day on October 24 is customarily a field day with athletic contests. Weather is another factor that often forces school to close. Heavy rains make teaching impossible because of the din on the metal roofs, and tropical storm warnings and typhoon watches also close down the school. During a prolonged dry spell in 1975 school closed down for days while students dug wells for water. Other school maintenance activities, such as making repairs and gathering firewood, may also preempt classes for a day or two, and occasionally the principal cancels classes for a dormitory inspection to recover school property, such as tools and library books. Finally, the island chief sometimes requests that school close for an island meeting that he wants both teachers and students to

attend. Consequently, each quarter is substantially shorter than the scheduled forty-five days.

Compared with the elementary school, the junior high places more emphasis on the use of English as the medium of instruction. The curriculum includes three English courses (oral English, reading, and writing), but except for these and a Micronesian civics course, the curriculum is essentially similar to that in many U.S. schools. And except for the English and civics books, the texts are those designed for use in U.S. schools, although most are intended for elementary rather than secondary education. The official policy is to use English, but the vocational instructors in particular prefer the vernacular. The academic teachers vary as to how frequently they use their local languages and English, from almost exclusive use of one to almost exclusive use of the other.

Student behavior is more orderly at Weipat than at the elementary school, and each class can be held in a separate room. Nevertheless, students are frequently distracted by others who have been dismissed from class and linger outside the classrooms. Especially when the men of Ulul are allowed to prepare and drink fermented coconut toddy, teachers are frequently absent, creating more confusion. Even in the classroom, students tend to talk freely among themselves and with the teacher. In other words, attending school and teaching school may be activities introduced from the outside, but students and teachers fit them into local models of behavior.

In dealing with the other teachers and their absence from school, the principal can find it very difficult to behave efficiently by U.S. standards. Especially since an early principal had been an American, and the job was ostensibly modeled on the U.S. position, a principal can feel caught between two standards. In Chuuk, people of authority traditionally do not rule by edict but by consensus, and they usually avoid direct, individual confrontation. When the man acting as Weipat principal during my years as a teacher was dissatisfied with another teacher who was delinquent in teaching classes, he found it impossible to confront him with the problem, express disapproval, or insist that he come to school and teach more regularly. He finally resorted to a very delicately phrased letter, subtly criticizing the teacher's frequent absences while flattering him by implying he might become vice principal.

Discipline is more of a problem than at the elementary school, largely because of the mixture of island groups. School rules the staff and students find meaningless they simply ignore. These include rules against students collecting and sharing food together, a rule that violates a strong cultural norm. More meaningful rules are those against drinking, stealing, and fight-

ing. In regard to these offenses, Hall Island students and any Chuuk Lagoon students who attend Weipat tend to receive harsher treatment than the Namonuito and Western Island students, since the majority of the teachers come from the Namonuitos and Westerns. Teachers find it difficult to be severe with a student who is kin, and Hall Island students are far less likely to be recognized and treated as relatives, because their islands have not had as close ties with the Westerns or Namonuitos. Moreover, being less shy and modest, Hall students tend to be more assertive and aggressive than the other students and therefore come before the school disciplinary committee and faculty disproportionately often, especially considering their relatively small numbers. Furthermore, for essentially similar offenses, Hall Island students receive more extreme punishment than Western or Namonuito students. They tend to be expelled from school rather than warned, suspended, or given extra work. For example, a Western student found guilty five times of drinking was allowed to remain at Weipat, but a Hall student found drinking only once was expelled. Even faculty discussions of the cases differed. Teachers spend considerable time discussing details and mitigating circumstances of a Namonuito or Western student's misconduct, but the issue is routinely cut and dried for a Hall student.

Weipat does not exist in a vacuum on Ulul, and the island community is very much involved with the students, especially through the sponsorship program, which is obviously derived from a kinship model. All boarding students have sponsors to take them in on weekends and vacations. In this way, students can participate in community activities such as fishing, dancing, and preparing local food. Most students welcome the opportunity to have local food, especially taro and breadfruit, instead of the rice and canned goods served at school. When students mentioned liking their sponsors, they invariably mentioned generosity with food as one reason.

The sponsor relationship is based on kinship. For students from the Namonuitos and Tamatam, the relationship can usually be traced genealogically, but otherwise the relationship is based on more distant and putative ties. The students and sponsor or sponsor's wife may be related through clan, offspring, marriage, or created sibling ties.[5] Here is a case where modern patterns of mobility based on education clearly exploit time-honored strategies.

The community of Ulul is involved with Weipat in other ways as well. Island leaders treat the students as community residents during their stay; students are expected to observe island rules, and Ulul leaders have even entered the school office to reprimand students personally. Island leaders are

regularly invited as guests to school parties, and the chief and magistrate often speak at school assemblies, admonishing the students to behave and obey customs. They direct these remarks primarily at the Hall students, those perceived to be most different. This is one way Pulapese learn that their customs and patterns of behavior are valued by other islanders, especially in contrast to the behavior of the Hall and Lagoon Islanders. The chief also occasionally requests that school be canceled so that teachers and students can attend an island meeting. The entire community is usually invited to a school field day, and the chief even resents not being informed of one. The community is invited to the variety show, where students serve food and perform more than six hours of songs, dances, and skits.

Students hold their school picnic on Ulul land, and they routinely gather firewood from designated areas of the island. Moreover, the school at times buys fish, taro, and bananas from the Ulul Coop, and it buys pigs from the community for special affairs such as Christmas parties. Weipat may also donate food for an elementary school affair, especially graduation. Students are asked to clean the school and grounds when important visitors arrive at the island, and they help their sponsors prepare food for these visits and for other feasts. Weipat students also usually dance at Ulul feasts, and the community holds a farewell party for them just before they leave for the summer. The community finds even the buildings useful: during a typhoon threat the dormitories provide some shelter from wind and rain. Thus in a variety of ways Weipat is a community resource.

The American Jesuit who lives on Ulul also plays a role in Weipat affairs, attending assemblies and parties to speak to the students. He is particularly concerned with the impact of the behavior of Hall Island and Chuuk Lagoon students. He, too, sends a message to Pulapese that traditional customs are valued. He also administers a test for admission to Xavier and can make personal recommendations for students.

At Weipat, island group identities and distinctions come to the fore in a number of areas, particularly dormitory organization, social activities, work groups, and occasional student fights. Pulapese are considered Western Islanders, and they contend they share a certain cultural unity that distinguishes them from other areas of Chuuk. They further contend that Namonuito peoples are more like them than Hall Islanders are.

Rafaella is one young Pulap woman who shared these attitudes while a student at Weipat. She was seventeen when she arrived, slightly older than many Weipat students, but typical of Pulapese and a handful of others. Most of her previous travel had been confined to Tamatam, which she had visited

frequently because her sister had been adopted there. Although she had heard about Ulul and Weipat, this was her first trip. She did not come alone, but arrived with six other girls and four boys from Pulap, who had been together at the elementary school. She was put in a dorm with a Pulap girl who was offspring to her clan.

Her sponsor was an Ulul man whose wife was sister to Rafaella's mother, because their mothers in turn had created a sister relationship. As Rafaella put it, "A long time ago, they came here and there was no one to take care of them, so my mother's mother did." Once established, the relationship continued through two generations. Most of the other Pulap students she arrived with, however, were sponsored by the Pulap teacher.

Rafaella was put in a ninth grade class with twenty-two other students, including one boy and two other girls from Pulap. The rest of the students came from scattered islands in the Halls and Namonuitos and from other Westerns. Initially she sat with the Pulap girls unless assigned a seat. She had little choice about classmates, but when going to church, eating meals, attending assemblies, and working at school chores, she chose her fellow Pulapese as companions. Gradually, though, she became accustomed to some others, especially a girl from Puluwat who roomed with another Pulap girl and a girl from Pulusuk who was offspring to Rafaella's clan. Later in the year she became accustomed to and eventually agreed to be sister to a girl in her class from Ruo, after the girl shyly wrote the request.

In other words, Rafaella operated with a model of behavior and interaction based on Pulap beliefs about people and kinship. On arrival, she was essentially only accustomed to her Pulap kin. Others were strangers, not kin and not Pulapese, and many—especially Hall Islanders—behaved in ways that defined them as not good people: girls failed to stoop for brothers, spoke words not polite in mixed company, and flirted, while boys swore, fought, and ran after girls. They did not behave as good kin. Other Western Island girls, however, were much more similar and more likely already to be related in some way, making recognition or establishment of a kin tie more likely. But the kinship model is an open one, allowing for the incorporation of others through accustoming. Once Rafaella became accustomed to someone, kinship became possible and could be grounded in behavior—such as sharing food or clothing or companionship. In fact, if Rafaella had too readily socialized and shared with those not her kin, she would have been guilty of doing so at the expense of her kin. Being a good Pulapese, especially for women, means spending time and resources with kin and feeling awkward and uncomfortable around those who are not kin.

Faced with these differences among the students, armed with some preexisting stereotypes about many of them, and acting in an environment that made use of island and island group labels, Rafaella, like her fellow students, had to grapple with identity issues including what it meant to be Pulapese. She stooped for her brothers, wore a lavalava instead of a dress, and spoke a distinctive dialect with its own set of rules about appropriate speech. To Pulapese, these are symbols of commitment to a way of life marked by respect and concern for kin, and by commitment to land and sea rather than money and greed.

Yet to school staff, to Hall and Namonuito students, and to Ulul islanders, Rafaella was not so much Pulapese as she was a Western Islander. Much of her behavior, despite some dialect differences, was shared by other Westerners, and even to some extent with Namonuito Islanders. In faculty meetings, the teachers talked of the Western Islanders as a group as being the traditional ones in contrast to the Hall Islanders. The Ulul chief made speeches in the same vein, warning against the influences of both Hall Island and Chuuk Lagoon students who might turn the more traditional students away from their customs. The American Jesuit reinforced these warnings with his own. He was worried, for example, that because of Hall Island student influence, Weipat might indulge in coed dancing, violating traditional customs concerning gender and sibling relations. Through these speeches as well as stories from the Pulap teacher about how Namonuito elders encouraged reinstatement of stooping after observing Western Islanders at Weipat, Rafaella learned that outsiders noticed and valued her traditional customs. And she learned that the Westerns as a whole share in that reputation. Sitting in church, attending island meetings, dancing at island feasts, even walking down an island path, she could be identified as a Western Islander, a label she could value.

At the same time, however, being Pulapese as distinct from a generic Western Islander was an issue. For instance, like the other Pulap students, Rafaella vehemently contended that people of Ulul disliked and resented the Pulapese, despite admiring their commitment to a traditional way of life. Pulapese maintain that Ulul's attitude resulted from elections in which a Pulap candidate defeated an Ulul candidate running for a political position to represent the Halls, Namonuitos, and Westerns. Those who attended Weipat before the election claim their sponsors broke the relationship when the Pulap candidate won, ceasing to send letters and no longer offering food and hospitality when the former students visited the island. Instead, visitors

now stay with the Pulap teacher, who has been given a piece of land by the chief and who lives in a site isolated from the main settlement area.

The importance of hospitality, in particular as exhibited through the offering of food, is crucial to understanding Pulapese attitudes toward other islanders. When Pulapese assert superiority to others, generosity and concern for others, demonstrated through traditional customs, come to the fore. Being better people, more traditional, and more hospitable and generous are intertwined, especially in a context in which traditionalism holds value. Ulul and Pulap have been rivals in political campaigns, and Ulul is potentially more powerful in part because Weipat draws resources to the community. What Pulap uses to counter such an advantage is traditionalism. Thus Pulapese point out Ulul's deficiencies with reference to Pulap's notions of good behavior. They belittle the people of Ulul for no longer caring for visitors; specifically, the people of Ulul supposedly no longer call out to passing visitors and offer them food. Pulapese visitors contend that only the traditional chief and the Pulap teacher can be counted on to feed and house them and to take care of Pulap students at Weipat. They are the only ones who act as good kin, as good people. Rafaella and other Pulap students maintained that they could detect Ulul's hostility because islanders failed to offer food when they walked by, offering it instead to other students.

Although virtually all the Pulap students mentioned the election as the cause of Ulul's animosity toward Pulap and the lack of hospitality as evidence, a few other factors came to light as well. Several said that Ulul is also angry because the Pulap teacher received a plot of their land from the chief, and this land provides a base for more Pulapese on their island. Some Pulapese mentioned that Ulul teachers and the community as a whole resent the fact that Pulap students are smart (*tipachchem*), i.e., they do well in school. Several students claimed that a sign of these attitudes was that Ulul teachers at Weipat deliberately gave them lower final grades than their test scores warranted. Rafaella believed that the Ulul teachers tried to get Hall and Namonuito students to cooperate to elect officers so that the Westerns would not prevail.

Pulap students, surprisingly, do not resent the feelings they attribute to the people of Ulul. In fact, they seem to be proud of their position as victors in the election. Beliefs about the past color their attitudes. Ulul and Pulap were often enemies in the past, with Pulap in an alliance with its Western Islands neighbors Tamatam and Puluwat against the Namonuitos. Many stories describe battles between the two areas. One in particular tells of a raid

Ulul made on Pulap. The Ulul warriors killed a large number of Pulapese, kidnapped several girls, and carried them off to Ulul. Later, Puluwat, the chief island responsible for defense of the Westerns, intended to raid Ulul in retaliation. But when the people of Ulul heard the rumor, they fled the island for the Marianas (taking a captured Pulap woman with them whose descendants live on Saipan today). Although these events took place in the nineteenth century, animosity persists.

Today, then, the people of Pulap derive satisfaction from the notion that their candidate won to the discomfiture of Ulul. If the people of Ulul are resentful—and from Pulap's view they cannot help but feel that way—they will not offer the appropriate hospitality. Offering food to visitors is the primary requisite of hospitality and fundamental to interisland relationships. Pulapese assume, therefore, that Ulul's attitudes are evidenced by their refusal to call out and offer them food. On the other hand, if an Ulul islander still cares about a Pulap visitor or student and chooses to acknowledge their kinship, that person will do so with a gift of food. Several Pulapese (though not Rafaella) mentioned these occasional exceptions. One girl admitted that a woman who became her mother's created sister in the 1950s at the Catholic elementary school in Moen once brought her bananas. And members of one Pulap descent line received food from Ulul women related through created sibling ties established when boys of the descent line attended Weipat in its early years. Only when students were pushed, however, did they mention people of Ulul other than the chief who ever fed them, because the conventional wisdom is that Ulul neglects its ties with Pulap and refuses to offer food to Pulap students or to offer hospitality of any sort to Pulap visitors. Thus their behavior proves them not to be good people.

Pulap students also delight in pointing out that Ulul no longer observes traditional respect behavior, especially the deference that should be shown by younger to older siblings and by sisters to brothers. In the early 1970s Ulul leaders attempted to reintroduce this behavior, especially stooping, after they had observed and admired the behavior of the Western Island girls who attended Weipat. This, too, is a source of pride for Pulapese.

Present attitudes and relationships are thus based in part on conceptions of past animosities, at least ones still relevant today, in part on Pulapese definitions of good people. But patterns of interaction also involve the degree to which students are accustomed to (*yéériy*) each other. Beyond their fellow islanders, Pulap students interact primarily with other Western Islanders. Even though Rafaella was one of the most outgoing Pulap girls, most of the girls she talked, socialized, and worked with were still other Pulapese. Her

closest friend from elsewhere was the girl from Pulusuk. For all the Pulapese, Pulusuk is singled out from among the Westerns. Virtually every Pulap student expressed fondness for the people of Pulusuk, who are said to be the most similar to the people of Pulap. Students explain these attitudes by pointing out that they have many relatives among the Pulusuk students. In some instances these are traceable, genealogical ties because of intermarriage, but often they are clan, offspring, or created sibling ties. Students also mention, however, that they are accustomed to the Pulusuk students. Although Pulap students have clan and offspring ties with other islands, more with Pulusuk have been activated than with any other island. Being accustomed to someone is associated with being kin because if two people become accustomed to each other, they will be disposed to like each other; and if two people like each other, they will share with each other; and when two people share, they are kin. Clan or offspring ties will be activated when they exist, and in their absence created sibling ties will be established. Where clan or offspring ties do exist but the individuals are not accustomed to each other and do not behave as kin through acts of sharing, they are not kin.

Pulapese are familiar with the people of Pulusuk because of frequent interisland canoe visits. Not only do Pulusuk canoes visit Pulap, but most Pulap students have traveled to the other Western Islands by the time they enter Weipat, boys predictably having made more trips than girls. The reasons students give for visiting Pulusuk almost invariably have to do with social visits with relatives, whereas they went to Puluwat for interisland athletic games more often than for visits. Tamatam is just across the lagoon and thus easy to visit, and Pulapese often visit for no more specific reason than to play. Only a few students had visited Ulul (for interisland athletic games or to deliver someone to Weipat).

Contributing to this benevolent attitude about Pulusuk is the absence of the competition or rivalry that characterizes Pulap's relationships with Puluwat and Ulul. Politically and economically Pulusuk and Pulap share concerns about resisting the dominance of Puluwat and the possible rise of Ulul. And from Weipat school elections to larger Chuuk campaigns, Pulapese more readily support Pulusuk candidates than Puluwat ones.

Both Tamatam and Puluwat, however, are geographically closer to Pulap than Pulusuk. Tamatam is usually dismissed as an impoverished and unimportant island with a small population. Pulapese disdain is also colored by the fact that Tamatam's ties with Ulul are quite close, since Tamatam helped repopulate Ulul after the previous inhabitants had fled to the Marianas.

As for Puluwat, most Pulap students expressed a dislike for its students,

maintaining the island was angry at them, "just like the old days," when Puluwat ruled the area. Young people, including Rafaella, are steeped in childhood stories about the perfidy and arrogance of Puluwat, and part of being Pulapese means being more peaceful and modest than Puluwat people. Some pointed out that the Puluwat students were angry at Pulap for winning the recent Western Island athletic games held on Puluwat. They also mentioned another election in which Puluwat voted against Pulap's candidate, thus causing him to lose. In general they contend that Puluwat maintains its aggressive posture from the past when Pulap was subservient to Puluwat and had to pay tribute. On the one hand, Puluwat would defend Pulap, as it did when Ulul raided the island, but on the other hand, it demanded subservience and tribute. According to Pulap stories, Puluwat often simply came and took what it pleased, with Pulap forbidden to resist. Puluwat supposedly still demands respect today and will fight if insulted.

Puluwat tried to rule over Pulusuk as well, and although Pulap and Pulusuk were not traditionally allied against Puluwat in interisland warfare, they share a history of resentment toward the island. This contributes to the sense among Pulapese that Pulusuk is more similar to them than any other island. This attitude, the close ties between the islands, and the frequent visits that maintain the ties account for the Pulap students' preference for the company of Pulusuk students at Weipat.

Pulapese express only mild feelings about the Namonuito students, except for those from Ulul. The Pulap students sense merely a distance from them, although they acknowledge that the language and customs of Namonuito are more similar to theirs than those of the Halls. Since most Namonuito students live with Ulul families, Pulap students have little contact with them outside the classroom. Consequently, they are not accustomed to Namonuito students, and they generally feel uncomfortable with people who are strangers.

Most Pulap students expressed a strong dislike for the Hall Island students—even Rafaella, who befriended a Hall Island girl. Here there were no long-standing animosities, but Pulapese were not accustomed to them, and furthermore, these students stood in stark contrast to themselves. They were most different from Pulapese notions of good people. The first Pulap students to meet Hall students at Weipat apparently had no preconceived negative stereotypes of the Hall students, who nonetheless were soon labeled conceited or arrogant (*lamalam tekiyah*). This character trait is the opposite of *méhónóhón* (quiet, modest, unassuming [Elbert 1972:89]), which implies respectfulness and concern for other people. In other words, someone who

is arrogant is aggressive and rude to others, disregards their feelings, and deliberately refuses to accord them the respect they are due (Caughey 1977:28–30). Pulap students accuse the Hall Island students of breaking school rules and destroying school property, of refusing to obey teachers and houseparents, and of ignoring traditional customs such as those concerning dress. Hall girls, for instance, are scorned for occasionally wearing pants, a scandalous practice on Pulap. In the same vein, Hall students are accused of being insolent (*nemaayki*) and lecherous (*sikippwach*) because they flirt and openly show an interest in sex. They use language considered in the Westerns either vulgar or inappropriate for mixed company. Such behavior can lead to fighting among the boys, since a Western boy is bound to challenge anyone who uses such language or exhibits sexual feelings toward his "sister" in his presence. Finally, the Hall students are said to be far more interested in play (*wurumwot*) than in serious study.

All these behaviors violate Pulap notions about how people ought to behave, especially toward kin. Furthermore, Hall Islanders are more acculturated and thus accused of having lost traditional ways, including appropriate behavior toward kin. Pulap students also know that Weipat staff, Ulul elders, and the Jesuit priest all express concern that Hall Islanders not be a bad influence on them. They certainly feel justified in retaliating against any perceived offense. In one case, for example, three of Rafaella's fellow classmates from Pulap clashed with three girls from the Halls when the latter yelled at the Pulap girls walking to church at a time when loud noise was banned. In the eyes of the Pulapese, this sort of disrespect justified anger, and this anger could be demonstrated. So later one of the Pulap girls, normally one of the quietest, took clothing belonging to one of the Hall girls, cut it, and hung it up. Then all six ended up fighting. (The housemother reported the incident; the girls were disciplined by having to cut grass for three days, and the one who cut the clothing lost the privileges of dorm captain. These were not considered harsh penalties.)

Crosscutting all these negative attitudes, however, is the potential of kinship. Despite the perceived cultural differences, students are members of the same social universe. At the very least, students recognize common clan membership, which can form the basis of a closer relationship despite a student's island of origin. Offspring ties are not as widely known among students, but they, too, may be activated. Some Pulap students have also cemented friendships with a created sibling tie with another student. Some of these friends are brought to Pulap to visit, some just for a round-trip visit on the ship, but others for a summer or Christmas vacation. One of the

interisland marriages even resulted from such a visit, when a Weipat boy brought a friend home who met and later married a Pulap girl.

Pulap concerns about the Halls, Ulul, and Puluwat surfaced during efforts in the 1980s of a Puluwat man I will call John to organize a junior high school in the Westerns. Western Islanders, including Pulapese, see the advantages of education but recognize that others in Chuuk are emerging as an elite, many because of a private education that Western Islanders can ill afford. Nor do they trust that the governing elite has any personal incentive to lobby for improvements in the public system. Furthermore, elders continue to show concern about their young people being influenced by the more acculturated islanders at Weipat. They longed for a school setting both geographically and culturally closer to their own.

This Puluwat man had the initiative, ability, and connections to begin a private school on Puluwat for that island's young people, using Peace Corps assistance, some outside funding, and volunteer teachers. These included a Pulap man who had attended school with Rafaella and later spent several years in college in the United States. In an effort to gain support for the school and convert it to a public school for all the Western Islands, John organized a meeting of the local leaders, including traditional chiefs, members of traditional councils, elected magistrates, and elected council representatives. One rhetorical stance he took, both with Puluwat elders as well as with the wider Western audience, was to address the cultural theme of strength, demonstrated in the past through warfare and navigation, possible today through education. They did not have to accept being weak, backward, rural, or second class, but neither could they simply rest on the feats of their ancestors; strength in the modern context would come through education. They could not depend on others in Chuuk, such as the governing elite; they would have to establish their own school.

Many Pulapese were skeptical and ambivalent at best. A school for the Westerns themselves rather than one located on Ulul and attended by Hall students was appealing. Having some Pulusuk and Pulap teachers was also encouraging. But Pulapese did not trust the people of Puluwat and worried about how their young people would be treated. Further, the school would reinforce the reputation of Puluwat as chief island. Pulapese exacted promises of care for the students, so that Puluwat at least acknowledged its responsibilities—in many ways similar to those of the past relationship between the islands. Furthermore, it became very clear that the leadership of a Pulap man would be critical if the project were to gain status as a public school. Once again, Pulap was the strong right arm for Puluwat. A Pulusuk politician was

also brought in, cementing again the alliance between Pulap and Pulusuk. Students from Pulap are now beginning to attend the junior high on Puluwat, and Pulapese gleefully tell of how unhappy Ulul and Weipat are as a result. The hope eventually is for a complete high school, but for now, graduates continue to attend Chuuk High School.

Chuuk High School

Chuuk High School (known as Truk High School during my fieldwork) approaches the U.S. model of schooling more than Weipat, especially with its emphasis on English, individual achievement, and competition and its American-style dress code. All this sends a subtle message to Pulap students about their own traditions and way of life. Furthermore, Pulapese are in a distinct minority and must interact with students from throughout Chuuk State, establishing relationships and identities in a more complex setting.

Chuuk High School is located in the area of Moen known as Nantaku, the site of Chuuk State administrative headquarters. Near the high school are the office of the governor, the courthouse, the hospital, other government offices, and a housing tract originally built for Americans working on contracts in Chuuk but used today by Micronesian officials. The buildings and facilities of Chuuk High School are much more modern than those found at Weipat, with electricity, running water, a much larger library, and a gymnasium.

The school is also much larger than Weipat. The staff during the 1980–81 school year included forty-one teachers, five teacher aides, a principal, a vice principal, a dean of students, a registrar, counselors, a recreational director, and dormitory staff. A bachelor's degree is a requirement for Chuuk High School teachers, although a high school diploma suffices for teacher aides. Most of the staff members in 1980 came from islands in Chuuk State, except for one from Pohnpei and a few Americans. One teacher and one aide were from Pulap and another aide was married to a Pulap man.

Figures for the eleventh grade class for 1980–81 are representative of enrollments during the late 1970s and early 1980s. Lagoon islanders outnumbered the outer islanders, and boys outnumbered girls. Total enrollment for the entering class was 396 students, with 146 (37 percent) from the outer islands and 222 (56 percent) from Chuuk Lagoon islands (plus 1 from Pohnpei and 27 unknown, a total of 7 percent); 219 (55 percent) were boys and 163 (41 percent) girls (plus 14 unknown, or 4 percent). Of the 146 outer

island students, 53 percent came from the Mortlock Islands and 47 percent from the Westerns, Namonuitos, and Halls, most of whom were Weipat graduates. A total of 34 students were from the Westerns, half of these from Pulap. Most of the entering class had attended one of the five junior high schools in Chuuk: 132 (33 percent) from Moen Junior High School,[6] 62 (12 percent) from Southern Namoneas Junior High School on Dublon, 47 (12 percent, which includes 2 from Pulap) from Faichuk Junior High School on Tol,[7] 64 (16 percent) from Weipat (including one each from Nama, Moch, and Moen and 2 from Pata), and 42 (11 percent) from Mortlocks Junior High School on Satawan. In other words, Weipat graduates, though the second largest group, amounted to only half the number of Moen graduates.

Moen Junior High School has a reputation of producing the best students, Faichuk the poorest; teachers maintain that the annual placement tests customarily confirm these contentions. They also point out, however, that students at Moen Junior High School are from all over Chuuk, so that it is not the Moen students in particular who are the best prepared. In fact, the feeling is that the very best students are usually from the Westerns, Namonuitos, or Mortlocks. Pulap itself has produced a number of them. In the 1979–80 school year, for example, the "outstanding senior female of the year" was a Pulap girl. The previous year she had also been selected as a foreign exchange student along with another Pulap girl, although neither had been allowed by her family to go.[8] Thus even though Pulapese present themselves as traditional, they enjoy the evidence of strength in the modern context.

From the beginning of the school year, regional identities represented by the junior high schools and island identities are highlighted. For example, the first day of class in an eleventh grade social studies course, the teacher (a Pulap man) asked the students each to tell the others their (1) junior high school, (2) home island, (3) name, and (4) plans after graduation. (He later told me he put name third because they feel embarrassed or shy about having to say their names.) I also noticed the Pulap girls in the class looked away and many hid their faces, unlike most of the others. All the students mentioned paid jobs such as nurse or businessman as plans for after graduation rather than fishing or gardening. This is one of the clear goals of the U.S.-style education.

The medium of instruction at the high school is English, a policy more strictly adhered to than at Weipat. The high school handbook states:

> The Congress of Micronesia has determined English to be the exclusive language used in secondary schools. It is, therefore, encouraged that all

> students speak English while in the classroom. Furthermore, it should be encouraged that all official school meetings and activities be conducted in English. (Truk High School 1979:10)

Teachers lecture in English, but students usually ask questions in their own language. Teachers may respond in English or in the lingua franca, unless, of course, they are answering a student who speaks their own dialect. Many Pulap students, especially the girls, say they feel too embarrassed to speak the Lagoon dialect. So whenever possible, they register for classes with teachers most likely to understand their dialect. Assemblies are conducted in English, but activities in which students play a larger role are either mixed or entirely in the vernacular. When students make speeches for school offices, for instance, some speak in English and others in the local dialect.

On a hill adjacent to the classroom facilities are dormitories and a cafeteria for the students. Separate areas of the dorms are designated for each of the island areas. Typically three students occupy one room, but for several years most of the Pulap girls slept together in a large lounge area due to lack of space. Far from resenting the situation, they enjoyed the added camaraderie.

Although during the school year the high school is not distracted by the arrival and departure of ships the way the elementary and junior high schools are, the opening of school is nonetheless usually delayed until all the students have arrived from the outer islands and the classrooms and campus have been cleaned. The only common reason for canceling classes is heavy rain. Even if the administration does not officially cancel classes in a storm, few students or teachers bother to show up, because they anticipate a cancellation.

In the classroom the students as a whole are more subdued than at the junior high school, and classes are far more orderly and quiet. Teachers, in fact, often find it difficult to elicit responses from their students. When assigned seats, students tend to be even quieter because they are likely to be seated next to strangers.

Although seniors tend to be more confident than juniors, the most recognized general difference is between Chuuk Lagoon and outer island students. Lagoon students are generally more assertive and far less shy. For example, when introducing themselves in one class at the beginning of the year, most outer island students hid their faces in their hands, whereas Lagoon students remained far more composed. One Lagoon girl even stood in front of the class to introduce herself. Lagoon students can be insolent and tend to show less respect for teachers, often mimicking their words. A difference between

the two areas is recognized by virtually everyone at the school, and teachers maintain they can discern at least this basic distinction from the dress, manner, and language of students. This is in spite of the fact that Namonuito and Western students cannot be distinguished by their lavalavas as they were at Weipat, since they follow the dress code that states "boys will wear pants and shirts, and girls will wear dresses during meal times and school hours" (Truk High School 1979:11). Nevertheless, Lagoon students reputedly dress more neatly, with fancier, more stylish clothing. And Lagoon girls as a whole supposedly keep their hair longer and neater. Both American and local teachers also maintain they can detect whether students are from the Lagoon or the outer islands by their language even if they cannot name a particular island.

What teachers emphasize most, however, are behavioral differences. Outer island students are on the whole more passive and tractable than Lagoon students. The latter talk more in class, wander in and around classrooms, are more often absent from class, and tend to neglect assigned work detail responsibilities. Outer island students are perceived as more shy and unassuming, in contrast to the more extroverted and cocky Lagoon students. Outer island students are supposedly more polite, considerate, and reserved, whereas Lagoon students are more open, frank, and even arrogant at times. The outer island characteristics are said to be most pronounced among the Western and Namonuito students. Sometimes teachers single out the Westerns in particular, but many from other areas treat Western and Namonuito students as essentially similar. Members of the staff emphasize the shyness, consideration, and respectfulness of the Western students and point out that they have retained more traditional customs (typified by stooping) than any other islands of Chuuk.

Students themselves choose to stay very much with those from their own island or island group just as they do at Weipat. The dorms, for instance, are divided according to island group, with sections for the Westerns, Namonuitos, Halls, Mortlocks, Namoneas (eastern Chuuk Lagoon), and Faichuk (western Chuuk Lagoon). Although the dorm manager and houseparents have tried to mix the students, they find it chaotic. In fact, they claim students cooperate more when together by island or island group, because they compete with each other to keep the place clean and orderly. School events and organizations such as field days and athletic teams are also frequently structured by island group.

Students from a large island or group of islands can set up their own clubs to meet occasionally and organize picnics or other events. Western

Island students, for instance, are part of PPW (*Pááfeng* [Hall Islands], *Páttiw* [Western Islands], and *Weeytéé* [Namonuito]), but uniting all the outer island students is ABC (Always Be Cooperative). Although their own island identities remain strong, outer island students feel a common bond and a degree of solidarity, especially in opposition to Chuuk Lagoon. Proud of their solidarity, outer island students contend that Chuuk Lagoon students followed their initiative in forming similar organizations. In the words of one student, "They learned cooperation from us." Cooperation, sharing, unity, and mutual respect are all related concepts.

These organizations unite only sections of the student body, however, and only to a certain extent. Students still tend to interact primarily with others from their own or nearby islands. The school administration recognizes and largely accepts the situation but attempts to keep it under control. For example, the official theme for the 1980–81 school year was "unity" in an attempt to focus student attention on alleviating the situation. The principal also discourages activities organized solely for students of one island or atoll group.

When Pulap students discuss other Chuuk High School students, they make the same distinction others do between the outer islands and Chuuk Lagoon. Lagoon students are accused of showing little concern for others. As evidence, Pulapese claim they do not share food when they eat, and they disobey teachers and destroy school property. In general, Lagoon students are reputedly prone to fighting, violence, and malevolent magic. Many Pulapese even said they felt reluctant to visit a home there for fear they would be served food tainted with evil magic.

Pulapese contempt for Hall students recedes in the face of aversion to those from the Faichuk area of Chuuk Lagoon, reputedly the most aggressive in Chuuk. Faichuk students have a reputation for being tough and insubordinate, the most likely to carry knives, the most prone to fighting, and the most likely to cause trouble in almost any affair. The only others Pulap students express strong negative feelings about are the students of Losap, second only in their eyes to Faichuk for exhibiting aggressive behavior, and those of Uman, who are said to be arrogant and boastful.

Whereas Pulap students distinguish themselves from Chuuk Lagoon students, they claim commonality with Mortlockese students. Again the typical example concerns food: "When they go to their villages on weekends and bring back food, they share it. They cooperate among themselves." Not only are the Mortlockese believed to have cultural similarities because of their

atoll background, but the dialects of the area are closer to Pulap's than is the dialect of Chuuk Lagoon (Quackenbush 1968:107). Most Pulap students prefer Mortlockese to Hall students.

When Pulapese talk about the faults of others, they back up their claims with behavioral evidence, especially examples of customs that mark them as different. In the words of one woman, who began high school as Rafaella finished,

> The Western islanders do not like the Chuuk people; their customs are different. They don't like the girls from the Lagoon; they don't respect their brothers. They like us, though; they say we're cooperative. Every weekend we had a meeting. They learned from us and eventually formed their own group. They learned about cooperation from us. Namoneas students formed a group and Faichuk students formed a group. Those from Namoneas are more friendly than the Faichuk ones. People of Faichuk are not civilized. They like to fight—the girls, too. It's true. They made trouble, fought, at school. I was collecting money at Disco Night at school, and they said they wouldn't pay.

Most Pulap students, however, have made friends with students from other islands, just as they did at Weipat, by activating or creating kinship ties. These friends are from all over Chuuk, including Pata and Polle (both in Faichuk, the western area of Chuuk Lagoon), Moen, and Losap. They behave as kin by sharing food and exchanging gifts such as mats and tobacco. These friends tend to be shared among the Pulap students because any new friend enters the Pulap student's kin network. Some have visited with the families of the friends, even in villages on Moen, Fefan, and Pata. Another integrating influence of kinship is the occasional picnic for all students of a particular clan and its offspring. Students typically ask fellow clan members in Moen who have jobs to donate money for such affairs. Thus cultural boundaries can potentially be crossed through kinship.

Daily interaction of the Pulap students, however, still involves primarily other Pulap students, though to a lesser extent for the boys than the girls. The girls remain together far more than do the boys, and their activities less frequently involve students from other islands. In contrast, a number of Western Island boys are included in daily activities with the Pulap boys, as are a few from other islands including Tol (in Faichuk) as well as Fananu and Murilo in the Halls. Furthermore, boys more often visit other places on weekends than just the Pulap households on Moen and more often bring

friends with them to visit than do girls. Thus their activities and behavior remain consistent with the ideology that men move and women stay.

Pulap students maintain that the other students admire the Western Island deferential behavior and are even slightly envious of the fact that Western Islanders still retain many of the traditional customs other places have presumably lost. Pulapese do not necessarily believe that the other students wish to emulate their behavior; one Pulap girl even mentioned a Mortlockese friend's comment that her back would hurt if she had to stoop. Yet the Pulapese are proud of their behavior, and they feel that other students not only accept but approve of and admire it.

Being Pulapese is thus more complex in this setting. Pulap students have to accommodate themselves to a different set of expectations and an obviously more foreign and American-influenced setting. The extent to which they change their behavior, such as wearing dresses or pants and speaking English, is a sign of an ability to participate in modern Micronesia while still keeping their own ways, such as wearing lavalavas and loincloths and speaking the Pulap dialect at home. Even though the context is one that promotes change, it is also one that increasingly values many aspects of Chuuk's cultural heritage. Handicrafts and dances are two examples, in part because both are attractive to tourists. These examples of tradition may not be what they were ten, fifty, or a hundred years ago, but they represent today's interpretation of what is traditional. So being Pulapese means an ability to learn what is modern and thus participate in change while keeping what is traditional.

Another complexity involves levels of identity. Being Pulapese also means being Western Islander, outer islander, or Micronesian. And a contrast is implied. Being Pulapese means not being Puluwatese, Hall Islander, Chuuk, or American. The symbols used to mark the distinctions concern customs Pulapese label traditional, but it is the contrast that is critical, not the extent to which the customs truly replicate the past.

College

Pulapese view education as a route to money and jobs, and they recognize that a high school diploma is no longer sufficient. Pulapese want college degrees for their young people so that they can compete successfully in modern Chuuk. Yet they view education not so much as an individual opportunity but as a family or community benefit. Rather than a chance for self-development, personal fulfillment, or growth of critical thought—the Ameri-

can ideal—education provides an avenue to money and material goods. A student pursues education, particularly postsecondary education, to benefit family, kin, and community. Thus decisions about where to attend school and what course of study to follow are commonly family, group concerns, not the prerogative of individual students. When asked their reasons for attending a particular school or choosing a major, all the girls and many of the boys mentioned opinions and desires of parents and senior siblings. In the same vein, resentment about students not completing their schooling focuses on the cost to other Pulapese.

This is an issue because only a handful of Pulapese have actually obtained bachelor's degrees and returned to Chuuk, despite the fact that since the late 1970s almost all high school graduates have pursued postsecondary education. Unless they marry, almost all at least try college courses. Even without concrete plans, most simply assume they will continue with schooling. Many would like a job at some point but say that if they have no luck obtaining one, they will continue with more courses.

The graduates who have returned to Chuuk are four brothers—and all members of the chiefly clan. Furthermore, their father realized early the pragmatic value of education, and his own father had sent him to a Japanese school. The oldest brother had been selected by the local priest in the late 1950s to attend Xavier High School, and after graduation he attended first the College of Guam and then later a merchant marine academy in the Philippines. After several years as a successful politician, he obtained prestigious government employment in Chuuk. The second brother attended Marianas High School on Saipan at the urging of his older brother, later graduated from the University of Guam, taught at Chuuk High School, and currently holds a high administrative position in a development project. The third brother attended PATS, graduated from a U.S. merchant marine academy, worked for an international shipping company, and currently holds another good government position. These men are among the key figures of the Pulap community in Moen. All three attended the best Micronesian secondary schools rather than the Chuuk public system; their example contributes to efforts on the part of parents to get their students into these schools whenever possible. Although Pulapese increasingly see personal ties as essential for a good job, with a college education no longer sufficient, they certainly value a good education, given the model provided by these brothers.

The fourth brother received his degree most recently. Unlike the others, however, he graduated from Chuuk High School, and, as typical of many Chuuk high school graduates in the 1960s, he obtained a job teaching ele-

mentary school. Together with other teachers, he took courses during the summer through the Community College of Micronesia (CCM) extension center. Recently he finished with two years at the University of Guam. A few other Pulapese have received associate degrees, most of them elementary school teachers taking extension courses. A less glamorous route than school abroad, this process apparently provides a better chance of completing a program. Several other young people earned enough credits for an associate degree or even a bachelor's but did not actually receive the degree.

One other college graduate, who attended a mainland school, has returned to visit Chuuk only intermittently and is currently interested in a graduate degree. He retains an interest in Pulap and the future of the Federated States of Micronesia and hopes eventually to find work to benefit both, although not necessarily in Chuuk itself.

Parents are becoming concerned about students either not returning or returning without having finished. In 1980 seventeen Pulap high school graduates were away at college: three at the University of Guam and the others at mainland schools. The first had left in 1974 when federal funds became available, and from then on virtually every Pulap high school graduate has at least considered attending college and made an application. Six years later eight were still gone, most not attending school at the time. Of those who returned, most did so because of a family illness or other problem, not because they finished their programs. Some of the women returned at family requests because they had become pregnant.

Primarily because of parental concerns, by 1986 the distribution of students had shifted, with most young people much closer to home. Only three others—all male—had left for the United States, and no more were seriously considering that possibility. On the other hand, thirteen were on Guam, twelve at the Micronesian Occupational College (MOC) in Belau, and six at the Moen CCM extension center. These figures coincide with the general trend among high school graduates in Chuuk (Hezel n.d.).

Even in 1980, students began meeting resistance from their parents or older brothers who were reluctant to let them go, especially with their growing awareness of the costs involved. Despite the federal educational grants, students need additional funds, and even a hundred dollars can be a hardship when the only income is from the sale of copra or fish. Many Pulap adults in 1980 also anticipated loss of federal aid. They had cause for worry: with implementation of the Compact of Free Association late in 1986, only students already in school could continue to obtain funds.

In addition to concern for money, some of the reluctance to allow girls

to leave is based on the ideology that women stay and men move. Women ideally remain on the island, work the taro gardens, care for descent line land, and provide stability; men are—and have always been—the mobile ones and the travelers. Especially when an older sister has left for college, descent line members want at least one sister to remain to take responsibility for descent line resources and aging parents.

Consequently, since 1980 no women have been allowed to travel to the U.S. mainland either for high school or for college, partly because of money but also because of stories about Western Island girls living with men in the United States, having babies, and perhaps not returning home. Beginning in 1980, women and their elders began to compromise by selecting the University of Guam rather than mainland colleges. Aware of the money and prestige a degree can bring, many parents did not want to forbid a college education entirely.

Similar compromises now apply to almost all students as Pulapese are becoming disillusioned about sending their young people off to college, especially to the United States. They are increasingly reluctant to spend money on a dubious enterprise, especially when they risk losing their young people. Complaining that even after six and seven years their students have still not finished a degree and returned, Pulapese contend that "the boys are not studying, and the girls are getting pregnant." They worry that boys do not take their studies seriously but prefer to drink and play, while girls may be more serious but still drop out. Boys, too, often leave school but then do not return home. Some have married in the United States, and Pulapese fear they will not return. They worry even more about their women not returning, because the loss of women and their children threatens the descent group far more than does the loss of men (Flinn 1986).

In the words of one leader, "Some students want to study for the development of their people. But some don't really know what they are after." Especially since according to Pulap ideals young people should pursue education as a resource to benefit other Pulapese, one elder even suggested that island leaders select students and choose only those they believe would be most likely to succeed. Although this is not likely to happen, these comments nonetheless indicate the shift in attitude and more realistic assessment of student possibilities.

Another source of disillusionment is the realization that an education is not sufficient to obtain a job. Many voice concerns about fewer opportunities and the problem of needing personal kin ties in order to obtain a job. This disillusionment with both high school and college education represents an-

other general trend within Chuuk (Hezel n.d.). The government positions, which provide the prestige and high wages students expect, are evaporating.

Thus in the 1970s, the popular choice was a mainland school, replaced in the 1980s by a school on Guam, as Pulapese became disenchanted. Many students find the University of Guam difficult, however, and opt instead for Guam Community College. Even then, some return and try CCM extension courses. The most recent fad is the Micronesian Occupational College in Belau. Although MOC is financially attractive, students find the vocational alternative less prestigious and still plan to pursue an academic course after MOC.

Almost all college students decide to attend school with at least one other student they know, preferably a Pulapese or other relative, i.e., someone they are accustomed to. Those already in college encourage later high school graduates to join them. In a study of Chuuk college students, Larson (1979) describes a general tendency for students to choose schools on the advice and prompting of friends or relatives, although a boy occasionally preferred to attend a school alone or with only a few other Chuuk students. No Pulap girl expressed similar feelings.

Some students have particular careers in mind and choose majors accordingly. Many aspire to work that will benefit family, relatives, other Pulapese, sometimes other Western Islanders. Women, for example, frequently mention nursing, health education, and teaching, which are consistent with the female role on Pulap. Recently some have been considering secretarial and clerical work. Consistent with male roles, two of the first male graduates chose merchant marine academies, a natural choice considering their seafaring background. Jobs as sailors, especially on the field-trip ships, have been popular for years among Pulap men. Other men consider teaching, law, and mechanics. Most would ideally like to find jobs in Moen, but many have only vague plans; some of the men may remain in the United States.

Pulap students have transferred from one school or program to another quite frequently, often at the prompting of a relative or friend. Some transfer when they finish at a two-year school, but others become dissatisfied with their school. One, for instance, selected a college because of its maritime major only to discover that it dealt with lakes rather than oceans. Furthermore, a typical strategy when faced with failing grades is to withdraw and perhaps try a reputedly easier program.

Thus students may often be abroad but not attending school. They may be working to make some money, waiting for transfers, or simply taking a break from studies. Especially when out of school, these students tend to

congregate, even in the United States, together with others from Chuuk and elsewhere in Micronesia. Pulapese maintain kin ties among themselves while they also participate in a wider Micronesian network. Pulapese in the United States frequently write and telephone each other, and they visit for holidays and during the summer, often traveling for days on a bus with little sleep.

One group of Pulap students in the United States in 1981 included three women from Pulap, one from the Halls, one from the Namonuitos, three boys from Chuuk Lagoon, and about half a dozen others from the Yap outer islands, Kosrae, and the Marshalls. Only one was in school at the time, however. He had classes in a nearby town and visited the others on weekends. The students arrived in town at different times, usually directly from a college they had been attending. Each came to join a relative. The girls had befriended each other at the junior and senior high schools in Chuuk and had previously attended college with other relatives. Some were waiting for transfers, and a few had left school because of pregnancy. Most of the other relationships had been established when the students met at college in the United States.

In the eyes of the Pulap students, each relationship among them was one of kinship, with ties based on clan, offspring, created sibling, or affinal relationships. None of the relationships remained dyadic, however, because each individual drawn into the network became related to the others through existing ties. Even Americans drawn in as friends or spouses were treated by others as friends or affines. Pulapese continue to operate under their model of appropriate interaction and relations with others.

A number of the Pulap students in the United States have formed stable sexual relationships. Although Pulap elders are little concerned with boys, the major reason Pulap adults are increasingly reluctant to send their girls to the United States is precisely because of those who are living with other Chuuk or Micronesian men in common law marriages and have delivered babies. The relationships are typically not casual ones, however, and the young people behave as married couples. Frequently the problem is religious, with a Pulap woman involved with a Protestant man. In Chuuk the couple could discuss the situation with the priest, who could arrange for the spouse to convert, but in the United States the procedures remain a mystery.

Out of school, the students no longer have educational grants as support. Yet they manage to survive by sharing what little they do have. Just as in Chuuk, Pulapese share because they are kin, and they are kin because they share. A few of the young men have jobs and help support the rest, and they take advantage of several aid programs. The pregnant and nursing mothers, for example, receive food through a federal program and distribute it among

the others. They also share resources such as clothing, cars, shelter, labor, and information, passing any on to new members. The first to become pregnant, for instance, learned of a free clinic, and this information was passed on to each new woman.

From the perspective of the Pulapese, these actions demonstrate that they continue to be good kin and thus good Pulapese. But in the U.S. context, other Micronesians easily become treated as kin, and no sharp contrast is drawn between themselves and other Micronesians. In fact, sharing and concern for each other—criteria Pulapese use to define themselves as Pulapese—now apply quite broadly to their fellow islanders, this time in contrast to Americans. Other behavior not shared with many others—such as stooping for brothers—distinguishes Pulapese, but in this context, it marks them simply as one type of Micronesian. They recognize these and other differences, such as religion and language and a variety of localized customs, but they emphasize a commonality and stress a Micronesian identity.

On Guam, Pulapese usually live together, sharing a house or apartment, and a few relatives from other islands may also join them. For a time the adoptive parents of one woman joined them to care for her small child. Since these students are relatives, they share food, money, and possessions among themselves. They limit their interaction primarily to other Western Islanders and a few other Chuuk friends and relatives, although Americans they know include former Peace Corps volunteers who lived and worked in Chuuk.

All of these students encounter difficulties. Micronesian students seem to share a set of problems, which range from finding transportation and housing to budgeting money and passing courses (Ermang 1977; Morikawa 1975; Shmull 1978). They often know little about support services or appropriate ways of requesting help, and racism and negative stereotypes among Americans pose additional hurdles (Morikawa 1975). Men have drinking problems, and both sexes find American dating practices disturbing (Larson 1979). Grim as these problems may be, ignorance of U.S. laws has caused serious legal and financial predicaments (del Sobral 1977). Furthermore, students confronted with American assertiveness respond with shame and embarrassment, which encourage them to withdraw from further interaction; thus they fail to receive essential help (Severance 1983). Micronesians typically wait for offers of help rather than search for it; ashamed of failure, they prefer a nonconfrontational pattern of withdrawal (Naughton 1975). American individuality and competition are strange and threatening to most Micronesians.

These all apply to the Pulap students. Among the group in the United

States in 1981, for example, the gas company had turned off the heat in one building because the students had not paid the bill for months, and the electric bill was three months behind. Male students waste money on alcohol both in Guam and in the United States. None have experience in managing money before arriving at school and thus have virtually no conception of budgeting. Nor are they prepared for the notion of paying for electricity and water or paying regularly and in substantial amounts for rent. Furthermore, those on academic probation lose access to funds. Even when living in dormitories, they experience problems with money. Prejudice is another problem, especially in certain areas of the country. Pulapese now avoid Texas, for example, because of prejudice against Chicanos.

Academic difficulties also plague many of the students. Even on Guam, many leave the university and try Guam Community College. Contributing to their failure is lack of preparation and ability in English. Furthermore, these young people tend to withdraw, both literally and figuratively, when faced with difficulties in school. For example, when they anticipate poor grades, many drop courses or withdraw completely. They transfer from one program to another, even one school to another. Many women at the University of Guam, for example, planned on a nursing major, but found the courses too difficult. Some then tried business courses at Guam Community College instead. Many have poor work and study habits. They attend classes for only a few hours, not realizing the rest of the time is for study and research.

Family emergencies in Chuuk also contribute to lack of success. Relatives almost routinely ask them to come home, and it can then be very difficult both academically and financially to return. In the event of a death, home responsibilities may outweigh other concerns, especially among women, who are expected to care for land and kin.

Most students contend that women initially tend to have a more difficult time adjusting at college but become more earnest students. Conventional wisdom contends that women think more of home and family and are thus more committed to an education that will benefit them and their families.

Women living with a large group of men—the situation on Guam—certainly find the experience burdensome since they feel responsible for caring for the men. This is particularly incumbent upon women of the chiefly clan. Another woman can more readily look for another housing arrangement. Some, in fact, have managed to find other places to live, usually with some sort of sponsor, in return for housekeeping or child care. The most successful student—from an academic perspective—is one who managed to extricate herself from close responsibilities for other Pulapese and pursue a

more individualistic course. She pays a high cost. Subject to gossip, she is often condemned as a "Guamanian" or "American" i.e., no longer a proper Pulapese. But she found the demands of others and the drain on her resources too disruptive. What she had to do, in effect, was turn away from an identity as Pulapese. Much of the behavior identifying her as a good Pulapese—caring for fellow islanders on Guam, sharing her money and food, deferring to brothers—she found repressive. She has not had to sever ties with her own family, but she is pursuing work that will keep her from home.

For many reasons, then, postsecondary possibilities closer to home have become more popular choices. In addition to Guam, several options are now available in Chuuk itself, most of which focus on teacher education. Whereas in 1980 only the Pulap teachers pursued courses through the CCM extension center on Moen, by 1986 several other young people were attending classes, during the summer as well as during the year. Most were those who previously had attended schools on Guam or in the United States. CCM is not usually a first choice, but an opportunity to remain in Chuuk and still take courses. Pulapese view a local Micronesian school as an alternative only when another choice no longer proves feasible or attractive. The choice in essence is still ideally a foreign school—typically Guam. And if they must attend CCM, students prefer to stay in Chuuk rather than travel to the main campus on Pohnpei.

The CCM extension center continuing education classes offer associate degree programs in education, business management, and secretarial science. The school also offers some noncredit courses such as driver education, navigation, and Japanese. Until the recent signing of the compact, students and college staff held rather cavalier attitudes about the cost of this education. Students needed to find funds for registration fees but then assumed U.S. federal aid would cover tuition.

Instructors at the school are primarily local people, along with a few Peace Corps volunteers. Students and parents view CCM courses as providing an education inferior to what they could obtain on Guam or in the United States because they are taught by local islanders. Especially because of the value placed on language and facility with English, they devalue local teachers, who tend to speak in the vernacular rather than in English, and know English only as a second language. Sadly, residents have little pride in the local school and little faith in the abilities of the Chuuk teachers. Many students prefer American teachers, assuming they are better and that students will learn more English. They contend American teachers explain and teach better—but grade more rigorously. One Pulap student, for example, de-

scribed the case of a Chuuk teacher trying to teach "college style" with lectures and exclusive use of English, "but local teachers are no good at that style."

The University of Guam offers college and even some graduate classes during the summer. Consistent with the emphasis on teacher training, the College of Education offers the program. Again, the school sometimes recruits locally, but typically faculty come from their own college.

Schooling, Kin, and Identity

I observed a counselor at the Chuuk high school suggest to a student that he find the answer to a form from another student sitting outside her office she had helped a few minutes before. He glanced at the other student but then turned to the counselor and said (in English), "But he's not my friend."

Although these students were not from Pulap, the incident illustrates how students tend to confine their interaction to relatives and friends—to people they are accustomed to. They do not give or receive help from anyone else. Pulapese have stereotyped attitudes about the behavior and personalities of students from other islands, but these students are nevertheless potential relatives. And behaving as a good relative indicates that one is a good person—and therefore like a good Pulapese. Although students are identified by island of origin, they are also identified by clan affiliation. One separates people culturally, but the other makes them potential kin and places them in the same social universe. To make this potential an actuality, they first need an opportunity to get accustomed to each other, an opportunity the schools provide for an unprecedented number of students. Once two people are accustomed to each other, they may become friends and either activate or create a kin tie.

Although mobility precipitated by the educational system in Chuuk reinforces and promotes cultural stereotypes and boundaries between islands and island groups, mobility itself is not new, and interacting with cultural others is not new. Pulapese are using time-honored strategies of activating and manipulating kin ties in a variety of new situations. At the interpersonal level, ties among the islands are increasing and widening; Pulap, for instance, previously maintained the bulk of its ties within the Westerns but now has them more scattered throughout Chuuk.

Moreover, interisland relationships that endure do not remain dyadic, because the two partners involved enter each other's network of kin. Relationships are maintained through offering gifts and sharing resources. Con-

sidering the adjustments required of students as they progress from Pulap Elementary School, where at least portions of their schooling promote Pulapese values, through secondary and postsecondary education, where they confront increasingly alien beliefs and expectations of behavior, exploitation of the kinship system is as valuable as when men sailed for trade, war, and adventure, and when people moved in the wake of a typhoon or famine.

Establishing these social connections with others does not entail submerging their cultural identity as Pulapese. If anything, acknowledging or creating a kin tie reinforces that identity, since it is based so heavily on behaving as good kin. The fact that it occurs in a new context, at a younger age, or for access to new resources makes it no less traditional, no less Pulapese.

At the elementary school, there is little by way of deliberate reflectiveness and self-consciousness about being Pulapese. Being a member of a particular homesite and clan, being related in a variety of ways to others on the island, being a boy or a girl—these aspects of identity are more in the forefront. Certainly children are learning to be Pulapese and receiving messages both in and out of school about what that means, but the contrast with cultural others is subtle. The island may have occasional visitors, and schooling sends messages about other Chuuk people and about Americans as evidence of their impact pervades the curriculum. At Weipat and Chuuk High School, however, students are confronted directly with other islanders in situations that indicate the changes in Micronesia today. Yet even this context places some value on tradition and recognizes a core of common values surrounding respect and generosity, especially among kin. Pulapese assert customs and behavior that highlight their commitment to these values but that also distinguish them because of the apparent contrast with others.

These issues come to the fore among Pulapese living on Moen. Some are educated and employed on Moen, others are still students, and still others are returned college students. Strategies for survival include both the exploitation of kin ties and formation and assertion of a strong Pulapese cultural identity.

Schooling in Chuuk has undeniably contributed to change, presenting challenges and problems for Pulapese to contend with. Education is required for most jobs, and the system itself is the single largest employer in Chuuk. On Pulap, teachers have the only full-time paid positions, providing them with money and prestige otherwise unavailable there. These jobs have been prized because they enable young people both to have an income and to live in their own community. Teachers also have the opportunity to go to Moen

during the summer for courses, where their income helps support all migrants on Moen, bringing additional prestige through generosity other young people cannot match. Thus the educated also provide a model for others to aspire to, although new positions are unlikely.

Education presents young people with roles unavailable or at least extremely scarce in earlier generations. It exposes them to new ideas and attitudes and, after eighth grade, takes them away from home for nine months at a time and exposes them to an increasing emphasis on individualism and competition. But they are not passive pawns. They construct relationships with others and assert an identity that provides self-esteem. Confronted with differences, they consciously choose to retain certain of their own ways.

Schooling promotes population mobility, and many Pulapese now strive for a college education abroad. Yet for most, obtaining the degree is a home-oriented strategy. Many now live in Chuuk Lagoon, some with jobs, some merely with hopes for a job. Yet they live together in a small community in which they attempt to recreate the social and cultural setting of Pulap, with a cultural identity based on traditionalism. Their emphasis on sharing, cooperation, respect toward senior siblings, and humility all symbolize to them retention of traditional customs and thus their right to participate in modern Micronesia.

Chapter 6

Mobility, Kinship, and Identity

Mobility and maintenance of ties with other islanders have been adaptive strategies for Pulapese, and beliefs about these strategies are incorporated into Pulapese assertions of tradition. In the past they traded with other islanders and sought assistance in times of need, demonstrating good kinship and sailing ability. To this day, Pulap men pride themselves on their navigational skills and Pulap's reputation as the source of that knowledge. The context today, however, is one of rapid change, with an urbanizing port town offering employment and excitement and an educational system drawing young people away from home and exposing them to other attitudes and goals. We have seen that the motives for movement, number of people, length of absence, age and gender patterns, and available roles for Pulapese may be new, but the strategy of circulation continues to be both adaptive and flexible, and kinship ideology remains fundamental to relationships, identity, and assertions of tradition. Thus what worked in the past is updated, varied, and manipulated to deal with many of the changes confronting Pulapese today.

Pulapese construct a cultural identity that reflects on their beliefs about their history, values, and achievements—generating the navigational system, earning renown for skill in sailing and strength in battle, remaining committed to their land even in the face of threats from foreigners, feasting visitors, respecting and sharing with kin. Thus they project themselves today as strong, generous, and respectful. They may ride modern ships and make sails from cloth, but unlike most others in Chuuk, they still sail to neighboring islands and eschew motorboats for fishing. They no longer battle with clubs or knives but with electoral contests. Strength is shown in commitment to Catholicism, in navigational skill, in helping to organize a Western Islands school. Young women and men may work today for money but they proudly speak of others back home who care for land and provide taro and breadfruit. The money is shared with kin for building supplies, cloth, food, and other imports. Thus Pulapese themselves see no contradiction; they follow their customs as they actively participate in the modern world. Those very customs entitle them to such participation, because they show commitment to a prized

but endangered set of values. Pulapese claim that others have already lost much of their traditional ways.

Pulapese beliefs about past relations with other islands bear on present attitudes and relations, as does the context in which islanders interact today. This contemporary context and the interpretation of the past interact in complex ways. For example, Pulapese often interpret contemporary events and social contacts, especially among Western Islanders, as reenactments or continuations of previous patterns of behavior. Athletic games replay old battles; a missionary boat from Puluwat hints of incursion (Flinn 1990b). Pulapese construe the past for present purposes. Beliefs about past interisland social, economic, and political relations continue to structure relationships, since Pulapese use the past to explain or justify the present.

Much in the present needs to be understood and explained, due to changes wrought in recent years. One potent force has been schooling. The educational system introduced by the U.S. administration provides many settings for interisland contact and encourages circulation of young people first to attend school and then to find employment. Moen provides additional opportunities, drawing migrants who want jobs, education, hospital care, and some excitement. Pulapese at school and in the port town interact with many other islanders, providing contexts for the assertion of a Pulap, Western Islands, or outer islands identity. Some current negative attitudes about other people in Chuuk State have developed in these contexts, because the modern situation presents new patterns of interaction, bringing together some islanders who previously had far less contact. And Pulapese lacked elaborate stereotypes of islanders with whom they had relatively limited contact in the past.

Beliefs about interisland hostilities in the pre-German era still influence the attitudes and relationships of students at Weipat, whereas other attitudes and stereotypes more directly derive from intensified contact at the secondary schools as enrollment has increased from all areas of Chuuk. Within the Western Islands, attitudes and relationships exhibit considerable continuity with the past. This was the area of most intense interisland contact for Pulap, and a high degree of solidarity exists among these islands today, despite ambivalence about Puluwat. Many contemporary relationships based on friendship and marriage, however, are being forged at the schools, and a "Western Islands" identity emerges in the context of interaction with islanders from elsewhere in Chuuk. Ties with areas of Chuuk with which Pulap had less intense contact in the past have become relatively more prominent in recent years with education and increasing mobility, so that relations with these islanders tend to differ more from those of a previous era.

Mobility and Kinship Strategies

In the past, Pulap had both trade and tribute relations with Puluwat and Yap, and the islanders traded with other atoll dwellers and partners in Chuuk Lagoon. Pulapese even sailed to the Marianas, with Guam providing highly prized iron. This mobility served economic needs and provided for a network of social connections throughout the area. Although Pulap has entered the market economy and no longer pays tribute to Yap or Puluwat, economic exchange and kin relations remain prominent aspects of interisland relationships, especially within the Western Islands. Here Pulapese see considerable continuity with the past, although they gloss over possibilities that Pulusuk or Tamatam fought against them. Strategies of the past have been adapted and reshaped for today's contingencies. And Pulapese use the fact that they continue to show generosity to their neighbors and acknowledge their kin connections as yet more evidence of their good character.

Close social and economic ties continue to prevail within the Westerns. In particular, Pulap sends food to Tamatam, Puluwat, and Pulusuk, the other inhabited Western Islands. Tamatam, across the atoll, is the nearest and the one with the closest economic ties. Pulap considers Tamatam a relatively impoverished community and Pulapese contend—without resentment—that they give far more to Tamatam than they receive. Tamatam men regularly arrive asking for sugar, kerosene, and cigarettes from their relatives, and once or twice a year, Pulap sends food as a gift from one community to the other. In 1980, for example, each Pulap homesite food unit contributed one basket of swamp taro and one basket of preserved breadfruit to be redistributed among the people of Tamatam. Tamatam reciprocated with cigarettes. Pulap and Tamatam also send each other fish from an unusually good catch, a presentation that may prompt a feast, when women of the receiving island prepare staple foods for the men who bring the fish. Furthermore, each community shares with the other any turtles they catch at Pikelot.

Pulap also occasionally sends food south to Puluwat or Pulusuk, though far less frequently. A gift may be fish from a large catch, or staples when a community is in need. Pulapese recall receiving preserved breadfruit and swamp taro on occasion from Pulusuk and Puluwat, and Pulapese pride themselves on sending true taro, their prized staple. In the summer of 1980, for example, a man who had been living on Pulusuk and teaching at the elementary school asked, on his return to Pulap, that Pulap women send taro because of the hospitality and kindness he had received. He could make such a request of the community since he was of the chiefly clan.

Economic exchange also occurs among individual relatives within the Westerns in the form of gifts and hospitality. Pulapese readily turn to kin elsewhere in the Westerns for scarce food or other goods. Men rebuilding the roof of a canoe house during my fieldwork, for instance, asked Tamatam for woven pandanus panels. Women frequently send true taro to relatives, claiming that Pulap produces the best variety. They express pleasure, in fact, at requests from relatives who ask to try growing Pulap taro in their own gardens.

The people of Pulap claim to feel closer to the other Western Islands than to any other area. Certainly its social ties within the group are numerous and canoe voyages common. Mobility clearly follows long-standing patterns, with kinship still a valuable, strategic institution. A large group of visitors customarily stays in a canoe house, and the entire island community may contribute to their support with gifts of food. Any relatives of visitors usually provide additional portions. When the visitors are few, however, they usually stay with relatives rather than in a canoe house. Regardless of where visitors sleep, several categories of people may contribute to their support: members of the visitor's clan, the offspring of the clan, a village, the entire community, or a church organization. When I arrived on Pulap, for instance, each homesite food unit brought a large plate of taro or breadfruit on successive days. This was in addition to the food shared by members of the homesite where I lived. And each man from one village brought several coconuts.

Even though Pulap bears resentment toward Puluwat and tends to dismiss Tamatam as unimportant, a high degree of solidarity prevails among the Western Islands as a whole. In particular, the islanders believe they can rely on one another. The island communities and individuals share resources, and any Western Island can ask another for aid. Even in normal times, a shortage of anything from food to cigarettes in one place can be alleviated by turning to another. And if stranded, a visitor can request use of a canoe to return home. Communication through interisland visits and in recent years through walkie-talkies also serves to bind the area together. Interisland relationships based on clan, offspring, marriage, adoption, and created siblingship ties are also more numerous and extensive for Pulap within the Westerns than beyond. Students at the intermediate and high schools and migrants working or visiting on Moen interact primarily with other Western Islanders, though virtually all Pulapese express particular fondness for the people of Pulusuk.

Beyond the Westerns, the people of Pulap believe that some outer islands of Yap State are more similar to them than other islands are. Pulapese refer to the atolls of Yap State collectively as "islands to the west" (*fanúwen*

hottiw), but the closest and most frequently visited is Satawal. Members of Katamang clan have particularly close ties there because the woman who founded the clan came from Satawal. She arrived recently enough that her name is still remembered, although some of the genealogical links are vague. Maasalé clan ties are also close, and several years ago Maasalé clansmen came from Satawal to build a canoe with the help of their relatives, an event remembered fondly by Pulapese today. Men sailing west to Pikelot to catch turtles take the opportunity to visit Satawal, carrying gifts such as food and sleeping mats, and they receive, in addition to hospitality, goods such as turmeric and cloth.

The atoll closest to Pulap outside the Westerns, however, is not Satawal, but Namonuito to the north, where the junior high school is located. Despite this proximity, relations between Pulap and Namonuito are far more strained than between Pulap and atolls to the west in Yap State. Virtually the only reason Pulapese travel to Ulul, at least by canoe, is to visit and bring food to their students at Weipat. Ulul people benefit, however, because these students then share the gifts with their sponsors. Pulapese derive some benefit themselves because they occasionally ask their students to look in the Ulul stores for particular goods they cannot find at home. Ulul stores tend to be better stocked because the ship visits there more frequently.

Kin ties nonetheless exist between the two areas. Mwóóŕ and Pwéél clans, for example, have members in both areas. Pulapese and Namonuito islanders have also created ties. For example, a Mongunufaŕ man who visited Ulul and found no fellow clan member was cared for by others. When the man returned to Pulap, he asked his wife to make and send pandanus mats to them, thereby cementing a created sibling relationship. And Ulul women who cared for some Mongunufaŕ boys at Weipat in its early years have created kin relations with the entire Mongunufaŕ descent line. An Ulul man recently married a Pulap woman as well. Pulapese traveling on the field-trip ships often disembark in the Namonuitos, where relatives provide them with provisions for the rest of their trip.

Traditional relations with Chuuk Lagoon were based primarily on trading, and even into the late 1960s Pulap continued to sail canoes to Lagoon islands. Although they still have the navigational skill to do so, they find the government ships more convenient. In addition, tobacco—still a prized commodity—formerly provided the major reason for sailing to Chuuk, but now Pulapese more easily buy cigarettes from the ship or a neighboring island. The impact of the former trading relationships nonetheless persists. For example, the grown children of elderly navigators who had established ties with

Chuuk partners still send food and gifts. Usually they do so, however, only when members of both kin groups happen to be on Moen together. A relationship with Pata is a case in point. A Pulap navigator traveled to Pata, and when a Pata man later visited Pulap, he befriended a fellow clansman and later adopted a daughter of the Pulap man. Now when Pulapese meet Pata students, they react favorably, establishing friendships, and, in a few more recent cases, marriages. New relationships are being established primarily through school contacts.

Relations with Udot Island in particular were strong during World War II, because Pulapese in Chuuk Lagoon took sanctuary there when prevented from returning home. Pulap and Udot men became friends while working together for the Japanese on Dublon; they later fled to Udot in an attempt to escape some bombing. A son of one of these men later married an Udot woman, and Pulapese have supported political candidates from the island, even those running against other outer islanders. The established kin ties outweigh the more diffuse outer island solidarity.

Schooling has brought together not only these people but also those from the other outer islands, with whom Pulapese had less contact in the past. Pulapese travel to Ulul and Moen in pursuit of schooling or jobs as they traveled in the past in pursuit of trade or adventure. The specific opportunities may differ, but the means show continuity with past practices. Similarly, Pulapese continue to interact within a kinship framework, and with new contexts for interaction, new kin ties have been emerging. In other words, Pulapese are activating clan ties, creating sibling relations, contracting marriages and adoptions.

Pulapese contend, for example, that interisland marriage used to be far less prevalent, even actively discouraged. In the past, men resisted efforts of off-island men to marry Pulap women. And especially during the era of interisland warfare, the island could not afford to lose men through marriage to women of other islands. Genealogies support this contention, and almost all of the few interisland marriages that did occur were confined to the Westerns, the area of primary interisland contacts. In 1980, however, fully one-third of the marriages were interisland ones. Ten spouses came from within the Westerns, ten from elsewhere in Chuuk State, and three from Yap outer islands. At least nine other couples were engaged, or, in the case of college students, living in common law marriages. All of these non-Pulap partners were from outside the Westerns. The trend was even more obvious in 1986: of thirty-four couples married in the intervening years, twenty-five were interisland relationships.

With one exception, all of the marriages outside the Westerns as well as two from within the area resulted from the educational system and the movement it precipitated.[1] Several couples met while attending secondary school or college. Schooling has presented other opportunities for interaction, however. For example, when outsiders taught at the elementary school before enough Pulapese were adequately trained, two of them stayed and married Pulap women. When the present school buildings were constructed, outsiders were again brought in, and two of them also stayed and married Pulap women. Furthermore, one Weipat student brought home a created brother who met and married a Pulap woman. Lastly, two couples met through circumstances less directly a result of education but through visiting places their education made either possible or necessary. One of these young men met his wife while vacationing in Moen; he had been attending PATS in Ponape and could not return to Pulap for the summer. Another met his wife while working on Saipan at a job he obtained because of his education. The couples married since 1980 met through similar processes of schooling and mobility.

Parents and older siblings have sometimes resisted interisland marriages—successfully in some cases. Their reluctance usually stems from the distances involved; they worry about the young people moving from Pulap or remaining away for long periods of time. Parents are particularly worried about their children not being around to care for them when they grow old. Parents are also concerned about off-island women, especially those from Chuuk Lagoon, marrying their sons. Pulapese believe Chuuk women are "lazy" since Chuuk men are responsible for gardening and food preparation. Chuuk women can, in fact, encounter difficulty working in the taro gardens; one woman, for instance, complained about being in the open sun all day and having to plunge her arms deep into mud.

Pulapese consider it far easier for a non-Pulap man to adjust to these customs and to participate in the male subsistence activities. Moreover, many men who want to marry Pulap women have a monetary income, and this sways the decision in their favor. Religion, however, can be a problem. Protestant men who marry on Pulap must convert, and the priest may be reluctant to approve a match if the off-island man has previously married or lived with another woman.

In the face of resistance, though, a couple can elope. Parents then usually accept the marriage. Or young people can simply persist in requesting permission to marry. Regardless of the issue, quiet persistence—the power of language—commonly induces others eventually to acquiesce.

Of the twenty-two interisland marriages recorded as of January 30, 1980, thirteen were between Pulap women and non-Pulap men.[2] Of these thirteen women, eight were on the island, two of them without their husbands who were working off the island. These two men both came to Pulap during the year, however, and one quit his job to live there permanently. Of the five women off the island at the time of the census, three were with their husbands, who were employed, another was in college (with her husband), and one was in Moen with a sick relative. All these women still considered Pulap their residence, and all but the college student returned to Pulap during 1980, two of them without their husbands. Women are said to feel homesick easily and to prefer the company of female kin. Thus even when their husbands have jobs off the island, these women spend considerable time on Pulap, despite the fact that it may entail separation from their husbands. Separation from matrilineal kin is considered more of a hardship than separation from a spouse.

Nine Pulap men were married to off-island women at the time of the census, only two of whom were on the island. One was visiting briefly; the other lived permanently on Pulap with his wife. Of the seven men off the island, two lived with their wives in customary uxorilocal residence elsewhere in the Westerns, and the other five were employed either in Moen or on Ulul. All but one of these men visited Pulap during the year, however, if only briefly on the field-trip ships and without their wives.

These forty-four individuals, then, were distributed as follows on January 30, 1980: eighteen on Pulap, fourteen in Chuuk Lagoon, four on Pulusuk, and two each on Tamatam, Ulul, Onari, and Guam. Each time a ship or canoe arrived and left, however, the situation changed, because they traveled to visit kin, care for ill relatives, play in Moen, or attend teacher training courses. Moreover, regardless of which island a couple usually resides on, ties with the off-island spouse's kin are maintained and reinforced through visits, letters, gifts, and adoption.

It is obviously more common for non-Pulap husbands to reside on Pulap for any length of time than it is for non-Pulap wives to do so. Uxorilocal residence—customary and consistent with the belief that women stay and men move—accounts, in part, for this situation, but Pulapese also believe that a woman coming to the island has difficulties adjusting. Not only is she removed from her own descent group, but she will, by nature, feel homesick and not adapt as easily as a man. Furthermore, a woman is expected to observe Pulapese deference and respect customs, and, depending on where the woman is from, she may be ill-equipped to undertake the subsistence

demands made of her. Although most of the non-Pulap wives have visited Pulap, usually bringing relatives with them, only one has taken up permanent residence on the island.

Men are believed to have a far easier time adjusting to life on another island. Rather than encountering difficulties, men from Chuuk Lagoon supposedly enjoy Pulap because they can fish rather than produce and prepare the staple foods. Pulapese also believe that traveling is part of a man's role; he wants to sail, seek adventure, visit other islands, and he rarely feels homesick. In general, he is considered far more adaptable than a woman; when describing her off-island husband, one wife remarked, "He's used to being far away; he's a man."

These men have become integrated into Pulap life and kinship structure. In addition to ties with their wives' families, they have ties with others through their own clans, fathers' clans, or created siblings. They can acquire land rights through these ties, any of which can also be the basis for affiliation with a canoe house and crew. One of these men has even become a member of the municipal council. Moreover, off-island spouses are usually considered assets because they tend to be skilled and educated, often contributing an income.

Interisland marriages are likely to lead to other ties, both of marriage and of adoption. First of all, when one partner is from another island, the couple usually spends time living in both places; other relatives commonly accompany them, which can understandably lead to closer ties and even result in other marriages. The sister of one non-Pulap wife, for instance, met and married a Pulap man this way, and her brother was engaged to a Pulap woman. Moreover, relatives of each partner usually ask to adopt a child, so that interisland marriages commonly promote subsequent interisland adoptions. In a few cases, even when a child has not been adopted by non-Pulap relatives, the child nonetheless spends considerable time visiting off-island relatives. When children spend time living on another island, they may meet and later marry someone there. The amount of movement and the number of reinforcing ties therefore extend far beyond a single couple.

Of the 235 children recorded on January 30, 1980, 47 were the offspring of interisland marriages. They lived on scattered islands: 22 on Pulap, 12 on Moen, 4 each on Tamatam and Pulusuk, 2 on Onari, and 1 each on Ulul, Guam, and Murilo. Like their parents, many of them changed residence frequently during the year, moving either with or between birth and adoptive parents. Of these 47 children, 27 have been adopted. The preference for adopting the child of a "brother" and the concern for maintaining "offspring"

relations are highlighted when comparing the children of the Pulap women married to off-island spouses with the children of the Pulap men. Of the 19 children of Pulap women, only 6 were adopted by Pulapese; 2 were adopted by relatives of the off-island husband, and 11 were not adopted at all. Since these are children of Pulap women, they are Pulapese by birth and members of Pulap descent groups; these bonds are considered inalienable so that measures such as adoption to strengthen them are not crucial. Of the 28 children of Pulap men, however, 14 were adopted by Pulap kin, 2 each by Chuuk and Pulusuk relatives of the mother, and 1 by Tamatam relatives. Nine of the children of these men were not adopted, but in each case an adoptive relationship existed with at least one sibling of the child. Pulapese are concerned that the children of interisland couples learn Pulap customs, and they therefore try to adopt at least one child, insisting that he or she spend time living on Pulap, especially in the case of children of men who marry off the island.

At the time of the census, six people were even living on islands (or, in the case of Moen, villages) separate from either parent because of adoption. Three were in Chuuk Lagoon, two in the Westerns, and one in the Halls. Moreover, two adopted children living on Pulap were relatives of a deceased off-island spouse.

It is clear, then, that marriage and adoption entail an entire series of ties that reinforce each other and precipitate interisland mobility. Consequently, people are scattered on a number of islands both within and beyond the Westerns. Whereas these ties used to be confined primarily within the Western Islands, today they are far more widespread, a function largely of the educational system and contemporary population movements.

In addition to marriage and adoption, ties of friendship are also significant. Friendship is interpreted as kinship and can be based on clan, offspring, or created sibling relationships. These relationships used to develop primarily through interisland travel and trade pursued by men, but the schools have become the key contemporary context. Once these ties have formed, some Pulapese bring their school friends home with them for either a short round-trip visit or for a longer stay during the summer or Christmas vacation. Males more often than females visit the island for many of the reasons discussed in the context of marriage; Pulapese are particularly displeased at visiting girls and women who fail to observe the deference customs. Friendship ties can lead to other ties based on marriage and adoption, because off-island friends who visited Pulap or Iras have met and married Pulapese.

These interisland relationships are extremely advantageous to the people

of Pulap and have expanded their access to skills and resources. Not only do relatives send each other gifts such as sleeping mats, cigarettes, tobacco, turmeric, and food, but they also turn to each other when in need of particular resources, including everything from taro plants to ornamental bushes and beads. But this is really nothing new. Making such use of kin ties with other islanders is a long-standing strategy among Carolinians. For Pulapese this also represents commitment to kinship rather than individualism and a money economy. Purchasing goods and charging for goods signify a lack of kinship.

Others in addition to the two partners become involved in an interisland relationship when it endures. Relatives of created siblings, for instance, are drawn in, with each partner considered a member of the other's descent line. Many even make a point of bringing other kin when they visit in order to validate the ties. Whether an interisland relationship is affinal or consanguineal, other kin can thus make requests themselves and can expect hospitality when visiting the island. For example, because of an interisland marriage with the Halls, Pulapese traveling on the field-trip ship are provided with food for the rest of the voyage by the Hall Island spouse's family. Since a trip can last for days or even longer and they cannot afford to pay for meals, Pulapese must rely on food they take with them and on whatever they receive from relatives along the way. To cite a few other examples, one non-Pulap spouse obtained cloth through his father for the 1980 elementary school graduation; women frequently obtain beads and belts through ties in Yap; and some Pulapese received typhoon relief goods sent to the Mortlocks through a non-Pulap spouse. These represent merely a sample, however, of the goods Pulapese have managed to obtain recently through interisland ties.

In addition to hospitality and goods in short supply on the island, Pulapese can turn to other islanders with whom they have established ties for money, advice, expertise, or help in finding a job. We have already seen how these ties with other islanders are mobilized by members of the Pulap community living on Moen. Pulapese also take advantage of the skills of other islanders. For instance, one non-Pulap spouse operates the island radio, and a Chuuk fellow clansman of a Pulap man built the island dispensary, the community meeting house, several dwellings, and a number of motorboats.

The Pulapese are in essence extending a traditional, time-honored pattern of behavior as they extend their network of relationships. Kinship and its incumbent behavior prove adaptive in the modern context of mobility, as they did in the past. Interisland ties have always been crucial in the Central Caroline Islands, since the islands are so small in area, subject to typhoons, and have a restricted range of agricultural products. Ties with other islands

provide insurance against both catastrophes and less severe, more normal shortages of a particular food or other product (Alkire 1965, 1978). It has thus been advantageous for Pulapese to nurture relationships with other islands. And this is incorporated into their cultural identity. They are not greedy and opportunistic—even though they fully take advantage of these connections—but good kin, concerned about others, generous, and hospitable. Reciprocity with others represents tradition in contrast with buying and selling goods.

With the dramatic increase in movement away from Pulap, which has been largely a result of the educational system, Pulapese have moved beyond a sphere oriented primarily within the Western Islands. Through interaction with migrants from all parts of Chuuk State, ties are being established throughout the area, and these ties are being nurtured and exploited in a strategy that proved useful in the past and has been extended to fit the new circumstances. Just as in the past, relationships are being established within a kinship framework, Pulapese nurture these ties by sharing their resources, and they use the ties to obtain scarce goods and services. Pulapese feel they can turn to relatives when in need, and since the skills and resources of another island are likely to differ from Pulap's, relatives on other islands considerably enhance Pulap's well-being. The contexts and goods may be modern ones, and more people—especially young people and women—may be involved, but the strategy remains adaptive and a component of their cultural identity in the modern context. Being mobile, even though the reasons are for schooling and jobs, and manipulating kinship, even though it may be to obtain political offices or money for building supplies, are construed by Pulapese as traditional.

Attitudes and Identity

Pulapese also interpret the past to explain the present. In constructing their own sense of who they are today, how they should relate to others in their social world, and how they should understand the behavior of those others, Pulapese look in part to their beliefs about the past. These include stories of battles, tribute systems, trade and other economic exchange, and patterns of marriage and kinship. Thus confrontations today with these people, together with social and economic relations, political elections, competition for school sites, are all examples of situations interpreted through beliefs about the past.

This is particularly clear when one analyzes attitudes about the other Western Islands and Pulap's identity with respect to its neighbors. Despite

claims of solidarity with the other Westerns and the obvious economic and social ties, Pulapese have constructed an identity that asserts superiority over both Puluwat and Tamatam, and fellowship with Pulusuk.

Although the Germans outlawed warfare decades ago, Pulap beliefs about the era of interisland conflict continue to shape relationships and attitudes. In particular, Pulapese retain ambivalent attitudes about Puluwat and contend its people are violent and aggressive islanders who want to resurrect the days when they ruled the area. This is the way they interpreted a recent confrontation when a Protestant mission boat visited from Puluwat. Pulapese are Catholic and adamantly insist that they should all be of one faith. Since they value cooperation and unity, they reject the notion of a community divided by religion. Thus Pulap failed to extend its customary hospitality to the visitors, although a few people brought food to their Puluwat relatives. Insulted, the Puluwat visitors returned home and prepared to raid Pulap. When the fleet of canoes and motorboats arrived, however, Pulap elders managed to assuage the anger of the Puluwat men and avoided violence.

Pulap attitudes and resentment toward Puluwat have surfaced in other situations, coloring their interpretation of events. For example, Pulapese are convinced that Puluwat voters caused a Pulap candidate to lose a local election. The Pulap man had twice defeated a Namonuito candidate for office, but he lost on his third try when he ran against a Hall Islander. Pulap blames Puluwat for the outcome because only half of the island voted for the Pulap man. Pulapese contend that in any future elections Puluwat voters will unite in support only for a Puluwat candidate. Moreover, Pulapese claim that Puluwat elders resist new ideas and oppose allowing young people to hold power. In sum, Pulapese place a high value on unity and cooperation and deride Puluwat as an island divided by both religion and politics.

Pulap's resentment also surfaced during interisland athletic games held on Puluwat in late February and early March of 1980. Pulapese expressed annoyance even before the games began because the event had originally been scheduled to be held on Pulap. Pulapese grumbled, complaining that Puluwat could get whatever it wanted. Puluwat people claimed it was their turn to be hosts even though the games had been held there the previous year. (Puluwat apparently maintained that the year before had been Tamatam's turn, but Tamatam leaders had asked that Puluwat host the games since Tamatam had no playing field.) In any event, Pulap resented Puluwat's arrogance. And when the contestants returned to Pulap after the games, they accused Puluwat of fuming whenever Pulapese cheered for their own athletes. Furthermore, Pulapese seemed gleeful at having won the games, par-

ticularly because they had defeated Puluwat. They were especially proud of having won the canoe races. Puluwat had supposedly allotted a high number of points for the canoe races in anticipation of winning themselves. Considering Pulapese pride in navigation and their belief that it originated with them, that event had particular significance for them.

Puluwat contrasts unfavorably with Pulap in a number of ways. Pulapese claim that Puluwatese are inhospitable toward visitors and reputedly assault foreigners they dislike. Since Pulapese value offering food and hospitality, citing the Puluwat deficiency is intended to demonstrate their lack of virtue. Puluwatese are also said to be arrogant and greedy, caring only for themselves. For example, Puluwatese supposedly voted for the Hall Island candidate simply because he promised to provide them with fuel for their motorboats. Pulap is even contemptuous of Puluwat's fondness for those motorboats. Pulapese consider them less reliable and less "manly" than canoes, and subject to maintenance problems. Although envy may be an aspect of these attitudes, Pulapese resentment is quite real, and they take every opportunity to justify to themselves their moral superiority. They are pleased, for instance, at the reputation of their health aide, claiming that the people of Puluwat respect him for saving a Puluwat twin.

Thus Pulapese define themselves as behaving in ways that are good, and the Puluwatese are defined in contrast to Pulap norms. Puluwatese behavior is not described simply as different but as the inversion of Pulapese. Valued behavior such as generosity, respect, humility, and loyalty to traditional customs characterize Pulapese, whereas greed, arrogance, and aggression—traits scorned by Pulapese—are attributed to Puluwatese. The context is one in which Pulap perceives Puluwat as attempting to reassert control and domination over them. Pulap's response is to assert superiority; the behavior of Puluwatese is seen as making them unworthy of such authority. Implicit in these assertions is the notion that Pulap deserves respect, and other islanders, such as the people of Pulusuk, should side with Pulap in a confrontation. In the past Puluwat may have reigned as chief and in the present may continue attempts to reassert that position, but Pulap need not meekly submit.

Pulapese dismiss neighboring Tamatam as a poor, needy, and unimportant community with only a small population. Even the name reflects an uneven relationship: *taam* means "outrigger float," and Tamatam is said to be merely the outrigger of Pulap. Krämer, too, commented on Pulap's arrogance about Tamatam (Krämer 1935:251). Pulapese dismiss Tamatam as any force to contend with. The community is in need of support, and Pulapese stress what they give rather than what they receive from their neighbors.

Tamatam people are slightly suspect, however, because of ties to Ulul, which make them somewhat dissimilar to Pulapese.

In fact, the community Pulapese claim to be fondest of and most similar to is not their close neighbor Tamatam but Pulusuk, the southernmost of the Westerns. Pulapese consider the people of Pulusuk more their equals than the people of Tamatam. They both share a history of resentment toward Puluwat and some ability and inclination to resist Puluwat's domination. Before the German era, Pulusuk even stopped paying tribute to Puluwat and allied itself instead with the Namonuitos to fight against Puluwat. Today Pulap claims a special bond of solidarity with Pulusuk against Puluwat's domination and aggression. Consequently, the virtues Pulapese attribute to themselves they also ascribe to the people of Pulusuk, who are therefore said to be modest, unassuming, generous, peaceful, and respectful. In other words, "they" are like "us," not like "them," the people of Puluwat. The structural opposition here is between Puluwat and the other Western Islands, specifically Pulap and Pulusuk (with Tamatam essentially a mere appendage of Pulap rather than a separate force to contend with).

In statements supporting Pulap assertions about Pulusuk, giving food again emerges as behavior that demonstrates good character, solidarity, and kinship. When describing Pulusuk, Pulapese fondly recall the generous amounts of food they have been given when visiting the island and all the people who have summoned them offering food. Moreover, Pulapese contestants at athletic games held on Puluwat maintain that Pulusuk visitors shared their provisions with them because Puluwat had allegedly slighted Pulap when distributing food. Pulapese in general perceive the people of Pulusuk both as trusted friends and as allies against the potential animosity of Puluwat.

Although the Namonuitos are geographically, culturally, and linguistically close to Pulap, beliefs about the history of warfare and enmity between the two affect their relationships and contemporary attitudes. Four of the five Namonuito islets are considered inconsequential, poor, and slightly populated. Like Tamatam, they are said to be "islands of hunger," and Pulapese express more pity than enmity toward them.

The islet of Ulul is another matter. Because of an Ulul raid on Pulap sometime before the 1880s, Pulapese attitudes toward Ulul are particularly bitter. When Ulul warriors raided Pulap, they killed a large portion of the population; according to Damm and Sarfert (1935), only thirty people survived. Although Pulapese today attribute no motive to Ulul other than their base nature, Damm and Sarfert recorded that the raid was vengeance for a

previous Western Island attack against the Namonuito islet of Magur. When people of Tamatam, just a few miles across the lagoon from Pulap, witnessed the battle on Pulap, they notified Puluwat, whose leaders decided to retaliate. As chief island, Puluwat was responsible for Pulap's welfare. When the Western Islanders arrived at Ulul, however, only one woman—originally from Pulap—remained. The others had fled on a foreign ship.[3] Ulul was resettled in part by Tamatam people, and the current close relationships between the two contribute to Pulap's lack of warmth for Tamatam.[4]

The people on Ulul today are not the biological descendants of the people who raided Pulap, but Pulapese nonetheless consider them the heirs of the previous inhabitants. This illustrates the belief in acquisition of traits from the environment, a common Oceanic belief that Watson (1990) calls Lamarckian inheritance. In other words, the current inhabitants of Ulul acquired the behavior of the former ones; living on Ulul land, they became people of Ulul. Although the raid on Pulap took place in the nineteenth century, animosity toward Ulul persists and surfaces in contemporary situations, such as the elections for the Congress of Micronesia and patterns of behavior at Weipat.

Pulap attitudes toward Ulul, like those toward Puluwat, reflect beliefs that their neighbors are deficient in traits and behavior valued by the Pulapese. In particular, they assert that Ulul people no longer observe the requisite customs of hospitality. In the words of one Mwóóf clan woman, "Mwóóf people from Ulul visited us here, and we took care of them, but Mwóóf on Ulul won't take care of us." In general, Pulapese maintain that Ulul people no longer care for visitors, rarely offer gifts to other islanders, and are stingy with food. A former Weipat student, for example, described her surprise when she helped prepare food with an Ulul household that then failed to send any to other relatives. Pulap women also contend that despite Ulul's large taro gardens, the women grow poor taro because they don't tend the gardens properly. So they have to be satisfied with bananas. In an area where nurturing behavior evidenced by sharing resources is not only highly valued and critical for demonstrating good character but essential for survival, these statements are intentionally both insulting and demeaning.

Furthermore, Pulapese contend that Ulul Islanders are "losing their customs," such as navigational skills, canoe construction, and respect behavior toward siblings. Ulul residents are allegedly becoming more violent, bringing in knives and guns from Chuuk Lagoon. Pulapese also resent Ulul politicians at both the local and state level, claiming, for instance, that Ulul leaders tried to have a Pulap teacher at Weipat fired. In elections, Pulapese refuse to vote

for an Ulul candidate, even one not running directly against a Pulap man. They seem particularly indignant about an Ulul politician who supposedly failed in his responsibility for years to help the area select a legislator. The political system that Americans were attempting to introduce remained in essence a secret to Pulap at a time when the Ulul politician presumably should have explained it to them.

Like Puluwat, Ulul is a strong competitor with Pulap for access to power and newly available resources. Ulul became a subdistrict center under the U.S. administration and the site for Weipat Junior High School. This brought increased prestige to Ulul as well as other tangible benefits, such as more frequent and regular visits by the government ship bringing supplies. Perhaps more important, however, is the fact that Ulul produced a highly respected and powerful politician.

Perceived as even more different than people of Ulul and more of a threat are people of Chuuk Lagoon. The cultural differences are more marked and change most evident. The reputation on Pulap of Chuuk as a whole is one of a violent people. Pulapese say: "They hold you up for money, and if you have no money, they may knife you; they tie people up, they rape women, they cut people in the face, and they steal." Chuuk people are also said to be skilled in malevolent magic. Informants cited examples of Pulap women who had recently died as a result of such magic. They also cite the high rate of suicide—virtually unknown on Pulap—and how Chuuk men fight when drunk. Chuuk men are also accused of deserting unmarried women they make pregnant and of being faithless even when married.

The gender division of labor in Chuuk Lagoon differs from that in the Westerns, and Pulap women are contemptuous of Chuuk women, claiming they do not even know how to work: "They just wash clothes and cook rice." The men in Chuuk Lagoon are responsible for most of the production and preparation of food, contrary to Pulap custom. In fact, Pulapese commented about a Chuuk man living on Pulap, who was said to prefer atoll life because he was lazy: "Men have to work much harder in Chuuk Lagoon; here all we do is go fishing and pick breadfruit."

Chuuk Lagoon is clearly the most different "other" for most Pulapese. The area has undergone considerable change, quite visible to the outer islanders, and there is more crime, more drinking, and more violence. Pulapese attribute this behavior both to change, especially giving up old ways, and to long-standing differences. The implication is that if these people were strong and virtuous enough (like Pulapese) they would not have succumbed. They must always have been violent and aggressive and less caring. The area is

also far more populous and developed and holds the seat of power for the state. Denigrating Chuuk Lagoon residents is one way to resist "internal colonialism" (Hechter 1975) and thus avoid remaining colorful though inconsequential natives. Pulapese use such ideological weapons as one strategy for eluding economic and political domination by others in Chuuk and achieving a respected position for themselves.

Thus in many ways Pulapese use past relationships to explain the present, and they assert retention of a traditional way of life as superior to modern ways other people have adopted in their stead. Implicit in such contentions is pride in their self-sufficiency. Imported foods are luxuries Pulapese enjoy, but they are proud to have retained their subsistence economy on the atoll and the patterns of sharing traditional foods. They see buying and selling food as a foreign intrusion, and they recognize the dependence foreign money, food, and goods represent. By adopting foreign ways, people of Chuuk have abandoned traditional customs and behavior. Pulapese resist being relegated to the status of unimportant, backward outer islanders, however. They seek prestige, power, money, and luxury items available today. They want college educations, political offices, and prestigious jobs, if not for themselves, then for their young. Yet Chuuk Lagoon has developed far more than Pulap, with more immediate access to resources and positions. Pulapese have responded by deriding the cultural losses of others, presenting themselves as culturally superior and therefore a force to be reckoned with.

In sum, Pulap beliefs about past trade and warfare with other islanders influence relationships and attitudes today. Former enemies still present potential threats. In response, Pulapese have formulated an identity of themselves as superior because they follow valued patterns of behavior, whereas cultural "others" violate those standards. Pulapese demean the ways of many other islanders and assert their own self-worth in the process. Pulap is not only the origin of valued customs but the place where traditional customs and values persist.

Although Pulapese beliefs about past relations with other islands shape relations and attitudes, so does today's context of interisland interaction. Some current negative attitudes Pulapese hold about others in Chuuk State have developed through contact at schools and on Moen, providing situations for assertion of a Pulap, Western Islands, or outer islands identity.

At Weipat School on Ulul, for example, island group identities and boundaries shape dormitory organization, social activities, work groups, and occasional student fights. Pulapese are counted as among the Western Islanders and contend that they share a cultural unity that distinguishes them from

other areas of Chuuk. Namonuito peoples are considered to be more like Pulapese than the Hall Islanders, but unlike the Namonuitos, the Halls supposedly did not engage the Western Islands in warfare, "or at least not big or bad wars," in the words of one young man.

Contemporary dislike for the Hall Islanders is primarily expressed by students who have attended school with them and found them arrogant, aggressive, rude, and insolent—behavioral characteristics at odds with Pulap ideals. Pulapese believe these attitudes developed since students began attending school together in relatively large numbers. Memories of schooling in the Japanese and the early U.S. years dwell primarily on antagonisms between Chuuk Lagoon and the outer islands, when solidarity was strong among outer islanders as a defense against the Chuuk Lagoon students. Once the school on Ulul began accepting Hall Island students, however, and after the high school on Moen was established and student enrollment increased, the situation changed. Pulapese at the high school even began to resent being classified together with Hall Islanders, complaining that the latter gave outer islanders a bad reputation. Hall Island students were characterized as being "sneaky"; former students claim, for instance, that Hall Island boys often went around at night peeping in the girls' dormitories. Hall students were also accused of not studying seriously, being interested only in play.

Like the Halls, the Mortlocks did not historically engage in intense warfare with Pulap, according to oral tradition, but Mortlockese have not been in structural opposition to the Westerns as have the Halls at the junior high school. Attitudes about them are more favorable. Pulap high school students, for instance, claim a bond with Mortlockese as fellow outer islanders. In other words, at one level of contrast, the Mortlockese are absent: at Weipat, the structural opposition includes the Halls, the Namonuitos, and the Westerns, and the Halls are the most different from the Pulapese. At Chuuk High School, however, the highest level of opposition and contrast is between Chuuk Lagoon and the outer islands, which include both the Westerns and the Mortlocks.

The only major exception to this general sense of solidarity is some resentment that Mortlockese were the first in Chuuk to reap the rewards of education and obtain lucrative government positions. Mortlockese taught in the Pulap elementary school, for example, because of a lack of qualified Pulapese or other Western Islanders. And one of the early Pulap high school graduates complained he was unable to find a job because Mortlockese either had them already or gave them only to fellow islanders. Contemporary relationships with the Mortlocks as well as with the Halls are based primarily

on friendships established at school and on some interisland marriages and adoptions.

In certain contexts, then, the people of Pulap present themselves as Pulapese, distinct from other Western Islanders, and in other contexts they present themselves as Western Islanders in contrast to groups from other areas of Chuuk. For example, a strong identity as Pulapese emerges in the Pulap community on Moen. A Pulap identity is also salient in contexts where only other Western Islanders are involved. For example, at the athletic games, clearly for people of the Westerns, island identities surfaced rather than a sense of commonality. Church gatherings involving the whole area similarly see island identities asserted. Western Islands in these contexts does little more than signify a common geographic area and some common interests—especially the shared event—but a sense of being Pulapese emerges in contrast to arrogant Puluwat or insignificant Tamatam and often in sympathy with respectful Pulusuk. The significant "other" in these contexts is Puluwat, but in other contexts involving people from beyond the Westerns, the Halls or Chuuk Lagoon become "other." In these situations a Western Islands identity becomes salient, one that highlights the islands' solidarity and commitment to what they have defined as a more traditional way of life, the differences downplayed. In the political arena, Pulapese also contend that ideally all Western Islanders should unite behind one political candidate. At Chuuk High School and on Moen, the Western Islands are classified together by others as well.

At another level of nested identities, Pulapese distinguish themselves as outer islanders from the people of Chuuk Lagoon. For example, one organization at the high school, ABC (Always Be Cooperative), is specifically for outer island students, reflecting a sense of unity and common purpose. Pulapese describe a degree of outer island solidarity, especially in opposition or contrast to Chuuk Lagoon. The outer island identity is also appealed to in political elections with the contention that outer islanders have shared interests because of their similar atoll environments.

In constructing and presenting a cultural identity Pulapese thus differentiate themselves from other Western Islanders in certain contexts, and in other contexts categorize themselves as Western Islanders in contradistinction to others. Similarly, they at times distinguish themselves as outer islanders from the people of Chuuk Lagoon. The contrast between "them" and "us" persists, but the content of the categories shifts. When Pulapese reflect on the "old days," they describe how Chuuk Lagoon people looked down on outer islanders and frowned on intermarriage with them. Those who attended

school in the Japanese and early U.S. periods comment that outer island students had to unite in the face of Chuuk Lagoon antagonism. One woman, for instance, who attended a private Catholic school in Moen in the 1950s, mentioned that Mortlockese girls came to the defense of Western, Namonuito, and Hall students whenever threatened by Chuuk Lagoon students.

Within the Western Islands Puluwat is perceived as Pulap's strongest competition for resources and prestige, and its people are castigated as arrogant, greedy, and inferior to Pulap. Beyond the Westerns, however, Chuuk is perceived as the major power, the center of commercial, political, and social activity for the state. When making invidious distinctions between "us" and "them," Pulapese tend to describe "them" as being "just like Chuuk." Chuuk in essence becomes the opposite of "us." "We" still follow traditional customs; those in Chuuk Lagoon have abandoned them. "We" take care of visitors and share our food; Chuuk people care only about themselves. "We" work hard, grow good taro, and have little need for money. "We" are peaceful, religious, and caring of other people; Chuuk people practice sorcery and ignore church rules. "We" are concerned with navigation, Chuuk with fighting. "We" are good kin; "they" are not. Other islanders are either "like us" or "like Chuuk," but the personnel in these categories may vary according to context. At times all outer islands are "like us," but in other contexts only the Westerns are "like us." In opposition to Chuuk Lagoon, for instance, the Halls are "like us," but at Weipat they are "just like Chuuk."

Thus various levels of identity emerge depending on the specific participants and which potentially have greater access to power and resources. Differences are highlighted or dismissed, solidarity acknowledged or scorned, according to the level of identity. But they all come back to Pulap beliefs about valued behavior.

The art of navigation, production and exchange of local foods, respect behavior toward kin, and traditional dress are some of the traits Pulapese invoke to conceptualize their culture, and this process appears in its most pronounced form on Moen. Pulapese present these cultural characteristics as evidence of their worth in a context in which others are abandoning tradition.

Pulapese have thus transformed what others may consider negative attributes into a positive aspect of their identity. The male loincloth (*yafittitá*) in particular has become a symbol of their traditionalism, especially on Moen, even though the contemporary loincloth is made from imported fabric. Stories concerning the early years of the U.S. public educational system, for instance, assert that Chuuk people used to be afraid of them when catching

sight of the loincloth, evidence that the Western Islanders were powerful and fierce. The male loincloth represents both ferocity and caring because it symbolizes Pulap's fierce past through the alliance with Puluwat and the retention of traditional customs, especially those having to do with navigation and with respect and sharing among kin. To the people of Chuuk it may represent primitiveness, but to the Pulapese it is a symbol that they remain close to their roots, unlike other islanders who have chosen acculturation. Gladwin and Sarason describe Chuuk Lagoon attitudes in the early U.S. years:

> They . . . look upon the people of Puluwat, and of the other outer islands, more or less as country cousins whose speech is odd, although at the next moment the Trukese reveal their awe and anxiety in the presence of the esoteric lore and power they have left behind them but do not entirely disbelieve. (Gladwin and Sarason 1953:39)

Skilled at both magic and fighting, Western Islanders were respected by others, who refrained from violence against them, and the attributes of savagery and backwardness were transformed in the eyes of the Pulapese into a sense of power and strength. Pulapese speak with pride today of how Chuuk people used to fear them and yet maintain an image of themselves as both a powerful and a peaceful people. By assuming the identity of Western Islanders, Pulapese look to the past and their alliance with Puluwat and thereby portray themselves as fierce, brave, and powerful. Bravery, though still valued, can no longer be manifested in warfare, but the reputation of having been great fighters in the past remains a source of pride. Through an identity as Pulapese, however, they can disclaim the aggression and violence of Puluwat and present themselves as peaceful, respectful, modest, and caring of other people. Moreover, they can build a nonviolent but powerful image through the belief that Pulap was the origin of navigation. Pulapese have no need to fight others in order to earn respect because skilled navigators remain the most respected men in the atoll.

Another way they resolve the contradiction between these two aspects of their self-image is through claiming to have changed when they converted to Catholicism. They are proud of being good Catholics. In particular, they stress the fact that they now take only one spouse for life, unlike those in Chuuk (or "them"), and they proudly contrast their current practice with the prevalent serial monogamy and frequent divorce of the pre-Christian era.

Although Pulap is one of the least modernized places in Chuuk State and

its people among the last to seek educational and employment opportunities, Pulapese have formulated an identity affording them self-esteem vis-à-vis the cultural others around them. Pulapese pride is specifically based on the assertion that they are the closest to their cultural roots and the least contaminated or changed by the outside world. They point to aspects of their heritage to interpret and explain contemporary relations and differentiate themselves from others on the basis of specific cultural differences. Both as Pulapese and as Western Islanders they integrate aspects of their past to project an image of proud, powerful, yet modest islanders. They seek a place in contemporary Chuuk and the Federated States of Micronesia not as naive or backward country hicks but as islanders with a rich cultural heritage.

Tradition Today

Although daily life on Pulap revolves primarily around close relatives, the potential for creating kin ties or activating remote ones considerably facilitates interisland circulation, as it did in the past. In a context of negative stereotypes and strong island identities, interisland relationships continue to multiply through exploitation of kinship ideology. Migrants, students, and sojourners, all with a vivid sense of what it means to be Pulapese, can at the same time interact fruitfully with others through a kinship framework. Island identities potentially separate islanders and create boundaries, but kinship can connect them. A stranger may become a relative. Furthermore, since sharing resources maintains and validates kin ties, these interisland relationships have not only expanded the network of kin for Pulapese but have thereby increased their access to skills and resources. Although these resources in the past may have been sleeping mats or iron, while today they include job information and refrigerators, the strategy is deemed traditional, something that follows customs that show dedication to kin and sharing rather than a surrender to individual acquisitiveness.

Personal ties and cultural identity interact in complex ways. Kin and cultural identities involve two levels of inclusiveness, but both relate to Pulap notions of a good person. And Pulapese use both in the context of circulation, itself an adaptive strategy in modern Chuuk. As Pulapese pursue schooling and develop a community on Moen, they construct a cultural identity that demarcates boundaries, and they negotiate kin ties that cross those boundaries. A cultural other can thus in fact be a good person—"like us." Cultural boundaries do not preclude personal ties. A Pulapese can thus easily see someone as both a Hall Islander (a cultural "other") and a sibling. Thus, since

the cultural boundaries themselves expand or contract, depending on the context, the system is quite flexible, and Pulapese have considerable choices for how to interact with others. Labeling another as a "Hall Islander" or "nonkin," relating to someone as "Western Islander" or "kin"—these have in common Pulap cultural notions of a good person, how one becomes a good person, and how one demonstrates it. Being a good Pulapese, good Western Islander, good relative, good person are variations on the same cultural theme. So attending college with a Hall Island sister and paying the electric bill of a Faichuk clan brother in a trailer park in the United States are therefore traditional and demonstrate Pulap identity.

These issues of identity and ties that cross cultural boundaries arise in many contexts of population mobility in other places of the world. Cultural differences are striking in some cases but slight in others. Blacks in South African towns certainly differ from whites. On the other hand, in the Pulap case, Puluwat has essentially a very similar culture, but Pulapese have no trouble delineating a host of differences. The Hall Islanders are far more different, but at times Pulapese nonetheless regard them as similar and fellow outer islanders. In other words, of far more interest is how people characterize differences and similarities, and how and why they make use of them. What differences do they select, and why? Pulapese choose behavior such as wearing lavalavas and loincloths, even though not made from traditional materials, and stooping, even though not in traditional contexts, because these nonetheless contrast with the ways of many others and mark Pulapese as keeping old and valued customs, even in the wake of change. They even present being Catholic in contrast to being Protestant as enhancing their ability to be good Pulapese. What are other bases for selection of differences or similarities? Under what circumstances may loss of tradition in favor of the modern be asserted as a value? At least in the case of Catholicism, Pulapese regard their abandonment of older beliefs as positive and enabling them to behave more according to their good traditional customs. The context in which Pulapese operate is one that values some traditions—but not the old religious practices or warfare.

What happens with cultural boundaries when circulation increases and brings together people who previously had little contact? Although Pulapese had not been isolated from Hall Islanders, increased contact has sharpened stereotypes and boundaries. But that has not been the case with Pulap attitudes about Mortlockese. The circumstances of contact, the structural oppositions, the potential differences in access to power have contributed to shaping attitudes and relationships. How necessary is this contrast? Must there be a

cultural other? Certainly Pulapese have little to say about a collective identity during much of daily life back on the atoll, unlike the far more self-conscious discussions at school and on Moen. And their identities shift with the context, signaling both boundaries and connections with others.

Intergroup encounters persist, not just in Micronesia, but around the world. Since identities are complex and flexible, how are they manipulated in these contexts? Cases like the Gurage in Ethiopia (Shack 1973) illustrate circumstances that discourage ties across boundaries, but in many cases, a variety of social connections develop with cultural others. How do these relate to notions of being a good person? The Pulap case illustrates how Pulapese use the notion of being a good Pulapese to connect themselves with others; theirs has historically been a context in which these ties have been essential for survival. They can thus develop strong personal ties with others while asserting a Pulap identity that marks them as culturally different. Thus their cultural models of the person and of how a person should relate to others shape their own sense of identity, attitudes about other groups, and relations with people of those other groups.

How do relations established by migrants and other sojourners affect both ties and stereotypes held by home community members? Through their connections, migrants and sojourners occupy a mediating position not only between sending and receiving communities, but also between their home communities and other hinterland areas. When ties with home communities remain strong, migrant relationships are likely to stimulate other ties in the hinterland areas. Other members of the home communities may then be able to exploit the ties—in a political campaign, for instance, or to obtain specialized knowledge or skills. Thus migration and other forms of population mobility can expand the sphere of ties and resources far beyond a single sending and receiving community even in the presence of strong stereotypes and group identities.

Yet identities, relationships, and obligations all rest on cultural models of the person and how people interact with each other. Oceanic models define a person as connected with others, and personhood heavily depends on behavior and environment. Even kinship—innately biological in Western models—can be negotiated through behavior. Cultural beliefs about past behavior and about past relationships established with other people structure current behavior as people negotiate in modern contexts and interpret the past for modern goals.

Furthermore, in many cases the term *migration* and the distinction between rural and urban identities are ethnocentric and misleading. Like the

Pulapese, others may not make the same cultural distinctions, with two different social systems, two different places, and two different identities. As Pulapese visit Puluwat, study on Weipat, look for a job on Moen, or try to stay in school in the United States, they can still remain Pulapese. They can be students, employees, or sailors as well as people who belong to a group whose members follow traditional customs; at home they still have women tending taro and men trolling for fish. And as they seek to show kin ties with others—at school or on the job—they continue to behave as Pulapese themselves. So the social system persists. And the Moen context shows how even two places need not be two but one. Pulap exists on Moen in the behavior of its people and connection with land. Pulapese there have purchased land—an obviously modern act—and remain vital because of the money income of the employed, which enables them to assert traditionalism and culturally create Pulap on Moen. Circulation is thus facilitated.

The strategy of circulation in pursuit of individual and group goals is an old and effective one in many places. Methods of establishing and using ties with cultural others have also been effective. Both can be adapted in colonial and postcolonial contexts, in pursuit of both new and traditional goals. We need more information about these and other strategies, without assuming that current migration differs in kind from previous patterns of mobility. How has an old strategy been adapted? What exactly has changed, and why? What are the connections between circulation strategies and identity and models for relations with cultural others?

As people contend with change and potential new opportunities and problems, their strategies may show considerable continuity with the past. In fact, they may be the most effective ones, suited to local circumstances and cultural ideologies concerning mobility and relationships with others. Understanding the political, economic, and social context of interaction is indeed essential; schools, missions, colonial administrations, foreign companies obviously affect contemporary patterns of interaction. They provide the context, opportunities, and constraints within which people maneuver. But the Pulapese case illustrates how these factors interact with a group's interpretation of its heritage and with its cultural notions of people and mobility. These cultural beliefs structure interaction with others and define social and cultural boundaries, they affect perceptions of locale and its relationship to social structure in the context of mobility, and they shape interpretations of the past to meet present goals. They enable people to assert tradition creatively.

Notes

Chapter 1

1. Works that discuss interaction with others include De Vos and Romanucci-Ross 1975 and Hicks 1977b. Cohen (1969), Keyes (1981), Stone (1977), and Vincent (1974) analyze ethnic identity as a strategy for economic and political power. Situational variability is stressed by Berreman (1975), Hicks (1977a), Moerman (1965), Nagata (1974), Schiller (1977), and Uchendu (1975). Barth (1969) focuses on boundaries, with people and cultural content flexible and fluid. Cohen (1978) and Deshen (1976) point out the possibility of several levels of identity that coexist, with one or another salient according to context.

2. The orthography I have followed is based on the works of Goodenough and Sugita (1980) and Elbert (1974). The nine vowels are *a* (low central), *á* (low front), *e* (mid front), *é* (mid central), *i* (high front), *o* (mid back), *ó* (low back), *u* (high back), and *ú* (high central). The consonants are *ch, f, h, k, l, m, mw, n, ng, p, pw, r* (a trill), *ŕ* (a retroflex continuant), *s, t, w* (a bilabial glide), and *y* (an alveo-palatal glide). All except the glides can occur long and short, and doubling indicates length.

Chapter 2

1. Pulapese today do not recall Namonuito participation in the system, but one elderly man remembers carrying tribute to Yap on a Japanese ship.

2. Pulap informants recall the Namonuitos sending tribute to Fananu, in the Hall Islands.

3. To cite another example, Ifaluk islanders expressed fear just a few years ago when Puluwat visitors arrived (Catherine Lutz, pers. comm.).

4. Burrows and Spiro (1953:90, 346), for instance, mention that Ifaluk attributes the beginning of navigation to Pulap ingenuity.

5. Some even claim that Namonuito means "stepping stones" because Western Islanders stopped there while tacking to Truk Lagoon.

6. I have used the label *students* for those attending secondary schools and college. Those in elementary school I included under the label *children.*

7. Two adults were receiving training in places other than the secondary schools or colleges.

8. I left with the September 2 ship for Moen, but presumably other canoe trips took place later in the year and for reasons similar to the others.

9. When referring to particular historical incidents, I will use the names Truk Intermediate and Truk High School if they were the terms in use at that time.

10. In 1980 the facilities at Moen Junior High School were no longer considered safe, so students and faculty began sharing the Truk High School facilities.

Chapter 3

1. Mongolfach was found on Ulithi (Lessa 1950a:79); Mangaulevār and Bwēl on Ifaluk (Burrows and Spiro 1953:127); Mṏngalïfach, Hatamang, and Saur on Lamotrek (Alkire 1965:29); Mṏngalïfach on Elato (Alkire 1965:155); Mṏngalïfach, Hatamang, and Masůlug on Satawal (Alkire 1965:155); Mwóór and Pwéél on Ulul (J. Thomas 1978:55); Sor and Maasala on Losap (Severance 1976:36); Sör, Katamak, and Masalö on Namoluk (Marshall 1972:59); Sor on Lukunor (Tolerton and Rauch 1949:23); Sor and Katamak on Etal (Nason 1970:60); and Mwaar on Puluwat (Steager 1972:53).

2. These presentations include *mmweni mááy* (first breadfruit), offered at the beginning of the breadfruit season; *mmweni maar* (first preserved breadfruit), given at the beginning of *leefeng,* the season of few breadfruit and when fresh breadfruit has run out; *mmweni woot* (first taro); and *mmwen nú* (first coconuts) and *mmwen yiik* (first fish), which can be presented at any time during the year. Fermented palm toddy is also offered to the chief when he decides that men can begin a season of drinking and again if drinking continues uninterrupted for a few years. Finally, the chief is entitled to a portion of any turtles caught near the island and an extra allotment of fish from a large community catch.

3. According to the story, a fleet from the Mortlocks set out to attack Puluwat, but a storm scattered the canoes among the atolls of Yap. Remnants of the fleet attacked Ifaluk, Woleai, and Satawal and then kidnapped several residents. Eventually some of the canoes reassembled and arrived at Puluwat, where the Mortlockese were killed and their prisoners taken ashore. Pulap men later married some of these women, including three or four of Mongunufaŕ, and took them to Pulap, thus settling the clan on the island.

4. For siblings, *pwiiy* refers to "my sibling of the same sex" and *mwéngiyey* to "my sibling of the opposite sex" (although a man may use *yáháákiy* instead of *mwéngiyey* for "my sister").

5. The term for "my mother" is *yiney,* and the term for "my child" is *neyiy.*

6. The term for "my father" is *hemey.*

7. Father's sister, however, may also be referred to as *yineyhemey,* combining the terms for "my mother" and "my father" to mean a "female parent on the father's side."

8. The term *yafaakúr* may designate not only this relationship to the father's group but also an individual who is the offspring of a male descent group member. Although Pulapese may refer to a son or daughter of a descent group male simply as *neyiy* (my child), a more specific term is *neyiy afaakúr* (my child of the descent group). In this case *neyiy* is no longer a noun but a possessive classifier (my) for animate beings (based on the word for child). The term *yafaakúr* may also refer to a group of people whose fathers all belong to the same matrilineal group. Used this way, the term requires a different possessive classifier: the general classifier *yááy* (my). This is the same possessive required with the term for a matrilineal descent

group, *yáynang* (clan), implying that people who are *yafaakúr* also constitute a group. *Yááy áynang* (my clan) parallels *yááy afaakúr* (my offspring of the men of my clan). The question *yifa yóómw áynang* (What is your clan?; *yóómw* is the general possessive classifier *your*) becomes *yifa yóómw afaakúr* (What is your offspring group?), the answer to which is the father's matrilineal descent group name. In the same vein, *ŕóón eew áynang* are "the people of one clan," and *ŕóón eew afaakúr* are all those whose fathers belong to the same descent group.

9. In other words, the children of two same-sex siblings are also siblings to each other. On the other hand, the children of two cross-sex siblings are "parent" and "child" to each other, with the offspring of the brother a "child" to the sister and her children. This establishes the offspring (*yafaakúr*) relationship between a sister and her brother's child (and between all the members of the woman's descent group and the offspring of all the men).

10. Two of the 235 children listed in the January 1980 census are off-island children who live on Pulap because they were adopted by Pulapese. Of the five children not adopted by Pulapese, two were adopted by relatives of the father and three by relatives of the mother.

11. Such a change is not likely to take place unless the adopted child has no prior relationship to that clan. For instance, if a Pwéél clan woman adopts her husband's brother's child, the child is neither a fellow clan member (unless the husband's brother also happened to have married a Pwéél clan woman) nor a child of the woman's clan (the child's father would not be of Pwéél clan because of the rule of exogamy). If the child then grows up feeling close to Pwéél clan and the adoptive mother's descent line, that child later may decide to become *reelongen* Pwéél (person within Pwéél).

12. The term for "my spouse" is *ŕóónimwey,* literally "my person-of-the house." A recent alternative term used at times, though, is the borrowed word *fámiliy,* which in this case means "my spouse." Labels for other affines illustrate further the structural priority of siblings. In the past, two other categories of kin were also called *ŕóónimwey: pwiin ŕóónimwey* (my spouse's sibling of the same sex) and *ŕóónimwen pwiiy* (spouse of my sibling of the same sex). As the term *ŕóónimwey* implies, this relationship allowed sexual access under certain circumstances. Since conversion to Christianity, however, many Pulapese prefer to use the term *pwiiy* for these affinal relatives.

A wife's brother is called *neyiy* (my child), and a man's sister's husband is, in turn, referred to as *hemey* (my father), a practice consistent with a man referring to his sister's children as his siblings (because they are fellow descent group members). As for other affinal relatives, the spouse of anyone referred to as *hemey* (such as father's brother's wife) is *yiney* (my mother). Similarly, the spouse of any woman called *yiney* (such as mother's sister's husband) is referred to as *hemey.* Otherwise an affinal relative is simply *yéehey* (my affine). Pulapese may also use the terms *hemey, yiney,* and *neyiy* for those to whom their spouse applies the terms.

The spouse of one's child is usually called *neyiy.* The husband of a "daughter" is treated differently from the wife of a "son," however. The husband is owed respectful language, a situation informants contend is unique in the Westerns. Unlike the sibling respect behavior, though, people had little more to say about this affinal obligation.

13. For example, one piece of land owned by a Katamang clan man was given to his wife, a woman of Howupwollap clan. This piece was divided, with one part given to their son for his wife and children; the other part was given to the wife's sister's daughter because the couple had no daughters and wanted a part of the land to remain within the descent line. The parcel the sister's daughter received was later given to her adopted daughter, who was of Mwóóŕ clan. The piece the son received for his wife and children was again divided, part going to his wife's brother and part to his daughter, a Mongunufaŕ clan girl. The brother's piece went, in turn, to his wife, a member of Howupwoĺlap. The plot of land that originally belonged to Katamang clan, then, is owned two generations later by members of Mwóóŕ, Mongunufaŕ, and Howupwollap clans.

Chapter 4

1. During most of 1980, the Pulap chief had forbidden the drinking of fermented coconut toddy, although occasionally the men made a home brew, a practice frowned upon but tolerated. A major limiting factor on Pulap for home brew is the availability of sugar, which men purchase from the field-trip ships. The sugar they can buy allows for only a few days of drinking.

2. Iras has no Catholic church, and Pulapese do not go to church every day on Moen as many do on Pulap. But on Sunday, almost all attend mass in nearby villages, and many also attend services on the first Friday of every month.

Chapter 5

1. Between the opening of Weipat and the census I took in 1980, only 15 Pulapese, all of them girls, out of 124 elementary school graduates did not pursue postelementary education: 7 who married, 7 who failed the test, and 1 who was sick.

2. A few Pulapese have attended other schools, such as Catholic elementary and secondary schools on Moen, but most attend Pulap Elementary School, Weipat Junior High School, and Chuuk (previously Truk) High School.

3. For ethnographic data on Ulul, see the dissertations by John Thomas (1978) and Mary Durand Thomas (1978).

4. Two others were in tenth grade at Faichuk Junior High School on Tol, in Chuuk Lagoon. Although most Pulap students who attend junior high school go to Weipat, a few, who live on Moen, have attended Moen Junior High School, and a few boys expelled from Weipat later went to Faichuk or Mortlocks Junior High School.

5. During the years 1974–76 the Pulap students were divided among five sponsors, one of whom was the Weipat teacher from Pulap. One girl closely related to that teacher, however, stayed with another sponsor because the Pulap man was a classificatory brother, and the constraints on that relationship made living in the same house difficult. Other relationships were based on clan ties through the wives of two sponsors, one of whom was the traditional chief. Another Pulap sponsor was the created brother of a Pulap man whose children have all stayed with him while attending Weipat. In recent years, however, only the Pulap teacher and the traditional chief have sponsored Pulap students.

6. Of these 132 students, only 61 claimed Moen, Falo, or Pis-Moen as home. The rest came from other Chuuk Lagoon islands, the Mortlocks, or the Halls.

7. Namoneas (*Nómwoneyas*) means "upper or eastern archipelago" and Faichuk (*Fááyichuk*) "lower or western mountains" (Goodenough 1966:102); they refer respectively to the eastern and western islands of Chuuk Lagoon.

8. Pulap also claims as one of its own a boy who was selected as a foreign exchange student and did, in fact, attend a U.S. high school. Originally from Saipan, he was a descendant of a Pulap woman the people of Ulul had taken with them to the Marianas. He had attended Weipat with other Pulapese.

Chapter 6

1. The exception is a Pulap man who married a daughter of the Mortlockese missionary who arrived in the early years of the U.S. administration.

2. After the census, a Tamatam man and Pulap woman were married, bringing the total to twenty-three.

3. They went to the Marianas, taking with them a captured Pulap woman whose descendants live on Saipan today. Pulapese informants and descendants of Tamatam settlers on Ulul claim they fled out of fear of Puluwat. Descendants of Piserach settlers on Ulul, however, claim that their ancestors simply told Ulul, as a ploy to get their land, that Satawal, the Westerns, and the other Namonuitos intended to battle Ulul because Puluwat had sent gifts requesting them to do so (Mahony n.d.).

4. People from the Namonuito islet of Piserach also resettled Ulul.

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